

win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

March 9, 1978 / 40¢



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Letters

The news from Denmark is bad, though not unexpected. On Feb. 2 the Supreme Court pronounced a "negative" judgement in the Christiania case (see WIN 4/1/76). The Defense Ministry now has the legal right to order Christiania evacuated, and to use police and military force to carry out such an order.

That is not the end! The Christianites and their friends are preparing for an active and massive defense of the free town, which will be based on the principles of nonviolence and openness. A former NATO general has written that their mobilization plan, now must be discussed in the Danish press, is "extremely clever and strategically well thought-out." It sounds quite a bit like May Day, 1971 in Washington—but better.

The best use of these preparations, of course, is to deter an attack, and to help the government see reasons. Some foreign pressure can help! I think letters from Americans to the Danish embassy in Washington will be a valuable contribution which we can make. I'm enclosing a copy of my letter, and I hope lots of WIN's readers will join me.

The issue is no longer a legal one, but concerns a social and political choice: should Christiania be destroyed? I strongly believe it should not be; there are good things there in Denmark, and for us to learn from as well. Please help!

—JOHN LAMPERTI
Norwich, Vt.

Ambassador Otto R. Borch
Embassy of Denmark
3200 Whitehaven St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Borch:

Your country has many friends in the United States, and for good reasons. I count myself among them. Although I do not have family roots in Denmark, I have long been interested in its history, language and customs. I have visited Denmark several times, and in 1972-73 was guest professor at Aarhus University where I had a most pleasant and profitable year.

I am writing to you at this time because I am very disturbed to see Denmark's government making what I believe to be a tragic and avoidable mistake. As you know, it was decided in 1976 that the community of Christiania should be forcibly closed "without unnecessary delay." The decision has been postponed because of court proceedings

but to the best of my knowledge still stands. This policy should be reconsidered at the first opportunity.

I became interested in the "social experiment" Christiania several years ago—at first through reading and correspondence, but also through a personal visit there last summer when I met many Christianites and learned more about their town. It seems obvious to me that Christiania is a valuable and unique asset for Denmark. The reasons include the opportunity it offers for "social losers" to lead independent lives outside of institutions and state supervision, the work done in Christiania to rehabilitate drug addicts and young delinquents, the exciting theater group Solvognen which has enriched Danish life, and the way in which Christiania has created employment and enterprise in a time of economic recession. And it is an asset not only for Denmark, but provides instruction and inspiration for people in other lands as well.

For these reasons, and others, it is hard for me to sympathize with the intention to destroy Christiania. Fortunately there is still every opportunity to avoid this calamity, even if the Supreme Court's ruling goes against the free town. I hope you will be willing to report to your government that there are friends of Denmark in this country who earnestly hope that the forcible, and possibly bloody, evacuation of Christiania is avoided at all costs, and that value of Christiania as a unique and exciting social experiment is recognized and continued.

With best wishes,
John Lamperti

I'm very pleased with the McReynolds review of my *Witnessing the Seventies* book (WIN 2/16/78). I'm embarrassed by his point—all too valid—that the book's price of \$12.95... is not the kind of odd change WIN readers carry on their persons." At any rate, the Newsletter has made a quantity purchase from Horizon Press which allows us to offer the book at special price to WIN readers: \$9.50. Mailed anywhere in US no extra charge. Outside US add 50¢. Make checks payable to THE NEWSLETTER, 5 Beekman Street, NYC 10038.

—SIDNEY BERNARD
New York, N.Y.

Thanks for another good year of valuable information. I depend on WIN more than ever since I moved out of Boston.

I especially appreciated Philip Zwerling's article "Gay Rights and the New Witch-hunt" (WIN 2/16/78). It's about time that heterosexuals began to deal with the homophobia that pervades this society and themselves. He makes the point quite well that the silence of the majority of heterosexuals on the issue of gay rights contributes to repression just as surely as the hateful ravings of right-wing reactionaries. I hope that other heterosexuals will accept the responsibility of dealing with their prejudices and of confronting the repressive attitudes around them.

Here's my renewal for another year of WIN. I agree with Catharine Lowe in wanting to see more feminist consciousness in the magazine, but I want to be reading it as that happens.

—SUSAN BRACE
North Bennington, Vt.

I'm happy to read the article on gay rights by Philip Zwerling (WIN 2/16/78). It is eloquent & moving. But at the same time I'm keeping my fingers crossed that this isn't going to be your one gay article for the year. I hope WIN will include writing on gay issues by lesbians & gay men, not merely by radical heterosexual clergymen.

—MARK MORRIS
Santa Cruz, Calif.

It distresses me that in neither of the two articles WIN has had on the IWY Women's meeting in Houston has there been any mention of the fact that the agenda adopted contains a plank on "Peace and Disarmament."

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, for one, worked hard to get this issue included in the agenda. The wording is (excerpt from our national publication):

Peace and Disarmament Resolution
The President and the Congress should intensify efforts to:

- build, in cooperation with other nations, an international framework within which serious disarmament negotiations can occur;
- reduce military spending and foreign military sales, convert excessive weapons manufacturing capacity to production for meeting human needs;
- support peace education in schools and advanced study in the fields of conflict resolution and peace keeping.

To this end the United States should

take the lead in urging all nuclear powers to start phasing out their nuclear arsenals rather than escalating weapons development and deployment, and should develop initiatives to advance the cause of peace.

It seems to me that a publication like WIN should give publicity to this item, and urge its readers to point out in the organizations of women with which they have ties, that funds for implementing the important goals of jobs, child care, education, health, etc. can only be found by cutting military expenditures. The forthcoming U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, May 23-June 28, offers an opportunity for all of us who understand the importance of changing national (and international) priorities to press for steps to start this process. As long as such a major part of the world's resources are devoted to armaments—over \$350 billion per year—people everywhere are short changed. Letters to the President and the State Department (Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State, Washington, D.C. 20520) should urge US initiatives at the Special Session for the Zero Nuclear Weapons goal Jimmy talked about in his campaign and a cut in over-all arms spending.

The zip codes you gave Anne Lousky (WIN 2/23/78) were incomplete. The White House zip is 20500. ABC zip is 10019; CBS is 10019; NBC is 10020.

For nuclear power, she should write Environmental Protection Agency, 401 M St. SW, D.C. 20460. Senators, 20510. House of Representatives, 20515.

—ELEANOR FOWLER
Yardley, Penn.

Since John Lauritsen (letters, WIN 2/9/78) capitalizes the words "Truth" and "Censorship" perhaps he should also capitalize "The Enemy."

But the world is not quite so simple. We are placed in increasingly crowded theatres with many new ways of shouting "Fire!"—and unless we can find democratic new ways of encouraging or discouraging the flow of various kinds of information, this world will soon become quite uninhabitable for all, including would-be libertarians. —PETE SEEGER
Beacon, N.Y.

Ann Morrissett Davidson's description of "The Revolutionary Temperament" gave the typical pacifist's attitude toward revolution. Because she does not like the way revolutions are, she changes the definition of the word. Her new definition of revolution is similar to what use to be called a cocktail party. The guests arrive, argue about their ideas and ideals, embrace one another, and then go home for the night. How pleasant and wonderful is this illusionary world of Ms. Davidson.

Unfortunately, outside of Ms. Davidson's dream world, there is a world filled with pain and degradation; a world where exploitation, brutality, and torture are as common place as morning

coffee and donuts. The terror and madness of this world forces people to use violence.

It does no good to moralistically point a finger at violent revolutions. They are not something done out of choice. They are done out of necessity. At some point in people's lives the choice between slavery or peaceful dissent becomes no choice at all. Death or violent revolution are the only alternatives.

We must understand the Marxist materialist concept that existence determines consciousness. To a comfortable, middle class, college student or freelance writer, the idea of a peaceful revolution, even if it takes decades, sounds reasonable. To a 13 year old Korean girl, forced to work 12 hours a day in a factory, it sounds ridiculous. She will pick up a gun and fight at the first opportunity. And all the idealistic preachings of all the peace-mongers in the world will not stop her.

The role of the pacifist-revolutionary must not be to condemn this natural revolutionary violence as anti-revolutionary. If they do so, they are taking the side of the oppressor. Instead, the true pacifist-revolutionary will shout to the heavens that it is the state that has started the violence. He or she will be the first at the barricades, demanding the disarming of the police, the army, and the other thugs of the state. They will yell and write letters and march, not just when it is popular, but every minute of every day. They will realize that if they fail to stop oppression through peaceful methods, the oppressed will resort to violence to free themselves. And the true pacifist-revolutionary will not blame them, but will blame her or himself for not stopping the oppression in time.

—JAY RASKIN
New York, N.Y.

Patricia Mische is so right in reviewing the movie "Star Wars" (WIN 2/3/78). It is poisonous fare.

Do not drop your kid off at this movie: go with him or her, and comment aloud throughout. Adult reaction is much needed to bring it into focus for juvenile repeaters.

In addition to what Mische says, the movie is also anti-human. Only the robots are lovable: humans are colorless, meaningless, and very few.

—LOUISE T. ROBINSON
Worthington, Ohio

Enclosed please find a money order to cover my subscription to WIN Magazine. I've read WIN periodically over the past several years, and finally decided to send in this subscription so we'd have it coming regularly into the house!

Looking forward to receiving future issues, wishing you strength and peace in your work.

—SHELIA McFADZEAN
Regina, Saskatchewan
Canada



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In this issue for International Women's Day, WIN commemorates women's particular traditions of activism in the movement for social change. From the sweatshops of New York's Lower East Side to community health clinics in the Italian countryside, from the bedrooms to the boardrooms to the courtrooms, women have organized to demand control over our work, our bodies, our homes—every aspect of our lives where the dominion of patriarchy and corporate capitalism has been asserted.

In every sphere of life where our natural inclinations toward healthful and humane living have been obstructed, we are gathering our common strength, sharing our common experience, and rising up in outrage. Through this process we energize and revitalize each other; our vision for humanity becomes real. For International Women's Day we offer these perspectives on that vision to all our comrades in the Movement.

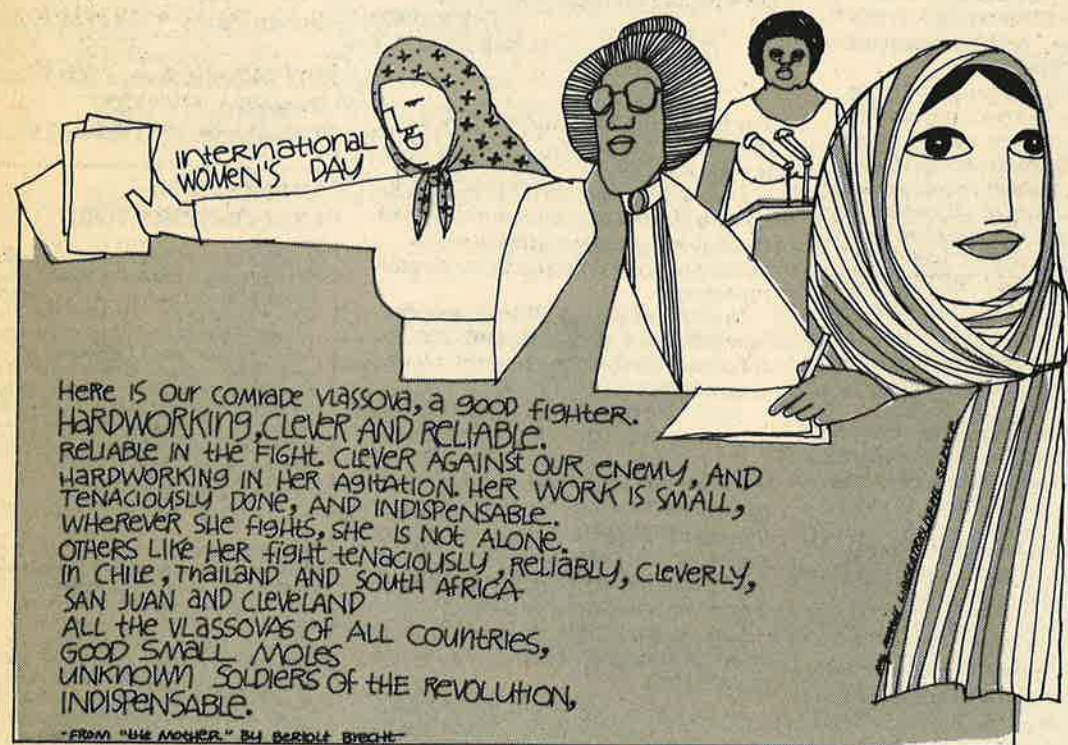
These articles represent just a few of the issues women are facing today. Lesbian women are fighting for jobs, health care, housing—but nowhere is the battle more brutal and the price of defeat more dear than for child custody. Corporate imperialism leaves its ugly mark again in the insidious peddling of infant formula in the Third World. Sandra Adickes offers her perspective in an essay on the need for a feminist theology to counter the woman-de-meaning gospel of the patriarchal Church. Vicki Rovere provides a bibliography of articles and books on feminism and nonviolence. An interview with Pauline Newman—90-year-old organizer with 70 years' experience in the unions, the Socialist Party, and the suffrage movement—is an inspiration to us all.

With this special issue, we usher in another year of regular coverage of activities and developments, ideas and controversies, of the women's movement. Coming up are articles on sterilization abuse, the continuing abortion fight, women's theater groups, a West Coast feminism and nonviolence project and always more reviews.

