

**NO  
MORE  
FUN  
AND  
GAMES**

**A Journal of  
Female  
Liberation**

"Reverend Sir, have you seen a woman pass this way?"

And the elder said:

"Was it a woman, or a man

That passed this way? I cannot tell.

But this I know, a set of bones

Is travelling upon this road."

Visuddhi Magga, ch. 1

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## WHAT DO YOU WOMEN WANT?

The reactions to our first journal (untitled, unstructured, without page numbers or table of contents or date of publication or copyright, and barely escaping total anonymity) have been many and varied.

The most consistent criticism from those who enjoyed the journal was that we provided no structure, no solutions. They say that although we identified a whole array of problems and feelings which touched them acutely, they felt somewhat lost as to what could be done in their day-to-day lives.

The very layout of our first journal should indicate the degree of our own dilemma. We simply knew that we had to begin somewhere, and at least speak out. So our first action was to publish a journal.

We all felt strongly that our movement must be grassroots, and emerge from the truth of our suffering. We wanted to set an example of what could be done. None of us was a professional editor, nor did any of us have experience in organizing and fund-raising. Movement people were hostile to our ideas and plans, so we had no access to their experience and knowledge and machinery. Our own interests and occupations varied enormously--nurse's aid, poet and mother, student, welfare mother, bio-chemist, teacher, computer programmer, former prostitute.

But we did it: we produced a journal, doing all the layout and production ourselves. Then to pay for the publication costs we sponsored a showing of the film, "The Queen", at the Kenmore Square Cinema in Boston. Thanks to a sympathetic article in Boston After Dark by Jane Steideman, our own leafletting, and the nature of the film, we were able to get two full houses in one evening, and make enough money to largely offset the printing costs.

Now, five months after, men do not bait us as viciously, and women do not shrink with embarrassment, as they did back in October. The movement has officially endorsed "Women's

Liberation" (in order to hold onto their own women). But this is America, and we realize that these are methods of absorption, not a true reflection of changed attitudes. The mask has changed, but underneath nothing has changed. Our work has only begun. We have done no more than scream, and we were heard. Before us lies the necessity and labor of a thorough social revolution--worldwide, not just in America.

Abstract analysis is important, but people are right to look for specifics. We can offer experiments, some of which we have tried or heard of, some of which we should like to see tried. No one of these problem-solving methods or experiments nor all of them together will constitute the revolution we envision as absolutely necessary for individual as well as group survival (survival of the species).

It is inhuman and cruel to condemn as "reformist" anything which eases suffering. It has never been proven that the most downtrodden are the most revolutionary. On the contrary, until women are permitted to develop a human self-image they will never challenge the male structures and assumptions, even when these are leading to world annihilation.

It is our duty to provide an analysis that is so revolutionary, so inescapably true and humane, that women cannot be co-opted into the system that formerly enslaved them. If we lack that analysis, we can't make up for it by keeping them enslaved. It is inescapable today that most enslaved women are in their own way the MOST "co-opted" by the system, that is, they look to it for everything they have, through their men.

Our first suggestion to women has been to encourage them to begin relating to their problems as women in small groups of friends or neighbors or professional colleagues. From those groups, theory and action will emerge, as has happened with our own and other groups.

The first step is to identify the SOCIAL nature of the oppression of women. It is helpful to make contact with other groups through-

out the country and in other countries, to broaden ones outlook and to learn from the experiences of others. Regional workshops bringing small groups in a geographical or cultural area together can be encouraging and helpful.

After several female liberation meetings, everything one reads, sees, and hears takes on a whole new dimension. Television becomes fascinating when one begins to see the process of programming of the man-woman-child roles which fit the needs of the system. Films, books, and plays become revelations. Every conversation and transaction with a man is seen in a new light. The role-playing and unnaturalness of one's own actions are revealed. It is like being reborn.

The exhilaration one feels at this awakening of consciousness soon recedes and cold reality sets in. The situation is revealed as tragic and destructive. One's new consciousness allows one to see the damage being done daily to millions of women (and men surely), and then the frustration, anger, depression (not the housewife variety, but the existential misery of a Dostoievski) set in. One can never go back, but she feels distinctly that she cannot change the situation. She is then up against a wall-struggling.

At that point, in-group fighting may begin or a split in the group may occur. This seems to have happened in every group that has formed. Probably it is healthy, but it can also be demoralizing to the individuals, particularly to new members who have not yet reached that stage of consciousness.

It seems better from the very inception of a group to hold two meeting--one for advanced people, and one for recruits. In the advanced session, men can be brought in, men who have themselves held meetings dealing with their own behavior as men, and who have a strong sense of their own oppression under sexism and a strong sense of its destructiveness for the species. This would not include men who are merely curious or who want to help women out with their problem.

At the beginning, it is devastating to have men in a group, because women will not speak their minds, even if the men are strangers. There is too strong an unconscious sense that men are the enemy, too deeply ingrained training to let men do the thinking, and too entrenched habits of sexual game-playing. Both women and men fall into their stereotyped roles, and not much is accomplished, unless it is turned into group therapy (T-group), which has questionable value for the development of rational thought and theory.

We also have advised women to learn some sort of self-defense. We have found karate and its variations most appealing. It is more of a true conditioning of the body, enabling a woman to meet an attacker aggressively. Judo emphasizes tricks whereby a woman, remaining weak, can turn the strength of the attacker against him by flipping him using his own momentum. In karate a woman learns to make the most of her strength by focussing it and striking or blocking with the force of her whole body, but she also trains to become stronger. Most women, even those who do strenuous housework, are frequently pitifully weak, and the answer should be to train the body to healthy competence, not just to learn tricks. Judo, however, probably offers more immediate results for self-defense on the street. And any martial art if it is followed conscientiously over a long period provides the same benefits.

However, neither group meetings nor karate solves the problems of day-to-day life. They may only make it LESS bearable if one is trapped, isolated, and burdened as a housewife and mother. The principle complaints have come to us from women in that situation.

We take a stand against the nuclear family. This stand is very threatening to many people, but we regard it as basic. The very term "family" was invented by the Romans to denote a new social organism, whose head ruled over the wife, children and slaves, and was invested under Roman Law with rights of life and death over them all.

Famulus means domestic slave, and familia is the total number of slaves belonging to one man. This unit is no longer economically necessary, just as slavery is not. But it is psychologically necessary for men who are trying to live up to an identity based on this traditional but now obsolete power.

There is a subculture emerging in this society which is establishing communal living as its basis. Though the attempts are often clumsy and uncomfortable, sex or drug motivated, some have worked, usually if they have been organized around a political ideology or project. There is no way to escape the horrors of this society, and a commune designed as an escape is destined to failure. However, a commune set up on the right basis (female liberation) seems to offer the only humane arrangement for the care of children.

It is essential for women to insist on at least an equal number of women as men in a commune. Otherwise she is likely to become a domestic slave for many rather than for one man. There should be absolute equality in all domestic work, child-care, work outside the commune, and education. Women should be willing to train men in domestic work, and be trained by men in "handyman" work, as well as attending school to prepare for a chosen skill or profession. Schooling should be seen as labor, not pleasure, and counted as a contribution to the commune, not a privilege to be paid for in extra chores.

The commune should never be just another kind of family unit. Each individual must be autonomous, with complete privacy and opportunity for extended periods of solitude for meditation, thinking, and working. Attention should be given to the problem of the development of emotional dependency on other members of the commune. One can't work in a vacuum, but neither can one work in an environment full of distractions. The more difficult ones work is the more disruptive the presence of others is (even when they are in another room).

As for single women, we advise them to remain single, and to deal with the problems of being a woman alone and free, living autonomously in control of her own life. The most demanding and rewarding arrangement is to live completely alone; however, this is some times financially impossible. Female communes offer a creative alternative. The commune should be politically rather than socially oriented (liberation, not snagging men, should be the goal) and women should practice self-sufficiency individually and collectively. Possibilities for learning from each other should be exploited, while resisting temptation to fall back on each other for entertainment.

We think one should avoid pregnancy (by abortion if necessary) at this time. If one has a talent for dealing with children, she (or he) can work in a nursery school or an orphanage or even set up a child care center. If one has an overpowering need to possess a child of one's own, there are many homeless children and unwanted children soon to be born: there is no need, where the world problem is overpopulation and not underpopulation, to bring still more into the world. However, if one does feel a need to possess and mold a child of one's own, perhaps that is a sign that one has not achieved sufficient maturity and autonomy and is seeking a hopeless fulfillment through neurotic channels.

Some will say, but what of the glory, the beauty, the ecstasy of childbirth? Why should one glory childbirth more than life itself, or for that matter than the birth of spring, or the first snow, or the beauty of ecological balance? The state of "nature"--its functioning, its balance--is in sad disrepair thanks to the centuries of plundering Western male fortune hunters. Let us consider all of nature, not just one tiny aspect of it when we speak of "natural" childbirth. When women begin to realize that it is the LIFE of the child, not the process of childbirth which is "natural", and when women understand that this one thing is the only

single glory allowed to us, they will perhaps demystify the process of "breeding"--a function given to all female mammals, and really not very special after all.

In a healthy, humane society, the burden and responsibility for children would be on the society, not on the woman who produces them. It is not the duty of individual women to reproduce the species; it is the concern of the society as a whole. Support of the children would be on the society and care of the children would be delegated to those who have the talent and interest in child care, and they would be rewarded for their work in the same way as bridge builders or teachers. The private home as it now exists will appear a torture chamber to post-revolutionary people.

There are many things one can do right now to move toward reclaiming oneself. For instance, anyone can change her name, dropping any patriarchal name or names she has required, father's or husband's.

These patriarchal names specify whose property she is, who her legal male protector is. Until she is married, it's her father. When he "gives her away" to her husband, he becomes her protector. If you don't want to be property you must give up the protection and honor of the man's name, too.

Use your first and middle names, or choose a new last name from someone you admire, or make one up. Some women have taken liberation names building from their mother's name (Sarachild, Donnachild), just as men's surnames were often formed from their father's names in the patriarchal line. This is much more logical, since it is the mother who bears the child and the father's participation is minimal and, at least with respect to the particular man who is married to the mother, uncertain.

Rename yourself then to become your own person. You have a common law right to change your name at any time (provided it is not for purposes of fraud) just by notifying everyone, just as you do when you change your name to your husband's. That change is not legally required, but is just convention, done by declaration the

way the assumption of a liberation name would be.

Another thing anyone can do is to stop buying and wearing cosmetics, even if one has "bad skin" or whatever. Men get along without cosmetics and they aren't really so frightening looking. If you look sallow and unhealthy start getting some strenuous exercise everyday. If you care about being attractive, good health is more attractive than the cleverest artifice. You can still use chap-stick to protect your lips and hand lotion to sooth dry hands--that's medicine. WE don't have to let our hands crack and peel and bleed the way men do.

For more thoughts on cosmetics and ones self-image, see the article in this issue on "The Temptation to be a Beautiful Object."

The same goes for clothes. Find what is comfortable and wear it. This may mean wearing pants all the time. If you must wear dresses to work, they should be plain in style and color (you can WEAR your flamboyant orange and pink mod dresses, if you don't mind the sort of attention they get you, but don't buy any NEW ones like that).

Stop following fashions, looking at fashion magazines, shopping. Bright colors and delightful materials are wonderful to have around, but do you really want to decorate your BODY with them? On your body they cry out, "Look at me, touch me, I'm swinging, I'm sexy, I'm female." Moreover, we must break out of the whole neurotic syndrome of expressing ourselves through our appearance rather than by what we ARE and DO. Creating "our image" through the way we dress. Being exploited into endless consumption.

Ones whole outlook on life changes when one begins to peel off the false layers society has given one.

Another possibility for individual action is confronting men on the street when they follow, proposition, or bait you. This is only possible when many people are around because of the danger of physical assault and because the point is to put the man on the spot and give out the message that this sort of harrassment must end.

There are endless other kinds of actions--civil rights oriented--like picketing and leafleting Playboy Clubs or girlie films or burlesque clubs where women are used and portrayed as objects and harrasing restaurants which illegally bar women by sitting in and picketing.

A vitally important individual action is simply to speak to people all the time in all situations about female liberation, constantly pointing out implications, deprogramming everything. This becomes almost impossible to avoid doing in the state of awakened consciousness. Some people call us obsessive. We are. The elements of our oppression, the invisible bars on our cages, are everywhere, and there is no escape. But the obsessive, uncompromising exposure of the oppression is our way of heading toward liberation. And that is what we want.

In the women of China the Communists possessed, almost ready made, one of the greatest masses of disinherited human beings the world has ever seen. And because they found the key to the hearts of these women, they also found one of the keys to victory over Chiang Kai-shek.

