

INTERNATIONAL

WOMEN'S DAY



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

This booklet represents the result of a lot of time, energy, and love from a lot of people. We began work on it as a class on Women and Literature and had originally planned it to deal with questions about women in literature.

We read a lot of books, did a lot of talking, and have come to understand some things about women, not only in literature but also in society, things which relate directly to our own lives. As a result, we have achieved a deeper understanding of the women's movement--our roles in it and our responsibility to it.

The nature of the class has somewhat determined the scope of the booklet; yet the articles we have included raise many social questions not dealt with in the literature we read. This is an honest attempt to share some of our ideas with other people, and hopefully our learning won't end here. This is a beginning.

The booklet is our contribution to International Women's Day, March 8, 1972.



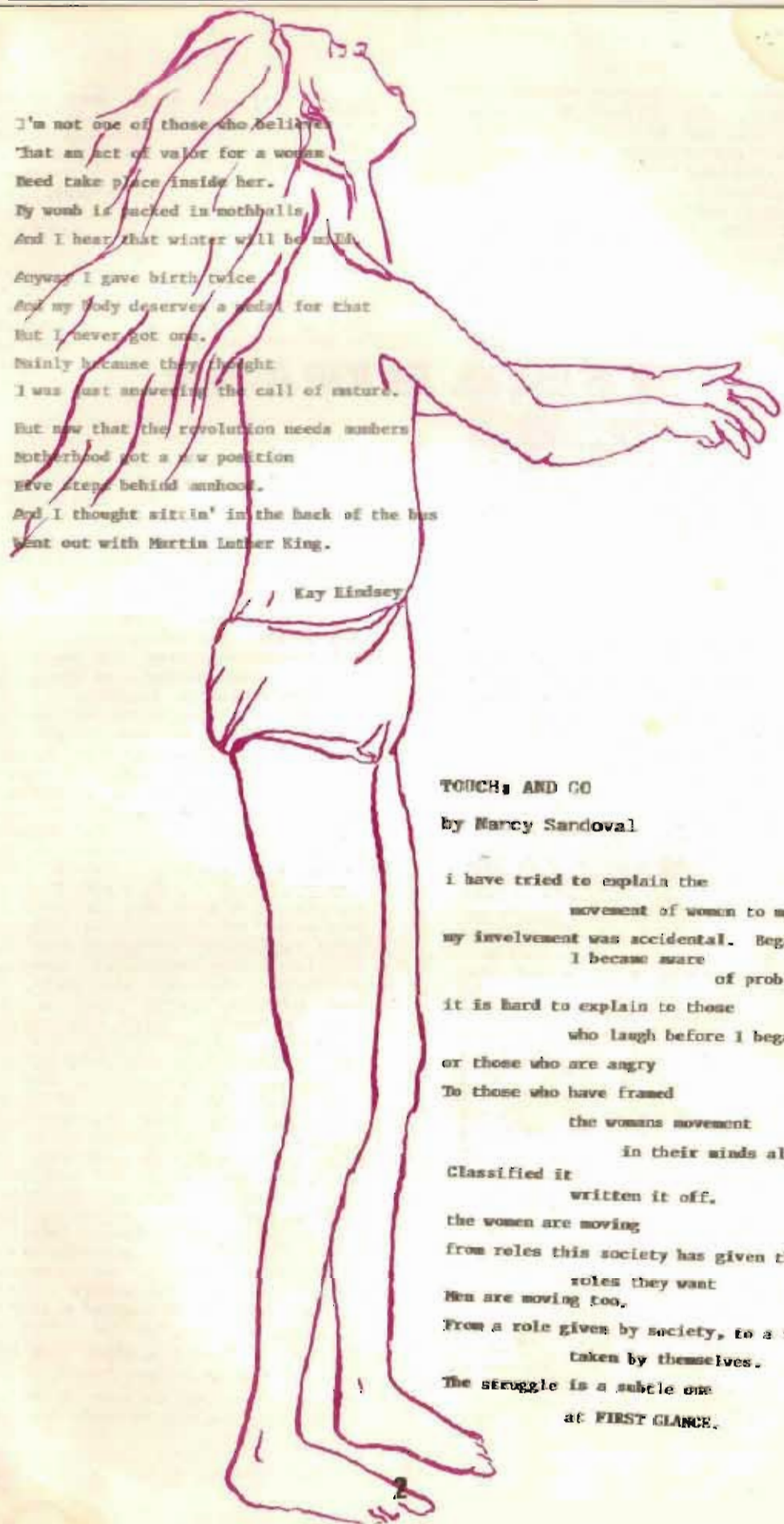
In 1857 thousands of women from the garment districts of New York took to the streets rebelling against their oppression. These sisters demanded improvements in their working conditions: decent wages, a ten-hour work day, and recognition of equal rights for American women. When the march reached the wealthy districts, the women were attacked and dispersed by the police. The demonstrators were trampled on, shot at, and several were arrested. In memory of these women from New York, Clara Zetkin called for March 8 to become INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY.

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I'm not one of those who believe
 That an act of valor for a woman
 Need take place inside her.
 My womb is packed in mothballs
 And I hear that winter will be mild.
 Anyway I gave birth twice
 And my body deserves a medal for that
 But I never got one.
 Mainly because they thought
 I was just answering the call of nature.
 But now that the revolution needs numbers
 Motherhood got a new position
 Five steps behind manhood.
 And I thought sittin' in the back of the bus
 Went out with Martin Luther King.

Kay Lindsey



TOUCH, AND GO

By Nancy Sandoval

i have tried to explain the
 movement of women to many.
 my involvement was accidental. Began when
 I became aware
 of problems.
 it is hard to explain to those
 who laugh before I began
 or those who are angry
 To those who have framed
 the womans movement
 in their minds already
 Classified it
 written it off.
 the women are moving
 from roles this society has given them to
 roles they want
 Men are moving too.
 From a role given by society, to a role
 taken by themselves.
 The struggle is a subtle one
 at FIRST GLANCE.

Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life and it ought not to be. The more she is engaged in her proper duties, the less leisure she will have for it, even as an accomplishment and a recreation. --Robert Southey, Poet Laureate, to Charlotte Bronte, 1837.

MEDIA MIRAGE

Housewives consume 75% of the products in this country. This huge amount of consumerism is caused and perpetuated by advertisers. Their method is to create an image of housewife, mother and sex object that requires women to buy things to attain that image. Exploiting these images, they contribute to the socialization process which keeps women in their traditional roles.

Often a housewife's only sense of worth derives from her home and family, and as a result, she does not enter the labor market. If women ceased to do housework, then private families would have to hire housekeepers, cooks, chauffeurs, and babysitters, at great expense. Housewives are a great unpaid labor force. What exactly do housewives read?

Do housewives really read True Confessions and other "popular" magazines that are seen on display in markets, or do they read the Reader's Digest? Do media-advertised products meet the needs of the woman consumer, or do they create those needs? What are the ideals and images of women presented in material aimed at housewives, and can housewives live up to them? Will housewives tell the truth to a college student in a survey on their interests? To answer these questions, we conducted a survey at local grocery stores: Safeway, Lucky, and Shopper's Corner.

The women surveyed were predominantly from white middle-class families. We wonder how typical the answers are of American society as Santa Cruz is an atypical community, being a comparatively small resort-retirement town.

In our survey of Santa Cruz housewives, The Reader's Digest was claimed to be the most widely read magazine. Better Homes and Gardens and Sunset were ranked second, Ladies Home Journal and McCalls were tied for third, with Good Housekeeping and Life in fourth place. Many women said that they also

We have all been thrown down so low that nobody thought we'd ever get up again; but we have been long enough trodden now; we will come up again....

SOJOURNER TRUTH

read church magazines. We were surprised to find that Santa Cruz women did not mention reading fashion magazines in the survey answers. They also did not mention reading movie magazines and True Confessions-type magazines. However, it has been statistically shown that the circulation of these magazines is high. There seems to be some stigma attached to reading movie and romance magazines, and because of possible embarrassment, we wonder if they were completely truthful.

Most of the magazines mentioned by the women contain articles to help them to be more efficient in what are assumed to be their main areas of concern: child rearing, homemaking, and husband-tending. Reader's Digest was the most widely read magazine, perhaps because its articles are short and easy to read during a housewife's limited time. Reader's Digest offers a wide range of articles, including many oriented toward women and family living. Better Homes and Gardens and Sunset both have articles on home improvement, cooking, and perhaps even more importantly, on time and money saving ideas for the home and family. Ladies Home Journal and McCalls contain feature articles such as "How to Help Your Child Do Better in School", "16 Recipes to Tell HIM I Love You", and "A Doctor's Advice on Health and Sex". These magazines also include features explaining how to improve a woman's appearance through use of clothes and make-up. For more exciting and emotional reading, the housewife can turn to True Confessions, True Love, or True Story (A Woman's Guide to Love and Marriage). The titles of the stories in the "True..." series suggest bizarre events in the authors' lives, such as "A Birthmark Proves--My Baby is Possessed by a Dead Man!" and "Six Men Raped Me on My Wedding Night (My Husband Did Nothing to Stop Them)". The stories themselves are very dramatic; for example, the rape victim's every de-

tail drags the reader through a long, exhaustive emotional experience.