We'd like to take this occasion to thank our readers for your continuing support and feedback on our handling of feminist issues. We encourage those of you who are active in the many aspects of the women's movement to submit manuscripts for our consideration so that we may better reflect your work, your concerns. WIN tries to cover the many faces of the Movement—sometimes contradictory, sometimes fragmented—in the belief that out of that diversity will come an integrated whole whose breadth will be its strength.

In sisterhood and solidarity,
Susan Beadle, Lauri Lowell, and Susan Pines
for the WIN staff

Drawing by Peg Averill/LNS



Marketing Malnutrition In the Third World

by Becky Cantwell

In the pediatric wards of hospitals throughout the Third World thousands of babies lie weakened from severe malnutrition. What many of them have in common is that they have been bottle fed with artificial infant formula. These infants are sick from what some pediatricians call "commercial malnutrition." They suffer and sometimes die while a handful of multinational corporations profit handsomely.

Most of us were bottle fed and grew up healthy, so what's the problem?

Safe bottle feeding requires things we take for granted—money to buy the powder, literacy to follow complicated mixing instructions, clean water, enough fuel to sterilize a bottle several times a day, refrigeration to store mixed formula in, and so on.

For millions of people in Third World countries, these basic requirements do not exist. In many places, enough infant formula to nourish a baby costs over 50% of a poor family's income. That means the diet of the rest of the family suffers, and formula is diluted. A recent study from Barbados showed 82% of parents surveyed diluted the formula to make a four day supply last anywhere from five days to three weeks. Some people believed the bottle itself has medicinal properties and filled it with water.

Literacy rates, especially among women, are low in most of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. And mixing instructions are frequently not printed in the languages of the people who are sold the colorful tins. Uncontaminated water and accessible fuel are often luxuries.

Under unsterile conditions, bottled formula becomes a breeding ground for bacteria. Infants contract infections and get severe diarrhea, thereby losing their ability to absorb nutrients. The result is malnutrition and greatly increased susceptibility to infection. If untreated, the infants often die.

A particularly grim aspect of malnutrition among tiny babies is that the earlier the malnutrition

Becky Cantwell is the Infant Formula Campaign Director for Clergy and Laity Concerned, a member organization of the Infant Formula Action Coalition. She is also the editor of CALC REPORT, CALC's journal.

occurs and the longer it lasts, the greater the danger of permanent brain damage.

Bottle Feeding on the Rise

Despite this tragedy, the trend toward bottle feeding continues in many Third World countries. In Singapore, between 1951 and 1960, the percentage of children in low-income families breast-fed at least three months dropped from 71% to 42%. By 1971, only five percent of babies were still breastfed at the age of three months. In the Philippines, 31% fewer mothers nursed their babies in 1968 than had a decade earlier.

Meanwhile breast milk—the only classless food, perfected through millions of years of "research and development"—is wasted. Among other benefits, breast feeding allows a mother to pass on her immunities to many local diseases to the baby. And breast feeding contributes to wider spacing between births. This contraceptive effect leads to slower population growth.

The great body of medical research indicates that normal women can supply milk sufficient for an infant's nutritional needs in the first four to six months of life, and as a significant protein supplement for at least a year thereafter. Even malnourished women can supply milk of surprisingly high quantity and quality. Those who can't usually need supplementation of their own diets. Nutritionists have found that mothers are about 90% efficient in converting the food they eat into breast milk—lactating women need about 500 additional calories a day. It is obviously preferable for a woman to spend available funds feeding herself rather than purchasing formula. For the rare cases where formula is needed, a locally-made, non-commercial formula could be produced for a fraction of the cost.

Only one to five percent of women can't breast feed for medical reasons. And a recent review of 11 studies of Third World women found that, on the average, only six percent of women surveyed said they weaned their infants because of their need to go to work.

The economic drain is also significant: an estimated billion dollars a year are being spent in Third World countries on an expensive, highly processed, and largely unnecessary product.

The switch from breast to bottle feeding is

analogous to shunning free air in order to purchase expensive containers of inferior air to breathe; or convincing women that the "normal" way to give birth is through Caesarian section.

Promoting the Product

Behind it all are those masters of artificial need creation (euphemistically called market development), the multinational corporations.

In industrialized countries, the rate of growth for infant formula sales has stagnated in correlation to declining birth rates and the fact that more women are choosing to nurse. But opposite trends are occurring in Third World countries, making them fertile ground for the massive promotional campaigns successfully undertaken by formula manufacturers.

Radio jingles, TV spots and newspaper ads for formula depict glamorous mothers with healthy, contented babies. In clinics and hospitals, calendars, posters, and name tags on baby wards boast pictures of company products.

Distribution of free samples is widespread. This practice is particularly insidious since a mother's milk supply is regulated by the baby's sucking and may dry up within as little as three days if not demanded.

Based on their investigation of nine clinics and hospitals in Manila and rural areas on Mindanao, researchers in the Philippines last summer found that:

Apparently virtually every infant born in a clinic or hospital in the Philippines is taken from its mother and given infant formula for the first two or three days of life. . . . In every clinic or hospital we visited we found evidence of active promotion by the multinational corporations who manufacture infant formula. . . . most of the posters showed Caucasian babies and mothers who looked healthy and upper class, thus associating formula with a better life.

The corporations also use an even more blatant form of promotion. Nurses are hired away from the already scarce reserves of health workers in Third World countries at big pay raises to become "milk nurses" or "mothercraft personnel." They, and sometimes non-nurses, are dressed in nurse's uniforms and paid by the companies to visit new mothers in hospitals and at home distributing free samples of company products and doing other "educational" work.

The implied medical endorsement resulting from the cozy relationship between huge corporations and the under-staffed, under-equipped hospitals and clinics of the Third World apparently succeeds. In one study, 95% of the Nigerian mothers who combined breast and bottle feeding believed they had been advised to do so by medical personnel, primarily midwives or nurses.

The result of these massive promotional campaigns: women have been sucked into giving up a

basic human right. They are persuaded that their own milk (and by extension, their very selves) is inadequate. A new class of consumers is born: women convinced that they need the gadgetry sold by male-dominated corporations.

Preying on every parent's desire to do what is best for her or his child, corporate promotion suggests to parents that if they *really* care for the health and future of their child, they'll buy the newest improved formula. Think of how you would feel about yourself if, having sacrificed to do "the best," you had to then watch your infant grow thin and sickly, not understanding why.

Bottle feeding is associated with class status, western technology, scientific advance, and glamour. As Third World women become resocialized through the development process, they learn that their breasts are supposed to be sex objects, not sources of maternal sustenance. Showing one's breasts in public becomes primitive and backward. And at how many places of employment in this country or in any other, are creches and nursing breaks provided mothers?

In response to years of criticism, some of the corporations have curtailed their more blatant forms of promotion and cleverly re-packaged their message. Now the formulas are intended to supplement mother's milk, "when it fails," and the phrase beginning "Breast milk is best, but . . ." now adorns some advertising. But because a woman's confidence in her ability to produce milk is recognized as a key factor in successful lactation, the new line of promotion convinces many women of the inadequacy of their own milk.

As stated by US Nestle's consumer affairs director Stephen Korsen in an interview in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, "These people [Third World women] must have supplements. Their breast size is smaller than women in this country, and their lactation period is shorter."

Ban on Bottles

The Third World countries which have begun a variety of efforts to curtail the promotional practices of corporations, and to encourage breast feeding, apparently disagree with Korsen. Papua New Guinea recently declared baby bottles a health hazard, and banned their sale without a doctor's prescription. A fine equaling \$250 will be imposed for breach of the new regulation. Jamaica has revoked hospital visiting privileges for representatives of commercial milk companies. Zambia has nationalized much of the milk formula industry and urges mothers to breast feed on the labels of formula cans.

Campaigns to promote breast feeding and to curtail promotion within Third World countries unfortunately have very skimpy budgets compared to the public relations and advertising budgets of Nestle, Bristol Myers, Ross-Abbott, American Home Products, and other multinational giants. And many government health care systems still

believe they need the often lavish gifts offered by companies.

The campaigns in Western Europe and the US focus on the unethical promotional activities. Efforts and interest in the US have intensified in the past few months.

Boycott Nestle

The Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT) was formed in January 1977 and held a national conference in November. At that time a national boycott of all Nestle products was affirmed as INFACT's primary strategy. Nestle is the largest seller of infant formulas in Third World countries and has engaged in some of the most widespread promotional activities. Because it is a Swiss-based corporation, it hasn't been subjected to the shareholder resolution actions directed with some success towards US-based companies. The domestic wholly-owned subsidiary of Nestle does not produce infant formulas.

The boycott's demand is *immediately stop all promotion of infant formulas: 1) an end to direct advertising of formula to consumers; 2) an end to distribution of free samples to hospitals, clinics, and homes of newborns; 3) an end to the use of company "milk nurses;" 4) an end to promotion to the health professions and through health care institutions.*

Nestle is responding to the boycott with slick public relations documents and a beautiful full-color booklet called, "Infant Nutrition in the Developing Countries: Some Considerations on the Contributions of Nestle." An infant foods specialist has come over from Swiss headquarters twice in the past five months to meet with critics. He was unable to counter satisfactorily criticism that Nestle's recent marketing policy changes are cosmetic and show more interest in public relations than in solving the problem.

Nestle products include: Taster's Choice, Nescafe, Nestle's Quik, Nestle's Crunch, Nestea, Libby, McNeill and Libby products, Souptime, Decaf, Nestle's milk flavorings, Stoeffler products, Crosse and Blackwell products, Maggi products, Swiss Knight and all Jarlsberg cheeses, and Deer Park Mountain Spring water. People who boycott are asked to write letters to Nestle Company Inc., 100 Bloomingdale Road, White Plains, New York, 10605.

In addition to the boycott, INFACT is working to get Congressional hearings on this scandal, and mobilizing support for shareholder resolutions directed this year at Carnation and American Home Products.

For more information about the campaign, contact the National INFACT Clearinghouse, 1701 University Ave., SE, Minneapolis, MN, 55414; Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, N.Y., NY 10038; or ICCR, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., NY 10027.



For Our Mother Who Art in Heaven

by Sandra Adickes

What has been the strongest influence on your politics?" A woman I know who is a feminist historian asked me this question in the past year, and my response was more of a revelation to me than to her, for I confronted a truth that I had not previously acknowledged.

"Religion," I replied. "My politics were shaped by my early religious experience." Since the time I made that discovery, I have been thinking through the nature of my childhood religious experience

Sandra Adickes is the director of Project Chance, a program for re-entering adult women at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York.

and analyzing the relationship of that experience to my adult life. I have found, in the process, that my concern with the transcendent aspects of my political values coincides with the interests of a significant number of women, and that I am, in fact, being drawn into an important area of concern in the women's movement.

When I was a child, I loved Jesus. He was, to begin with, recognizable on my own level of experience. As a child, I celebrated his birth and was honored in return because of his miraculous birth. Like many people in my community, he was the child of a worker who became an apprentice in his father's trade. However, the men in the community in which I grew up socialized with each other in bars; Jesus had much broader social contacts. He was different from men I knew in other—and to me, preferable—ways. He liked children more than they did, and he liked women, too; particularly bright women like Mary of Bethany, who preferred (as I did, contrary to community mores) the pursuit of intellectual interests to the house-keeping chores which absorbed her sister Martha (and my mother, along with every other adult woman I knew). Yet what I loved about Jesus were the qualities I instinctively recognized as womanly: he was a healer, a teacher, a nurturer; he believed in communal meals and was concerned for the comfort of others. The image of him that I carried, which came to me through the glossy, four-page, color-illustrated Sunday school pamphlets containing stories of his life, was of a man unlike any I knew: long-haired, bearded, gentle-faced, and sensual. He stirred my imagination powerfully, and I learned from his teaching that every human being is the equal of every other human being, that people must be honest with one another, that we must be concerned with each other's well-being, and that, when necessary, we must speak truth to power. The social vision I acquired as a child has remained essentially the same all my life.

Jesus inspired me, but God was another experience entirely. He was the consummate patriarchal authority figure: omniscient, omnipotent, remote, unforgiving, and wrathful. I could not believe that God was Jesus' father; Jesus was a social being, but God was an isolate. Women, it seemed, were not allowed in Heaven. Where, I used to wonder as we prayed or sang hymns to our heavenly father, was my mother in heaven. As an idealistic teenager, I became increasingly alienated from a form of worship based on intimidation. I believed that people should be encouraged to love virtue for its own sake, not be manipulated through fear of punishment. When I was a child, the world was in turmoil because of the ambitions of dictators; God resembled these men too much for me to sustain my faith in him, and before I left adolescence, I withdrew belief.

I am interested now in altering this pattern in my own life, and reestablishing a connection with my



early religious experience. My motivation arises not from a response to the current nostalgia for

My pattern, I believe, is similar to that of other Protestant women who find themselves alienated from the received theology and from the organized Church which too often has seemed to us to represent privilege and inequality—the antithesis of the Christian values we learned to cherish as children. We leave our homes and communities; we become urban and cosmopolitan; we find political avenues for expressing our values; we turn from cold, unsensual Protestant men and seek warmth and intimacy in relationships with people our co-religionists have too often rejected.

“roots,” or from having been “born again”—for I have not modified essentially the decision I made when I was sixteen. But rather it is because the church-based opposition to the women's movement has made me realize how large a role the various Protestant denominations still play in American society and that the departure of women like me from the organized churches has left a vacuum that is being filled by the conservative branches.