Jack Belden

quoted in Fanshen by W. Hinton



## THE SLAVE'S STAKE IN THE HOME

The only honorable career for a woman is marriage. She is required by public opinion to devote herself to a particular man and to defer to men in general.

She has been trained from birth to do this. Any "personal" ambitions are secondary, and if she goes against this she is flaunting values held universally by society and internalized by her.

One might want to appeal to woman to exchange obedience to the internalized values of society for self-respect as an active free human being, but it is just that feeling that is most lacking in women.

They have been taught to respect MEN, not themselves. They know they are passive, dependant, worthy only to serve. No, part of the right order of things is that they NOT have self-respect, so it is no use asking them to substitute that for the approval of society.

Moreover, even if they wanted to move out of their roles, they don't have the resources. Not only have they been taught to lack self-confidence, taught that they are thoroughly inadequate and incompetant in all important things, they have not been trained to pursue a career, and often have left off their education early. And why not, since getting and keeping a man was the only important thing?

They don't have the inner resources of independance, self-discipline, and determination that boys are taught. All their lives they have known they would be taken care of, it was never necessary to develop such resources.

Not only was it unnecessary, it was discouraged actively in any girl who was foolish enough not to take the easy way out from the start.

She is discouraged by parents, who don't want her jeopardizing her marriage chances by unfeminine behavior and pursuits, and by her peers, teenagers being the most cruel and intolerant of all creatures, ridiculing any behavior that is different.

Many women do "work", but it's just a deadly, exhausting extension of the work at home. They work at menial jobs under poor conditions with no advancement for little pay.

(No man could be paid so little, but after all, these women for the most part aren't supporting a family, they are being supported, and consequently can settle for sub-starvation wages.)

They work, then, and if they're lucky they form some friendships at work and see a little more of the world than their children; but then they come home exhausted and cook supper for their families and do all the house-cleaning, laundry, and ironing.

Don't tell these women that going to work is emancipation. They'll laugh in your face. It's just another slavery, served concurrently. And not entirely honorable, at that, because what was wrong with her that she couldn't get a husband who could support her?

Prejudices against women are not just a matter of ignorance. They are always at least partly, and sometimes totally, ill-will and opportunistic exploitation.

A good manager knows perfectly well that women are more stable, not less stable, in employment. They may not be in the labor force all their lives, but they stay at any given job longer than the man, who is always trying to better his position.

He knows that they often work harder than men, out of loyalty, accept less pay for the same work, do the work without the title, go on indefinitely without promotion, and not quit, whatever goes wrong, staying out of loyalty to the father-figure boss (who plays on her guilt and desire to please).

They stay BECAUSE they aren't pursuing a career, they know the home comes first and what happens at work is not important; and anyway they'll be quitting eventually so they might as well stick it out now.

Still they are hired only for the most menial jobs and paid the minimum and not promoted all on the excuse that they are unstable and not loyal to the company.

Women see stupid, incompetent men being given prestigious positions, while competent, hard-working women are kept at the menial jobs.

This is emancipation? By comparison, the prison of the home is a cozy haven. There at least they are free from insults, there at least they are queen.

Stepping out of her role, then, goes against the woman's own values and sense of the rightness of things.

Moreover, she lacks the self-confidence, the sense

of independence and of her own worth; she has always been told she is incompetent and she has never had the opportunity to test or develop her abilities.

In order to free herself from male domination, she must stop being dependent on him, but the conditions for her to earn her own living are so unpleasant as to be unacceptable.

## II

To tell these women that they are as good as their men, to tell them to free themselves from their oppression and to take charge of their own destinies, to tell them they are being weak and parasitic, existing in a degraded state, is to make them feel inexplicably slapped in the face: they will not understand what you are talking about or what could make you want to attack them that way.

Since to free themselves is out of the question within the current givens of the situation, your exhortations only accuse them once again of inadequacy.

A buried part of them in some cases perhaps does harbor a certain regret for wasted talents, a regret generating guilt generating and hidden by a nameless formless anxiety, the regret being suppressed for the good of the organism in a society where a woman's place is in the home and where the smart woman never competes with her man.

Your words threaten to bring this guilt and regret to the surface and so the organism immediately generates a heavy defensive smokescreen of hostility.

But don't think that the fact that such a buried regret exists gives you a wedge, if only you can get them to admit it.

It has probably been conscious before and the rational decision of the organism was to suppress it. It is in conflict with the demands on her by society, by her husband, by her family, by other values of her own, values stronger than the regrets.

This is the important thing. Women have been PROGRAMMED, not just coerced. They aren't at home because hubby locks the door as he leaves each morning

She is at home because her mother and all her friends are at home, and when she turns on the television or opens a magazine she has reinforced the idea

that being at home is honorable, creative, and fulfilling, that she is lucky to have this leisure, or to be self-employed, as it were, even if she is too busy to have much leisure.

She does not have to go out into the hard ugly world so full of "noisy brutalities" of various sorts to slave for another at meaningless work without recognition. Instead she works for herself and her loved ones, in her own home, surrounded by love.

Moreover, it is the opinion of her mother and everyone she knows, again reinforced by the media, that only women who are frustrated and neurotic and selfish insist on going outside the home; that true women, feminine women, want to stay at home, love staying at home, consider themselves lucky to be at home.

This attitude is not one she arrived at rationally by examining the facts. If it were, more facts could enlighten her.

But it seeped in beginning at birth, looking around her, watching her parents, watching the neighbors, watching television.

Before she could talk she knew that the men held the power and the women ran the home. Young children don't question these things; they assume that there is something in the nature of women that keeps them at home, something in the nature of man that gives him power. Her horizon was closed off that early.

Later, of course, when she gets old enough to question, another element is brought in against her, just to make sure she doesn't start wondering if it is all absolute.

It is the necessity for pleasing the boys in order to have dates, male attention, female status, and a social life at all. All the coyness and role-playing she played at as a child are brought in for real this time, and a lot of new tricks she has to learn for the first time. Not only doesn't she have time to question the woman's role in life, she has to spend all her energies perfecting her role-playing and feminine subservience just to survive.

From "please boys or have no social life" it slips hopelessly into "please men or you won't get a husband," the hysteria increasing all the way until the dull hopeless realization after the man has been caught

and the prize examined that this is all it was about.

Her first reaction is to put up a big show to cover her disappointment. Gradually she adjusts.

Television and magazines assure her that she has the best of all possible worlds. True, it isn't what she'd hoped, but evidently it's the best there is, and certainly the alternatives are unthinkable (the social stigma...).

So she makes the best of it. She prides herself on doing a good job, tells herself she's not just a housekeeper, but the one who knows how to do things in the special ways that please her husband best, tells herself that it would be unthinkable for anyone else to care for her children. She, as the bearer of the womb from which they sprang, is the only one qualified to care for them.

The media agree and applaud her. She is convinced.

### III

Most women never had the time to seriously consider being a concert violinist (substitute any serious undertaking). They were too busy pursuing their social life or worrying about the fact that they had no social life.

Moreover they grew up, and still live, in a social group in which the only honorable career for women is marriage and any other interests are only hobbies permissible only to the extent that they make one more, not less, desirable to men.

But suppose there was one young girl who harbored secret desires to be a concert violinist but buried these dreams as inimical to her actual career as wife and mother.

She might have liked to be a concert violinist but in fact she knows she doesn't have the determination and self-discipline to make her stand and to go through the long years of hard, lonely work and deprivation, even if she were totally convinced that she had the talent.

Her husband wants a wife, PERIOD. She would get no sympathy from him. And she loves and feels great responsibility for her children, so she couldn't leave her family, even if she could take the social stigma, which, by the way, she couldn't.

So don't talk to these women unless you can find something to say that is so obviously true and revolutionary that it cuts through all that conditioning and all that helplessness.

And don't tell them to go out and work because only if you're educated, able and ambitious can you hope to get a job you might enjoy.

And in any case these women will still be expected to do all the housework and kow tow to their husbands, perhaps more than ever if he feels his ego threatened by the fact that she's working.

He won't respect her for contributing to the family finances. He'll feel threatened and denigrate her work and be resentful if she comes home tired. She's his wife and if she goes out to work it's just to keep herself occupied or get over a financial crisis; she'll never be a partner in the providing business, only a wife who also works.

She is not liberatable until the conditions that hold her in slavery are alleviated, until liberation comes to appear feasible and respectable. A new set of social expectations must replace the ones that now program her for and confine her within the woman's role.

#### IV

You women whose egos WEREN'T hopelessly crippled, you who long for independence and have the resources to go after it, YOU do something.

But don't just go out to work and think that just because you've gone into the man's world and succeeded at his game you've done something for women.

That doesn't prove to anybody that women are the equals of men. It only proves that you have a man's mind.

And you do, you have to, to play his game well. Well, so what. The woman's role is so phony you might as WELL play the man's. But don't have any illusions about it. Nobody is going to let you rewrite the rules.

You can't say, "Now that we women are playing we're going to change the way this whole thing is done. It's stupid and entirely male-oriented and a big web of childish power plays and prestige fights and dehumanizing manipulation of people. It's all built around the

pandering to and exploiting of the male ego and all headed toward goals that no sane human being would want. If we're both going to work at running this world we're going to run it in a human way."

You can't say any of that, because it's an illusion entirely that women are playing. WOMEN are still at home, like they always were.

Certain freaks in female bodies but with male minds and willing to play by male rules are permitted into the game, but they must prove that they are "competent" by showing respect and enthusiasm for the male rules and institutions.

The problem isn't that women aren't working, any more than the problem was that they weren't voting.

As long as we have male supremacy women are going to be kept helpless and oppressed and they will be given "privileges" only when it is to the man's advantage. (She can vote, at his bidding and for his candidates; she can go to work, at the jobs that are too menial for him, and if she then comes home and does all the other work too; she can sleep with him without being married to him.)

So: no more fun and games. No more us taking all the blame. No more us trying to imitate men and prove we are just as good. Frontal attack. It's all over now.

Dana Densmore

HOW SAD IT IS TO BE A WOMAN!  
NOTHING ON EARTH IS HELD SO CHEAP.  
BOYS STAND LEANING AT THE DOOR  
LIKE GODS FALLEN OUT OF HEAVEN.  
THEIR HEARTS BRAVE THE FOUR OCEANS,  
THE WIND AND DUST OF A THOUSAND MILES.  
NO ONE IS GLAD WHEN A GIRL IS BORN:  
BY HER THE FAMILY SETS NO STORE.

--Fu Hsuan

quoted in Fanshen  
by William Hinton

## SEX ROLES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

### RESEARCH IN FEMALE AND MALE DIFFERENCES RECOGNITION OF FEMALES IN HISTORY

Looking back through history, it would seem that women have contributed very little in relation to what mans contribution has been. This should be a surprising fact, considering half the worlds population is female.

In 1904 Ellis made a study of British genius. He had 1,030 subjects, out of this group only 55 were female. In 1903 J. Mc K. Cattell compiled a list of the 1,000 most outstanding persons in history. Out of this 1,000 only 32 were female. Of these women some were only listed because they were royalty, not on account of great personal merit.

In 1913 Castle made a study of 868 females in history, and found that the most prominent were not distinguished by their individual merit, but by the fact that they happened to be the wives or mothers or mistresses of famous men, or they were of royal birth.

All this and other similar accounts would lead us to have a very low opinion of the capabilities of women, in comparison to men.

In past eras men (and women too), just took it for granted, females were inferior to males. Because of biological differences probably.

More observant people spotted glaring contradictions in this supposition, which led to a great deal of research and investigation into female and male differences. Sociologists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, psychologists, biologists, behavioral scientists, and others have contributed statistics and findings in the area of sex differences, that lead to very different conclusions.

Keeping in mind the historical performance of adult females mentioned previously, let us look at the performance records of girls in school. Our first striking paradox shows up.

In all studies of school achievement one fact consistently comes out. Girls as a whole always do better than boys as a group do.

Given the academic achievement pattern of the

girls as compared to the boys, one would expect women to far outshine men in adult achievement, but we've just seen that the opposite is true.

To come to this conclusion investigators used a great variety of tests, criteria, and methods for measuring school success.

It was also shown that girls are less often retarded than boys, and they are more often above average intellectually, than boys. Yet out of 1,030 geniuses in the Ellis study only 55 were female!!

A typical example of what research findings have been is a survey by Northby (1958) . 12,826 subjects were used in this test. They were 83 per cent of the students that graduated from the entire state of Conn. in 1956. The students were divided into ten categories.

Of the top category, 72 per cent were girls and only 28 per cent were boys. In the very bottom tenth the boys made up 64 per cent of the group, while the girls were only 36 per cent of it.

All these statistics indicate that females aren't living up to their potential. Somewhere along the line their abilities are frustrated, misused, abused, discouraged, atrophied, or lack means of expression.

One theory used to explain the striking superiority of girls in academic achievement, is the fact that girls mature more quickly than boys. But this has been disproved by the evidence that mental and physical characteristics aren't connected.