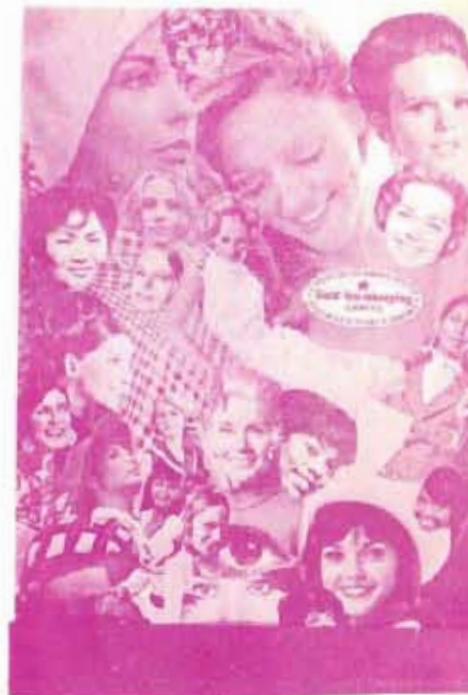
The reasons why women read these magazines are that they make the woman more content with her own life, because she can feel that 1) "It could have happened to me, but thank God, it didn't," 2) "These stories add excitement to my day," and 3) "I'm not alone in this catastrophic world; there are others with my problems and worse." Thinking that you are not really that bad off has never motivated anyone to change. This can, in fact, make a woman wonder if something's wrong with her if she's not happy with her life.

Advertisements are geared to the female reader and the type of article. If the story concerns a "sexy" woman, then the advertisements will tell the reader how to develop her bustline, encourage her to buy a wig and lose 20 pounds, and try to sell her a manual on an exciting sex life. The reader sees ads and wants to look sexy and exciting, like the image in the ads, while at the same time retaining the traditional values of a wife and mother. Ads in women's magazines tell a woman how to better manage her family and home; they tell her the RIGHT way to feed her family, sterilize her house, and appeal to her husband. The constant message is that she is too stupid to do anything on her own. It must be a huge blow to any self-esteem that she could derive from her home and family. Further, she wonders why she isn't as glamorous and efficient as the advertised housewife, and hopes to achieve this image by consuming the advertised product.

Many women, especially in the age group of 20 to 30 years, read a few sections of the newspaper. It is interesting that some women tried to excuse their lack of reading by either listing what their husbands read, or saying that their husbands were better informed about world affairs. The housewife with children (most of our survey wives had at least two) is preparing dinner or cleaning up after dinner while her husband sits down to read the evening paper. Most women over 30 said that they read all or most of the paper possibly because some of their kids are older and don't require so much care. From our statistical results, the number of kids and the amount of education seemed to make little difference on the reading habits of these wives. Many women laughed and emphatically said that they don't read at all; some were embarrassed in admitting this and their devotion to Ann Landers.

All this material directed at women has psychological consequences. Women are presented with the ideal of efficient, totally satisfied housekeepers and mothers, and at the same time ex-

pected to be sexy mistresses for their husbands. These roles are oriented towards pleasing husbands and children. Psychologically, a woman's worth is measured by how well she serves others in the family situation. All of these images reinforce the nuclear family structure and a woman's isolation from her sisters.



The whole of education of women ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to make life sweet and agreeable to them--these are the duties of women at all times and what should be taught them from their infancy.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, L'Emile or, A Treatise on Education

The great question that has never been answered, and which I have not yet been able to answer despite my thirty years of research into the feminine soul, is What does a woman want?

SIGMUND FREUD

A Chinese Tale

There is an ancient Chinese tale called "The Foolish Old Woman who removed the Mountains". It tells of an old woman who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Woman of North Mountain. Her house faced south and beyond her doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihung and Wangsu, obstructing the way. With great determination, she led her daughters and sons in digging up these mountains, hoe in hand. Another grey-beard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two mountains." The Foolish Old Woman replied, "When I die, my daughters and sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my granddaughters and grandsons, and then their daughters and granddaughters and so on to infinity. High as they are

the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clean them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, she went on digging every day, unshaken in her conviction. God was moved by this and she sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today more than two great mountains lie like a dead weight on the American people. One is imperialism (internal and external colonialism), one is capitalism, another racism and sexism. Many of us have long made up our minds to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly and we, too, will touch god's heart. Our god is none other than the majority of the American people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these mountains be cleared away?



Relevant for Whom?

Chicanas do not understand their classroom textbooks because there is a lack of communication between herself and the reading material. She does not know how to speak English and a comfortable relationship does not exist because most often she does not have an understanding teacher present. The chicana is not bilingual; she is, therefore, withdrawn from classroom activity. The failure of the teacher to be of assistance is most evident in the play yard where the child is isolated from group play.

In the classroom, the chicana is encouraged to be verbal in the English language; she tries her best, but cannot express herself in conversation except in an outburst of feelings, anger, and need. The chicana is forced into using English through the uncommon experience of conversation, singing, and reading difficult English phrases. After she is forced into the English language, she feels paranoid. It is a feeling that the child is losing her ability to speak Spanish and her Mexican culture which should remain expressed through her native means of communication at home. Yet, she acquires English so she can make her way into a society that is English-speaking.

If both languages would be encouraged in the classroom, the result would be that when both languages were heard in the classroom there would not be an air of confusion but a mutual learning process.¹

The chicana cannot relate to her school books because her culture differs from the culture indicated in that book. The chicana culture is a collective culture with the relationship of a centered family. The children in fairy tales and other children's books are white. She cannot relate to "Dick" and "Jane" and "Spot" because she never had friends like those. She compares "Dick" and "Jane's" grandfather's ranch, which is about 200 acres of horses, chickens, geese, and tractors, with her grandfather's farm-- a farm large enough for a house and a few crops to sell for a living.

¹A reference from Mrs. Gloria Platero, Head Start Child Care Center Coordinator.

If she cannot relate to any of this, she will not want to read this type of literature. She begins to feel discouraged to read and to verbalize. She becomes embarrassed because her culture is not the type of culture she learns in school nor is it the way her white friends live. She is afraid and hides her chicana identity. Thus, she is ashamed of her people and her color.

The teacher puts pressure on the chicana student. The teacher becomes frustrated when the chicana student does not do what she is told. The teacher punishes the student because rewards do not seem to mean anything to her. The teacher continues pestering the chicana student to raise her hand and answer questions in front of the class and is at her tail for not doing her homework.

Here is a very good example of what I am referring to:

A Navajo hogan in the Shiprock, New Mexico, area: Billy Yzee, a six year old Navajo boy, is listening to his father Paul who is talking. The boy's grandfather has just left. "Billy, you mustn't look at Grandfather's eyes when he talks to you. He's an old and wise man. To look in his eyes is a sign of disrespect".

A teachers' lounge at Billy's school: Two teachers are discussing the new crop of first graders. "Notice how shifty they are, they never look you in the eye." "I know, you can't tell if they are listening to you or just being rude. I noticed the parents act the same way."

A classroom: "Billy, look at me when I talk to you! Billy! That's better!"

The first grade teacher is frustrated when she tells Billy to put his paints in his desk and instead, he leaves the materials on top of his desk.

Billy's class of beginners is having considerable trouble with the basic readers. They can't speak English yet, but the state course of study calls for reading instruction in the first grade.

She was soft and pretty; he knew she was untouched. (Note emphasis on virginity.) Her alabaster skin and succulent orbs aroused him. (How do we feel when our own bodies don't meet society's white angle-saxon ideal of feminine beauty?) She felt that something was missing in her life--she was not sure what... (Women should be encouraged to learn about and experiment with their own sexuality.) He presented her with his bulging manliness. (Neither virility nor satisfaction is necessarily proportional to the size of a man's penis.) As his soaring flagpole rose to meet the dewy down, she realized immediately what she had always needed. She fell back in anticipation, already wet and hot. (Rarely is a woman instantly aroused at the mere sight of an erect penis.) He caressed her agonized knob, she lay still, awaiting the real thing... (Implied here is the notion that coitus is the only "valid" means to achieve orgasm. A distinction between "vaginal" and "clitoral" orgasm is also implied. Although orgasms may feel

different, all are centered in the clitoris.) He thrust to the hilt, tearing her maidenhead. She cried out in pain. (The breaking of the hymen during intercourse is not necessarily painful, especially if there is enough previous stimulation to produce lubrication and relax muscles. Also, the hymen can easily be stretched before a woman ever has intercourse.) As he continued his forceful thrusts, she screamed, "Oh, shove it up to my head! More! More!"

"You luscious cunt," he snarled. She felt his come shoot forth and fill her with the life-giving liquor of love. Her pain turned to pleasure, and her legs stiffened in orgasmic paralysis. (How imperative is simultaneous orgasm?) Blood gushed down her flushed thighs. (Rarely does the breaking of the hymen cause extensive bleeding.) He has initiated her into the realm of the living, and she now can make up for all she's been missing. Her body has found its true master, has become his willing slave, would do anything to satisfy his wants.

"All She Needs Is A Good . . ."

Pornography reflects and reinforces certain values which feed male supremacy. This literature is written primarily for men; it portrays women the way the dominant sex wants to see them - as passive and ineffectual, totally dependent upon men. In pornography, as in society, women and men come together not as equals but as oppressed and oppressor. Men subjugate women as they subjugate other races and cultures. Sexual relations parallel political relations; both are based on power. The embodiment of man's power is his penis. Supremacy hinges on power, which is closely linked with aggressive, oppressive action. In pornography the man's penis is a "charging steed", a "weapon", an "exploding gun" or a "battering ram". Woman is territory to be conquered and exploited. Through sex, man wages war on woman.