Most of the movers and shakers of the nineteenth century—the Grimke sisters, Mary Baker Eddy, Harriet Tubman, Lydia Maria Child, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sojourner Truth, Lucretia Mott, Emma Willard, and countless other less well-known social reformers—were prompted to take action by their passionate religious conviction. Many of these women encountered opposition from co-religionists, but they sustained commitment to their causes in a religious context, and established thereby a tradition of activist faith which other women might pursue.

With the growth of the suffrage movement, however, the opposition of the churches intensified. Feminists were obliged to move more into the secular world in order to serve their cause, and here the class differences divided the early reformers from the later groups of immigrant

women who were primarily concerned with a basic struggle for survival. The ballot, after all, was of particular value to privileged women. Of far more significance to working class women was the 19th Amendment ratified in 1919. Prohibition was the major achievement of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, organized by Emma Willard in 1874 in order to prevent hard-pressed working men from squandering their own and/or their wives' earnings on liquor, leaving families without money for food, clothing, or shelter. Perhaps not since that time have the concerns of religious women connected with the broader feminist concerns.

The departure of strong women who transformed their society according to a religiously-rooted vision has resulted in an enlargement of patriarchalism in American Protestantism. And the modern ideal of female piety is similar to the patient Griselda ideal that emerged in the twelfth century, when Church authority was centralized and bureaucratized and women no longer occupied the positions of leadership they had formerly held. Intellectually gifted women once flocked to the convents; when these were closed or brought directly under the control of male priests, women turned their attention from divine love to earthly love. One is tempted to make a similar connection in our own time between the lack of a sphere of influence for visionary women in the church and the obsessive preoccupation of women with romantic love.

I have come to recognize the need for oracular women because of the intensity of the opposition to the women's movement among religious women. I do not think my Marxist friends have recognized how very much Americans reject a materialistic interpretation of the world: how much they yearn for transcendent experience. The civil rights movement in the early Sixties won much of its support, I believe, because it addressed this need. But since that time there has not been a perceptible recognition of this need among progressive political people. The conservative, patriarchal religions have responded to this need for transcendence, and the growth of their influence is having a concern with the transcendent aspects of my political-feminist advocates have for so long lacked visibility in American Protestantism, the women's movement is perceived as a hostile, secular force; at the meanest level, it is viewed as a vehicle for the advancement of “pushy” women like Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem. If the tradition of religious feminists had been a continuing one, perhaps we would not be witnessing the present convulsion within the Episcopal church.

Apart from my political motivation for urging feminist women to return to the churches and to capture them from within, I have a personal motivation for seeking to establish a connection with the faith of our mothers. I want to pass on my value system to my daughter, and this is not an

easy task in the selfish Seventies. I believe that I might be able to achieve this goal if my daughter could see the value system I uphold as part of a continuing tradition. But the structure and content of religion in its present state cannot assist me. My daughter and I are not comfortable in even the most progressive churches, for the hymns we are asked to sing and the prayers we are asked to speak—filled with phrases referring to the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man—are as sexist and exclusionary as those that troubled me as a child. The liturgy reflects feudalistic theological concepts of “the kingdom of Heaven” and of “Jesus Christ our Lord.” “I don't feel holy,” is my daughter's way of expressing her discomfort and her sense that she does not belong in church.

Therefore, I am planning my reentry to my religious heritage through another route. I want to join with other women with similar concerns to create theology which celebrates the divinity of womanhood, which celebrates the divinity of every one. The Reformation I am describing involves the final overthrow of the white, patriarchal, heterosexual male God. This process of “theologizing” differs from traditional theology in that it is not rooted in an authoritarian system but in human experience; it deals with futures and possibilities rather than with any divine decree, creed, or systematic theological treatise. Sheila Collins defines this process in *A Different Heaven and Earth*:

Women see themselves engaged in a communal process in which women with theological degrees as well as women without them are exploring together mutual ground. The essence of the women's theological movement is that of a shared search for transcendence. It is self-consciously communal in style and in purpose, as all deviant world views must be in order to survive and win credibility.

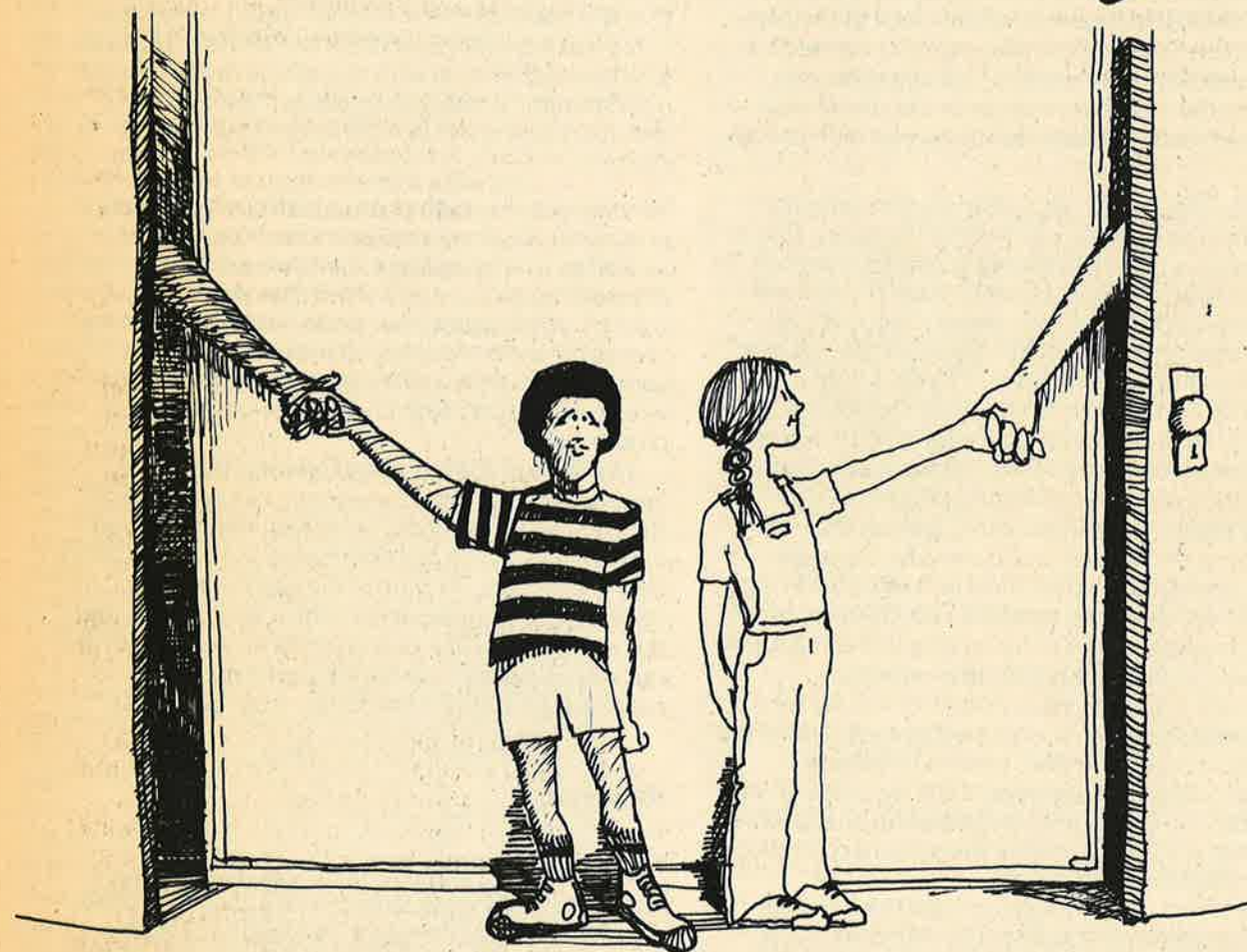
The body of cognition and feeling, the world view being developed by women, runs counter to that set of assumptions, priorities, methods, and experiences which has dominated the Judeo-Christian world since the time of the early patriarchs. In this sense, the movement is anti-Christian, though it is profoundly religious. In order to get on with our business however, we have found it necessary to exorcise this patriarchal demon from our midst.

Resources

In addition to the above-mentioned work, I have read or am planning to read Mary Daly's *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation*, Adrienne Rich's *Of Woman Born*, Merlin Stone's *When God Was a Woman*, Rosemary Ruether's *Liberation Theology*, along with other works that I discover.

Lesbian Mothers and Custody Rights

by Julie Schwartzberg and Trudy Rudnick
with drawings by Jacky English



Jacky English

Steveye Clostreschiu is a legal worker who lives in a small New York City apartment with two of her children. Up until last December, Steveye's phone was a "hotline" and her home a "crisis center" for lesbian mothers in the New York metropolitan area. Each week for several years she received phone calls from frightened lesbian mothers: some seeking advice about custody battles; some expressing fear that they couldn't be "good mothers" and lesbians too; and others crying that they had already lost their children.

"I often got twenty-five to thirty phone calls a week," she says. "Sometimes the calls came in the middle of the night, from women fearful of being 'exposed' and losing their children. One night about 4 am a woman called saying that she had gone out of her house for the evening, and when she returned home she found the locks changed and she couldn't get in."

Over the last several years, some lesbian mothers seeking advice knew to call the Lesbian Switchboard, the Gay Switchboard, or the National Gay Task Force to find out about keeping their children. These lucky ones had found a route to the "underground." They were referred to the Custody Committee of Dykes and Tykes, a local support group for lesbian mothers and their children, formed in 1972. Carole Morton, another lesbian mother and member of the Custody Committee and a founder of Dykes and Tykes, also ran a crisis center out of her home. Soon, by word of mouth, she and Steveye became the first New York City experts on lesbian custody.

Many lesbian mothers were not fortunate enough to have found advice—and gave up their children without realizing that there were other options. There was a great need for education and support if tragedies like these were to be prevented in the future.

When Clostreschiu started running workshops on lesbian custody in 1972, people could not com-

Trudy Rudnick is a counsellor at the Dykes and Tykes Legal Custody Center. Julie Schwartzberg is a member of Dykes and Tykes.

prehend the notion of a "lesbian mother." After all, people thought lesbians are all single and childless. Most who had children stayed in the closet, fearful of the consequences of exposure—of losing jobs, housing and their children. Although it is estimated that there are over 1.5 million lesbian mothers in the United States, most, until recently, remained invisible.

With the support of the feminist and gay liberation movements, lesbian mothers are making themselves visible, smashing the myth that lesbians don't have children. More and more women are affirming their lifestyles, exposing their "secret," and forcing the public to deal with their rights as mothers.

One of the greatest fears a lesbian mother has when she comes out is that she will face a custody battle for her children that will be based on the fallacy that her lesbianism makes her "unfit." "Only two percent of lesbian mothers who go through court action get to keep their kids," Clostreschiu reports. "We think the best strategy a woman can use is to try to settle out of court. This means she might have to make some compromises, like accepting reduced alimony or child support; but the odds are against a woman who has to go through the courts."

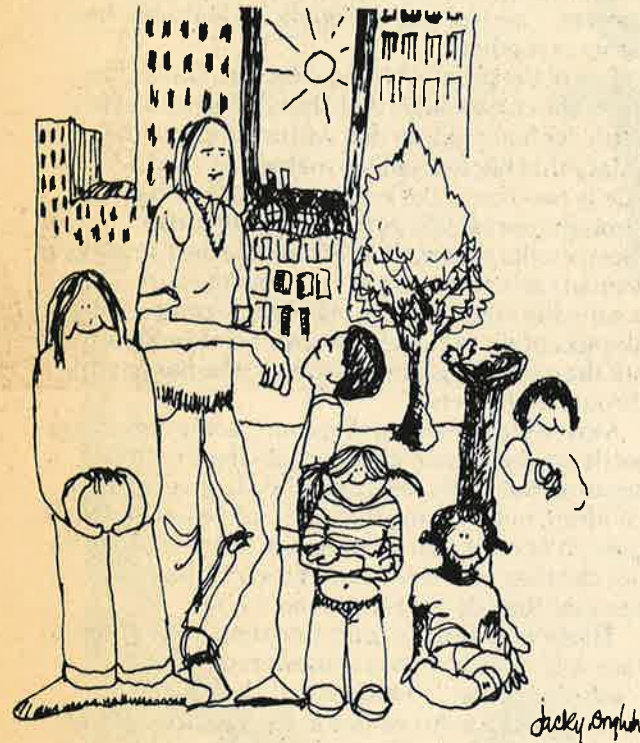
Most women never get to court; some are able to settle and keep their children, as Clostreschiu advises. But many feel compelled to give up their children, not knowing that alternatives exist. What they do know is that they cannot afford legal costs, nor can they afford to support their children, because they do not earn a man's wage.

Those who do go to court find themselves face to face with a judge who is empowered to use his "sole discretion," which usually leaves the decision open to his whims and prejudices. Under the New York State Domestic Relations act, which governs custody in this state, an individual judge is to make his determination in accordance with the "best interests of the children." This is a vague standard, applied in most states, which assumes that both parents are equally entitled to custody. And most courts will consider virtually any information concerning the child's "environment" relevant. When a mother's lesbianism becomes part of that consideration, the results are fairly predictable.