One explanation for the difference between school performance and later performance by females is that people who are docile, submissive, and passive, (as females are supposed to be) aren't likely to assume positions of leadership, or have the necessary competitiveness to make a place at the top for themselves.

In 1964 Ames and Ilg made a study of 33 boy-girl pairs. They were carefully matched for age, social and economic status, and I.Q. The girls scored much higher than the boys on all the four types of tests given.

Outside the purely academic area, women do better than men in tasks involving manual dexterity. This

showed up on tests like the O'Connor Finger Dexterity test, the O'Connor Tweezer Dexterity Test and the Purdue Pegboard. In memory tests using the procedure of reproducing exactly a series of numbers, words or drawing a geometric figure after a brief study, or reciting something that has been read aloud, the rule of female superiority shows up again.

In quick perceptual response to detail, the difference between female and male is large and unquestionable, and it shows up at all grade and age levels. A summary of data from several sources by Schneider and Paterson (1942), showed that only about twenty per cent of the males exceed the mean for females.

There has been another type of finding in sex difference, but it only shows at a higher age and grade level. This is in schoolwork involving problem-solving with numbers and spatial relationships. On a high-school level differences in math and science favored the boys.

However tests by Mc Andrew in 1943, and other studies show that at the preschool and primary level there is no differences between the sexes in abilities like comprehending causal relationships which underlie achievement in science and math.

At a symposium on sex differences in Berkely, Calif. D.W. Taylor gave evidence that the difference between boys and girls in the area of problem-solving is largely a matter of attitude toward problems and is a result of training.

The fact that males are more proficient at higher grade and age levels only, in math and science means that this is something that develops as part of the educational process itself.

It seems that as females are exposed to the outer environment, they adopt a defeatist attitude toward problem-solving, or what psychologists prefer to call traits of passive-acceptance, docility and submissiveness.

#### COGNITIVE STYLE

Cognitive style is the way a person reacts to outer stimuli, such as sights, sounds and things

touched. Each person has a different style in utilizing this perceptual stimuli in solving problems.

Investigations into the cognitive style of individuals have given much evidence to substantiate the theory of attitude difference formed by contact with the culture.

There is a high correlation between cognitive style and personality (temperment). The difficulty females have in problem-solving is related to the Witkin finding that the total structure of a situation influences females more than it does males.

In cognitive tests women proved to be significantly more field-dependent than males. This means in tests trying to grasp a perceptual pattern embedded in a visual field, females had a harder time disregarding the background than males did. Males showed much more field-independence.

In tilting chair experiments, females utilized a procedure of passive-acceptance. They assumed at first that the room was upright, instead of utilizing different cognitive clues to figure out the situation. Males did much better in orientation tests. The success was from their ability to keep an object isolated from compelling background forces. This is field-independence.

Some of the personality traits related to field-independence are: actively dealing with ones environment, instead of passively accepting it, self-esteem, self-acceptance, and self-realization.

Children higher on field-dependence were found to come from homes where more coercive procedures were used, more stress was placed on conformity, and children were pushed more consistently towards goals and standards set by the parents.

The significantly higher scores for females on field-dependence do not show up until adulthood. This shows that females are forced to adopt roles which society thinks are fitting for them. They are coerced into conforming to a sex role not of their choosing. The damage done by this shows up in the lack of problem-solving ability in females, as well as in many other areas.

The field-independent type, carried to the extreme is the simple man of action who scorns complexities,

and does not even see fine distinctions, a rigid authoritarian with an intolerance for ambiguity. In fact the higher the person scores on masculinity, the more apparent the fascist traits become in the personality. A scale called the F scale (pre Fascism) was devised to measure the personality variable directly. A high scorer on this scale is characterized by: repression rather than awareness of his own unacceptable motives, externalization or projection which leads him to suspect and blame others and to avoid introspection, conventionalism or conformity, an orientation toward others in terms of power rather than love, (the instrumental goal oriented behavior), rigidity rather than flexibility.

The field-dependent female bears great resemblance to the child who displays withdrawn behavior, rather than using aggressive action to deal with their environment. The apathy and depression of these children is abundantly clear. This was not behavior that made trouble for the parents or the community. It was the behavior of the hopeless, despair and defeat.

These children did not risk overtures that could bring rebuff, or initiatives that might end in defeat. They trusted no one and expected little but rejection. In effect they withdrew from life.

Dreams must substitute for action, fantasy for reality. At least in dreams hopes can always be fulfilled, and defeat is only the fate of the villain. But dreams build no self-confidence, and fantasy teaches no pitfalls.

These are the children who may in a few years join the growing number of mentally ill. When life demands action they cannot act. The most typical responses to reality were to deny, to run away from it, then submit passively to the consequences.

There is to all this what amounts to almost an abnegation of living. An acceptance of defeat so complete that action is irrelevant.

Defeatism is a spiritual poison too often encouraged by their experiences in the family. When they meet with defeat and indifference in the community too, it is hard to see where incentive for change can come from.

These personality traits aren't found only among

females, but are characteristic of all oppressed groups.

### INTERESTS AND VALUES

In the area of motivation and interest, great differences between men and women show up again. In the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, men showed greater interest in economic, political and theoretical values, they were motivated by a desire for practical success, influence and power over others were their goals for living.

Women showed a strong interest in aesthetic, social and idealistic values, and were motivated by a concern for the welfare of others as a goal for living.

Strong evidence shows that the much lower aspirations of females aren't because of a lesser need to accomplish, but because their aspirations aren't aroused as mens are, in a competitive money oriented society. This is reflected in the different values and motivations of women and men.

Another contributing factor to the lower goal aspirations in women is that they have less self-assurance, less self-confidence, and a lower opinion of themselves in general.

This remarkable fact should be quite surprising, considering girls have consistently done much better in school than boys. Knowing the girls superior performance in school one would expect them to have much higher aspirations than boys.

Walter and Marzolf (1961) made a test of boys and girls at several grade and age levels, on the Rotter Aspiration Board. They found that girls had significantly lower scores at all grade levels regardless of being good or poor students.

A study by Bennet and Cohen (1959) sums up the basic differences, that have been corroborated in many other studies as well:

- 1) Masculine thinking is a modification downward in intensity of feminine thinking. This would give one cause to think that psychologically, males should be defined relative to females, rather than the other way around.
- 2) Masculine thinking is oriented more in terms of the

self, while feminine thinking is oriented more in terms of the environment. This is related to their response in problem solving.

3) Masculine thinking anticipates rewards and punishments determined more as a result of the adequacy or inadequacy of the self, while feminine thinking anticipates rewards and punishments determined more as a result of the friendship or hostility of the environment. This shows the attitude of passive-submission adopted by females, and their lack of belief in their own self-determination.

4) Masculine thinking is associated more with a desire for personal achievement, feminine thinking is associated more with a desire for social love and friendship. This is strongly reflected in the choice of values and interests of each of the sexes.

5) Masculine thinking finds more value in malevolent and hostile actions against a competitive society, while feminine thinking finds value more in freedom from restraint in a friendly and pleasant environment. Indicating a lack of fulfilling outlets for female qualities under a harsh capitalist system.

All these findings shed light on the reasons for the great disparity between the actual potentialities of females and their retrograde performance in later life.

Other research into female and male interests has shown males to be more interested in occupations involving physical exertion, machinery and tools, science, physical phenomena, business, commerce, adventure and exploit.

On the last two items some contradictory evidence has shown up in the field of psychobiology. In a test gauging behavior response in males and females to emotion-evoking stimuli, females tended to be more exploratory than males. This would lead one to expect females to be more adventurous. The contradiction between what females are capable of and what they actually do, can be explained by the sex-role concept, and how it affects them. This will be gone into in greater detail later

Females showed a greater interest in aesthetic objects and occupations, personal affairs, occupations more directly ministrative to the needs of other

people, especially the young, helpless, unfortunate or distressed.

The males showed greater aggressiveness and self-assurance, more hardiness and fearlessness, more roughness of manner, language and sentiment.

The females showed and expressed more compassion, sympathy, and aesthetic sensitivity. They were more expressive of emotion in general, severer moralists, yet admitting in themselves more weaknesses.

#### STABLE PERSONALITY TRAITS

In differences in personality between the sexes, the most stable trait found in females was "passive reaction to frustration". We shall see this trait shows up markedly in other oppressed groups too, although in these groups its defined differently and referred to as "choking back anger"

The most stable sex characteristic of the male personality is aggression. This indicates that personality traits that are in keeping with the way society expects the members of each sex to act (the sex-role), are more likely to be brought out and reinforced.

Personality traits that don't conform to the sex-role concept, will be frustrated, modified, crushed or or atrophied. It is now recognized how great a part sex-roles play in the shaping of a personality. These concepts influence behavior on many different levels and effect all areas of the personality.

Besides directly constraining behavior with discriminatory laws, customs, conventions, unequal education, and opportunities, sex-roles become internalized attitudes people hold about themselves and their capabilities. These attitudes will determine a persons outlook on life, what they learn, how they behave, what they aspire to, and how they interpret life.

A test that will give us an indication of how females are perceived in this society was done by McKee and Sherriffs (1957). A group of boys and girls were asked to vote who possessed each of nineteen good traits and fourteen bad traits. In the older groups both boys and girls ascribed all the good traits to boys. The fact that during these school years girls were behaving better and making better marks, shows the

influence of sex-role concepts outweighs even reality.

In a test on university students 84 per cent of the girls accredited more of the unfavorable traits to women. Another indication of the repugnance of the female image is Grey's finding that for boys perceived similarity to the father went with acceptance by ones peers, but for girls identification with the mother was related negatively to peer acceptance.

We can clearly trace the genesis of aggression in boys. It was found that girls showed no more or less aggression, whether they came from homes where the father was present or absent. On the other hand boys who came from homes where the father was absent started showing aggression at about the age of five, coinciding with the time they started school. These boys acquired their concept of the male role mostly outside of the home.

Boys with the father at home started showing aggressiveness at about the age of two or three. Their idea of masculine behavior allowed them to express more aggression than any of the other children, and at an earlier age.

It has been observed that both boys and girls learn their sex-roles from their father. Because the mother doesn't react as differently to boys and girls as the father does.

The father because of his instrumental, goal oriented masculine behavior, shows his boys how to "be a man" by imitating his behavior. The girls trying to please the father adopt the feminine role. This is why girls who are more feminine (passive) have fathers who are more masculine (aggressive).

#### MALADJUSTMENT AND MENTAL ILLNESS

Women tend to be much more maladjusted and neurotic than men. Because this sex difference doesn't occur until high-school, it can be directly attributed to the effects of the female sex-role.

The Bernreuter Personality Inventory shows women to be more neurotic, more introverted, more dependent, less self-confident, less self-sufficient and less dominant than men. These differences in contrast to interest differences do not show up until high-school

age. The role to be played by women leaves little room for change from the dependent, submissive, obedient child, to an independent, self-assured adult.

The rigidity of this stereotype makes for maladjustment and mental illness. Research shows that women who conformed were more popular and less neurotic than non-conforming females. Also, conservative girls who were willing to go along with accepted standards, even if they thought they might be wrong, were happier and better adjusted than liberal girls who had a tendency to think for themselves.

This is damning evidence that if females don't buckle under, they're broke. The females who accept their roles are just as damaged. These females have given up using their own minds. Even though sex-role concepts do not fit actual human beings, any deviation from them incurs subtle psychological punishment, if not a more overt kind.

Many people argue that this isn't so any more. Females were treated as inferiors only in bygone days. We can see just how false this assumption is, first by the dates of the research, and secondly by the amazing similarity between the mental problems of southern blacks, lower social and economic groups, and females.

Personality tests show blacks to be definitely more maladjusted than whites. Hospitalization rates for all the major mental disorders are higher among blacks, (Frumkin 1954). These differences become noticeable at higher age levels.

In a study by Karon (1958) southern blacks had personality differences that were attributable to "caste sanctions" prevalent in the south. The most striking differences were in the area of aggression. There was a denial of aggressive feelings of all kinds. An intuitive choking back of anger. There are many secondary effects in the personality that are an outgrowth of this suppression.

R.E. Clark found that among 12168 mental patients, those with the lowest income and job prestige got mentally ill at a younger age and their mental disorders were more serious. The better paying the job, and the more prestige, the higher the age at the time of mental breakdown, and the less serious the illness.

Schizophrenia is eight times more prevalent in

the lowest socio-economic groups than in the two upper ones (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958).

School children gain or lose in academic achievement according to what class they belong to. The lower class girls tend to show a loss earlier than the lower class boys. This can be accounted for by the fact that the lower classes have a less liberal and more rigid view of the place of women in this society.