In the process of subjugation men define women as sexual objects whose worth depends on conformity to a standard of beauty that is both racist and elastic. By objectifying woman, man no longer has to deal with her as a human being. He can inflict pain without having to feel guilty.

The belief that pain is pleasurable for women also serves as a rationale for his cruelty. This supposed enjoyment of pain increases man's contempt for woman. Because men respect only power, and women, by definition, are penisless, men can never respect women. Because in pornography women exist for sex alone, and sex is portrayed as animalistic, women are held in complete contempt.

Contrary to popular belief, what satisfies a woman sexually is distinguishable from what satisfies a man. Through society's extolling of "vaginal" orgasm, the penis becomes the primary source of a woman's sexual pleasure. Any other form of stimulation threatens male supremacy. Lesbianism serves as an added titillation for men because it makes the conquest more difficult, hence more satisfying. The woman internalizes the man's view that other forms of stimulation are secondary and not as fulfilling. Man, in teaching woman his view of her sexuality, reinforces the inequality. By learning about our own sexuality and taking control of our bodies, we can begin to take control of our own lives.

THE CASE AGAINST UC

Have you ever wondered why most of your professors are anglo men? Why are there almost no Third World professors? Why are there so few women professors? We don't feel it is simply a coincidence that positions are always filled by white men. But rather there is a connection between who controls this school (i.e. white, racist, sexist males) and who is being hired.

In the university, like in society, women and Third World people are a cheap labor force. They have repeatedly been concentrated in lower positions with lower pay, less job security and fewer privileges. This leaves them exposed to budgetary cutbacks and creates a situation of being the last hired, first fired. Third World and women faculty members on this campus have never had the same promotion rate as their anglo male colleagues. These statements are exemplified in the charts. In addition there are no women on sixteen out of twenty-four boards and the number of women who have come up for tenure and have received it is zero.

For the white and Third World women discrimination exists both in practice and written policy. Discriminatory attitudes prevail from recruiting to fringe benefits and nepotism. The nepotism regulation is a university policy of not hiring related persons. Unfortunately this usually affects married couples and works against the woman. Whenever a couple comes before the board to seek employment, if the woman is preferred to the man, neither candidate is hired. If both candidates are equally qualified, however, the male is always hired, and his wife is sometimes granted a menial non-ladder position. There are professor's wives, now on campus, with PhD's who are holding teaching assistant positions. No case has been found in which a man hasn't been hired because of this policy.

Even though women contribute to the University retirement plan at the same rate as men, the survivor benefits which women receive are less than those for men. Their husbands do not receive survivor benefits unless their wives have contributed at least 50% to their support. Widows of professors, on the other hand, are given survivor benefits regardless of the amount of support contributed by the professor's wife. This is a blatant violation of the law which states,

"...the employer will not be considered to have violated any guidelines if his contributions are the same for men and women or if the resulting benefits are equal."

In interviews with board and committee chairmen conducted last year, it was evident that their attitudes toward women are discriminatory. One of the white males interviewed revealed that: "We would not want strong women because they make people feel uncomfortable." In addition, one chairman continually referred to his recruiting as a search for the "best man," and another indicated that he writes recruiting letters asking about a "bright young man." Finally one chairman indicated they wanted a woman in a certain field but just because it was concerned with children. With such attitudes prevailing, it is little wonder why the number of women teaching on this campus is small. The U.C. Policy states that, "Recruitment letters should affirmatively state that the department is interested in hiring both women and men, and neither letters nor oral communications should indicate that men are preferred to women."

A woman who is guided by the head and not the heart is a social pestilence. She has all the defects of the passionate and affectionate woman, with none of her compensations; she is without pity, without love, without virtue, without sex.
Honore de Balzac

When it comes to hiring a woman or a Third World male, the woman is usually selected. A third world male threatens the security of the white administration much more than a woman. Whenever a third world person is hired, it is usually an act of mere tokenism, falsely making the board members feel as though they are breaking down the barriers between races. As a result, Third World people at Santa Cruz are almost negligible.

What can be done about the racist, sexist attitudes on this campus? Action has already been initiated, and two class action complaints have been filed against U.C. Berkeley and U.C. Santa Cruz involving discrimination on the basis of sex. A complaint has also been filed against U.C. Berkeley involving discrimination on the basis of race and national origin. But women and Third World people are still being fired and not hired. These professors need all the support from the students that they can get. Student support is the only immediately effective means that professors have available to fight against the white racist, sexist males who control this so-called liberal campus. As an article from the December 6, 1971 issue of Loaded stated, it is also "crucial that the Boards know that we are aware of the suits, aware of the legal requirements,

Ladder Positions	Women	Total Faculty
Full Prof.	0	67
Assoc. Prof.	5	44
Asst. Prof.	7	88
Acting Asst. Prof.	3	20
Total ladder appt.	15	219
Non-ladder Positions		
Acting Instructor	5	16
Assoc.	4	14
Lecturer	17	60
Total non-ladder	26	90

Source: Class Action Suit 4-1-71



College	Third World Faculty
Merrill	1 Asian
25 FTE*	3 Blacks
	1 Chicano
	1 Anglo Indian
	1 India Indian
Cowell	2 Blacks
43 FTE	1 Nepalese
Stevenson	1 Asian
51 FTE	1 Black
Crown	1 Puerto Rican
38 FTE	
Kresge	0 Ethnics
15 FTE	
College V	1 Black
43 FTE	1 Chicano

*Full Time Employees

Source: Mike Rotkin

and above all unwilling to accept blatant tokenism. It is essential that students, particularly those who are most sensitive to the need for Third World and female teachers on this campus, find out who in each Board is involved in faculty recruitment. Talk to these individuals, and if there is no committee or set procedure, demand one. This is one of the points required by the affirmative action plans (HEW) and one also recommended by the Faculty Senate Committee on the Status of Women. If there is a committee, find out how students can participate immediately."

A HISTORY OF LESBIANISM

How they came into the world,
the women-loving-women
came in three by three
and four by four
the women-loving-women
came in ten by ten
and ten by ten again
until there were more
than you could count

they took care of each other
the best they knew how
and of each other's children,
if they had any

How they lived in the world,
the women-loving-women
learned as much as they were allowed
and walked and wore their clothes
the way they liked
wherever they could. They did whatever
they knew to be happy or free
and worked and worked and worked.
The women-loving-women
in America were called dykes
and some liked it
and some did not.

they made love to each other
the best they knew how
and for the best reasons

How they went out of the world,
the women-loving-women
went out one by one
having withstood greater and lesser
trials, and much hatred
from other people, they went out
one by one, each having tried
in her own way to overthrow
the rule of men over women,
they tried it one by one
and hundred by hundred,
until each came in her own way
to the end of her life
and died.

The subject of lesbianism
is very ordinary; it's the
question of male domination
that makes everybody
angry.

letters to women

i see soul pain eyes
hidden in blue shadow
fur lashes deny the real
hair/acceptable above the brow
not below the knee
i see your eyes, sister
i see your soul
you call your breasts wrinkled lemons,
hide them under 1/2 inch foam, learn
to like your thighs only to hear
you have ugly feet.
how long will we listen to men
who tell us they love us?
who call us frigid or maniac & turn away?
how long will we stand as dolls on a
shelf
buy me buy me
one house & i'm yours
i'm mine, sister.
how about you?

"We must start off with the realization that as much as women want to be good scientists or engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and mothers." (Bruno Bettelheim, psychologist, University of Chicago)

Nothing does more to perpetuate the above fallacy than Rock and Roll music. Along with the overt sexist attitudes of men in rock, it is particularly distressing to hear female artists further reinforcing such oppressive images of women. If Rock music is the voice of the new, "liberated" generation, if this new sound is the chief language and means of communication for a "newly conscious" breed, then millions of sisters and brothers are creating a counter-culture that merely cloaks old values in a new style.

Music critic Albert Goldman writes, "Sexist pigs in excelsis, the rock boys have divided women into two camps: those who follow them as groupies, and those who remain at home, nursing future generations of heroes near the sanctity of the macrobiotic hearth."

Rhetoric of Rock

There has been a recent emergence of successful women Rock stars, although the male artists still outnumber the females by a substantial margin. Carly Simon, Rita Coolidge, Carole King, Laura Nyro, Lydia Pence, Joni Mitchell, and the late Janis Joplin are among the popular female recording artists today. These sisters are putting forth a sexist image of female incompetence. Amidst the roof-tops, sweetseasons, wood-stocks, and soul-finding songs, each artist sings of female dependency, passivity, inferiority, and womanly compassion. The lyrics vary, but the overriding implication is consistent; that is, men dominate, women submit.

Carole King is probably the most popular female vocalist today, certainly the most successful. Her album, *Tapestry*, has sold four million records and two million tapes, and it is still selling 150,000 copies a week. Her songs are played frequently on AM and FM radio stations across the country, and there is usually a Carole King song in the "Top Ten Hits" lists. She was voted Woman of the Year by the New York Times, and *Tapestry* was rated by Rolling Stone as one of the three best LP's of 1971.