"I do not know of one case in which a judge has actually shown a mother's lesbianism to be harmful to her children," argues Clostreschiu. "Often a mother is judged 'immoral' by implication, despite the fact that she provides a warm loving home and her children want to be with her. Many courts say that a parent's homosexuality is harmful to the children, but they never have one shred of evidence to prove it."

A 1973 Tacoma, Washington case, *Koop v. Koop*, substantiates this assertion. All three Koop children expressed a preference for living with their

mother. After the father was given custody of two of the children, they ran away from his home several times. When they stated in court that they would under no circumstances return to live with their father, the court placed them in a foster home stating that "the living arrangement of the mother is abnormal and not a stable one. It would be highly detrimental to the girls." The court cited no proof of any "harm" that might come to the children. To the contrary, a psychiatrist, psychologist and a juvenile court caseworker each testified that the mother should have custody.



In a few rare cases, trial courts have awarded custody to the lesbian mother, but only after imposing severe, inhuman limitations based on anti-gay prejudice, and certainly not in the "best interests of the children." A 1972 California case is typical of these decisions. The court awarded custody to the mother, only on condition she not live with her female lover, and only if she agreed to see her lover when the children were in school or with their father. In another case, a lesbian mother was awarded visitation rights, but her child could not visit her when any homosexuals were present, nor could the child be taken any place outside the home where homosexuals would be present. Thus, a lesbian mother is forced to make the painful choice between living with her lover and seeing her friends, or having custody of her children; a decision no one should have to make.

Even if a lesbian mother does win custody of her children, she can never be certain that she will be able to keep them. The determination can be reversed under a legal concept known as "material change of circumstance." A parent can ask for a

redetermination of custody at any time. This means that if a woman's lesbianism is not initially brought up in court, it can be raised at any time thereafter as a "material change of circumstance," as can any change in her living situation. Although it may not be too awful for a woman to stay "in the closet" during a custody suit, the prospect of remaining there until the children are grown is a dismal and painful one.

Emotionally and financially the process of a custody battle is long and demoralizing; it is often fraught with painful choices. Hiring a lawyer, taking time off from work, and paying baby sitters during court appearances cost a lot of money which most women do not have. And the emotional toll is high.

Because of these problems, groups are forming throughout the country to provide aid and support for lesbian mothers. Lesbian mothers' defense funds have been organized in several cities to raise money for court costs and to publicize cases. Lesbian mothers across the country like Stevye Clostreschiu and Carole Morton, who could not single handedly keep up with a weekly barrage of callers, sought alternative ways to provide lesbian mothers with adequate legal and counseling services.

So in 1976, Clostreschiu dreamed up a legal custody center for lesbian mothers with the help of the National Lawyers Guild and under the auspices of Dykes and Tykes. In December of 1977, the dream became a reality. Three nights a week, the Dykes and Tykes Legal Custody Center operates out of a tiny office on E. 23rd Street, where trained lesbian counsellors are available to help lesbian mothers explore the legal and emotional questions concerning custody.

"Most are advised to try to stay out of court" says Clostreschiu. "We know that no significant change will occur if we confine our battles to the courtroom. Even if the law changed tomorrow and the issue of lesbianism could not be raised in court, we still might lose our kids. A major determinant in any custody suit is income, and given that women earn 57% of what men earn, we wouldn't stand a chance."

"In addition to fighting discrimination against lesbian mothers in court, we have to fight for other things that our families need to survive—decent jobs at decent wages, adequate childcare and healthcare, and welfare payments that we can survive on. If we don't fight for these things along with other women, lesbian families will go under."

Establishing the Custody Center is only one part of solving the problem. But it's a good beginning.

The cases mentioned in this article were cited by Nan D. Hunter and Nancy D. Polikoff, in "Custody Rights of Lesbian Mothers," *Buffalo Law Review*.

For more information: Dykes and Tykes Legal Custody Center, 110 E. 23rd St., New York, NY 10010.

Pauline Newman: An Organizer's Story

edited by Susan Beadle



Photograph from ILGWU/LNS

Who built the gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of
stone?
And Babylon, so many times destroyed,
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's
houses,
That city glittering with gold, lived those who built
it?
In the evening when the Chinese Wall was finished
Where did the masons go? —Bertolt Brecht
from "A Worker Reads History"

Oral histories allow us to answer these questions about the builders, the weavers, the homemakers and the miners of the 20th century, whose stories would otherwise go unrecorded and untold. These histories not only inform us of what life was like for those who were not statesmen, military heroes or famous artists, but also provide insights into how people survived amidst often unimaginable difficulties and how they responded to and tried to change these conditions.

This oral report is by a woman who worked in New York City's garment sweatshops, and became an organizer of women workers in the garment industry and in other industries, too, as she was needed. She worked with the Women's Trade Union League, and was the first woman organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—she still works in their health center and education program today.

Nearly ninety years old, Pauline Newman remembers a very long and important segment of the history of American working people. The interviewer, Barbara Wertheimer, was herself an organizer and is now on the faculty of Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Her book, *We Were There, The Story of Working Women in America*, [Pantheon Books New York / 1977] provides a comprehensive history of the events which are only touched upon here. I would like to thank the 20th Century American Working Women's Oral History Project [University of Michigan at Ann Arbor] for permission to use the transcripts.

I had access to over a hundred pages of transcripts from the interviews—it was delightful to read and difficult to select which portions to use. For example, when Pauline speaks of the other women she worked with—speakers like Rose Schneiderman, Mary Drier, Leonora O'Reilly, and others—she reveals a strong community of friends working toward common goals, and the value of such a community in building a movement. The passages I chose give an idea of how Pauline Newman and many other organizers lived and worked, and of what they worked for. I've focused on her work with the unions, the suffrage movement, and the Socialist Party, from the early 1900's to the 1930's.
—Susan Beadle

Pauline Newman had been working at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company since 1901, with starting

wages for a child of nine or ten years at \$1.50 for seven days of work, and a 50¢ increase each year thereafter [Wertheimer, p. 294]. Conditions in the tenement homes were much the same as in the factories where she worked—no ventilation, light or heat. She was sharing a two-room apartment with her mother and two sisters in 1907 when she led her first strike.

—S.B.

Around 1907 I lived on Madison Street in one among many tenements, tenements without facilities. The only facilities were heating and cooking, the stove came with the apartment. But no bathing facilities, no bathroom, no toilet, this was in the yard. . . . And one day, the landlord came and asked for an increase in rent. We didn't pay very much as I recall, we had two rooms, we paid \$10 a month. But then there was nothing meaningful for the tenant. And so I spoke to some of my neighbors in my own building, and they suggested that we speak to the neighbors in the next building, so we wouldn't be alone. And we did that. Finally we got together on the sidewalks. Thankfully, it was summertime. And we decided that we won't give any increase unless he installs a toilet at least in the hall, if not in the flat, and a window in the bedroom, which at that time was windowless. And we selected a committee, and they made me chairman to see the landlord. I said let him come. Why should I go to him? And he wanted the rent, so he came. I told him, we won't pay any increase unless he does what we ask of him. Well, to make a long story short, we as tenants had an interest in meeting, we discussed the situation, and we definitely decided not to give any, not a penny more, than what we were paying. So he didn't get any increase, and we didn't get any facilities, and that was the end of the strike. But my picture appeared on the front page of the Evening Journal! GIRL LEADS STRIKE. That's quite a story. That's symbolic of what you were gonna do for the rest of your life. You were very young then. . . .

I worked in the factory at that time. We did it all in the evenings.

II

That same year, or soon after, Pauline joined the Socialist Party. In the following few selections she describes some of the things she did with the Party. At the time she joined, the Party was doing support work for Bill Haywood, George Pettibone, and Charles Moyer. The three union activists for the Western Federation of Miners were arrested on a frame-up charge for conspiring to assassinate the former governor of Idaho in 1907. They were defended by Clarence Darrow and acquitted. Haywood was a charismatic speaker and strong leader. Upon his release, he accepted an invitation to the Socialist Ball and there "Big Bill" Haywood asked Pauline Newman to dance.

—S.B.

Why did you decide to join the Socialist Party?

It was around 1907, I think. I may have been too young to be admitted as a member but I was already known as a public speaker and so I was admitted. I became quite active; in the first place, most of the people who were from the slums were more or less socialistically inclined. If they were not members, they supported this party politically. They came to meetings—in those days, the Socialist Party held lectures educating the people on what socialism would mean. So they came to meetings, and it wasn't anything new to see men and women at those meetings. Some were active, some were less active, depending upon the amount of interest you had, the ability to represent your district, the ability to speak on street corners; and as I look back, I seem to have possessed all those qualities. You see, there was no way else to reach the public. No radio, TV, meetings in halls costs money which the Party didn't have. And so the only way to reach numbers of people, was to get an American flag and a soapbox, and go from corner to corner; some corners were more popular than others, and you invited questions. And we had a lot of fun too. Because after meetings, which usually lasted till long after midnight—they were held on Saturday night, so if you didn't have to work the next day you'd have an evening—we'd go to Central Park and watch the moon arrive; sometimes to watch the sun arrive. We had a lot of fun.

Did you sing?

Oh yes. What we sang, sometimes, when we were a group, rather than two or three, was the Internationale. You know that. We like the Marseilles, we sang that. There was the song Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote to the tune of Tannenbaum. And when Haywood, Pettibone and Moyer were arrested, of course we were interested; we did what we could to help them out, pay for lawyers and things like that. And when they were released, the Party, with the Socialist Literary Society, decided to welcome him and have a ball at the same time.

The Red Special was Deb's campaign train, right?

Yes, and the Socialist Party decided it would be a good idea if they could afford to get a train just for Debs and his colleagues, they could stop from place to place as Truman did. Whistlestops. And I think this was the first whistlestop in the history of political campaigning.

Was that for the New York State part of the campaign?

And Pennsylvania, too. We didn't go all the way, because, after all, Martha and Henry and I were working, and we couldn't take more time than the employer would allow us. But it was an experience. And with the experience goes a little story—Debs got a cold, he was confined to bed, and among those present was his brother, who looks like Eugene Debs. Anyone who didn't know Debs couldn't tell the difference. And so when we had to stop and have Debs make a speech, his brother made the speech and the people never knew the difference.

What was he like? I've heard he was very kind.

He was very—in his appearance—a very tall person. Very gentle. Even when he talked from the platform you could feel his heart going out to you. He was an excellent speaker. He could be qualified as a great orator. He made a great impression even upon those who didn't agree with him, because everyone felt his sincerity and his hopes for the future, through socialism. He was a humble person. He really didn't think of himself more than he would have anyone else. We need somebody like that today.

Do you know of anyone?

No. And there were quite a few in those days.

III

Later that year, Pauline and several women she'd met in the Socialist Party escaped the tenements for the summer.

—S.B.

The Palisades—that story was really part of the economic days of those years. It was 1907, it was sort of a depression. It wasn't entirely a panic, you know, but it was a depression, and a lot of factories were closed in New York City. And the question was a job, and paying rent. And there were a number of socialist women who were able to get a tent from some municipal agency and put it up at any place in the Palisades and live there without paying rent. I think you paid \$2 for the renting of the tent. And those few women from the Socialist Party, and I was one of them, spent the summer at the Palisades. And those who had jobs would bring us food. They would come on Sundays and bring bread and cake and beans—ooh, beans, beans, beans. One woman had a little boy all of 5, 6 years old. She was divorced from her husband. And every morning he would say, Momma, do I have to eat beans again? But, we ignored him and our friends were good enough to see that we don't lack anything all summer.

It sounds like a co-operative community, sort of.

IV

Workers in the garment industry began to organize in 1890 but did not make substantial gains for many years. For example, after an industry-wide six month walk-out in 1890, the contract that was won specifically excluded women employees from coverage. If some union did strike, it had almost no money at all for the support of strikers and their families.

In 1909, women at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company met with the International Ladies' Garment Worker's Union (ILGWU), which had been founded nine years earlier and was still quite weak. The women were tricked by a Triangle manager into telling the firm the names of the 150 women who wanted to join the union; and they all were laid off that night. It was a long, difficult and violent strike, and became a mass strike involving garment workers all over the city. (For a complete account of the strike of 1909, see Wertheimer's book, pp. 297-317.)

For the Triangle workers, it was not successful. When they returned to work in February they still had no contract, nor did they have safe fire escapes and the doors to the exitways were still kept locked. On March 25, 1911, a disastrous fire broke out and 146 women died from flames or from desperate leaps out of windows on the seventh, eighth and ninth floors of the modern and supposedly fireproof building.

Pauline had been working for the ILGWU and the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) during the long strike. She was given a suitcase and one-way ticket to Buffalo to travel to local trade union chapters and to ladies' clubs throughout New York state to get money for the union and the strikers. After the strike, she continued with ILGWU as the first woman hired to organize.

In 1912 she was assigned to organize the boycott of a corset company in Kalamazoo, Michigan, which had refused to renew a contract and had fired the best known activists. Many women were arrested on the picket line.

—S.B.

We decided to boycott them. The owner just ignored the mayor from Kalamazoo, and he ignored the mayor from Grand Rapids who were nice enough to come and help. He ignored the priest in Kalamazoo who was very eager to help; he just would not have anything to do with the union. So, the general office here in New York decided if that's the case, we'll boycott. And we did. And I was chosen to do the boycotting. So I travelled from Michigan to Chicago to St. Louis, St. Louis to Indianapolis, and we finally succeeded. He went out of business.

How long did that take? Till the boycott really had an effect?