The oppression of women is still a fact in the twentieth century.

betsy warrior

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#### SEXISM AND SEXISTS

Vanauken suggests (in "Freedom for Movement Girls--Now" printed by SSOC, Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn.) that we use the word "Sexism" rather than male chauvanism or male supremacy. A sexist, then, is a person who promotes sexism. We thank Vanauken for giving our movement this important word which so clearly expresses the syndrome we are fighting.

UNCLE TOM WAS A WOMAN

UNCLE TOM WAS

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

"The Man & Woman Thing"--Review of an article

The December 24, 1968 issue of Look Magazine features a spread called, "The Man & Woman Thing" by George Leonard (p. 55-72). Under the guise of being an analysis of the relation of men and women in America today, it is actually an advertisement for monogamous marriage and the Esalen Institute. It begins and ends with space-age jargon. Apparently, this jargon has some 'manly' appeal which evokes this statement: "we could see that changing a marriage wouldn't be easy. It would demand the skill, the dedication--the heroism, even--usually reserved for politics, war or such epic endeavors as the conquest of space." (p. 68)

The author brushes off any possibility of developing a sense of community or new ways to raise children under communal care. He offers as representative of communalism: a hippie commune; nine middle-class adults sharing living quarters; two couples living together for practical reasons. These 'experiments' are seen as failures; therefore, the only hope is the nuclear family. However, he adds, that "the kind of isolation visited upon the tight little family in its tight little house or apartment" has to end. One possible solution, he suggests, is to establish networks between couples "to monitor each others' marriages and give homes feedback" on how they can be improved. And to bolster that innovation, marriage could be styled in two stages (like a rocket) with one stage for trial with no strings and no children; the other with children and strings, hard to get into and out of.

The long, hopeful article ends on a strange note of warning to men if they do not behave, and go along with this new plan (which by implication throughout is an expression of woman's eternal desire). "Within ten years, scientists tell us, we may be able to choose the sex of our offspring. And experimenters already are working on ways to reproduce living organisms without mating male and female cells. This means it will someday be possible to have a world with only one sex, woman, and thereby avoid the squabbles, confusions and heartaches that have dogged this whole business of sex down the centuries. A

manless world suggests several science-fiction scenarios. The most pessimistic would have society changing not at all, but continuing on its manly ways of eager acquisition, hot competition and mindless aggression. In which case, half the women would become 'men' and go right on getting ulcers, shouting "Charge" and pinning medals on each other." (p. 72). He fails to mention what the other "science-fiction scenarios" might be.

It is interesting that Mr. Leonard assumes that females would be necessary to produce test-tube babies. The whole point of the artificial womb is that the reproductive organs are not used at all. So why would either sex be needed for reproduction? The assumption that men had better make themselves better lovers and monogamous, or they will be exterminated, certainly narrows the range of possibilities for human beings with advanced technology. The artificial womb could be a human and liberating development for women. Not only does he omit mentioning its effect upon females, the whole article glories in childbirth, femininity, motherhood, domesticity. But Leonard does point out that genocide is possible. The only problem is that men hold the power in the society and choose how any scientific development will be used. If any group is exterminated, it will be women, not men. But surely the imagery calls to mind hordes of castrating Valkries, enough to keep the old myths active.

Just what is Esalen, and why is it receiving free advertisement in the major magazines and on TV talk shows? The publicity is not coming from notoriety, but rather the reverse. Dr. William Schutz, a onetime consultant for RAND Corporation is the chief mover of the Esalen operations, including its publicity. His book, Joy, Expanding Human Awareness is a best seller. What he says makes sense. Who can deny the value of joy, sensitivity, awareness? The words are absolutely unobjectionable. The book jacket blurb describes the book thus: "He (Schutz) demonstrates how, in special surroundings removed from everyday activities, one can develop a more integrated personality, deeper consciousness, and greater physical and psychic powers. Through group thinking, talking, touching, hugging, and acting out life-situation, one can transform suspicion

into trust, hostility into love, and dullness into awareness."

Groups like Esalen have 'sprung up' (actually formed by psychologists) all over the country. Clearly there is a problem of alienation in Imperial American society. The people are isolated into tiny units, often actually solitary, always powerless. They are not correctly informed as to what 'their' government is doing in their names. Their only connection with reality is the television which cans its presentation, programming its viewers to the official government policies. They are told about all the problems at home and abroad, making clear to them that the American people are sacrificing and fighting a war of liberation (for ten millionaires) abroad, and at home these same people are told that they are violent racists (by the media and politicians). Occasionally, they are allowed to vote. Then all the TV newsmen make it sound as if they have made a choice, and they feel proud that they have the right to vote, and how lucky they are to be free Americans. From the same television, they are informed about the poor lives people live in other societies, with horrible dictators like Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Tse-Tung.

The people live in couples with a couple of children usually. Life is hectic, time-consuming, but essentially boring. Alcohol, tranquillizers, and pain-killers are essential parts of it. A couple usually has several other couples for friends, and a degree of honesty exists between them, sometimes a little sex. They seem more than anything to bolster one another's egos. They seem always just on the edge of panic.

Esalen proposes to refine this situation, 'rationalize' it, program it, propagate it. We know things can be made to work that have no function; most of the space-age garbage are toys or tools of destruction, not machinery for human welfare. Esalen is a space age game, but one should not underestimate the power of a game. Esalen proposes to make marriage, the family 'work'.

Young couples, who are trying to make their marriages work, are very defensive of the institution. Even when they admit its many faults, they are convinced

that it is the only way to avoid loneliness and insecurity and even terror--especially the women. The men need a built-in housekeeper, and mother of their children. They also need a buffer for their relations (business and personal) with other men. Esalen was created for these people--the ordinary White American.

Esalen is not interested in human relations. Esalen is a counter-revolutionary institution, which plans to replace or become the glue for the crumbling institution. There is movement in this country for change, even among the white folks. There is little reality in the human relations in this society, and least of all in marriage. Ask the children what they think of the institution which supposedly exists for their upbringing, their benefit. All the love between "Man & Woman" in the world will not make that tiny unit any less lonely, any less perverted to the child who is raised within it. Surely ghetto children, raised on the streets, are psychologically better off and closer to reality than these poor children of the clerical working class, so often referred to as the "middle-class" even by leftists.

Esalen is not an objective interloper simply trying to open people up to others, to sensitivity, to reality--like to the War, to poverty, to American abundance based on the starvation of non-Americans, to assassinations of popular leaders (the Kennedy's, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X) by the CIA (whose counter-insurgents receive their information from RAND Corporation, Schutz's organ). In fact, Esalen induces its participants to look inward, to trust rather than mistrust, and to solve their 'personal' problems with their marriage mate, or to get married and reach fulfillment therein. Such a project in this society, or in a world in revolution, is not even theoretically possible of working out, but it is enough to keep people busy and mislead for a long time, and most important--on the wrong track.

It is no accident that Life and Look give dozens of pages of free advertisement to Esalen. The media is the propaganda machine for the corporate structure that is the political-economy of this country. Every single real feeling, word, and idea

that has emerged from the movement has been perverted and used by the system to further imprison the people in this society. A contingent of vipers feed off the naivete of "the people", and the people identify with their enemy--the corporate managers. Even radicals often think they have achieved a coup when the media picks up on their message.

Women are particularly the victims of the machination, programmed as we are to be wife, mother, childbirth expert, sex object, career woman, stay-at-home, mechanic, chauffeur and yet offered as the stylistic model a mod, free jet-setter. What this does is keep her buying things which symbolize those roles, since playing all of them is impossible, and buying things that symbolize freedom like bright colored clothes, jewelry, etc. She is coddled as a consumer, and feels flattered. She finds her reality, her identity in fantasy.

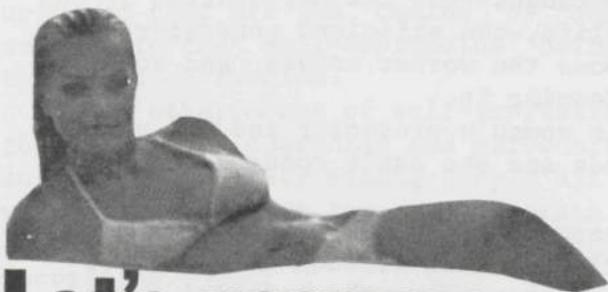
Men, too, are completely manipulated by the system from birth, and constantly re-programmed by the media (including the "underground" media), which uses their sexual hang-ups to the fullest, to keep them in the role, and to cover up any holes in it, but mainly to get them to buy the product which will create the right facade, and remain powerless. Now they are told that if they do not continue to play the phony role, and improve upon it (really believe it), they will be exterminated.

The most sickening aspect of Esalen propaganda is its assumption that men and women will be approaching each other as equals. Women are incredibly oppressed in this society (men playing the oppressive role very well, albeit programmed for it). The inconsistency of their husbands is perhaps the least of their problems, though "catting" certainly symbolizes their helplessness. Having to wear a mask, a disguise, the garb of honor for a professional actor or a clown, is humiliating to women, and psychologically damaging. Having to speak and behave like an artifice, and being

programmed for "lightweight" information, women are retarded by the society. They are damaged in America by these physical bonds as surely as the women of China were made cripples by their feet being bound. It is unfortunate for the Bourbon Slave holders that Rand technology was not developed a century earlier so that African Slavery could have been programmed under the heading "The Master & Slave Thing".

Esalen has nothing to do with the liberation of anyone. Esalen offers opportunities to an excess of poorly trained sick psychologists, and a new class of entrepreneur space age vipers, and a government which must keep its slaves occupied with nothingness and mindlessness (1984 style), so it is not questioned, and an economy which would collapse without war and excess consumption of objects which never fill the gaping hole of terror and hopelessness which lies barely under the consciousness of every American.

Roxanne Dunbar



**Let's assume  
I'm an Island.**

## THE OPPRESSION OF THE MALE TODAY

Women today probably accept the oppression by men with more cynicism than ever before in history. They don't really respect men in many cases, and in truth there is little to respect.

Men don't respect themselves very much. They are passive and conforming; what energy they do expend is expended at the office to keep up with the other rats.

When a man comes home he is a passive exhausted blob unwilling (or unable) to give anything of himself, expecting to be waited on.

His best efforts are never wasted on his wife, she is just the agent of his will will at home, keeping his retreat, his nest, his castle cozy. As far as he's concerned, as long as he is paying the bills she can have no complaint. If he's too exhausted at night to be human, well, it was only because he was slaving so hard for HER.

Despite the highly competitive nature of his activities in the working world, he is essentially passive there too, because he has to accept the system no matter how oppressive and dehumanizing it is to him; the competition is between him and the other equally oppressed and dehumanized rats.

He has been trained and conditioned and educated to be passive and unquestioning in this way, just as women have been trained not to question their oppression at male hands.

The corporation may be in fact oppressing him brutally, but he has been taught that the corporation is the source of the good life, the efficient generator of all the material goods the worker craves and so he can't think of condemning it.

Likewise man is woman's protector and the source of all material goods and she can't condemn the relationship.

But in both cases they need the protection because they have been deprived of the freedom and power to live autonomously and they crave the material goods because, deprived of being, they substitute consuming; they drown their sorrows and frustrations in THINGS, seek fulfillment and self-expression and status and power through them.

They can't act on the WORLD but they can act on the THINGS they have bought. Aided by the advertising world they build the illusion that they must be of great personal worth if they own so many lovely things.

This is the woman's solace particularly, it is her only solace outside of power over children, but increasingly it is man's too.

Where formerly the concentration was on the woman as the consumer, men more and more are being conditioned to consume and to develop great emotional involvement with the process of consumption.

A combination of the expanding markets required by capitalism and a necessary sop to men whose working lives become less and less meaningful, allowing for less and less individuality and free thought.

It is moving into more advanced stages now: beyond the power tool toys and the swimming pool toys into the realms of cosmetics and clothes, traditionally exclusively female domains.

The female, being nothing, APPEARED: painted, perfumed, coiffed, clothed in the latest most appealing fashions. She WAS her body and therefore took expensive care to decorate herself in order to offer herself and in order to give herself a sense of worth.

But now men are being seduced by an onslaught of advertising designed to pulled them into the markets of cosmetics and scents, colorful and fashionable clothes. They are becoming fops, peacocks.

Traditionally having too much self-respect to decorate their bodies, relying on their talents, personalities and characters, they are now being urged to cast off the "chains" of "conformity" and rejoice in the "self-expression" being offered by the world of fashion.

All other means of self-expression being denied to them, their character and personality no longer sufficient (society making people all alike, cogs without minds) they too must decorate their bodies for the illusion of self-expression through self-decoration.

Society, then, is making men into women.

They are helpless before the system, the corporation, the government, conditioned and educated to passively accept things the way they are.

And, afraid of losing the few goodies they have, they think it is for the best, the best being measured by the quantity and quality of goodies delivered.