The first cut off *Tapestry* is "I Feel the Earth Move": "I feel the earth move under my feet/ I feel the sky tumbling down/ I feel my heart start to trembling, whenever you're near me/ And you tenderly call my name/ I know my emotions are something I just can't tame/ I've just got to have you baby..." Most of her songs are directed to an assumed male character. I suppose it is fine if Carole feels that way, but lament arises when one realizes that millions of males and females are hearing a woman lyrically submit herself to male supremacy. It would be hard to imagine these lyrics sung by a man.

Another song on *Tapestry* is "Where You Lead": "I always wanted a real home, with flowers on the windowsill/ But if you want to live in New York City, Honey, you know I will/... And where you lead I will follow/ Anywhere you tell me to/ If you need, need me to be with you/ I will follow where you lead."

Probably the most devastating image female vocalists present to the listening public is the readiness to change themselves into

whatever a man wants them to be. Carole King sings "The Girl You Think You See": "I'm not really the girl you think you see/ Who ever you want is exactly who I'm more than willing to be/ I'll be carefree/ A peace corp trainee/ Your Gypsy Rose Lee/ To please you." The thought of anybody altering oneself in some way for another person seems like a backward leap on the rough path to self-realization. Yet these sisters are consistently advocating such behavior, and I see too many people accepting the idea and in turn stifling a growth of consciousness. Needless to say it is the woman here whose awareness is hindered most.

A prevalent and equally disillusioning image of women presented by the sisters in Rock and Roll is that of the compassionate fool, left suffering and desolate by a man for another woman. It is also interesting to note the element of bad treatment attributed to men. Rita Coolidge sings "I'll Be Here" on her album "Nice Feeling": "Boy you treat me mean and you treat me cold and you hurt me down to my very soul... But when she (other woman) leaves you and you're all alone I'm just as close as your

telephone... I'll be here when you want me..."

Lydia Pence of Cold Blood sings "I'm a good woman... you don't even take me out when I put on my dress/ I know you've got another woman somewhere around/ but Fey I'm a good woman, such a good woman, such a good woman.../ So don't treat me like dirt."

On the other end of the spectrum is Joni Mitchell. Joni herself is an appalling image of the organic, mother-earth goddess; the sweet, soft, compassionate, and everloving female, servant of man. She presents this unreal image throughout her songs. "All I Want Blue" -- "I want to have fun/ I want to shine like the sun/ I want to be the one you want to see/ I want to knit you a sweater/ I want to write you a love letter/ I want to make you feel better/ I want to make you feel free." Females identifying with this image are likely to find their emotional stability destroyed when they realize that it is impossible to live up to the image. Males, fooled into believing that such women exist, will be sadly disappointed.

There is a very real danger to both male and female consciousness in the images of women in music. Its significance lies not on the metaphors or "meaning" of words, but in the emotional impact

it has on the listener. The power of music reaches the patterns of memory and response, and lodges itself in the unconscious of the listener. In other words, music is internalized, especially if it is heard a number of times.

A personal case in point is my internalization of Carole King's music. *Tapestry* was one of my all-time favorite listen-to-when-I'm-down records. I used to think, "Oh, this is just how I feel, and here is a far out woman who has written my feelings in prose." I actually wrote the words to "So Far Away" in a letter and mailed it to a male in Mexico City. At the time I sincerely felt that way. As I listened to more female vocalists I began to accept images and believed that my worth depended on my making a man happy, being there when he stepped on me or left me, and thinking that I could not live without a man.

I've come upon an incredible feeling of freedom and self-worth from my involvement in women's liberation. Somehow I'd like to share my new-found awareness with sisters who are in the place I was.



From Alternative to Mainstream

I have begun to realize the tremendous amount of oppression that I face in my everyday life, often becoming despondent and asking myself when will straight society relinquish its right to power. The laws regarding homosexuality are becoming more progressive, but housing and employment are no less difficult, not to mention psychological harassment.

In recognizing these problems I tried to determine who would benefit from the enfranchisement of gay people, women, and other minorities. It is frightening to hear that only when it benefits the majority that the concerns of these minorities are realized. I began to think of the great sexuality crisis faced by most people in our society, and its effects. I was once considered a heterosexual; I was unhappy in my role and consequently I acted in many ways I now consider antisocial. It is the feeling of inadequacy and sexual impotency which causes many such situations. Our society, however, tends to only punish and try to force individuals to change behavior without considering the reasons why certain people act as they do. In fact, the whole field of behaviorism is founded upon the belief that if you change the behavior using no matter what methods, you can solve the problem of unhappiness and the resulting antisocial behavior, which is considered an illness. It would seem that if men and women could be freed of the constricting roles which bind them or by which they define themselves that crimes such as rape and prostitution (of which women, black women in particular, are victims) would vanish. If for one time in history the integrity of human relationships were put on a higher and more important level than a business contract, then untold amounts of human suffering and costly waste would vanish.

As a woman and as a lesbian, I consider the relationship in which sexual expression occurs much more important than physical aspects of the relationship. The expression of one's self cannot occur in a climate where one of the members of the situation has more power or greater importance than the other.

Many persons fall in love with someone of the same sex because they and the other person

are equals, therefore they can expect to achieve true expression and openness. Men with other men are not obliged to control or manipulate the situation, and women with other women are not obliged to submit to control or manipulation. That is not to say that the same situation cannot occur in a heterosexual relationship, but there is more shit to cut through since the male in such a situation usually does not want to relinquish his power or see that it is oppressive. When a woman in a gay relationship becomes oppressive, the power play is much easier to deal with as she can be shown quite readily in which ways she is being oppressive just as a man would be.

In looking at the standards used by straight society regarding the oppressive and repressive nature of many gays, one must understand where people have come from. It must be understood that many people have had their lives so mutilated by straight society that they instinctively feel defensive and can no longer open themselves up to the possibility of destruction. This is the primary reason that the gay movement is so young in age and small in number. The men and women who were unfortunate enough to be discovered 5-20 years ago have often been so destroyed that they will never lend anything but the most private support to the movement. There are many lesbians I know personally who were kicked out of high school or college in disgrace, had their love letters mimeographed and given to psychiatrists, lost their lovers through suicides, have been blackmailed, barred from professions as innocuous as beauticians or cab drivers, lost their children or have been institutionalized for months or even years for the simple act of loving another woman. It is interesting to note that the greatest persecution comes when you first come out, your first romance of 16 or 17 years old. Imagine if the response given to the first love of a heterosexual boy and girl were this kind of treatment. In most cases it is the result of the discovery of love letters; often the relationship has included no type of sexual experience, and the parties involved are usually being punished for something which they don't understand at all. It is not uncommon for a young woman to

fall in love with one of her friends, not even really knowing there is such a social term as homosexuality until she is attacked and punished for being a lesbian. Many women heterosexuals are similarly punished on the basis of suspicion alone.

THIS IS THE WAY STRAIGHT SOCIETY SEEMS TO DEAL WITH ITS CHILDREN.

The toll in terms of money to cure the effects of such treatment is unbelievable. Many patients spend the bulk of their lives in mental hospitals because of such treatment, many go into prostitution or are forced into it by brutal men who play on their feelings of disgrace and insecurity. Many become guilt-ridden housewives, alcoholics, or straight frigid women, many have unwanted children to prove their capacities as women. Many become the victims of corrupt vice squad activities, fill the pockets of the mafia in payoffs in bars and clubs. The most tragic of all -- many, far too many, are the victims of their own self-hatred who become nothing more than suicide statistics. Often in suicide notes there are indications that some persons are so convinced and fearful of their homosexuality, they will destroy their lives in order not to act out their inner beings.

I say all these things because gay people are numerous. I am sure that you have known many in your lifetime who fooled you with their covers. They were so afraid of telling you or themselves that they lived in secret agony enduring the destruction of countless loving relationships in favor of their cover. Many of these people may have been forced to give up a career to leave a dangerous situation or to avoid blackmail. They are your mothers or fathers, in many cases, sisters and brothers, friends, cousins, ministers, doctors, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. Usually these people have one or more societal crutches in order to allow escape from the torture of hiding.

We must all work together for the liberation of the human race which we have so expertly mangled. The problems confronting us today are such that no one can be excluded. Many happy, loving homes can be found for children, now in institutions, in the gay communi-



- would this be detrimental to the child? How could a loving environment possibly be more harmful to a child than life as a number in an institution? Simply because often have a much more innovative approach to a problem than people who have contented themselves with a role-oriented lifestyle. We are certainly part of an answer to the growing problem of population control, because we are not usually overwhelmed by the necessity of a biological tie between parents and children. We provide many of the answers to questions from women's liberation involving the nature of masculine and feminine abilities. For these reasons and because of the alternative and communal nature of our lifestyle, we are most hopeful for the day when the problems of all people will be dealt with in a socialistic spirit.

-your sister in revolution

Much of the contemporary literature coming from Third World women concerns itself with the participation of Third World women in the current women's liberation struggle. The dialog that emanates from this literature revolves around the argument of whether Chicanas should seek liberation only in terms of being Chicanas or in terms of being Chicanas and women as well. While some argue that the role of Chicanas should be that of resisting repression and American society alongside Chicanos, others argue that their role should be a dual one, that Chicanas should fight oppression not only because they are Chicanas but because they are women as well.