It didn't last long because I really was quite successful in getting the women. You see, we had to concentrate on women—no use speaking to men about corsets. At union meetings I would ask them to tell their wives, but that's second hand. What I wanted to do was to get to talk directly to women who buy corsets. And so you have to get in touch with clubs, women's clubs. There was a socialist woman not far from Indianapolis, the little town was called Kokomo. She was a socialist. I got in touch with her, and she produced a list of women's clubs. And that was a godsend. The first club I attempted to speak to was an Indianapolis women's poetry club. And that pleased me very much; I was no stranger to poetry, but how to get to them? Well anyway, I had the time of their meeting, the place of their meeting, and this woman told me how to get to that hall. I did. And I went up one flight of stairs, another flight of stairs, a woman was sitting on a chair in front of the door, and she said, what do you want, are you looking for somebody, and I said, I'd like to come and speak to you women at this meeting. Oh! she said, I don't know. I said, will you please find out. So she went in, and took quite a while; I was sitting, waiting. They must have discussed the pros and cons to let me in. Finally a

woman came out, a fair-headed woman, good-looking. She looked at me, pointing to what we would call the sargeant at arms, said she said you would like to speak to us. I said yes, I'd very much like to. Well what about? So I told her, I said I can tell you the whole story in front of everyone, but this is the subject that I'd like women to know about. She kept quiet, and suddenly, she turned to me: Do you like poetry? Oh! I said, I do, very much. She said, well who's your favorite poet? I said, well, there are a number of them I like very much, and among them is Shelley. I like Keats, I like Byron, I like Tennyson. She looked me up and down, thinking, is it possible that this creature would know all this? And she said, well, I guess you can come in. Well I came in and told them the story of the girls and the corsets, and they really were very nice. They passed a resolution asking each member not to buy corsets made in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

That was fantastic. . .
In the first place, I was ready to talk to them about the poets, too, if they wanted me to.

V

In addition to working for WTUL and ILGWU, Pauline would be "loaned out" to organize for other unions, and did a lot of traveling in New York, Pennsylvania and the Midwest. The following passages give an idea of what that life was like, traveling, speaking for other unions, and trying to help out when groups of workers tried to join existing unions. Although Pauline Newman downplays the subject here, the loneliness of a woman organizer was probably as great as the fulfillment it provided. (See Wertheimer, pp. 287-289). —S.B.

When you were traveling to all those different cities to talk about the boycott, what was it like? What was it like when you got to a strange city? Where would you stay?
Well, the union had no money for me to use cabs when necessary, or a sleeper; we were poor, you know. So you used the trains. They were not as comfortable as they are today, not in the class I rode. Maybe in first class it was all right, but that was not for me. Well, when I'd get to a town my first contact was the Central Trade and Labor Council, and they would direct me either to a hotel, or most of the time, the YW. They had me meet women or wives of men who knew something about women's clubs, and I got along with them all right. They did as much as they could for me, and the rest was up to me.

Were you ever lonely?
Oh yes. Out of loneliness. . . there was always reading to do, and I didn't mind that. Occasionally you thought it would be nice if you could have someone else to travel with you, but that was just a passing mood. I'll tell you frankly, when I look back I think it took courage to travel through Pennsylvania or some places in Illinois, because people, they didn't have any money to put you in a hotel, and when I

was loaned to the suffrage movement and to the Socialist Party, they didn't have any money either. So you'd stay with people who were poor, and in some cases, believe me, I didn't sleep nights because I wouldn't sleep in those beds. They had an easy chair in their parlor, and that was the best you could do without insulting them. One winter, I think it was Belleville, Illinois, a miners' village—they wanted a lady speaker so that they could interest their wives, and the National Party of Illinois asked whether I would go there to speak. I said, well, I must have a few days leave from the union, I'll go. I got off the train in little Belleville village, no one was there. I think the train was early and the miners didn't quit like they do now, they worked longer hours. Well, the miners' wives came with their husbands. Socialism. They wanted their wives to know what socialism would do and in those days they believed socialism would do quite a lot. When the meeting was over, I said to the chairman, where do I stay? Well, there wasn't anything in this village. So Mrs. So-and-so said, well, I guess you'll have to stay with us. So I went with them. It was a miner's house and the only warm room was the kitchen. We ate in the kitchen. And the guest got the parlor. And the parlor was like an icicle. It was a miner's house, and I really slept in my coat. I could never connect—he was a miner and yet had not coal to heat his house. Of course the wages at that time were \$3 a day. So you had this kind of experience that you don't forget. Even outside of your own union—it's all part of the movement.

I had one experience with a union in Philadelphia which I won't forgive and won't forget. There were a group of candymakers in Philadelphia who wanted a union. Well, that was wonderful—people coming to us to be organized! So we got together, and we had, I think, about 40 girls, enough to warrant a charter from the National Union. The National was known as the National Bakery and Confectionary Workers Union. So, they paid their initiation fee, deposited the money in a Philadelphia bank. The next day we wrote to the International and told them that forty girls joined, and we want a charter. And they answered that they were not really pleased to have any women members. If we take them in, they will get half of whatever benefits the men had. And they wouldn't be able to pay the whole dues, they would only pay half dues, they'd be a half a member. Oh, it was terrible. So I wrote him a letter that I don't think he'll ever forget. *Maybe going off the subject a little bit, do you think there's a difference today in the way people care about the union label than there was then? Do you think they really listen to the message that they should buy union-made products today?* I think our appeal is probably more, *should* be more impressive, and people who buy clothes are likely to pay a little bit more attention than they did in 1910. In the first place we didn't do anything like what they're doing today. I think both the manufacturers and the unions together are spend-

ing several million dollars a year advertising. In 1910, I was the only one! But I think the people would listen to me not only because of the label, but because of what the label stood for. I think they were interested. And the newness of the thing. . . I was quite satisfied with the attention they paid. Today you have it on the radio, and you have it on television, in the buses, you have it everywhere. Because, as I say, they spend a couple of million dollars on this. Now how much attention most women pay to that, I question.

What I'd like to talk about next, and it was very important in your life, is the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

Well, as I recall it, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, was the first such addition to any union agreement in the entire labor movement. There wasn't anything like it, and I don't know of anything like it in any other union, even today. *Was that 1912?*

Nineteen eleven. One of the reasons was that the factories that people worked in were filthy. Very little ventilation, very bad light, a menace to the health of the workers. And Dr. Joyce really convinced the union leadership as well as the Employer's Association that they'd be better workers if their health were known, and if the place were kept sanitary. And they finally agreed that both the employers and the union would finance, if Dr.

Joyce would establish, what he called the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. "Joint" because both financed it, and the board was to control the sanitation and the conditions.

One of the first things he did was to employ a number of people, some of our own, retired inspectors, to investigate the factories. And when they brought the results, he classified them. A, B, C. A: fairly good conditions; B: needs a lot of correction; C: very bad. Naturally enough, we concentrated on C to get the employers to sweep the factories daily, to remove the rubbish, to see that the toilets functioned properly and to change headjets to electric lights with shades. Some of them had electric light, but without shade, which is bad for your eyes. My role in it was inspector.

VI

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control conducted inspections and, until, 1924, when most of the factories were moved from the Lower East Side to more modern buildings uptown, arranged fire drills. In 1926, the board was dissolved. Pauline Newman continued her work as a speaker and organizer. She also campaigned for women's suffrage, and was in special demand to convince working-class men and women that it was to their benefit to have women voting for legislators according to how well those men supported legislation that protected workers. She herself also ran for Congress on the Socialist ballot and got more votes than the party ticket (Wertheimer, p. 282). —S.B.

You started to tell me about when you first got active in the suffrage movements, campaigning for women's suffrage. Could you talk a little about that?

I'm trying to think of the year, I think it was '17, or before that. Mrs. Catt was in charge of the Women's Suffrage Party, which was later changed to the League of Women Voters. In the beginning Mrs. Catt was in charge and she would appoint people to campaign for suffrage, and she called on me one day to come and see her. And all those who were campaigning prior to that were college women, wealthy women, a good number of them from Vassar, and they were all doing an excellent job, we thought. But then she called me, she said that she had a suggestion from some people to have labor women speak to labor men and Rose Schneiderman recommended me. And having known before that Mrs. Catt and the other people, her colleagues, were on the conservative side, I said Mrs. Catt, I want you to know that I'm a socialist. And she said, who isn't? So, anyway, she decided to let me go first to Buffalo.

I was there about three weeks, campaigning every night on the street corners or in halls or at luncheons, wherever I was asked, I was there. But my chief occupation was, as Mrs. Catt said, to get the labor men. There was a lot of opposition among the labor men, even among the trade union men. *And you at that time, and the League, were not in*

WOMEN and HOME VOTES AND POVERTY



PAULINE M. NEWMAN
OF NEW YORK.
HOMES OR FACTORIES
WHICH FOR WOMEN?

Miss Newman has been a member of the International Union of Women Workers for many years. She speaks from experience in mill and factory. This is the reason for giving reasons for supporting the

SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT
ELECTION DAY, NOVEMBER 2.

Women Especially Invited.

State suffrage for women was on the ballot in Pennsylvania in 1915, and young Pauline Newman was a favorite pro-suffrage labor speaker.

favor of the Equal Rights Amendment?

All of the labor groups, beginning with the American Federation of Labor, and including almost every local, and every international union, were opposed to it.

Why?

Why were they opposed? It was the same reason that, why we of the Women's Trade Union League were opposed. Needless to tell you, that the women who were affiliated with the Women's Trade Union League weren't opposed to equality. I think we were probably advocating equality long before the equal rights people came onboard. And when they did, and introduced that amendment, Mrs. Robbins, of the Women's Trade Union League, invited them to a meeting which she had in Washington to discuss it. Because we were quite willing to introduce legislation provided it would not hurt legislation we had worked for and established for improving conditions of working women. They did reply, and did not accept the invitation. All those who were against it are now for it. And I don't remember whether I told you or not, I had the finest collection of documents from eminent lawyers pointing out that in its present form, the Equal Rights Amendment is not desirable. And oh, people like Russell Pound at Harvard University, Dean Acheson, and oh, a collection of people who thought so. And if I am not mistaken, I think Judge Brandeis was on our side. But I think the people who are for the amendment, either they don't remember, or they are not interested. Oh, everybody now is for women, why not, let 'em go. I don't believe that the people who changed their minds gave it a thought or remembered that they were opposed, why they were opposed.

Is one reason because there are more women in unions today that are covered by contracts with a minimum wage law and a maximum hours law, time and half for overtime, and a lot of the laws the League fought for so hard are really in effect now? Ah—not because of the Amendment.

No. Because of the New Deal, and because of the . . .

The question then, I don't know now, but in the 20's, and the 30's, and even in the 40's, the question was: if the amendment had passed, what would have happened to the legislation we worked for? We don't know. The lawyers told us that our legislation would have no effect anymore. And that we didn't want to see! We worked so hard for it; for what it meant for the organized and the unorganized; especially for the unorganized women. It's a different world today. It's possible to include what we wanted then and now. The change, I think, came about because of the general demand on the part of women to be everything and be everywhere. And many of them make good. The impression among other people now, I suppose, is well, they can do what they do just as well as other people, why not give them a chance? They didn't think so in

1920; they didn't think so in 1930. But I'm sure when you take the papers and get it from your friends, they're everywhere, doing everything. I don't think we were in favor of having women work in the mines, but some of them are doing it now.

VII

The WTUL had begun in 1903 with the support (verbal if not financial) of Samuel Gompers of the AFL. It concentrated its energy on organizing women, until economic and political conditions in the '20's discouraged direct organizing. Many workers' education programs were established through the league. Often, well-educated and fairly affluent women were behind League activities, sometimes in a charitable way, sometimes providing experience and ability to deal with legislators. The secretary of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor once said that the WTUL was "at the heart of the trade union movement." Certainly we see here how many different unions had to be contacted and mobilized to support the women workers. The following passages concern Pauline Newman's part in expanding the League's membership in Philadelphia. —S.B.

They asked the ILG if they would loan me at least half time to the League. I was working for the Joint Board of Sanitary Control at that time. And Dr. Price said, well, it's up to you. Do what you want to do. You can always come back if you don't like it. But he was the kind of a man who realized. . . he was a great believer in the trade union movement.

I got there, I made contact with an AFL representative who was stationed in Philadelphia. And I got the labor people to not only contribute money, which they never had before, I got people, trade unions to contribute who had no women members. I got the machinists, I got engineers, and they all gave us a monthly contribution. And moreover, for the first time, the Central Trade Union Labor Council agreed to accept us and send delegates. That was a great achievement. Let's see, from '18 to '23 you had the women who worked during the war had to give back the jobs to the men who came back and it was quite a job for the unions to see justice done to the women.

What did the League do?

We went to the officers of the union. Because after all, they were in charge. And what we tried to do was. . . well, they had a legitimate answer. The boys who came back are entitled to the jobs. All we could do is to try to find jobs for the girls, too.

Going back to the World War I period and the period just after the war—because of the Espionage Act that the government passed, the government used to attack the IWW and to raid their offices.

They attacked people like the President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Gene Morrow. They refused him a passport to go to England, and Gene wanted to go. Finally somebody interceded and told [Attorney General] Palmer he was a fool to

deny Gene Morrow a passport, one of the outstanding people. Well anyway, he finally got a passport, but the IWW were not the only ones whom Palmer—

That's what I wanted to ask you about. Because I had also read that the Women's Trade Union League suffered during that period. It was harder for them to organize, and some of their offices were investigated. Do you remember that?