They are taken care of, they don't have to think. And in fact thinking gums up the works and is discouraged in subtle and unsubtle ways.

Helpless, passive, dependant, finding self-expression only through consuming, these men are hardly male in any traditional sense, and it takes a good deal of self-deception for a woman to convince herself that this passive clod is an admirable, respectable he-man male.

But what happens? Do they recognize each other as sisters and at least develop a comaraderie in misery?

They do not. Men try even harder than ever to play the he-man, to rule their own roosts, to keep their women (often just as competent as they) in line, keep them walking behind, keep them putting their man above them.

Less communication than ever occurs, because men have this awful secret to hide, the fact that they are not men but mice. They must keep up the farce, however transparent it becomes, keep up the desperate battle for a noble image before their woman, so that at least they can be a hero there, in that fantasy world that is their home, so that they can puff their wounded egos back up and tell themselves once again that they are real men.

What forces them to keep up this cruel game? The fact that, after reducing men to women, society continues to extoll the virtues of manliness in male-female relations; women will only respect and love the virile he-man type, gentleness is contemptible, to be on a basis of equality with your woman puts you very low indeed.

The myth then continues unabated. Only virile men appear in advertisements and men's magazines. The model is clear, but the resources for imitating the model are stripped away. The posturings are hollow.

The exercises of power may become more brutal as they become more ridiculous, as they become more and more power exercised arbitrarily and submitted to without respect.

Or else the men descend into women's tricks, whining and exercising irrational obstinacy to get their way: women's tricks, but used to enforce male domination.

Men are made into women while in fact in theory it is demanded that they retain the appearance of virility. No wonder they are constantly falling short of the ideal of manhood they have internalized, no wonder they doubt their masculinity.

No wonder they feel desperately attached to the formulas by which they keep up the deception (or pretend they are keeping it up). These formulas are male superiority, male dominance, female dependance and passivity, and rigidly defined, nonoverlapping roles for male and female.

The frustration and humiliation of having no real power, no real virility have repercussions not only in the man's relationships with women but in his whole life, which is one long struggle to present the appearance of virility.

Backed by the super-weapons developed by the efficient corporations, he defends his national honor by making wars and fighting them; however unequal the odds might be, a victory is a victory and will convince his uncritical ego of its virility.

He fights his co-rats tooth and nail, he relentlessly seeks out and destroys those weaker.

He is envious of anyone's good fortune or ability, very much afraid that someone will get something without having to suffer sufficiently for it. He spends his time fighting imaginary enemies who want, he thinks, to take what he has.

Driven by the knowledge of his own inadequacy, he can never relax but wears himself out in fierce games of pseudo-power.

Dana Densmore

As I went out one morning/ To breathe the air  
around Tom Paine  
I spied the fairest damsel/That ever did walk in  
chains  
I offered her my hand/ She took me by the arm  
I knew that very instant /She meant to do me harm.  
Depart from me this moment/ I told her with my  
voice  
Said she but I don't wish to/Said I but you have  
no choice  
I beg you sir she pleaded/From the corners of her  
mouth  
I will secretly accept you /And together we'll  
fly south  
Just then Tom Paine himself/Came running across  
the field  
Shouting at this lovely girl/And commanding her  
to yield  
And as she was letting go her grip/Up Tom Paine  
did run  
I'm sorry sir he said to me/I'm sorry for what  
she's done.

Dylan

**RUN**



**you**

## ON THE TEMPTATION TO BE A BEAUTIFUL OBJECT

We are constantly bombarded in this society by the images of feminine beauty. There is almost an obsession with it.

It is used extensively in advertising, particularly in advertising directed at women: be like this, they are saying, use our product.

The image sells everything, not just beauty products, but the beauty products reap the benefits of the image having sunk so well into everyone's consciousness.

And oh! those beauty products. Shimmering, magical, just waiting to turn the plainest girl into a heartbreakingly beautiful, transfixing graven image.

Or so they claim and imply, over and over, with extravagant hypnotizing advertising copy and photograph after photograph of dewy-fresh perfect faces.

Inevitably it penetrates the subconscious in an insidious and permanent way.

We may be sophisticated enough (or bitter enough) to reject specific advertizing claims, but we cannot purge the image from us: if only we could get that look with a few sweeps of a lambsdown buffer dusting on translucent powder making our faces glow like satin, accented with shimmery slicked-on lip glow, a brush of glittery transparent blusher, eyes soft-fringed and luminous, lash-shaded and mysteriously shadowed...suppose we could get the look they promise from their products and the look they all sell in their advertising? Ah, how few could resist!

Many of us are scarred by attempts as teenagers to win the promised glamor from cosmetics. Somehow it always just looked painted, harsh, worse than ever, and yet real life fell so far short of the ideals already burned into our consciousness that the defeat was bitter too and neither the plain nor the painted solution was satisfactory.

How often the date sat impatiently below while the girl in anguish and despair tinged with self-loathing applies and wipes away the magical products that despite their magic are helpless against her

horrifying plainness. She will never be a woman, mysteriously beautiful.

Then, as we grew older and better looking, our faces more mature and our handling of cosmetics more expert, there are times when nature and artifice combine to make us unquestionably beautiful, for a moment, an hour, or an evening.

The incredible elation of looking in a mirror (the lighting just right...) and seeing, not the familiar, plain, troublesome self, but a beautiful object, not ourselves, but a thing outside, a beautiful thing, worthy of worship...no one could resist falling in love with such a face.

The lighting changes, or the evening wears on, and the face slips imperceptibly back into plainness, harshness. Happy gait becomes forced gait, we laugh louder because we must make up for the ugliness we suddenly found, must distract attention from it.

Or we crawl back into ourselves in an agony of humiliated self-consciousness. We had thought ourselves beautiful, and carried on, attracting attention to what we thought was irresistible beauty but had somehow shifted into plainness again. How they must be laughing at us.

We do succeed we make ourselves objects, outside ourselves, something we expect others to admire because we admire, and which we admire through others' admiration.

But it's not us really. Narcissism is not really love of the self, because self is the soul, the personality, and that is always something quite different, something complex and complicated, something strange and human and very familiar and of this earth.

That beautiful object we stand in awe before has nothing to do with the person we know so well, it is altogether outside, separate, object, a beautiful image, not a person at all. A feast for the eyes.

A feast for the eyes, and not for the mind. That beautiful object is just an object, a work of art, to look at, not to know, total appearance, bearing no personality or will. To the extent that one is caught up in the beauty of it, one perceives object and not person.

This goes for others as well as for ourselves.

The more beautiful we are, the more admired our appearance, the closer we approach the dream of the incredible beauty, the less reality our personality or intellect or will have.

It is unthinkable that this work of art has a will, especially one which is not as totally soft and agreeable as the face it presents. You cannot be taken seriously, people will not even hear what you say. (If they did they would be shocked and displeased--but since they do not take it seriously they say "You are too pretty to be so smart"--by which they mean, you are an object, do not presume to complicate the image with intellect, for intellect is complex and not always pleasing and beautiful. Do not dare to spoil my pleasure in your beauty by showing it to be only the facade of a real person; I will not believe that, you will only succeed in marring your beauty.)

How can anyone take a manikin seriously? How, even, can one take a heartbreakingly beautiful face seriously? One is far too caught up in admiration of the object presented. It is merely beautiful, but it becomes an object when it is presented to the world.

This only goes for women, of course; men's character and personality and will always shine through their appearance, both men and women look at them that way. But one is taught in society by the emphasis on the images of feminine beauty to view women differently. The important thing is not the mind, the will, but the appearance. You ARE your appearance.

And if your appearance is pleasing, you are sunk, for no one will ever look beyond. You have fulfilled all that is expected of you and you may rest (this all assumes you have the feminine womanly virtues of noncharacter such as kindness, gentleness, and the "pleasing personality").

In fact, if you are beautiful, or if you have made yourself beautiful, you had BETTER leave it at that, because you have no chance of compelling people to look beyond. They are so enchanted with what they see.

They adore you for your appearance. If you are "brainy" it will be taken as quaint, a charming

affectation. If you are disagreeable it is offensive, a particularly stinging affront, disrespect for your beauty, the sacrilege of a work of art. (This does not detract from the mystique of the beautiful bitch. That is just another form of flirtation, tantalizing the man by simultaneously alluring with the beauty and playing hard to get by putting up a verbal fence-- a fence, by the way, which the man sees himself ultimately surmounting in triumph.)

It is true that this is part of the burden of being a woman. We are expected to be beautiful and not being beautiful does not make us automatically accepted as people. To some extent and for some people we are never more than our appearance.

If we are ugly and plain men demand angrily (at least in their own minds) why we don't DO something with ourselves; surely a more becoming hairdo, better meake-up, or even (if the situation is bad enough) a new nose.

Women react the same way to women. All are victimized by the image of woman as object, appearance. "Why doesn't she DO something with herself?"

A man who is neat and clean may get away with being ugly; if he is intelligent and personable he may even be immensely popular, but for a woman being neat and clean is never enough if she is still plain, if she doesn't at least TRY to improve on nature with the most flattering hairdo (however limp or unruly her hair is, however many hours of effort and frustration she must put into the endeavor), the newest make-ups artfully and painstakingly applied, every new exercize and diet fad, the newest and chicest clothes. The ugly woman who does her best in this way will still be a "dog" but she won't be a threat and may even be popular if she has the other qualifications, popular as a "sister".

If you are truly ugly it is always an offense against your role as woman. You can never be truly feminine, womanly. Always an affront to men and women both, trapped as they are in the myth of feminine beauty.

How dare you be ugly? You are a woman, an object, you exist to please the eye, and yet you fail so utterly. They will still be obsessed with your appearance, only this time they are affronted rather

than admiring.

They will still have difficulty listening to what you are saying, this time because they are so busy wondering why on earth you don't get a nose job or something.

Still, being ugly has its advantages. At least they will not be lulled into hypnotic admiration with you as a beautiful object.

You will be a constant gadfly, shattering their preconceived notions. At least they cannot say "you're too pretty to be so smart." They will have to say "You had better be smart because you're certainly not pretty." This is certainly a healthier situation for an individual who wishes to be more than a passive object.

The most fortuitous situation for a woman might be to be inoffensively plain, thoroughly nondescript. It would be very difficult for her to win initial attention, for with a woman one notices only the beautiful (admirable) and the ugly (repulsive); one does not offer a woman a chance to show by words or actions what her personality or character is in the way one automatically does to a man.

But when one does command attention there would be least distraction from the person by the appearance, least temptation for the woman to be made an object in the minds of the beholders.

And yet this thoroughly nondescript looking woman is the one cosmetics advertisements aim at. They want to take the mouses and with their magic powders and creams transform them into princesses.

And for many mice they can succeed. Even men, as we have seen in the case of drag queens, can often make themselves into beautiful women with enough of the magic powders and creams.

But to the extent that we keep our self-image as persons as we manipulate our appearance in this way, it will seem artificial and unnatural, and look strange and perhaps even frightening.

Only as we slip into the schizophrenic world of play-acting and narcissism will we be able to enjoy the beauty we create. And then we will be imprisoned within the walls of the object we created in the minds of others and in our own minds--we will no longer be

able to function as persons, or only fitfully, self-consciously, and puzzling others by our strange behavior.

Dana Densmore



## CONTEMPORY CAPITALISM

### "DRAG QUEEN INTELLECT"

PHASE III CAPITALISM  
LEVEL 3-AREA 7-ADVERTISING  
COMPETITIVE SUBDIVISION C  
MONOPOLY SYNDROME

The consumer is all consuming. Everything can be made into a product. It is not impossible to see how the body is groomed and the manner refined to make the most advantageous deal possible, with the material at hand, Its sometimes subtle, but the analogy is obvious. There is an even more subtle exploitation now, the mind is the product. It has taken over the number one position from the body, completely in some circles. In this ancient capitalistic system, persons were always products. Utilities or decorations. But thinking people could usually transcend their environment and see this. Now the thought process itself has become a product(decorative).

Before the body was beautiful, now the mind is beautiful. Beautiful, hollow and superficial. Well groomed and refined. The medium is the message. Like "what schools have you attended?", is the prestige equivalent of "what family do you come from?" which it has replaced.

The education molds the contours of the mind, like a drag queen's girdle. Contorts it into fantastic and sophisticated lines. The empty verbalizations, form without content, rhetoric of sheer tautology. Like the gestures of the drag queen displaying his wares. Trying to impress the buyers, and convince themselves of their own authenticity, to sell to the mass consumer.

As one might try to imitate the physical being of their favorite star, they posture in a grotesque caricature the mental being of their favorite idealist or philosopher. Feigning emotions like concern for mankind, to expedite their own success.

The scruffy, drab clothing, undistinguished demeanor, play down the body to accent the mind. Just as the mind was once played down (dumb blonde and football hero) to emphasize the body. The flabby or in-

tractable musclebound body, has been replaced by the flaccid and cluttered mind.