CHICANAS AND

Central to this argument is the fact that Chicanas are oppressed more for being from a visibly "alien" ethnic group than for being women. They are oppressed as women within their culture by machismo and by other means of oppression, for example, the Church and the strong opposition against birth control, abortion, and child care. The larger society promotes the oppression of the Chicana through job discrimination, racism, discrimination in education, welfare, prisons and so forth. Thus, Chicanas are oppressed along the three lines of racism, class, and sexism, whereas the women who make up the middle class women's liberation movement are oppressed insofar as they are women; they are oppressed as a class.

The Chicana must resist both as a woman and a Chicana. She must resist the chauvinism of her carnales, and the seductive overtures to self-destruction of the larger society. The Chicana must realize that freedom cannot be the prerogative of the other sex, and that "liberation" is meaningless if she has not participated. Freedom, in its most real and basic sense, cannot be, if it is not for everyone.

Chicanas must be allowed the freedom to combat sexism because sexism represses not only Chicanas but La Raza as a whole. The larger society utilizes sexist tactics like the dogma of anti-birth control and abortion to maintain an economic stranglehold on all Raza. Chicanos cannot gain

genuine freedom if they are oppressors; oppression imprisons both the victim and the oppressor; both are dehumanized.

The awareness of Chicanas is fast rising. In a survey from the first national Chicana conference, held May 28-30 in Houston, 84% of the women surveyed felt that they had not been encouraged to seek professional careers and that higher education is not considered important for Mexican women. Eighty-four percent agreed that women did not receive fair wages. When asked if married women and mothers who attended school were expected to do the housework, be responsible for children, cook and do the laundry while going to school, 100% of the women said they were. Eighty-eight percent agreed that a social double standard existed. When they were asked if they were discriminated against within La Raza, 72% said yes, none said no, and 28% voiced no opinion.

A better indicator of the awareness of the Chicana is the praxis of reflection transformed into action. Chicanas must resist through and around their own demands and through their own organization. In 1970 the women in MAPA (Mexican-American Political Association) formed a caucus at that organization's annual meet-

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

ing. A workshop on women was also held at a Latino Conference in Wisconsin in 1970. In Crystal City, Texas, women had to organize themselves. (Crystal City has become famous for the takeover of that city by the La Raza Unida Party.) Ciudadanos Unidos (United Citizens), the organization of the Chicano community in Crystal City, was limited to Chicanos, who made all the decisions. The women's auxiliary, Ciudadanas Unidas, invaded one of the men's meetings and demanded recognition as members on an equal basis. They got it.

There is new literature being devoted to Chicanas. There is a special section devoted to them in the newspaper, *El Grito Del Norte*, whose editor, incidentally, is a woman. The Chicana feminist newspaper, *Las Hijas de Cuahatemoc*, from Long Beach, California, is another example.

The white women's liberation



movement must begin to address itself to the problem of Third World women. Velia G. Hancock writes:

None of the predominantly white middle class, professional groups have come to grips with racism in American society or the deliberate role of the government in the oppression of Chicano people educationally and in every other way. These women are reformists in the liberal tradition. As a force for change they are basically irre-

levant to the Chicano people and, therefore, to Chicanas.

If the women's liberation movement truly wants to be a part of the change that is forthcoming, then it is imperative that it address and relate itself to Third World people. If they do not, they run the risk of achieving "liberation" along the lines and terms of their oppressors; that is to say, the very fact that the middle class women's movement is white implies that it is basically racist, another "whites only" organization.

Nikki Giovanni

It's a question of power
which we must wield
if it is not
to be wielded
against us.

Our Collective Effort

We, as a group of women, tried to meet. We failed. It is only after many attempts to break through barriers that we began to understand the reasons for our failure. We don't believe that our single example means that women's groups inevitably have to fall apart, but they do have many obstacles to overcome.

What are they?

In addition to varied personalities, women have problems over and above those that are encountered by any other group. Because women aren't accustomed to working together in exclusively female groups, we had difficulties in assuming leadership, taking initiative and responsibility. These difficulties shouldn't necessarily be a disadvantage; no one should have to be a leader. A new and better kind of group should be developed where every one takes part in the decision making and organizing.

We are so used to working individually that we have no conception of how to work together as a group. Making a commitment is necessary for the survival of the group. This is something that we as sisters must learn to do.

Group experience is demanding. Many of us were afraid that if we became leaders, all the work would fall

on our shoulders. No one was willing to risk exposing herself--there was always the chance of being resented or attacked. No one wanted to appear ignorant, nor to be held responsible for possible failure. We were all on the defensive from the start. Not only were we pessimistic, but we were often apathetic as well.

We came to the group with various motives, most of us with a feeling of forced obligation which resulted in resentment. One of us (Vendy) came with the expectation of intellectual stimulation. Nancy came with expectations of experiencing sisterhood through a study group situation.

We all started with vague hopes of a strong group materializing, but we were too easily discouraged. Why? How much of this has to do with the fact that we are female? Very little, we think. Rather, it is a reflection upon our socialization as women.

Our hostilities were eventually all brought out into the open and our defensiveness disappeared. We talked freely and began to know each other and like each other. We had finally become a group. Through a recognition of our initial failures we, in fact, succeeded. As proof, we submit this article to you.

"You can not skate," said Mark.
Down you go!
Come on! Get up!
I will help you skate."

"I can skate just like you," said Janet.
"You do not have to help me. But I do not want to skate. Not now!"

"Look at her, Mother," said Mark.
Just look at her.
She is just like a girl.
She gives up."

She is just like a girl!

This is an example of negative self-image and a blatant example of negative sexism perpetuated by the public school system. This quote was taken from Around the Corner, a first grade textbook from the California State Series which is currently being used in the Santa Cruz City Schools. We chose this series because all children in public schools must read them.

"Women on Words and Images", a group in New Jersey, did a survey of 144 elementary readers from 15 major series. They found 900 stories with a boy as the main character as opposed to 344 stories with a girl as the main character.

In the illustrations of the textbooks we studied, the boys are pictured as capable, independent, and aggressive. The girls are pictured as docile, silly, and insecure. A survey of one textbook chosen at random revealed that there were twice as many pictures of boys than girls; 79% of the illustrations of boys were showing some form of action as opposed to only 27% of the pictures of girls showing them to be active.

Most of the texts were "progressive" enough to show one or two Third World characters in a white middle-class suburban setting. Usually a Third World child is the member of a white circle of friends. Rarely is the story centered around a Third World family.

Despite the fact that 29 million mothers work, the women in the textbooks we examined were almost without exception mothers and housewives. This perpetuates the myth that the woman's place is in the home, although 15% of working women are heads of households.

Behavior is prescribed for young girls even before they leave home and is categorically reinforced in the schools. Girls are expected to be silly, but compassionate, to be talkative, but not curious.

"Daddy look here," said Janet. "What is this big word?"

"Imagination," said Daddy. "That is a big word for a little girl like you."

Through the lack of positive reinforcement the curiosity of girls is stifled.



In one poem in a second grade reader, the girl sounds more like a rock or tree rather than the youthful, playing child we are accustomed to.

Ellen on a hill-top
Ellen on a hill
Ellen on a hill-top-hill
Still, still, still.

The nuclear family structure in textbooks seldom draws on the reality of American life today. The stories primarily revolve around familial situations. However these families are never faced with the common problems of unemployment, divorce, alcoholism, death, or any other traumas for a young child.

This literature, used in our public schools today is serving to reinforce, extend, and finalize the socialization into sex roles already rooted in children before they reach school. Thus, the world of the textbook is a small one, destructive at worst, and grossly unrepresentative of the world and life at best.

SMILE and BEGUILLE

In a cross section of popular fiction designed to appeal to students in the 3rd to 6th grades, the image of the female relies consistently on traditionally accepted roles.

Usually the adventurous girl is a far cry from the ideal beauty, the most desirable female. She is athletic and plain, never as attractive as her "feminine" counterpart. The idea of "desirability" implies a sexist view of what the tomboy should eventually look like as a mature, grown-up woman: graceful, alluring, innocent, beguiling, and white.

Of the books available in public libraries and schools, none speak to third world children. Rather they reflect white middle-class values, both economic and aesthetic. It is racist that girls in this literature must envy their mother and sister, their closest feminine models, for their blond hair and blue eyes, while associating dark hair and skin with unattractiveness.

In a typical book, Quest Crosstine, by Andre Norton, the main female character tries to escape her affluent heritage. Certainly a poor child could not relate to this conflict. And how many third world children would identify with this description of her?

"Delicate features, a skin which was ivory pale, with only closely pressed lips providing color, her face had the elegance of breeding, tending and cherishing."



The "feminine" female lends herself better than the tomboy to the transition from little girl to motherhood. In contrast to the tomboy's consideration of boys as companions, the "feminine" girl sees boys first as romantic possibilities.

Especially in fiction directed toward pre-adolescent boys, the

girl's life is centered around the boy's life and his interests. In a typical boy's book concerning a football star, the reader is led to believe that the female's every waking hour is concentrated upon the boys on the team. She does no more than dream and wait for phone calls. Her life becomes a function of his expectations and needs. This selfless willingness to be upstaged will be particularly "helpful" when the female finds herself in the traditional role of wife and mother. The old-fashioned girl of Louisa May Alcott's period displays traits still maintained today. She is honest and unassuming, accepting her duties and role as right and proper since she is entirely devoted to others' happiness. The mother's traditional role is precisely this: looking after children's interests, shopping for groceries, cleaning house, all of which keep the household running smoothly for the husband's and children's happiness.