I remember one thing. Someone was going to be appointed to, I think, the Women's Bureau, or the Children's Bureau, I can't remember which, one of these. And the FBI wanted to know about that person. And the FBI came to see me about it. And I told them I would stake my life on her patriotism. But the 1920's really began a very bad period for unions and for the League. . . why was that? I don't remember, but it was a sort of depression, the 1920's, an awful lot of unemployment. And those who worked, worked for low wages. It was a bad time for everybody as I recall. I was in Philadelphia at that time and I remember very well the unemployment situation.

How did people handle unemployment then when there was no compensation?

You know, they did what our people used to do around 1902, '3, or '4, when they were out of work and there was nothing to help them. They were trusted by the butcher, they were trusted by the grocer, they knew they would pay them when they start working, and help a relative if possible, help a friend, that's how you got along. And I think that's how people got along in 1920. Relatives always helped, and friends helped when they could because there was nothing else to do. In 1920 they suffered as unemployed suffered before we had the unemployment insurance. And I think that now people get something like \$95 a week from unemployment insurance. And when I think of the time they got nothing! Just nothing, except for the help from friends and relatives, and help from the people you dealt with.

VIII

Even those unions whose members are principally women have been headed all along, by men. In the early part of the century it was assumed by almost all that men would take the management positions. Now, though attitudes toward women in positions of power are different, still few women are in those positions. —S.B.

Some women are regional directors, and the delegates to the ILG are mostly women. Few men. And the disappointing thing to me, always was, and is, that there's no participation on their part to discuss questions, ask questions. They attend. Their attendance is very well. They're on time. They like to be on time. But to speak—very few. At the last convention I encountered, I think only about a dozen women took the floor. That's very disappointing. Whether they don't know much, or

whether they don't really feel like it, or whether they are not used to speaking before so many people, I don't know. I only know that very few women participate in deliberations of the convention, and that's disappointing.

IX

The ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (ACTWU) have not only survived the fluctuations of the economy and the movement of women in and out of the workforce; they are active and substantial organizations of women, although very different in structure and character from the unions at the time when Pauline Newman was an organizer. Although much has been won since the great strike of 1909, workers, women workers especially, are still fighting for humane working conditions, for decent homes and healthcare, for the right to organize, for justice. It's a political struggle and an economic one, to change immediate and concrete conditions and at the same time to prepare for an envisioned future; Pauline's involvement with both the unions and the Socialist Party reflects this inter-dependent approach. Sometimes progress is made by going through the big unions, sometimes not, but workers must always be organizing, again and again, among themselves. —S.B.

What happened after the war with the ILG? Was there a period of cutback and recession? Did the industry boom because there was more material available and people wanted to buy women's clothes again?

Yes, that's one thing. One of the chief reasons for the ILG coming to life again was simply the legislation that was passed under Roosevelt. Collective bargaining and unionization was made the law of the land. And people were no longer afraid to be fired if they joined the union. They couldn't be fired under the law. And that was a tremendous inducement for the people who formerly wanted to join the union but were afraid of being fired; they flooded the organization and left the union very pleased. Then the collective bargaining law passed. And eventually the other legislation, social security and all that, an inducement to workers to join the union.

Well, organizing still went on, because you see, the South was our problem. It was the problem of the textile workers, and the Amalgamated, and everybody else. And all the people who could do organizing were really sent to the South and the Middle West. We still haven't succeeded in organizing the South, neither has the Amalgamated. That's still the problem, for these unions anyway. But I suppose they've made progress. *I guess not nearly as much as they would want to.* No. You see, at the last general executive board the ILG decided to spend all it can, send the most capable organizers to the South and see what can be done. And as I understood it, the Amalgamated has done the same thing.

Well, we'll have to wait and see.

Readings on Feminism and Nonviolence

Compiled by Vicki Rovere

This bibliography was prepared as part of a packet on feminism and nonviolence put together by the War Resisters League Task Force on Feminism and Nonviolence. I had a hard time deciding where to draw the line between feminism and women's activism; between nonviolence and constructive, un-violent work. I decided to err on the side of inclusiveness — thus the books on the suffragists, an anti-wife-beating project, etc. Women who responded to the first draft I sent out suggested a number of books dealing with violence done to women and a number of theoretical pieces that fit their nonviolent vision although the authors may not consider themselves pacifists or non-violent activists. Many of the comments in parentheses are from the women who suggested those pieces.

Not included here is a section on the men's movement (feminism isn't just for women!). Further information is available from the Feminism and Nonviolence Task Force, c/o Helen Michalowski, WRL, 1360 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103.

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Vicki Rovere is a member of the Feminism and Nonviolence Task Force of the War Resisters League.

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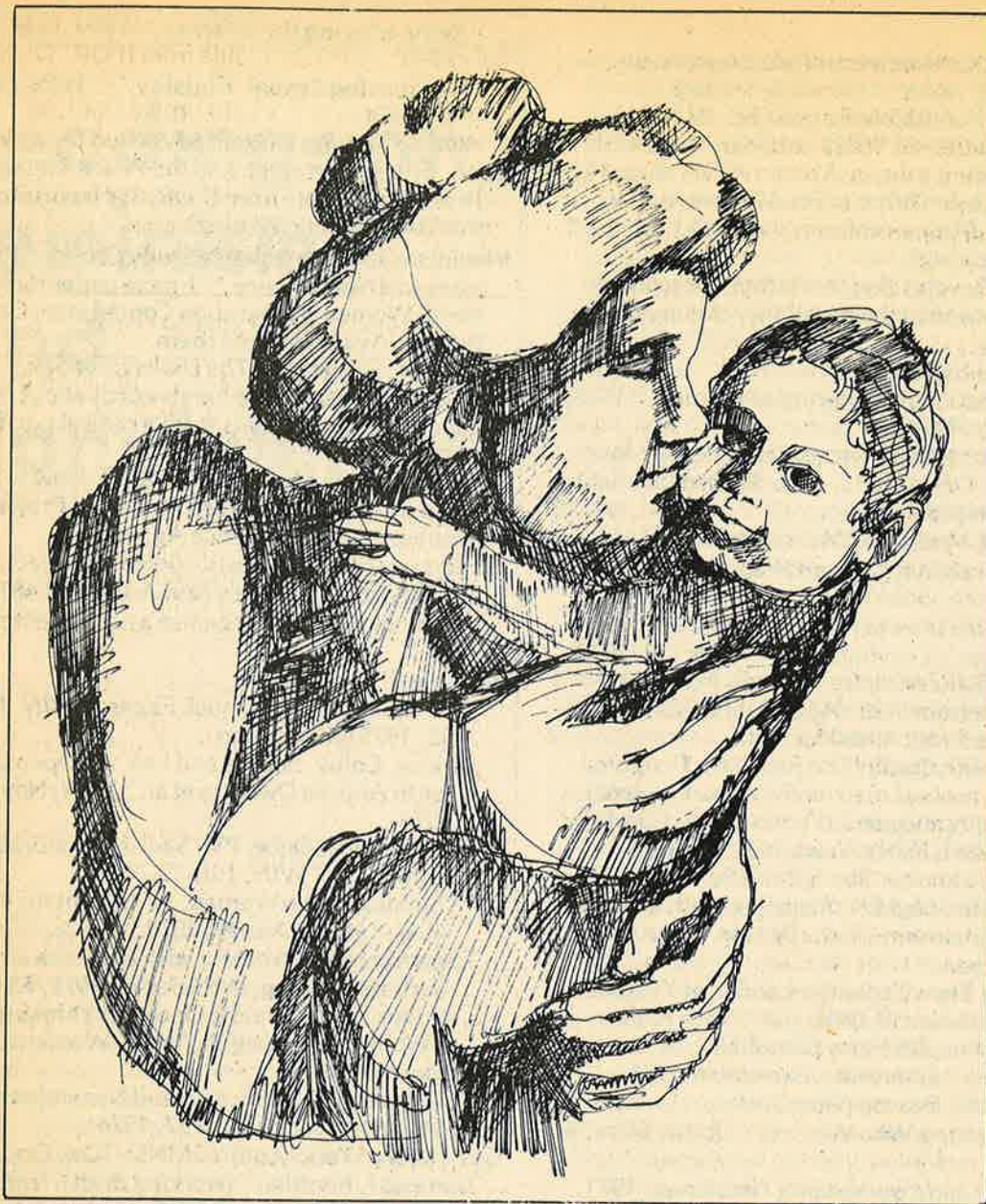
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Drawing by Toni Truesdale

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Addresses

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 Feminism and Nonviolence Study Group, c/o Jenny Jacobs and Lesley Merryfinch, 2 Mentor St., Longsight, Manchester 13, England.
 Feminism and Nonviolence Task Force, c/o Helen Michalowski, WRL, 1360 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103.
 IFOR, Hof van Sonoy, Veerstraat 1, Alkmaar, The Netherlands.
 MNS, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.
 Vicki Rovere, c/o WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.
 WRI, 35 rue van Elewyck, 1050 Bruxelles, Belgium.

Changes

JAIL TERMS FOR TWO TROJAN OCCUPIERS

Two members of the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance charged with criminal trespass for participating in the occupation of the Trojan nuclear power plant Nov. 25 were found guilty in Columbia County District Court on Tuesday January 10.

Judge James Mason imposed the maximum sentence of 30 days in jail and a \$250 fine on John Williams, Seattle, and Johnny Baranski, Portland. Mason suspended 20 of the 30 days in jail and placed the two men on a two-year probation with the condition that they not return to the Trojan site.

Earlier in the day Judge Mason had revoked John William's bond when he refused to comply with the bail restriction that he not return to Trojan until the matter was litigated. Williams, who preferred not to wait in jail until the other November occupiers were tried, requested an immediate trial. In support of Williams and "in the interest of not legitimizing the American injustice system," Baranski also asked to be tried along with Williams.

Both men opted to represent themselves, read statements opposing Trojan and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and were sentenced in less than an hour. Williams of the Seattle Catholic Worker and Baranski with the Portland Catholic Worker Community were the first to be found guilty and do jail time of more than 200 members of the Alliance arrested at the Trojan plant during the Aug. 6 and Nov. 25 occupations.

Ninety-six occupiers were found not guilty of criminal trespass on

Nov. 16 after a Columbia County Jail concluded District Attorney Martin Sells failed to prove that Trojan officials had authorization from Burlington Northern Railroad to evict the occupiers from tracks that border the Nuke.

— Trojan Decommissioning Alliance

CLEVELAND ABORTION CLINIC FIREBOMBED

In the recent upsurge of right wing anti-abortion activities, legal initiatives, sit-ins and disruption of abortions have given way to a new tactic from the forces purporting to champion the "right to life": a series of violent attacks on abortion clinics.

In the latest of these attacks, the Concerned Women's Clinic in Cleveland, Ohio was completely destroyed by a firebomb on February 18. While abortions were being performed, a man entered the clinic under the pretense of a delivering a package. He threw a chemical into the face of a woman worker, temporarily blinding her, and then firebombed the clinic. A target of vandalism previously, the clinic had only reopened a few days earlier.

This is the sixth firebombing to occur in the past six months at a mid-western abortion clinic—4 in Ohio and the others in Omaha, Nebraska and St. Paul, Minnesota. Ohio police officials claim they are investigating the possible links between the Cleveland fire and two others at clinics in Columbus and Cincinnati. But many women's rights activists have their doubts about the alleged investigations.

"The police department has

been very lackadaisical here in their efforts," Susan Allen, a New Orleans activist who came to Cleveland to help rebuild the clinic, reported in a telephone interview.

"For instance yesterday, I was at the clinic and there was an anti-abortion demonstrator out front. Now this is three days after the clinic was firebombed and he is out there carrying an inflammatory sign. The owner of the building that the clinic is housed went down to talk to him and said that he was glad that the clinic was firebombed, that it was 'unfortunate' that the woman had been injured, and that the Lord had sent him and the wrath of God would be brought on women who had abortions."

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, a police investigation of a firebombing of a Planned Parenthood clinic over a year ago has yet to produce any results. Women who go there are still met by anti-abortion forces who maintain a daily 8 hour picket outside the clinic.

— Liberation News Service

EVENTS

ATLANTA, GA— Third Annual Southeastern Conference for Lesbians and Gay men, will be held in Atlanta on March 31-April 2 with workshops, speakers and entertainment. For registration forms and additional information, write: Conference Community, P.O. Box 5319, Atlanta, GA 30307.

BALTIMORE, MD— Thursday Evening Political Forum:

"Women Organizing the Office: A Historical and Political Analysis" with Nancy Wieggersma on Thursday, March 16, 7:30 pm, at Bread and Roses Coffeehouse, 426 E. 31st St. Sponsored by The Baltimore School.

BOSTON, MA— Reverend Christoph Shmauch will speak on "Human Rights: East and West" on Sunday, March 12, 11 am at Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Avenue. Sponsored by The Community Church of Boston.

CAMBRIDGE, MA— Ralph Fasanella will speak on "Art and Politics" on Friday, March 17, 8pm, at MIT, 105 Massachusetts Avenue, Building 9, Room 150. Sponsored by the Black Rose Lecture Series.

DEERFIELD, MA— Woolman Hill Winter Workshop: "Nonviolence: Our Survival?" with Wally Nelson and others on March 10-12. For more information and reservations, call (413) 773-9065.