With no ability to see beyond itself, driven by no worthy emotion, just capitalistic greed in a different form. Rising to new heights or more truly, descending to new depths. They pander their products to the more naive as always. And by way of profit they receive the admiration of the gullible.

In the affluent society, material things have lost their value and glamor. Personal power is now valuable and glamorous. Like belonging to the right family once was. Minds are now being manipulated by their owners to execute the right steps in the current dance. Monopoly capitalism must find new areas to conquer or stagnate. In this spirit the capitalist ethic has perforated the subconscious and is permeating the unconscious.

Minds that aren't functional, but attractively bright (like car chrome) unused but equipped with pat answers. Turned out by the thousands, products of assembly line universities. Mouthing hip, groovey, meaning less words. No real feelings of altruistic aspiration. No experience of reflection or contemplation. A convincing fraud. THE DRAG QUEEN BRAIN.

betsy warrior



## WHO IS THE ENEMY?

In the past few years a cynicism has set in among our radical thinkers which has set the tone for all anti-establishment action. Under the guise of toughening our line, we have hardened our minds, and frozen our ideas. There is a great deal of ego satisfaction in defying the enemy, in baiting and teasing and attacking. One feels ones power to disarm. The only problem is that one is rarely attacking the enemy-- rather a potential ally, one of the people, or a crowd of people.

I am tired of hearing the invective of self-pity from Black "radicals", students, women, including myself. For a long time I went along with the line that "Of course, we ultimately want a humane and socialist society of peace and good will and brother/sister-hood but for the time being, we must not criticize anything an oppressed person does; any gain is commendable; any action is forgivable; for after all we have suffered and deserve some reward now." That is a logical statement and cries for justice. But it calls for a child's justice--that the world be as one wishes it for oneself. The American worker made that argument three times, and the third time his movement died, perhaps forever. Now he sits, all puffed up with a pocketfull of credit cards and his Playboy magazine watching his new colored TV. He sold out for jobs by going into three capitalist wars, because they were in his economic 'interest'. We have learned to avoid the same errors, but not how to analyse short-term and long-term interests.

What do the Jews have now that some bankers and real estate colonialists own a piece of property in the midst of Arab poverty? Justice, yes. Many Arabs want the same kind of justice at any cost (by any means necessary), and many Africans, and Afro-Americans, and young radicals. And Female Liberationists.

Women have every 'right' to be completely outraged when they become aware of the kind of outright and subtle oppression they suffer and that their sisters throughout the world suffer. They have every 'right' to be outraged at the indifference of men to their plight, their willingness to reap advantages until it

is no longer possible. But just as might does not make right, nor does right make right. That is, one does not then have the right to play the same game with the tables turned. If one does this, one is playing society's game, for that is what this society is all about; absorption is its game.

It seems to me that we have grossly misunderstood revolutionary philosophy. We have extracted what is 'useful' to our preconceived notions of revolution, and left the basis, the way of thinking, behind. What does Mao mean when he says, "To get rid of the gun, one must pick up the gun?" He is speaking to people (a peasantry) who have attained a revolutionary consciousness to some degree; a revolutionary war was being fought. Obviously the context to such a statement is the key, yet the command is extracted and misused.

Society (Western) programs us to linear thinking. We can choose between its way or the opposite (Mary McCarthy said we have the choice in an American hotel to have the airconditioning on or off, but we cannot open the window). And we fall right into the trap. Within that linear logic, we misinterpret every valuable bit of information that may come our way, not to speak of whole ideologies. We interpret 'correct' thinking as the right line, rather than an internalized, creative, dialectical analysis of every aspect of reality, including ourselves. Too often 'guerrilla' action is abstracted from war (guerrilla theater, etc.), or taken to mean scattered street fighting, provocation at the wrong time. Guerrilla action as closely approaches non-violent resistance as it does street fighting, though it cannot be defined as either. Certainly such action requires extraordinary seriousness and maturity. Sometimes it requires that one do nothing and say nothing depending on the situation.

The young street fighter's 'confrontations' with the police ('pigs') is a far cry from Che's mending the wounds of fallen Batista soldiers (Love your enemy?). In the American radical's dialect to be a 'mother' means to be a 'motherfucker'. Compare that to what Che's comrades said of him--that Che was like a mother to them. Mao did not say that one learns to think as one does, but that one learns to do as one

does. The thinking is the groundwork for action. Indeed thought then flows from action, but not unless there is a solid base for analysis either through thought or experience, and preferably both. If one has not thought through what one is about, one is acting on society's programming; that is unavoidable.

I see women falling into the same trap. We avoid the simplicity of a Betty Friedan 'capitalist' militancy, but fall for the radical's erroneous assumptions about how to end our oppression (even when we have rejected these radicals as persons--male chauvinists--and rejected their goals, we seem to retain their faulty analysis.).

I have often heard it said of late that teaching, thinking, patience are virtues but they just do not work. How would we know? We say that Martin Luther King didn't 'succeed', 'win' (the ol' ballgame?); his methods did not 'work'. Beautiful capitalist terminology. The very proof that they 'worked', from the enemy's point of view, is that they had to get rid of him, and of Malcolm X, and of Robert Kennedy. Now why do we not study what these characters did that make them so distasteful to the system? Robert Kennedy was going to be elected, and there was no way we could have prevented or aided that; we could now analyse the situation, and face the reality that things are much worse than we imagined--that no liberal is going to be allowed to operate at high level, and soften things so we may be able to speak to a turned-on, forward-looking, hopeful people, rather than people terrorized by the violence of the police, fearing the cattle cars and concentration camps. They know, as we do not seem to know, that it can happen here, but we condemn them as 'good Germans' instead of teaching them an historical lesson about why the good Germans were so good, and how they got it anyway. At least we could teach ourselves.

## II

Martin Luther, Erick Erickson tells us in Young Man Luther, got married in order to please his father and displease the Pope. Luther, unlike some of his radical contemporaries did not question the institution of the patriarchal family which had so tortured him. He trans-

ferred his allegiance from the Pope to Germany, and from the communal monastery to the family. Luther essentially found a solution to his personal problems through a social solution. Erickson thinks that such 'rebellion' is healthy and is the key to social development. Erickson would think that, since he has a vested interest in change, but not revolution. Many radicals, black and white, and many female rebels seem to be following in Luther's steps. Ultimately such a person is serving the status quo (the economic order).

I know that my human potential will never be reached. I know that I am not only damaged, but studded both physically and intellectually. Both poverty and my situation as a female and as an American have contributed to this 'retardation'. When I used to feel sorry for myself, my mother would tell me that there were little children starving and without clothes at all and with no shelter at all, and worst of all who were orphans (as she had been). It always angered me that my bad condition was not sufficient for complaint--that I had to bear it because others were worse off than I, but I now see the wisdom in that sort of stoicism. Women have that kind of stoicism, as do poor people. They have to be stoical to bear reality at all.

I have felt what I call 'metaphysical agony' in the face of the reality that I can never make up for what has been lost to me; that I can never really be the fine scholar I should like to be. Even if I were accepted by my fellow scholars, which happens only to the most extremely well-educated women, I still would not have the kind of training necessary to be a really good scholar. Again a combination of being poor and being female conspired to prevent my receiving the kind of superior education reserved only for the wealthy, and the few males they choose to take out of the lower class. For me to 'make up' for lost time would be to make a machine of my brain, and by the time I might be prepared, I should have destroyed my creativity like so many scholars who have 'made' it.

I look at the healthy, robust, clear-eyed, highly intelligent, informed, and confident children of lightness--the wealthy boys and girls, and I am stunned more

than outraged that such a tiny few are let through. Even the rather mediocre and the females somehow gain a zest for life based upon their constant exposure or access to all that is beautiful and fine and tasty and splendid in Western Civilization and other cultures as well through travel. I never really believed that the 'poor little rich girl' was bad off. Her loneliness and princess separateness seemed delicious to me, never having even a bit of space for privacy and no 'things'.

We are damaged--we women, we oppressed, we disinherited. There are very few who are not damaged, and they rule. The reason they see their kind of world, their system as the best of all possible worlds is that it is utopian for them, and they plan to keep it. The oppressed trust those who rule more than they trust themselves because self-contempt emerges from powerlessness. Anyway few oppressed people believe that life could be much different, and they do not even know about the rich and how they live. All they ever see are the viceroys, the mignons--the middle-class cheap imitations. The oppressed find it hard to envy them, caught up as they are with making it and keeping it and showing it. But the rich do not have to show anything to anybody. The elite are 'free' at the cost of the slavery of the many.

We are damaged and we have the right to hate and have contempt and to kill and to scream. But for what? Do we want to change things or just 'get it out of our system'? Or do we want the oppressor to admit he is wrong, to withdraw his misuse of us? He is only too happy to admit guilt--then do nothing, but try to absorb and exorcise the new thought. Witness the Kerner and Walker reports. In fact, some such report on women exists. But what can we get from a new vocabulary of consciousness-raising invective. We have not the power to carry out our threats, so we must only want to be accepted by our oppressor. That does not make up for what I have lost, what I never had, and what all those others who are worse off than I never had nor lived to not have. No such petty return will compensate. No-thing will compensate for what this society has done to me, and prevented me from doing. No-thing will compensate for the irreparable harm it has done to my sisters in insane asylums throughout this 'land of the free'. No-thing

will compensate for my mother's incredibly brilliant, untouched, except by poverty, mind turning to mush with alcohol.

How could we possibly settle for anything remotely less, even take a crumb in the meantime less than total annihilation of a system which systematically destroys half its people--its female children, and badly damages most of the male children?

Martin Luther King and most other saints have been able to attain a state of total love which makes them want to save their enemy as well as the oppressed. I think, had King lived, he would have reached a higher stage of humanity, that of the revolutionary. The revolutionary has a passionate love for humanity, and a passionate hatred for his enemy. He is cool; he needs no immediate rewards. He is not ambivalent; he knows that not only is there no hope for the rulers, he would not even want to partake in any change that is tainted with the hands of such cold-blooded murderers. I think that Martin Luther King harbored such a hatred, and that it was slowly being justified in his consciousness, and that is why he is dead today. It is interesting that 'saints' always die young, before they develop into revolutionaries, yet the Luther's live to ripe old age.

### III

What we must realize is that we are up against a system which was practically impermeable to ordinary struggle even a century ago, and that the cancer has now spread everywhere. People are fighting it on fronts all over the world today, but ultimately its destruction will have to come from its own people, who are themselves the diseased cells, barely able to see.

By some miracle, a few of us escape absolute terror; a few of us do not turn to drugs and alcohol and crime. Women are somewhat less damaged because they are required to raise society's labor force and infantry. Some taboos are set on their taking drugs, becoming criminals. Because they are second-rate, they are not even given the privilege of being anti-social. The 'liberation' that women have attained has been in terms

of access to debilitating activities. (You've come a long way baby; now you have your own cigarette" thanks to Virginia Slims.)

A few of us have emerged from the masses of women in this country to speak out to the rest of those women. We are beginning to identify the problem, and the enemy. It is not surprising that many of the women who have emerged as spokeswomen have been involved in organizing other oppressed Americans; that many are well-educated and professional. Some are from the ruling class. These women are more accustomed to working for some one else's 'cause' than their own liberation. Women are never supposed to admit that they have problems. In fact, we are not accustomed to airing our deeper problems with society, and easily fall into a traditionally accepted man-hating, man-baiting. In the past such discussions have been necessary for psychic survival, but now I think we can go far beyond that, and take the masses of women and men with us.

It may be that the more fortunate women among us will not be the best leaders for our movement; that they should recognize the masculine structures of thought in themselves. It seems to me that poor women, especially Black women and Indian women and Mexican-American women are more aware of the connections between their oppression as women, and the caste system in general. Certainly those sisters who have had access to learning which can advance the thought of the more oppressed, should give it generously, but not lead.

Actually, I think that if we make a thorough analysis of the meaning of female liberation (liberation of the female principle--maternity--in all beings), we shall find as many males as females committed to their own salvation and that of humanity. I am not saying that we should try to attract males (in the manner of N.O.W), but that we should make a complete analysis and use all information available. But we should not simply imitate the rhetoric of the Black movement. It must be frustrating for Black people to see their language taken out of context and destroyed not only by the society's media, but also by young white radicals, and now by women. Phrases like 'Aunt Tom', 'Jane Crow Law', and 'shuffling' have no place in our movement. These terms have specific meaning for Black people, male and

female. Language which is historically and socially at odds with the subject of analysis not only cheapens one's analysis, but is an insult to the absolutely necessary struggle of the Black people in this country, a struggle necessarily related to our own. Their struggle (and one-half of them are female, which is often forgotten) is a struggle against genocide. I think we have learned from the past that when one large segment of the population is in danger of genocide, so, too, is the entire population (anyone is suspect). In a sense we are all fighting a Fascist state and are defending ourselves from genocide, at the same time that we attempt to change the course of history. We can learn much about caste (the basis of the oppression of females) from the study of African slavery in America, because that is one extreme historical manifestation of caste, but we can not make direct analogies, or say which is better or worse. All oppression is bad. Starvation is worse. There are as many females as males starving in the world today. Yet clearly, under the present system, starvation could be alleviated, and the oppression of women could continue.