Pre-adolescent fiction perpetuates destructive stereotypes--male superiority, female passivity and eventual acceptance of the traditional white middle-class role of wife and mother. Even when the female character does not fit the stereotype, the boy often assumes the dominant position. The only well-read books that approach an equality between the sexes concern fantasy and imagination. It is ironic that equality in this fiction only exists in books which create worlds removed from real social experience.

The following is a list of available titles suggested by Feminists on Children's Media which attempt to break the limitations of traditional fiction.

1. The Borrowers--Norton
2. Rendezvous in Vera Cruz--Hart
3. Katherine Leslie--Beyer
4. Queenie Peavy--Burch
5. Harriet the Spy--Fitzhugh
6. A Wrinkle in Time--L'Engle
7. Shirley Chisholm: A Biography--Brownmiller
8. Journey Towards Freedom: The Story of Sojourner Truth--Bernard
9. Margaret Sanger: Pioneer of Birth Control--Lader & Meltzer
10. The Tamarack Tree--Underwood

BEHIND THE WALLS

Women in prison have been the forgotten women. All women are cast into the psychic and social prison of sexist role traditions in this society. And it has only been through the collective struggle of raising our consciousness about ourselves as female human beings that women on the outside have begun to break the chains which have kept us in male bondage. For women in prison, the struggle has barely begun. The writings of Cleaver and Jackson and the recent publicity from Attica have drawn our attention to the social inequities that are most blatantly manifested in our penal system. But nowhere in the popular literature or media releases is attention given to the dilemma of incarcerated women. Even the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, the most thorough official document on crime and corrections, fails to include even one paragraph on the female offender. Women in prison (who constitute a substantial portion of the 500,000 women who are arrested in this country each year) are beginning to move toward solidarity among themselves and to confront the discriminatory reasons which have led to their incarceration. But it is in every way a slow and uphill battle. The crimes committed by women reflect the economic oppression against them as women, and it is the poorest women in society who go to jail. Poor women, as all women, are schooled and seduced into the belief that their personal fulfillment derives from sexual desirability complemented by a setting of material affluence, and that individual solutions must be sought for individual problems. Thus, women whose income is insufficient to provide even a modest physical security may engage in larceny (e.g. shoplifting) or prostitution, the most common female crimes. Female crimes are usually without victims, and in those rare instances of violent female crimes (.2% of all arrests) the victims are generally those implicated in the woman's frustration of domestic imprisonment--i.e. husbands, lovers or children. Upon entry into prison a woman remains victimized by her sexual oppression. She endeavors to achieve her "rehabilitation" by submitting to the same dependency roles for which the society has preconditioned her and which the prison demands of her. With outward passivity, she accepts the statistically authoritarian attitudes of prison staffs. She undergoes a hysterectomy or is persua-

ded to give her children up for adoption. She enters job training programs which prepare her for a "career" as a laundress, a housekeeper, or, if she's lucky, a stenographer. If she overtly rebels against the institutional controls, or if she falls into hysterics or depression in response to the rigid oppressiveness of her prison existence, she is punished, placed in isolation from the other inmates, treated as a stupid or sick child, and often sent to custodial units for the mentally ill. There are increasing numbers of women in our prisons who have a clear social analysis of our penal system and who are encouraging their sisters to combat the racist, sexist and class traditions which are the foundation of that system. The movement is seriously thwarted by the reality that women have been taught to distrust one another and to face each other as competitors for favors and advantages. Only when women in prison can recognize that the women who share their cages are sisters in a universal struggle for liberation--only then will there be any significant break in their shared oppression. Only when those of us on the outside can recognize that our own struggle cannot be separated from that of our forgotten sisters behind the walls will sisterhood among women in prison be realized.



BUY ME THAT MAN!

Ellen Hawthorne stood before the mirror appraising herself frankly. She had a nice figure, a fine short nose, rich brown hair, and, behind her horn-rimmed glasses, her eyes were surprisingly pretty. But despite her pleasant appearance, Ellen was unhappy with the way she looked.

"If only I could look like Patty," she thought, gazing critically at her reflection. "Oh, these glasses! If only Dad could afford contact lenses, life would be so much easier."

The sound of her mother's voice interrupted Ellen's speculation. "Ellen! Hurry up, you'll be late for school."

"I'm coming, Mom," Ellen replied, grabbing her books and giving her hair a final pat before running quickly down the stairs. She ran to the corner where she met pretty, blonde Patty, her best friend and the most popular girl in school.

"Hi, Ellen" opened Patty brightly, "I have the greatest news! You know Jimmy Mac Dowell, the new boy who plays football and owns that green-Camero? Well, he asked me to the Prom!"

"No!" said Ellen excitedly, "But what about Don Stover?"

"Well, he is awfully darned cute, that's true," replied Patty, "But I just don't think he's interested in girls. Anyway, last night Jimmy said...." and thus the girls chattered on as they approached Eisenhower High.

Later, as she sat in English class remembering her conversation with Patty, Ellen thought about her own plight -- she had no date for the Prom, and no real hopefulness on the horizon. A stir in the front of the room distracted her as Don Stover sauntered in with cool assurance.

"Gosh, he is cute," thought Ellen. "No wonder Patty liked him so. Oh, but if he doesn't even look at Patty, the prettiest girl in the school, why would he ever like someone like me?" Her heart suddenly began to pound as she noticed Don approaching. Putting on the smile she had practiced so often in the mirror till it had the natural sweetness and openness of a Seventeen model, Ellen's eyes followed Don beneath lowered lashes. Don, tall and handsome in his blue sport shirt, sleeves rolled up revealing his muscular fore-

arms, gave Ellen a smile and nod before taking the seat in front of her. Before Ellen could digest this unexpected pleasure, Mrs. MacMillan walked in and the class came to attention.

"Here, class, are the forms for the essay contest: 'What the American Flag Means to Me.' This year's winner will read his essay to the entire PTA, and receive \$25 prize money."

"I bet I could do a good job on a subject like that," thought Ellen, opening her English book. "And, if I win, I can start saving for my contacts...."

That afternoon as they walked home, Ellen mentioned the contest to Patty, remarking that she had some good ideas for the essay and inquiring if Patty had thought about it. Patty had more important things to think about, though, shopping for a formal that afternoon and trying out a new hairdo that night. She did mention however, that Don Stover was entering; he needed the money to buy his letter jacket.

That night, lying in bed, Ellen's thoughts returned again to the contest. "Patty says Don's going to enter it," she recalled. "I'm sure I can do better than him, but do I really want to? He'd never like me if I beat him, and especially after he smiled at me today and everything. Maybe I could help him win instead! Then he's sure to like me!" Dreaming happily of Don saying endearingly, "I never could have made it without you, Ellen," she drifted into sleep, a smile playing on her lips.

The next day Ellen approached Don, and, trembling, asked him if he was going to enter the contest, and offered to help him.

"Gee, would you? Gosh, that would be swell! Listen, I'll come over to your house tomorrow night at 8:00 and we can work on it."

She had time only to smile and nod before class began, but inside Ellen was quivering with joy. "He's coming to my house!" she told herself dazedly, "to see me!" Shakespeare was lost to Ellen that day as she sat staring at Don's back, deep in thought about the preparations she had to make for the big night.

That evening thumbing through an American Girl magazine, Ellen thought, "Gee, if I could look like one of these girls, then Don

might even ask me to the Prom! Oh! Then I could get a dress like this. And with my new Frosty Pearl lipstick, it'll be divine. And then if... Oh, what's the use? I'll never be pretty like these girls. But maybe if I try doing something with my hair..."

At that moment Patty came over. She began to set Ellen's hair, getting excited with the prospect of doing a "Seventeen make-over" on Ellen. "You know, you wouldn't look half-bad if you did your hair this way, and maybe if you tried a darker shade of mascara and some eye shadow..."

Later, sitting under the hair-dryer, Ellen read through a book which Patty had lent her, 33 Steps to Popularity. "Patty is such a friend to help me like this," thought Ellen. "Now if only I can remember to do the right things!"

The next evening at eight sharp, the doorbell rang. After proudly introducing Don to her parents, Ellen settled down to the task of writing Don's essay, while Don spent the time deep in conversation with Ellen's father about Detroit's chances of taking the pennant. As she sat writing, ankles crossed daintily and her fresh, practiced smile on her lips, Ellen kept in mind the hints she'd read about the night before. When she had finished and they sat talk-

ing over their snack of cookies and milk, Don began to thank her:

"You're such a nice girl, Ellen. You're just swell; I know my essay will win first prize."

After that night, Ellen and Don began seeing each other more and more. English became a joy for Ellen because Don sat in front of her every single day. And then Friday came-- the day the contest winner was to be announced! A hush descended when Mrs. Mac Millan walked into the room. Looking about her, she said smilingly, "As you know, we have the results of the big contest and I'm happy to announce the big winner-- Mr. Don Stover!"

Don, forgetting the class, hugged Ellen elatedly. "I did it, Ellie. I did it!"

That afternoon Don walked Ellen home from school. Halfway home he tucked her hand into his saying as if he'd heard her dream, "You're so great, Ellie, I never could have made it without you!" When they reached her doorstep, he stepped closer to Ellen and said, his voice suddenly serious, "You are really my kind of girl, Ellie. Will you go to the Prom with me?"

Ellen whispered, "Yes," with joy as he drew her to him, and, removing her glasses, he kissed her fervently, lovingly, saying more in this one gesture than words ever could.