FREELAND, MD— Alternate Energy Conference on March 31-April 8 at Heathcote Center School of Living. For more information, contact Heathcote Center, Rt. 1, Box 129, Freeland, MD 21053. (301) 329-6041.

LOS ANGELES, CA— The Fifth Annual "Day of Nonviolence" will be held on Saturday, March 11, 10am-6pm with keynote speaker Jim Wallis and numerous workshops. The location is Convent of The Good Shepherd, 1500 S. Arlington, Los Angeles. Sponsored by the Los Angeles Catholic Worker. For more information, call (213) 264-8144.

NYC— Marty Rosenblatt will speak on "Issues and Struggles of City Workers" on Tuesday, March 7, 6pm at Free Association, 5 W. 20th St., In Manhattan. For more information, call 691-0669.

NYC— Eric Gordon will speak on "The Anarchist Movement in Brazil" on Thursday, March 9,

7:30pm at the Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Avenue (near 29th Street). Sponsored by the Libertarian Book Club.

NYC— Barbara Ehrenreich will speak on "Between Labor and Capital: The Professional-Managerial Class" on Friday, March 10, 7:30pm at The Free Association, 5 W. 20th St. For more information, call 691-0669.

NYC— Lorna Salzman will speak on "Nuclear Power—Cancerous Technology" on Friday, March 17, 8pm, at Maryhouse, 55 E. 3rd St. Sponsored by The Catholic Worker.

NYC— "South Korea: Repression and Resistance," a program with

speakers and films on Saturday, March 18, 7:30pm, at Washington Square Church, 135 W. 4th Street. For more information, call 777-2528.

WASHINGTON, D.C.— Palm Sunday events around the theme "Save Our Communities: Meet Human Needs" will take place on Sunday, March 19. Included are a 1pm religious service across from the White House in Lafayette Park to be followed by a march and a "Save Our Communities" fair from 2:30 pm-5 pm at Luther Place Memorial Church, 14th and N Streets NW. For more information, contact the Washington Mobilization for Survival, 1333 N St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 265-7876.

prison notes



Although women prisoners form a minority of the prison population, they suffer forms of oppression which male prisoners do not. Recently, under the guise of "equal job opportunities," male guards have been working in women's prisons where they previously were excluded. Their presence involves a violation of privacy for the women who are in prison and also has brought charges of sexual exploitation from some of the women. Hilda Chester, writing in the Canadian publication *Open Road*, discusses this issue and the campaigns in New York's Bedford Hills Correctional Facility and the Canadian Oakella Correctional Institution to get male guards out of women's facilities. In New York a temporary court injunction prevents men from working in women's prison living quarters, but further court action

is pending, and it could go either way. A series of incidents at Oakella revealed such bad conditions that several officials were transferred and the public service union, which includes the guards, has recommended that male guards be transferred to male institutions. Support groups at both ends of the continent are calling for a national network to plan and implement strategies to improve the lot of women in prison. In Spain recently prisoners have participated in a series of rebellions involving burning and rioting. They are demanding that they be included in the amnesty recently granted to political prisoners, claiming that under the old Franco regime all those jailed were political prisoners. The latest uprising was in the local jail in Malaga, where prisoners destroyed almost all of the build-

ing with an estimated damage of \$1.25 million. According to Spanish prison officials, earlier rebellions caused \$7.2 million worth of damage.

The Counsel for Human Dignity, a coalition of prisoner support groups in Ohio, is undertaking what is probably the first citizen suit to close down a prison, the Ohio State Reformatory at Mansfield. The 82-year-old institution which is seriously overcrowded has been criticized by state health and industrial relations inspectors who listed 96 instances in which the prison did not meet public health and safety requirements. In addition to dirty water and cockroaches in cooking kettles, inspectors noted electrical shock hazards, noise hazard, poisonous gas hazards and machinery which lacked protective guards. The old wiring system permits prisoners to have only one 60-watt light bulb in each cell. Cuyahoga County Judge Bernard Friedman said, "The Ohio Reformatory at Mansfield should be torn down. It's unfit for human beings." If you would like more information about this suit or wish to contribute to the much needed funds write: "Counsel for Human Dignity," Ohio Council of Churches, 89 East Wilson Bridge Road, Columbus, Ohio 43085.

The Rumanian government has undertaken an experiment which has emptied many of that country's prisons, giving some prisoners amnesty and others assigned work in various communities. The policy has had critics and a marked increase in crime, especially thievery, was attributed to the release of criminals. Nevertheless, government officials defend the new direction in criminal procedure. One was quoted in the *Washington Post* as saying, "There is more a perception of increased crime than a real epidemic." Rumania's President Ceausescu defended the reform saying, "As socialist society develops, the repressive functions of the state gradually disappear." Since Rumania has a reputation for

rather severe repression of civil rights, it will be interesting to see what developments may ensue.

If it is dehumanizing to permit a man to change his name to a number is it not also dehumanizing to use numbers rather than names for prisoners? Early in February a district judge in Minnesota denied the request of Michael Herbert Dengler to assume legally the name 1069, saying such a change would constitute "an offense to basic human dignity." The *New York Times* quoted Judge Donald Barbeau as saying, "Dehumanization is widespread and affects our culture like a disease in epidemic proportions. To allow the use of a number instead of a name would only provide additional nourishment upon which the illness of the dehumanization is able to feed and grow to the point where it is totally incurable." If Judge Barbeau's ruling is allowed to stand it should give prisoners a basis for insisting that prison officials and guards also address them by name rather than number.

The shameful decision of North Carolina's Governor James B. Hunt in merely reducing the sentences of the Wilmington 10 instead of granting them pardon has produced more demonstrations on their behalf. While the governor was justifying his decision in news conference, pickets outside denounced the "racist frameup," and on February 4 Bobby Seale addressed two hundred persons in Washington, D.C. on behalf of the 10 saying, "I've been a political prisoner, so to speak, and I understand that." One of the signs the supporters held said: "Human Rights Begins at Home, Free the Wilmington 10." Congressman Don Edwards also sent a letter to Attorney General Griffin Bell, signed by seventy-four House colleagues, asking Bell to support efforts to free the Wilmington 10. Now is the time to write to Attorney General Bell and President Carter, urging that justice be done in this case.

On December 29 the Canadian

prison activist Claire Culhane was tried and found guilty of trespassing on British Columbia Penitentiary property for the second time within a year. Her trial grew out of a refusal to leave the office of the prison director when he would not permit her to visit a Native American prisoner, Clarence Johns. She described her attempt to get her message across in court as a "real fencing match" in which she was able to raise the five basic points but without elaboration. The judge fined Claire \$150, which she refused to pay. Since she is gathering evidence to expose conditions in the local women's prison it is unlikely the authorities would put her there for nonpayment of the fine. Would that we had more like Claire Culhane!

Senate Bill 1437 (a revision of the old S-1) has passed the Senate and gone to the House where it is House Bill 6869. Under the guise of revising an antiquated federal criminal code, a very repressive and cumbersome bill may well be on its way to passage unless enough of us expose it and demand its defeat. As it now reads it continues to be Nixon-Mitchell type of legislation which, among other things, would severely limit the legality of much draft counseling, peaceful demonstrating and participating in a meeting which might later be considered a conspiracy. It also virtually eliminates federal parole and severely reduces the proportion of a sentence which could be eliminated by good time. It expands federal police power and provides for excessively long confinement for many categories of offenders. Yet this dangerous bill has the support of some leading congressional liberals as well as conservatives who would like to rush it through before the opposition forces gather strength. It is urgent that you write your congressman and state your opposition. For a short description of the bill's contents, write the National Moratorium on Prison Construction, 324 C Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003.

—Larry Gara

Reviews



TOWARD A NEW PSYCHOLOGY OF WOMEN by Jean Baker Miller M.D. Beacon Press / 1976 / 143 pp. / \$3.95

One wonders if it were a large number of men who suffered from chronic feelings of alienation, inadequacy and depression would there long ago have been a redefinition of fulfillment and success. Since, however, it is only women who so suffer, it is not necessary to alter society to obviate our sense of failure. Sophisticated and powerful mind-altering drugs are cheaper and considerably less radical in their effect on the realpolitik

Jean Baker Miller has begun the arduous process—as she calls it—of defining the psychology of women to explain why so many of us seem to linger on the side of that great roadway called The Mainstream, inhaling only its pollution and not a whiff of its power. Miller does not shun the belief that women are inherently different from men. Rather, she almost eagerly points out the differences, often demonstrating the ways that we women have used our special talents to shore up men who are actually not nearly so self-sufficient as they would like to think. She does not pursue why women and men have different basic makeups: I assume she leaves that fundamental question to social scientists and geneticists to debate.

It is not simply that women are excluded from acquiring experience in the serious world of work, but that they actually come to believe that there is some special, inherent ability, some factor that escapes them and must inevitably escape them. The fact that women are themselves discouraged from serious testing of themselves fosters and deepens the need to believe that men have this special quality. Most women have a lifelong conditioning that induces them to believe this myth.

This very belief is one (but just one) of the expressions that psychiatrists and theorists have perceived as evidence of "penis envy." They may have been encouraged in their perception by the manner in which

Wendy Schwartz works at the Council on Economic Priorities and frequently writes for WIN. Diane Spaugh is on the staff of the War Resisters League/Southeast in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

women talk of this "male quality"—as if it were some sort of magical and unattainable ability. Some men (perhaps those with more self-knowledge than I have generally given them credit for here), knowing that they possess no extraordinary ability women do not share, have settled, for an explanation, on the most noticeable physical difference—the penis.

Miller sees women's adeptness at nurturing, interrelating, and allowing our basic humanness to triumph over cold objectivity as our most significant contributions to society. Not that we are to continue in subordinate roles, but rather that we should strive to infuse our natural sense of integration and justice into all of society. She urges women to confront the conflict between our true feelings and those which we are told are the prescribed ones. Shying from conflicts, as women are taught to do, will neither change individual women nor humanize society. Similarly, fear of power—or its more palatable corollary, effectiveness—is immobilizing. What is needed is for women to apply our native psychology to power, redefine it to excise its oppressiveness, and then exercise it, without fear of losing men's approval. This is, indeed, a tall order, and no matter how persuasive Jean Baker Miller is on the need for us to make these fundamental changes, it will not be easy for women to shed our extensive contrary conditioning.

Another common problem shared by women is an inability to credit ourselves with accomplishment when it is solely personal. We have always rated our own goals secondary to those of men, and consequently success on our own terms is "fraught with conflict and can contribute to diminishing a woman's self-image." Because women traditionally measure personal worth on the basis of our ability to care for another, it is nearly impossible to create an independent and authentic image. How can we define ourselves when the person to whom we look for affirmation and confirmation is instead just making more demands? (For 23 excellent personal accounts of how women struggled to meet self-defined professional goals, see *Working It Out*, edited by Sara Ruddick and Pamela Daniels, Pantheon Books, 1976.)

Miller asserts that men and their perception of women will necessarily change.

As women refuse to become the carriers of some of the central unsolved problems of male-led society, and as women move on to become the proponents of

some of the best parts of the human potential. . . men will face the challenge of grappling with their own issues in their own way. Men will be faced with having to deal with their bodily, their sexual, their childish experiences, their feelings of weakness, vulnerability, helplessness, and the other similar unsolved areas. But men can also go on to enlarge their emotional experience and more fully discover their real potential for cooperativeness and creativity. As these areas are no longer "filled in" by women and devalued by a male-led society, men will be forced to confront the ways in which their social forms do not adequately deal with these necessities. They will have to go about finding their own newer and better ways.

I hope that Miller is right, but given the number of generations it took for women to be conditioned as subordinates, I fail to see the potential for an overnight eradication of sexism. Even in the simplified case histories in her book, Miller is quick to point out that while husbands are willing to make some changes in their lives to accommodate their wives' needs, they are not willing to have their lives undergo core restructuring which would result in less prestigious work, smaller salaries, or in general any devaluation of their lives as rated by traditional male values. I see tokens being thrown to women, resulting in an increase in our already seemingly endless supply of guilt rather than in our prestige: every crumb of compromise a man throws us will be calculated to make us more grateful rather than more free.

Miller questions the value of independence as a major goal for women. While she acknowledges that economic, political, social, and psychological dependence is oppressive, she urges women to strive for interdependence. "Feeling intense connections with other people" can be perfectly compatible with "feeling effective and free."

The most important contribution of *Towards a New Psychology of Women* is of course its analysis of the psychological impact on women of systematized disenfranchisement from mainstream society.

Women work with the pervasive sense that what they do does not matter as much as what men do. In this they are, of course, in absolute touch with reality—reality as defined for them by society. . .

. . . if society deems women's areas less valuable, it cannot also tell a woman that she can, or should, feel herself to be a fully valued person; and if we do not allow a person the basic right to be a fully valued member of society, we limit the flow of her psychological expression in a million ways, large and small. . .

Our attitudes about ourselves and our work—ranging in this man-defined world from neutral to self-loathing—are equally important to women of all races and classes, for few with a poor self-image can function adequately, and none can function well enough to demand equality long overdue. What the book can't do, unhappily, is crawl inside our heads and do the chang-

ing for us. Understanding our problems, the psychological obstacles to overcome, is but a small first step toward solving them. As helpful as women's natural bonding tendency is, ultimately each of us, in the intimacy of our souls, must drive out the insecurities of our pasts and replace them with a new authenticity. It is a hard, lonely task, but a necessary one—for each of us personally, and for society. Jean Baker Miller thinks we can do it:

A community of purposeful and sympathetic women directed to their self-determined goals is a new phenomenon. It has created an atmosphere and milieu that brings a whole new quality to life. It advances and fosters both attempts at knowledge and a personal conviction about the content and the methods of getting at knowledge. It creates a new sense of connection between knowledge, work, and personal life. All this has begun to happen for women.