#### IV

The American government is heir to the most brilliant purveyor of Imperialism that the world has ever known--th civilized, 'docile' English middle class. Divide and rule is a method that has always worked perfectly for these insidious vipers, and is still working through American heirs . I will not here enter into a discussion of what is happening on the left--not a splintering, but a competition--but I will point out that the key to the divide and rule tactic is the ease with which the male, programmed as he is for proving his masculinity, can be led into competing with his comrades, brother, allies, turned against women, other groups, and forget entirely who his enemy is. What surprises me is that the same thing seems to already be happening among women in our newborn movement. Women, too, are programmed for the masculine role through its opposite--femininity, so when women get in a power position, they fall prey to the proscribed masculine role.

Women are often self-righteous in their relations with men. Somehow it is more moral to be the oppressed than

the oppressor. The person who must play the weaker role has only his moral stand to fill his ego. A person who has been oppressed is less laden with guilt, and tends to allow themselves more freedom of action than the guilty party. Often the weak exert power over those who are in a weaker position. Women often play exactly the same persecuting role they experience in relation to their children. White women have had the freedom to persecute Black males, and have used the freedom fully. Mexican-Americans have persecuted Black people as well. In a certain sense, American democracy has meant the freedom of everyone to persecute Black people. Many White American women have the same illusion of freedom as has the immigrant and the poor white male. All of this is just to remind ourselves that no one has a corner on oppression. We are programmed to compete with each other. When we finally do admit that we are oppressed, we insist that we are more oppressed than this or that group. If such indulgence provides an ego boost, it is at the cost of real knowledge, growth, and effectiveness. It is a personal solution, even if it sounds social.

Roxanne Dunbar

"A man who thinks he is a king is mad  
but a king who thinks he is a king is also mad"

Jacques Lacan

## AGAINST LIBERALS

Liberal men usually come on big for more rights for women. Enlightened self-interest tells them that female talents can be utilized, that an unhappy wife is not a good wife, and that women who are flighty and empty-headed and read True Confessions and gossip and giggle are a drag.

Talk to them about women--and you won't have to bring up the subject; they will--and they insist that they are with you 100%. As long as they think you are putting women down for being what they are, a product of the pressures of society, they're two steps ahead of you. But when they catch on that it's the pressures you're condemning, they come to a screeching halt, begin to frown and squirm and back-track.

Before you know it you're being accused of being a snob (to imply the degradation was not a free choice is to insult the women's intelligence!), anti-man ("there's nothing wrong with wanting to please a man; I happen to enjoy pleasing women very much"), and not knowing what you're talking about ("You don't know what you're talking about!"). He understands THAT sort of woman all too well, and will tell you with his usual smugness that you just don't understand women.

Liberal men don't like mannequins; they have contempt for them. The mannequins are too artificial, too obviously unreal, in poor taste. What they want is for their women to look NATURAL, like the magazine cover girls, dewy-fresh but heart-rendingly beautiful.

Oh, yes, they want women to be beautiful, they love beautiful women. And they're quite willing that quite a bit of make-up, time, energy and expense go into the procedure. But the over-painted mannequin, like the war in Vietnam, is just a little too obvious, really in poor taste; she is held in contempt not because she is artificial, but because the obviousness of her artificiality makes her NOT BEAUTIFUL.

It is this failure to be beautiful, then, that is the affront to the liberal. He wants his women to be beautiful, but they must be clever enough to make it all appear natural.

The liberal man cannot admit that it is society's pressures, as exemplified by his attitude, that produce the artificial women he so smugly dismisses. He insists that the blame is entirely theirs; they could have chosen to be womanly doctors or lawyers or tastefully beautiful rich men's wives, but instead they chose cheap glamour.

And the liberal man is intelligent to insist on the free choice doctrine, because to admit that this thing he considers ugly is a product of society's hysterical programming for beauty and man-pleasing would be a direct threat to his own stake in the results of the programming, where he skims off from the top the women clever enough to do it well and mix it with the just right amount of cultivated intelligence and charm. It's not programming, he says, it's a recognition by women that their relationships with men are mutually beneficial and that it is in their own interests to cultivate these relationships.

The same act is played out on the subject of silliness and giggling and playing up to men by women. They just can't respect these women, they say, and are quick to point them out as "sisters" who are "hurting our cause." They should stick to business, the liberal man says, when his secretary embarrasses him by too much personal pandering, too much light headed flirting. But they don't know they are embarrassing him with excesses. The way they were brought up, this sort of thing was not an excess; it was uniformly expected as the appropriate posture of women toward men. They are just trying to please him as they have been taught since childhood. Wait on a man, be coy, be giggly, play up to him, make him feel clever and important. But they lack training in sophistication, they lack education, they lack intelligence, maybe, to do

the whole thing with the finesse which changes it into "charm."

And you will never find a liberal man who isn't very very big on womanly charm. Take womanly charm out of his life and you are taking away the sun. Life would be a desert without it. They are cut to the quick by the suggestion: "How can you suggest that that is a BAD thing?" They gasp. And don't worry, they know what they're talking about. Don't bother to try to distinguish real charm, a very special individuality combined with a genuine liking for people, from womanly charm, which is a playing up to (they would say "bringing out the best in") a man, through the methods of emphasizing her womanliness in order to point up his masculinity and listening admiringly so as to draw out his ideas. They are talking about womanly charm and they think it is a fine thing indeed; in fact, it makes the world go round. And women get as much pleasure from it as men. It's all part of the game, the wonderful delicious game of love and sex.

So liberal men are very big on rights for women, within limits. They should be educated, have jobs or even careers when it doesn't interfere with the family, be knowledgeable and articulate, just so that it is all tempered by womanly charm and a care for her appearance.

Of course as soon as you get down to specifics, all the old prejudices come in. "I wouldn't hire a woman to carry acid, of course, because they're too emotional and might lose their heads in a crisis." But in general you are safe from the boorish lower class statements like "I'm glad my daughter isn't neurotic enough to want to be a doctor."

But aside from the objectionable snobbery and smugness they exhibit in putting down women who try to play the role they demand and play it poorly (maybe the women are basically too honest to do a good job!), there is another objectionable side to liberal men. They expect women, at least, "their"

women, the class of women they associate with and might be "interested in," to be raving sex maniacs.

Being terribly liberal, they are quite willing to permit the woman to enjoy herself sexually, and if she DOESN'T, by God, she must be sexually maladjusted. He has permitted her to enjoy sex, or rather has permitted her to ADMIT it, supposedly she was wild about it all along, and if she DOESN'T admit it or even worse, doesn't ENJOY it, she is sick, warped. In fact, her wild enjoyment of sex is supposed to make her just adore every nauseating bit of the role-playing. Since he finds playing the big man sexy, she's supposed to find playing the docile admiring woman sexy. He loves sitting at a candle-lit table, so she's supposed to love carrying the souffle out of the kitchen. All part of the wonderful delicious game of love and sex; these little differences, these roles, all incredibly sexy. It doesn't occur to them that the male role happens to be noble and dominant and the female role passive and demeaning. If it's demeaning, you should love it that way because it makes for better sex and after all that's what makes the world go round. Revel in your subservience, they tell us. What they are saying is, be masochists.

No thanks, Mr. Smug Liberal, I've tried your delicious masochistic sex and it nauseates me to think about it. I'm a person, not a delectable little screwing machine equipped with subroutines for cocktail-mixing and souffle-making and listening enchanted to all the pompous drivel you want to pour out to impress me.

Dana Densmore

MARX!

With the division of labor, in which all these contradictions are implicit and which in its turn is based on the natural division of labor in the family and the separation of society into individual families opposed to one another, is given simultaneously the distribution, and indeed the unequal distribution (both quantitative and qualitative), of labor and its products, hence property: the nucleus, the first form of which lies in the family, where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first property, but even at this early stage it corresponds perfectly to the definition of modern economists who call it the power of disposing of the labor power of others. Division of labor and private property are, moreover, identical expressions: in the one the same thing is affirmed with reference to activity as is affirmed in the other with reference to the product of the activity.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

from The German Ideology

chapter on "History"

MARX?

CONFESSION

...

Your favorite virtue in man: STRENGTH

Your favorite virtue in woman: WEAKNESS

...

Your idea of happiness: TO FIGHT

Your idea of misery: SUBMISSION

...

The vice you detest most: SERVILITY

....

Karl Marx

from a manuscript by  
Marx's daughter Laura

written in English

AN ARGUMENT FOR BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION  
AS A REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

"Nobody can fight your battles for you; you have to do it yourself." This will be the premise used for the time being for stating the case for Black women's liberation, although certainly it is the least significant. Black women, at least the Black women I have come in contact with in the movement have been expounding all their energies in "liberating" Black men (if you yourself are not free, how can you "liberate" someone else?). Consequently, the movement has practically come to a standstill. Not entirely due however to wasted energies but, adhering to basic false concepts rather than revolutionary principles and at this stage of the game we should understand that if it is not revolutionary it is false.

We have found that Women's Liberation is an extremely emotional issue, as well as an explosive one. Black men are still parroting the master's prattle about male superiority. This now brings us to a very pertinent question: How can we seriously discuss reclaiming our African Heritage--cultural living modes which clearly refute not only patriarchy and matriarchy, but our entire family structure as we know it. African tribes live communally where households let alone heads of households are non-existent.

It is really disgusting to hear Black women talk about giving Black men their manhood--or allowing them to get it. This is degrading to other Black women and thoroughly insulting to Black men (or at least it should be). How can someone "give" one something as personal as one's adulthood? That's precisely like asking the beast for your freedom. We also chew the fat about standing behind our men. This forces me to the question: Are we women or leaning posts and props? It sounds as if we are saying if we come out from behind him, he'll fall down. To me,

these are clearly maternal statements and should be closely examined.

Women's Liberation should be considered as a strategy for an eventual tie-up with the entire revolutionary movement consisting of women, men, and children. We are now speaking of real revolution (armed). If you can not accept this fact purely and without problems examine your reactions closely. We are playing to win and so are they. Viet Nam is simply a matter of time and geography.

Another matter to be discussed is the liberation of children from a sick slave culture. Although we don't like to see it, we are still operating within the confines of the slave culture. Black women use their children for their own selfish needs of worth and love. We try to live our lives which are too oppressing to bear through our children and thereby destroy them in the process. Obviously the much acclaimed plaudits of the love of the Black mother has some discrepancies. If we allow ourselves to run from the truth we run the risk of spending another 400 years in self destruction. Assuming of course the beast would tolerate us that long, and we know he wouldn't.

Women have fought with men and we have died with men in every revolution, more timely in Cuba, Algeria, China, and now in Viet Nam. If you notice, it is a woman heading the "Peace Talks" in Paris for the NLF. What is wrong with Black women? We are clearly the most oppressed and degraded minority in the world, let alone the country. Why can't we rightfully claim our place in the world?

Realizing fully what is being said, you should be warned that the opposition for liberation will come from everywhere, particularly from other women and from Black men. Don't allow yourselves to be intimidated any longer with this nonsense about the "Matriarchy" of Black women. Black women are not matriarchs but we have been forced to live in abandonment and been used and abused. The myth of

the matriarchy must stop and we must not allow ourselves to be sledgehammered by it any longer--not if we are serious about change and ridding ourselves of the wickedness of this alien culture. Let it be clearly understood that Black women's liberation is not anti-male; any such sentiment or interpretation as such can not be tolerated. It must be taken clearly for what it is--pro-human for all peoples.

The potential for such a movement is boundless. Where as in the past only certain type Black people have been attracted to the movement--younger people, radicals, and militants. The very poor, the middle class, older people and women have not become aware or have not been able to translate their awareness into action. Women's liberation offers such a channel for these energies.

Even though middle-class Black women may not have suffered the brutal suppression of poor Black people, they most certainly have felt the scourge of the male superiority oriented society as women, and would be more prone to help in alleviating some of the conditions of our more oppressed sisters by teaching, raising awareness and consciousness, verbalizing the ills of women and this society, helping to establish communes.

Older women have a wealth of information and experience to offer and would be instrumental in closing the communications gap between the generations. To be Black and to tolerate this jive about discounting people over 30 is madness.