Cookie Allen "I am a woman"

Poem II

To all the beautiful poets
the men of the midnight brigade
Dealers in feminine mysteries
for sale or for lease or for trade
You come looking for God in my body
You leave when you find only me
Denying my visions
Revising my prison
then demanding your right to be free
Well I'm changing the password
changing the locks
I'll grow the garden again
And when you come knocking
Your word is your hands
I won't let you in

"Oh, I think most women want to be married." "So do most men, but they don't make it their prime aim in life."

---Cocktail party conversation, 1969



Use it--hot stinky.

ROSA LUXEMBURG

I have been staring at this paper for over an hour without having thought of anything to write down on it. I said to myself over an hour ago, "Writing an article about someone as exciting and important as Rosa Luxemburg should be an easy task." But here I still sit, with no article.

The problem is not lack of material or lack of enthusiasm; in fact, I'm afraid I have an overabundance of both, and that is probably where the root of the problem lies. I just don't know where to begin! I have so much that is so important to me, that I really feel like I have to share it with my sisters, but I can't write a whole book (or three or four), so I really have to limit it to the basics.

First of all, who exactly is Rosa Luxemburg? She is a woman who lived from 1871 to 1919, and she wrote some pretty far-out books and pamphlets about politics and revolution. She was a Marxist, and most of her writings deal with marxism and her interpretations of marxism.

Okay, so why is that so important? (During the same period people like Lenin, Trotsky, Rebel --all marxists--were writing about Marx.) Their theories are really famous, but Rosa Luxemburg is the only one of this assortment of Marxist writers who was a woman. I think she is of vast importance because she maintained her own strength and integrity as a woman --refusing to yield to theoretical pressure from other famous Marxists.

Two main themes in Rosa Luxemburg's writings show up today in struggles for liberation. 1) Her position that once the proletarian movement is begun, its final goal, socialism, is necessary and inevitable. This doesn't mean that Rosa Luxemburg advocated sitting around on one's ass and waiting for the "inevitable." On the contrary, she was firmly opposed to such methods. Nor did she advocate directing everything in the movement towards immediate results. In fact, she opposed a man named Eduard Bernstein, a leading German socialist, who started what was called the revisionist movement in socialism. His philosophy was exactly this: "The final goal, whatever it may be, is nothing to me; the movement is everything."

Bernstein built a whole movement out of this commitment. He dealt mainly with attempts to revise the capitalist system through the passage of socialist laws (and for that purpose trying to elect a socialist majority on the legislature); he also encouraged organizing labor unions to demand things like higher wages and more benefits, things that were needed, but not as ends in themselves. Higher wages for workers would not take away capitalist oppression; workers still had to sell their labor.

Rosa Luxemburg, in response to Eduard Bernstein's revisionism, wrote what is probably her most widely-read pamphlet, "Social Reform or Revolution?", in which she says, "the final goal of socialism is the only decisive factor distinguishing the social democratic movement from bourgeois democracy and bourgeois radicalism, the only factor transforming the entire labor movement from a vain attempt to repair the capitalist order into a class struggle against this order, for the suppression of this order."



2) The second important aspect of her theory was her position as an internationalist. This is one of her key philosophies, and I find it especially attuned to the kind of people's movements that are building these days. To use an historical example, during the late 1800's, when Poland was divided up between Russia and Austria, the official Polish Socialist Party (the PPS) demanded, in addition to a proletarian revolution, a Polish nationalist revolution, that would take the ruling

of Poland out of the hands of Austria and Russia and give it back to Poland. But Rosa Luxemburg argued that that would amount to handing the government from one set of pigs to another, that Polish capitalists were just as oppressive to the Polish people as were Austrian and Russian capitalists. Her alternative was an international proletarian revolution and the establishment of international workers' and soldiers' councils, which in matters of policy would have final jurisdiction over any national or local councils. Thus the workers would achieve a truly equal proletarian government.

This internationalism reflects a way of thinking that even we in the United States must consider in

building our people's movements: the idea that all people who are fighting for the same cause (or against the same enemy) must fight together. By uniting the movements of the people, by recognizing exactly who our sisters and brothers are, we will be more aware of who the enemy really is: white male capitalism. But this unity must be strong, not some wishy-washy, superficial handshake. Rosa Luxemburg said, "Comrades! Don't be caught in the old phrase about the unity which would build strength.... Indeed, union makes strength -- but union of firm, inner conviction, not an external, mechanical coupling of elements that oppose each other internally. Strength lies not in our numbers but in our spirit, in the clarity and energy animating us."

LETTER FROM GETHEN

An Open Letter to Our Sisters in Santa Cruz:

Though we arrived here on Gethen two years ago, this is our first attempt to write you a coherent account of our personal reactions to these people and their society. We came from Earth as people interested in studying other human beings on another planet, and we have found that much of what we learned here is relevant to our own society.

We had studied all the available information on the cultures of this planet before we left and were familiar with the basic biological data. We were very interested in the fact that the Gethenians are neither female nor male nor neuter. They are people, human beings exactly like ourselves, except that their gender-sexuality is relevant for only one-sixth of their life. Once a month, each person is fertile (is in "kemmer") and capable of carrying out a female or male role in reproduction. Hence, the Gethenian is not an asexual being -- each person's assumption of a female or male genital role is a matter of chance each month. Despite this lack of consistent sexual roles, each person does have a strong sexuality and a warm attachment to their family.

When we arrived here, we expected to immediately begin studying the cultural effects of this crucial biological difference. But we had to gradually learn how to accept the Gethenians, not as women or men, but as individuals. We had expected to have an advantage in overcoming the initial culture shock because of our involvement in the women's movement. Realizing our inability to do this, however, made us aware of how far our liberation still has to go. Our greatest problem was our overconfidence, which we solved only when we finally humbly admitted to ourselves our lack of liberation. Can you, our sisters, imagine what it is like not to automatically place people into one of two distinct, separate categories? When we can no longer categorize people that way, we must treat them as individuals. Our experience, though painful, is an education that we recommend to everyone.

When we first met the Gethenians, they seemed to have extraordinarily strong personalities. Now that we know them better, we can see that our reaction was because we were used to the dualism of a female or a male personality. Each Gethenian, however, has the strength of the unification of all potential personalities. At first,



we had tended to see a Gethenian as acting like a woman sometimes and like a man sometimes. We were forced to unify our perceptions to handle the reality of our experience. Their impression of us is also enlightening. They call us perverts because, like a few abnormal Gethenians, we are locked into one sexual role and they see our humanity as limited.

Obviously, everyone here is equally likely to become pregnant and bear children. The consequence is that unquestioned provisions are made for maternity leaves and children are raised communally. There is no division between mother-love and father-love, and there is no mystique surrounding pregnancy, birth, and motherhood. Exploitative sex is impossible -- there is no rape or unwilling seduction because when they are in kemmer, both partners must respond equally.

Of course, the biological situation of the Gethenians is no solution to our problems as women on Earth. Because they are all of one sex, sexism could never have existed -- to be sexist on Gethen would be to oppress one's self. We believe, however, that the existence of two sexes on Earth does not automatically imply the impossibility of freeing ourselves from sexism. Even on Earth, the idea of 'humanness', rather than female or maleness, is important; on Gethen, it is the only consideration. Living on Gethen has forced us to react to the qualities of humanness in others to the point where we now find Earth's sexist distinctions simply absurd. The entrenched nature of sexism on Earth and its

intimate connection with and dependence on other varieties of oppression (racism, capitalism, etc.) make the task of ridding this society of sexism difficult -- but nevertheless possible through collective effort. Certainly Gethen offers us no way out; however, it can be an enlightening example for all people concerned with the potentialities of the liberated human being.

Our largest remaining problem is that we must write this report in English. We have become used to speaking and thinking in several Gethenian languages. Naturally, they have only one pronoun for a person. The only time they distinguish female from male is in human pregnancy and in animals. English is more treacherous, because it is so unconsciously sexist. We have had to be very careful with our language in this report. We think that this is one of the best arguments for a new indefinite pronoun in English. All such changes would help to eliminate sexism from our thinking. English-speaking people on Gethen who have continued to use the English male pronoun in speaking of Gethenians have had the most difficulty in adjusting to this culture.

We send you this letter with encouragement for struggling together in hope for a true understanding between all human beings.

Your sisters on Gethen

Gethen is a hypothetical world in Ursula LeGuin's book The Left Hand of Darkness. We recommend it to everyone concerned with People Liberation.

JOY

by Evelyn Sanchez

Happiness and playful times,
Swimming pools and troubled times.

Restlessness, sweat and riots,
And young girls going on diets.

Air pollution, street invasions,
Tree and flower contemplation.

All the faces you can see
Appear in summer's ecstasy.

Flowers bloom, people die,
While some eat, others cry.

Some are laughing, playing, singing,
Others fighting, bowing, killing.

Joy is dead, hatred blooms.

at whose expense?

"It is but yesterday that women either have been qualified by literary accomplishments, or permitted by society, to tell anything to the general public. As yet very few of them dare tell anything, which men, on whom their literary success depends, are unwilling to hear."
--J.S. Mill, The Subjection of Women, 1869.