I hope she is right.

—Wendy Schwartz

GENERATIONS: WOMEN IN THE SOUTH
Southern Exposure, Vol. IV, No. 4,
a quarterly publication of the Institute
for Southern Studies / P.O. Box 230,
Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

This issue of *Southern Exposure* is a unique collection of writings, essays, stories, bawdy tales and poetry that bring to life the history of southern women—black women, white women, poor women, mill and factory workers, miners' wives, slaves and slave owners. It examines the variety of roles that a woman may play in her lifetime—mother, daughter, sister, grandmother, lover, community leader, artist, educator.

On an analytical level, *Generations* delves deep in an exploration of the roots of southern women's race, class and culture. In the South, especially, we grew up under a hierarchy that placed all blacks "beneath" all whites. White women, while having no real economic or political power, felt that we were in a social class above blacks. Today, many white women, along with other women and men, are rejecting that hierarchal structure and recognizing that it only causes us to fight and compete among ourselves for a "piece of the pie" (even though the whole pie is rotten). It pits us against each other on the basis of race, sex, class, age, religion and lifestyle.

This same battle over a sliver of the pie has been used to split black women and white women over the issues of racism and sexism. Black women in the south have found it difficult to embrace the struggle for women's equality while their sons, lovers, brothers and friends were being lynched for crimes they never committed or for white women they never touched.

As Anne Braden points out in her article, "A Second Open Letter to Southern White Women":

An upsurge in the racist use of the rape charge is always triggered by historic conditions. After Reconstruction in the South, when lynching reached its height, the charge of rape was used to terrorize the black community, divide interracial Populist coalitions, and keep power in the hands of a few white men.

The "rape cases" inspired action and became famous not because they were unusual but because they exemplified the terrorism which upheld political and economic power relationships in the South. Every black person knew that a member of his or her own family could have been a "Scottsboro Boy" or a Martinsville defendant. At any moment, a false rape charge could be used to divide white against black and destroy efforts at fundamental change.

White women have been unwilling to accept male domination of the "movement"—whether it be civil rights, anti-war, or current liberation struggles. Because of male domination, many white women left the civil rights movement and committed their energies to feminism. This greatly increased the level of mistrust between white and black women and caused a good part of the split today between the two movements.

Looking back through history, the causes of abolition and women's rights have been closely intertwined. As Sara Veen writes in her article, "Women's Consciousness and the Southern Black Movement":

Twice in the history of the United States the struggle for racial equality has been midwife to a feminist movement. In the abolition movement of the 1830's and 1840's and again in the civil rights revolt of the 1960's, women experiencing the contradictory expectations and stresses of changing roles began to move from individual discontents to a social movement in their own behalf. Working for racial justice, they developed both political skills and a belief in human rights which could justify their own claim to equality.

This common history, this common struggle to overcome racism and sexism has led southern women, black and white, to work together, while recognizing the uniqueness and separateness of our individual struggles. This common history has given birth to an understanding of the roots of our oppression as women and as Southerners trying to rid ourselves of the stigmas of white southern belle and black southern slave.

In this review, I have focused largely on race and sex, since those issues were dealt with in several articles in addition to the ones by Braden and Veen already mentioned: "We Started from Different Ends of the Spectrum" by Cynthia Washington; "If It Was Anything for Justice," an interview with Sallie Mae Hadnott by Margaret Rose Gladney; "Lillian Smith: Reflections on Race and Sex" by Jo Ann Robinson; and "Women and Lynching" by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall.

Many other aspects of southern women's lives are dealt with: "Quilting Women: Rather Quilt Than Eat, Almost" by Jennifer Miller; "Magnolias Grow in

Dirt: The Bawdy Lore of Southern Women" by Rayna Green; and "Right to Life: The Southern Strategy" by Priscilla Parish Williams.

The many women portrayed in *Generations*, each in her own way, have contributed to the developing insights into the connections between race, sex and class. Whether it be Pauli Murray (the first Negro woman ordained a priest in the 200-year history of the Protestant Episcopal Church) telling her story of growing up in Durham, North Carolina, with her Aunt Pauline, or Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard writing and singing women's blues, you'll find in these 120 pages a part of yourself. You'll find a heritage so rich and full that it will be hard to put *Generations* down until you've finished the last page—and then you'll find that the history of these women will live on in you for generations to come.

—Diane Spough

Pauli Murray, photograph by Stephen March/Southern Exposure



CLASSIFIEDS

Free if no exchange of \$\$ involved and only 20 words in length. Otherwise \$2 for every ten words.

PUBLIC NOTICE

WINTER/SPRING Calendar of Events available from Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz. Includes listing of resources available (books, literature, workshops, speakers, etc.) and notice of events with or about: "The Power of the People"—nonviolence in America, with Helen Michalowski; Love in Action with Diane K. Pke and Arleen Lorraine; Personal Story and Nonviolence with James McClendon; and much more. Send self-addressed stamped envelope to: RCNV POB 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

If you are interested in disarmament, feminism, war tax resistance, nonviolence or organizing an WRL local chapter and you live in the South, then please contact the new War Resisters League Southeast Regional Office, 108 Purefoy Road, Chapel Hill, NC 27514, 919-967-7244.

Peace Seminar to U.S.S.R. Disarmament and detente discussions with Peace Committees in the Soviet Union are being arranged for a Peace Seminar to the U.S.S.R. August 6-27, 1978. Interested people are invited to participate. For details and application write to Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 103, Woodmont, CT 06460.

GAY MEN AND WOMEN—If you believe organized religion is the greatest enemy of Gay Liberation and want full information about a new movement, Gay Atheists League of America, write: GALA P.O. Box 14142, San Francisco CA 94114.

PUBLICATIONS

A workbook on Nuclear Power with: Nuclear Myth and Chronology, Seabrook, Proliferation, Trident, Posters, Comics, Songs and much more. Send \$3.75 plus 50¢ postage to Cultural Workers Collective, Box 302, North Amherst, MA 01059.

POLITICS AND EDUCATION is a new national magazine by and for people seeking to effect change in the structure of higher education and American society as a whole. For information, contact P&E, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, CT, 06457.

INSIDE REPORT to and from grassroots America. WASHINGTON WATCH, 5 issues for \$2.00. Dept. WN1, 3308 Cedar, Lansing, MI 48910.

THE STUDY KIT FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION, produced by War Resisters League/West contains articles on the theory and practice of nonviolence, both personally and politically as well as accounts of the successes and problem of contemporary nonviolence. Articles and pamphlets by Camus, Gandhi, Gene Sharp, Barbara Deming, Mark Morris, George Lakey and the WIN Double Issue on Seabrook are to be found and much more as well. Send \$2.50 per study kit to WRL/West, 1360 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Special rates are available for bulk orders so order them for your study group, teach-in or classroom.

NOW AVAILABLE. FREE 1978 LITERATURE LIST of the Womens Counter Recruiting Campaign. 5 pages, 58 selections, 11 categories includes Women & the Military, Women & Service Academies, Military Recruiting, JROTC, ROTC, Conscientious Objection, The Draft and more. Send self-addressed, stamped envelope (legal size) to: WCRC, 944 Market Street, Rm 509, San Francisco, CA 94102.

The Continental Walk Book reduced to \$2.50 for limited time only! Checks should be made payable to "Continental Walk." WRL, 339 Lafayette, New York, NY 10012.

PRODUCTS

PANAMA SLIDE SHOW. Radical analysis of historical, economic, cultural background to new Canal Treaties. 20 minutes long with taped commentary. \$15—rental; \$45—purchase. Write: Panama, 172 Putnam Ave., Apt. 3, Cambridge, MA 02139.

IMPACT Tape Services offers cassette program on Black and Left history and culture including interviews with Bobby Seale, John Coltrane, Gloria Steinem, and coverage of Black capitalism, heroin traffic, the CIA, and busing. For more information, write IMPACT, P.O. Box 2278, Inglewood, CA 90305.

POPULOUS BUMPERSTICKER. The current anti-cult witch-hung won't stop the Moon-Koreagate conspiracy, but a grassroots populous campaign will. (A bold headline & fine print in a petition format.) **DON'T BUY SOUTH KOREAN PRODUCTS UNTIL** Sun Myung Moon ceases his mind control efforts. **UNTIL** all Korean refugees in America are no longer being harassed by the South Korean government in blatant disregard of American laws. **UNTIL** all Korean links to the bribing of Congressmen, kickbacks, & computerized thefts of military supplies is exposed. **UNTIL** all unfair competition ceases, specifically the subsidizing & dumping of goods on the American market. **UNTIL** South Korean workers have the freedom to join unions & strike against starvation wages & hazardous working conditions, & Koreans in general are granted some basic freedom. Write your congressman & tell him that you oppose ALL aid to Korea until ALL these conditions are met! Please send large self-addressed stamped envelope for free samples. Freedom Stickers, Box 1967, Phila. PA 19105. Contributions & Volunteers are needed.

SERVICES

Information on tax resistance (philosophy, methods, phone tax refusal, an alternative fund, creative tax resistance, feminism and tax resistance) is available by writing War Tax Resistance, 331 17 Ave East, Seattle, WA 98112 or calling 206-525-9486. 25¢ for postage would be nice, but is not necessary.

The Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund is a nonviolent resistance community (both live-in and extended). We are working for peace, disarmament, and a change of values and priorities away from war and its preparation to an emphasis on peace, social justice, and people's needs.

Brandywine sponsors educational programs, action campaigns, and public demonstrations in order to highlight the moral, political, and economic imperative of disarmament. Additionally, the group is making a positive statement with its alternative fund. This fund, comprised of refused war taxes, personal savings, and group deposits, makes interest-free loans to social change and service groups (primarily in Delaware and Chester Counties, PA). Contact: Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund, 51 Barren Rd., Media, PA 19063.

Philadelphia Movement for a New Society is offering a two week general training program in Philadelphia during March 18—April 2 for social change activists. The program will develop skills in community building, organizing, and nonviolent direct action. For more information contact the Medium Term Training Organizing Collective/MNS, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 or call (215) 729-1928.

LIVING ALTERNATIVES

Leavitt Hill Farm, New Vineyard, Me. 04956. land trust, community, children, work for social change, orchards, gardens, greenhouses, aquaculture, forestry.

GRANDPARENT, WRITER, PACIFIST, RADICAL-FEMINIST seeks strong, centered family or grouping of adults and children with whom to live intermittently. Can contribute: nice small library, stereo and record collection, bits of household furnishings, culinary abilities, warmth, wit, various eccentricities, and some sophisticated living skills. Require privacy much of the time. Also willingness to deal with interpersonal tensions in a psycho-political context. Prefer rural or semirural area. Would be in residence only part of the year. If other needs match, equitable financial arrangements can be

achieved. Please send full information in exchange for same.

Wolf, Box 204, North San Juan, California 95960.

Brooklyn, downtown. Opening soon in cooperative household. Comfortable non-sexist person with WIN-type interests desired. \$114-127 per month plus g/e. (212) 875-1946.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The North Carolina Prison and Jail Project has an opening for staff position. Job would require working with prisoners; organizing visitation programs; community education; and some death penalty work. Salary is \$7,200. We will be filling the position soon so please rush resumes (with current address and telephone number) to NCP&JP, Box 2842, Durham North Carolina, 27705.

Clergy and Laity Concerned is looking for a person to coordinate our Membership and Development program from the New York City-based national office.

The Membership and Development staff person should be self-motivated, have a background in grassroots organizing and be committed to a non-hierarchical organizational style. If this position interests you or someone you know please contact: Jeanne Kaylor, CALC 3rd fl., Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

All applicants must notify us by April 1, as we would like to fill the position by May 1, 1978.

Work and live in a spiritual educational cooperative: we are looking for an assistant organic gardener to work 8 months, a canning and freezing coordinator for 6 months and office person for 3-6 months. Must be committed to a spiritual path and be willing to participate in community. Room and board and small monthly stipend offered. Jane Bishop (301) 486-6262 Koinonia, P.O. Box 5744, Pikesville, Maryland 21208.

Clergy and Laity Concerned is looking for a program coordinator and an assistant to staff CALC's Human Security program in New York City with the specific responsibility of working with the Mobilization for Survival (a coalition of anti-nuclear, pro-human needs groups across the country) Religious Taskforce. Contact: Rick Boardman, Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway 3rd fl., New York, N.Y. 10038 (212) 964-6730.

WIN is looking for a new staff member—someone with typesetting experience to take responsibility for typesetting WIN each week and to work on our typesetting and design business.

Skills in fundraising, writing, promotion, etc., would be helpful too. You should be committed to nonviolent social change, feminism and preferably have some background in the Movement. We particularly encourage women, gays and third world people to apply. We work collectively, and because of our philosophical commitment don't mind the long hours and low, often irregular, pay. We ask that you be willing to make a minimum commitment to work at WIN for one year.

If you think you would be right for the job, write us something about yourself and we'll get in touch with you: WIN Staff, 503 Atlantic Ave., 5th floor, Brooklyn, NY 11217.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
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