A century has passed since J.S. Mill made this observation. He referred to women, to writers in particular. He writes concisely and, to the dismay of some though to the comfort of others, his words are still strikingly accurate. For women in search of literary success, there are compromises to be made, editors to please, publishers to court, and critics to placate. For women whose concern is not literary success, the question is not whether they "dare to tell anything." In our society one can dare to tell--but publishers can refuse to print, critics can dismiss or ignore. Although success depends on certain men, so does "access"--access to the media, to the publishing houses, to the journals and the newspapers. Unfortunately, information and communication are controlled by these media in this country.

During the past year, however, there have been innumerable articles, books, interviews dedicated to women, to their social and political questions as well as to their literary and historical prose. It seems clear that an increasingly larger public is now willing to hear, although there is distrust on one side and distortion on the other. Hopefully, we have learned a lesson from the Women's Rights Movement during the first decades of the 20th century. They sought suffrage at all costs, and the cost was in terms of blacks, of labor, and of poor immigrants. The lesson: whatever we gain as women will not be at the expense of those whose interests are consistently served by the powerful institutions of our country. At the same time, to think we gain access or success gratuitous-

ly is naive--naive the first time but then opportunistic. What we must ask ourselves, however, is what we strive to attain, on whose terms, and at whose expense.

It is crucial that women write, that we be heard and read, and that we study and learn. Almost every book or magazine we have read since our earliest years has reinforced certain social attitudes, certain beliefs and roles, which together lead us into a semi-hypnotic state of acceptance. There are questions we never learn to ask; there are assumptions so insidiously ingrained in us that we have no reason to suspect their existence.

Until recently most women and men thought it natural, perhaps inevitable, that the history we studied in high school, junior high school or college be confined to the exploits of a few powerful men, with no reference to women outside a small sub-section on the nineteenth amendment, relegated to the back of a chapter. It was through a recognition of what was left unsaid that we formulated our protest. We know how difficult it is to question something which becomes apparent only through its absence. We have doubted the existence of such a history, because none of our teachers or scholars had or cared to have knowledge of it. Now there are books and courses on women's history, on the exploits of the most famous women, on the events culminating in the present women's movement. But do we still question what is absent? How aware are we of what our immediate experience fails to reveal? If the present curriculum in schools and colleges can be termed a "white males' studies" program is what many women hope to establish a "white women's studies" program?

When we examine books--textbooks or fiction--which our teachers have required, our libraries made available, we find that our education has been a process of miseducation through a very deceptive and methodical process of exclusion. Women are not only cast into sexually defined and constrict-

ing roles, but the roles we observe and tend to acknowledge conform to a pattern of life characteristic of white middle class society.

Ethnocentricity is one of the most predominant factors which determines our view of the world, of life and society. Its effectiveness comes from the fact that it is absorbed unconsciously and, therefore, accepted unknowingly. Its presence is revealed through absence, through what is left unsaid.

Since we learn to generalize from our own experience, often we assume that certain values as well as certain problems have universal application. As women we should realize the danger inherent in this kind of thinking. Many of us, as white women raised with the cultural and social outlook of the middle class, forget the lesson of our own awakening and fail to question what is not there. Sometimes we overlook as we have been overlooked and discredited as we have been discredited.

If we reword the quote by J.S. Mill which appears at the beginning to read "non-white" or "third world" instead of "women", the parable may seem obvious. We should, however, change "men" to "white men and women", because that "unwillingness to hear" is something few of us have overcome. Yet there are important distinctions and qualifications to be made. "Success" is defined by and, therefore, depends on those who control "access" to jobs, universities, professions, and power. Not too many women can be included in that social and political category; so if white women are not responsive, the consequences are harder to observe but equally destructive. "Success" and "access" in contemporary American society depend, in fact, on power, and if what women (white or otherwise) desire is access to or success within this society, then the end will be complicity and not liberation. Perhaps the rhetorical simplicity of this statement suggests that the problem is a false one. It is not. Nor are the choices and alternatives clear. "Access" to the media or to the classroom is essential, because there are questions we must raise which we have not yet heard formulated; there is information withheld which we must bring forward.

We have not been insulated or isolated completely, but we have been systematically discouraged



from overcoming our own limitations. Ask why a particular author does not treat problems relevant to the poor, to the non-white, and you will be told to judge a writer by what she/he includes, not what she/he omits. Ask why a teacher only uses books written by white males on white society, and you will be told that she/he can only include what she/he knows. Why isn't the teacher familiar with other materials? A circular argument. If you can't judge someone by what she/he chooses to include or exclude, if you can't expect a teacher to cover materials unknown to her/him, then, quite obviously, change is haphazard and arbitrary at best, usually illusive. Responsibility for change is shifted in an effective and deliberate way from those who control to those who do not. An example: those in control would have us believe that it is the individual motorist's responsibility not to pollute the air. Meanwhile, the large corporations do irreparable damage and profit simultaneously with a new line of anti-pollutants for the individual consumer. Again, we are asked to accept the fact that it is the student's responsibility to learn about racism, imperialism, sexism, while the University itself hires mainly white males, does counter-insurgency research (UC), and invests in South Africa (Harvard University).

Clearly, we cannot depend on those in control to educate us about that control nor to give us "access" if our purposes are at odds with theirs. Our responsibility then must be to ourselves and to each other; it must be to judge and criticize ourselves for what we omit or choose to include. We cannot afford to perpetuate the weakest traits we were socialized to accept. If women choose to study only the literature written by and/or for us, we choose not to study literature written by and/or for ethnic minorities in the U.S.--majorities in the world. To struggle for "access" to and "success" in society as it is means that the only change we would experience is the incorporation of professional women into that same controlling group whose power we now condemn. And at whose expense?



WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND RACISM



We are learning "lest history repeat itself" that the women's suffrage movement was for middle class white women, that those women were racist and that they sold

out. The warning is clear: unless we're careful, we'll sell out too. Partly because no one has clearly explained the historical situation, one wanders around anxiously without any clear idea of how to be "careful". We have little way to judge what acts will be "selling out" and what ones will not be.

So let's take a brief look at one pertinent aspect of the historical case. Most historians see the 1890's as the beginning of the more conservative period in the women's suffrage struggle. This movement that had formed alongside and within the abolitionist movement, that had based its claim for women's suffrage on the inherent rights of all human beings, was being transformed into a movement that went on record in 1899 sanctioning the separation of women's rights from Black's rights. How do we account for the change?

In 1890, "justice" and the "natural rights of all human beings" no longer attracted enough supporters to the women's movement. People believed in government of the "intelligent". The "intelligent" would take care of the "unfit" elements of the population, preparing them for "democracy".

Arguments poured forth from the South about how women's suffrage would insure white supremacy, and from the North about how women should use the vote to transform the "unfit" portions of society, and clean up the cities and the world. The movement was exploiting the fears of the people: if white women could vote, they argued, WASP values could be maintained. Racism was being used to enlarge and strengthen the base of the movement. Even if a woman disagreed with the racism being expressed openly around her, she either passively tolerated it, or expeditiously used it to further the cause of women's suffrage.

The question remains, who sold out? The wealthy Southern woman who never believed in the inalienable rights of all people can not be accused of "selling out": nor can the equally racist Northern woman who wanted to strengthen the white home and tame the foreign swarms in her city. It appears that both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony sold

out. But how and why did they do what they did? Anthony supported the 1899 statement of the separateness of women's rights from Black's rights. She had lost the sense of their interdependency. In part this was because she had no theory to tie the parts together. In part she had decided upon her priorities and had set a political goal (the vote) and then went ahead to do what had to be done to achieve that goal. Was her mistake in choosing that goal originally, or was she suffering the consequences of not reevaluating her original aims?

I am wary of the apocalyptic generalizations used by some members of the left. "Things are getting worse and worse," or at least they tell us, "things haven't changed any". These simplifications are symptomatic of the misunderstanding of history. To avoid troubles in the future and to do justice to the complexities of the present and the past, I suggest that we get a more comprehensive sense of the past before we start preaching in its name.

In 1900 white people were racist, so it is not surprising that suffragists were racist too. But racism was expressed differently at the turn of the century than it is today. The women's suffrage movement didn't ignore or fail to notice third world people. It took racist stands to attract a larger following. While the women's suffrage movement involved women who supported other reforms besides the vote, the energies of its supporters were channeled into working for that one limited end--the vote.

Some questions we must ask ourselves: What are our goals? How do different issues connect? Are they interdependent and how? Let's get the connections stated specifically and clearly. What is the relationship between reforms we might work for now and the eventual goals of revolution? As we have seen, the women's suffrage movement attempted to be a mass based organization. Expediency was used to insure victory. Because the vote was pushed so hard, its value was often exaggerated. How do we work for and achieve short term projects without abandoning our long range goals?

My hope has been to initiate and contribute to discussion. For one historical account, see Aileen Kraditor's Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement.

FOR SAUNDEA

by Nikki Giovanni

i wanted to write
a poem
that rhymes
but revolution doesn't lend
itself to be-bopping
then my neighbor
who thinks i hate
asked-do you ever write
tree poems-i like trees
so i thought
'll write a beautiful green tree poem
peeked from my window
to check the image
noticed the school yard was covered
with asphalt
no green-no trees grow
in manhattan
then, well, i thought the sky
'll do a big blue sky poem
out all the clouds have winged
low since no-Dick was elected
so i thought again
and it occurred to me
maybe i shouldn't write
at all
but clean my gun
and check my kerosene supply
perhaps these are not poetic
times
at all

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

- Yosano Akiko



still would never
have woman lead
men in battle

men still relate
to men in serious
stuff