Poor women have knowledge to teach us all. Who else in this society sees more and is more realistic about ourselves and this society and about the faults that lie within our own people than our poor women? Who else could profit and benefit from a communal setting that could be established than these sisters? We must let the sisters know that we are capable and some of us already do love them. We women must begin to unabashedly learn to use

the word "love" for one another. We must stop the petty jealousies, the violence that we Black women have for so long perpetrated on one another about fighting over this man or the other. (Black men should have better sense to encourage this kind of destructive behavior.) We must turn to ourselves and one another for strength and solace. Just think for a moment what it would be like if we got together and internalized our own 24 hour a day communal centers knowing our children would be safe and loved constantly. Not to mention what it would do for everyone's egos especially the children. Women should not have to be enslaved by this society's concept of motherhood through their children, and then the kids suffer through a mother's resentment of it by beatings, punishment, and rigid discipline. All one has to do is look at the statistics of Black women who are rapidly filling the beast's mental institutions to know that the time for innovation and change and creative thinking is here. We cannot sit on our behinds waiting for someone else to do it for us. We must save ourselves.

We do not have to look at ourselves as someone's personal sex objects, maids, baby sitters, domestics and the like in exchange for a man's attention. Men hold this power, along with that of the breadwinner over our heads for these services and that's all it is--servitude. In return we torture him, and fill him with insecurities about his manhood, and literally force him to "cat" and "mess around" bringing in all sorts of conflicts. This is not the way really human people live. This is whitey's thing. And we play the game with           as much proficiency as he does.

If we are going to bring about a better world, where best to begin than with ourselves? We must rid ourselves of our own hang-ups, before we can begin to talk about the rest of the world and we mean the world

and nothing short of just that (Let's not kid ourselves). We will be in a position soon of having to hook up with the rest of the oppressed peoples of the world who are involved in liberation just as we are, and we had better be ready to act.

All women suffer oppression, even white women, particularly poor white women, and especially Indian, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Oriental and Black American women whose oppression is tripled by any of the above mentioned. But we do have female's oppression in common. This means that we can begin to talk to other women with this common factor and start building links with them and thereby build and transform the revolutionary force we are now beginning to amass. This is what Dr. King was doing. We can no longer allow ourselves to be duped by the guise of racism. Any time the White man admits to something you know he is trying to cover something else up. We are all being exploited, even the white middle class, by the few people in control of this entire world. And to keep the real issue clouded, he keeps us at one another's throats with this racism jive. Although, Whites are most certainly racist, we must understand that they have been programmed to think in these patterns to divert their attention. If they are busy fighting us, then they have no time to question the policies of the war being run by this government. With the way the elections went down it is clear that they are as powerless as the rest of us. Make no question about it, folks, this fool knows what he is doing. This man is playing the death game for money and power, not because he doesn't like us. He could care less one way or the other. But think for a moment if we all go together and just walked on out. Who would fight his wars, who would run his police state, who would work his factories, who would buy his products?

We women must start this thing rolling.

Mary Ann Weathers

## CHE'S ACHILLES HEEL

It is apparent that even the best of men have certain blind spots. Men who devote their lives to social change out of indignation at, and compassion for the suffering of their fellow human beings, don't wholly succeed in changing their own attitudes toward one segment of the oppressed. The fact that woman's role is so ancient and ingrained might account for this failure.

As depressing as it is these men are not above cynically taking advantage of the servile mentality created in women, by the inferior role they're forced to play. In this respect they're defeating their own ends. If their ends are to establish a completely rational humane society, where every individual is allowed to live up to his or her full potential.

## THE ROLE OF THE WOMAN

### CHE SAYS:

The part that the women can play in the development of a revolutionary process is of extraordinary importance. It is well to emphasize this, since in all our countries, with their colonial mentality, there is a certain underestimation of the woman which becomes a real discrimination against her.

The woman is capable of performing the most difficult tasks, of fighting beside the men; and despite current belief, she does not create conflicts of a sexual type in the troops.

In the rigorous combatant life the woman is a companion who brings the qualities appropriate to her sex, but she can work the same as a man and she can fight; she is weaker, but no less resistant than he. She can perform every class of combat task that a man can at a given moment, and on certain occasions in the Cuban struggle she performed a relief role.

Naturally the combatant women are a minority. When the internal front is being consolidated and it is desirable to remove as many combatants as possible who do not possess indispensable physical characteristics, the women can be assigned a considerable number of specific occupations, of which one of the

most important, perhaps the most important, is communication between different combatant forces, above all between those that are in enemy territory. The transport of objects, messages, or money, of small size and great importance, should be confided to women in whom the guerrilla army has absolute confidence; women can transport them using a thousand tricks; it is a fact that however brutal the repression, however thorough the searching, the woman receives a less harsh treatment than the man and can carry her message or other object of an important or confidential character to its destination.

As a simple messenger, either by word of mouth or of writing, the woman can always perform her task with more freedom than the man, attracting less attention and at the same time inspiring less fear of danger in the enemy soldier. He who commits brutalities acts frequently under the impulse of fear or apprehension that he himself will be attacked, since this is one form of action in guerrilla warfare.

Contacts between separated forces, messages to the exterior of the lines, even to the exterior of the country; also objects of considerable size, such as bullets, are transported by women in special belts worn beneath their skirts. But also in this stage a woman can perform her habitual tasks of peacetime; it is very pleasing to a soldier subjected to the extremely hard conditions of this life to be able to look forward to a seasoned meal which tastes like something. (One of the great tortures of the war was eating a cold, sticky, tasteless mess.) The woman as a cook can greatly improve the diet and, furthermore, it is easier to keep her in these domestic tasks; one of the problems in guerrilla bands is that all works of a civilian character are scorned by those who perform them; they are constantly trying to get out of these tasks in order to enter into forces that are actively in combat.

A task of great importance for women is to teach beginning reading, including revolutionary theory, primarily to the peasants of the zone, but also to the revolutionary soldiers. The organization of schools, which is part of the civil organization, should be done principally through women, who arouse more enthusiasm among children and enjoy more affection from the

school community. Likewise, when the fronts have been consolidated and a rear exists, the functions of the social worker also fall to women who investigate the various economic and social evils of the zone with a view to changing them as far as possible.

The woman plays an important part in medical matters as a nurse, and even as doctor, with a gentleness infinitely superior to that of her rude companion in arms, a gentleness that is so much appreciated at moments when a man is helpless, without comforts, perhaps suffering severe pain and exposed to the many dangers of all classes that are a part of this type of war.

Once the stage of creating small war industries has begun, the woman can also contribute here, especially in the manufacture of uniforms, a traditional employment of women in Latin American countries. With a simple sewing machine and a few patterns she can perform marvels. Women can take part in all lines of civil organization. They can replace men perfectly well and ought to do so, even where persons are needed for carrying weapons, though this is a rare accident in guerilla life.

It is important to give adequate indoctrination to men and women, in order to avoid all kinds of misbehavior that can operate to hurt the morale of the troops; but persons that are otherwise free and who love each other should be permitted to marry in the Sierra and live as man and wife after complying with the simple requiremants of the guerrilla band.

This is quoted from CHE GUEVARA on Guerrilla Warfare by Vintage Books  
The passage on women is found between "Civil Organization" and "Medical Problems," which implies that women and the role they play are of no more or less importance than the other two subjects.

## SEX AND THE SINGLE GIRL

And what of the throat-catching excitement of new romance? The pregnant frightened seriousness of its first encounters and the joys of sexual conquest, the cliff-hanging excruciating suspense, the intense role-playing for tangible immediate stakes?

The ideal woman is created out of the frail mortal that was you. She is witty, shy, laughing, a little bold, downcast eyes smoldering. Everything is done with just the right touch, just the right timing....

One could not help but take pride in a job so well done: fine acting and consummate artistry, the creation of a Desirable Woman out of a simple female body transformed by your imagination.

You are not passive, although that must be the chief impression conveyed to the man so that he will think the conquest entirely his.

You do not sit by and through just BEING lure him into your net, no, being a woman is an active thing, you MAKE yourself a woman, you create the role and play it.

To be a woman you must please and attract the man, and to do that a thousand little postures and tricks are required, all tailored to the demands of the moment.

False, all false, admitted. But, you may argue, since that is your definition, why then you truly ARE this bundle of falsehoods. And, false or not, the game is rewarding.

There are the rewards of self-satisfaction reaped by any actress who plays her role superbly, heightened here by the fact that success brings not mere applause from an audience but the conquest and enchantment of an exciting man who adores the "woman" you have created and moreover believes absolutely that this incredible creature is you. Which means, for practical purposes, that he adores you--and you did EARN it, didn't you?

But no, it's not the same. In fact, it's not the same at all. It's deception and unreal and the conquest it engineers is the ignoble manipulation of another human being, however he begs for it, however much he himself contributes to his own deception by demanding the false qualities and blinding himself to others that are yours most rightfully.

No, no, no more conquests. You work for your conquest, but you are begging this man to master you, not meeting him honorably halfway. Your success, your conquest, is only in being conquered.

You tempt him, entice him, titillate him, until he can't resist any longer and he takes you. Then you are possessed. You.

He thinks it's that little doll you showed him who was begging for a master and will treat you accordingly. If the little doll was more docile and more subservient than you, watch out.

He thinks he knows how you want to be treated and adds the weight of this datum to his opinion on how ALL women want to be treated.

Maybe for you the conquest has been made, the suspense is over, and it's time to get back on a more realistic basis.

But it's too late. He adores that role-playing little doll and he's not about to give it up.

So you did wrong. Never mind that your plain unvarnished self never would have landed him at all. When women stoop to conquer they relinquish all rights to respect later and set the stage for the whole act by declaring themselves traditional role-playing women who delight in their own degradation.

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And while we're at it, maybe you should ask yourself how much you've internalized all this role-playing.

To what extent do you believe you ARE this bundle of falsehoods? To what extent has it seeped into your consciousness, penetrated below what you intellectually recognize about yourself to condition everything and cause you to fall into role-playing instinctively without a deliberate conscious decision?

It is almost inevitable that some of the mass of propaganda about our sexual identity that constantly bombards us should condition our own self-image.

We can't always be on guard against definition from without, and in fact most of it occurred before it was us that they were defining, when it was "woman", a mysterious or strange and distasteful other we only later realized we would grow into one day.

By the time we could measure the reality of ourselves against the myth, it was too late for us to make a totally objective judgement about what we were.

But look particularly hard at the sexual myths you have internalized.

Psychologists (male) have defined you as a creature whose ego development demands a delicate balance of narcissism and masochism.

This is the "scientific" view of woman, as opposed to the purely mythic and male-wish-fulfillment identities.

What is your own sexual self-image? How much narcissism and masochism are in it? And how much does your sexual self-image condition your whole self-image?

In the heady joy of the sexual encounter are you reveling in masochism euphemistically calling your surrender "womanly"?

Why should you like being dominated by a man? What is there to recommend a man who makes decisions without consulting you, who expects you to conform to his ideas about how women should act?

He isn't being virile and manly, he's showing disrespect for you and disregard for your wishes and needs; he is demanding that you yield up your liberty, your mind and will; he is crushing your ego.

Virility is the euphemism. The real word is sadism.

Dana Densmore



## MAN AS AN OBSOLETE LIFE FORM

If men are going to destroy the planet Earth and all its inhabitants with violence and wars, all men should be killed, to preserve the rest of humankind. If they decide they don't want to keep on in the direction they're heading, they will have to control and subdue their inner nature as they have outer nature.

Like many other organisms in biological history, man has become an obsolete life form. He is an anachronism in this technological context. His muscles are no longer needed. The built-in obsolescence of his physical and emotional nature is now apparent.

The aggressive, destructive drives of man lack proper reasonable outlets. He is being phased out by technology. Sperm banks and test-tube babies can take over his last function, his only function that has positive effects for the human race. All the rest of his functions, can be performed by females much more efficiently, minus the destruction.

In an agrarian society man could expend his energy tilling the land and caring for animals. In a hunting culture he consumed his energy fishing and killing animals. These special drives aren't needed now for survival, now they are an evolutionary hang-over.

In the present era the same demands aren't existent. Now men consume their energy devising ways to kill and killing each other. Their energy lacks outlet and makes man consume himself, like a frenzied shark eating his own guts. MAN HAS PASSED THE STAGE WHERE HE IS JUST UPSETTING THE BALANCE OF NATURE, HE IS THE IMBALANCE IN NATURE!

With the growing size of the human race, population control is necessary in some situations. But to consider only the quantity of the population, is to see only half the problem. The quality of the population is just as important to the future welfare and survival of the human race. Those who love war-games and destructive exercises to expend their energies, are just as much of a threat to humanity as over-population.

The qualities of man make him unfit for life today. And like all harmful factors his life should come

to an end. Due to great famines, plagues, and wars the population once had built-in checks. But that was a very miserable, cruel and inhumane way to insure the survival of some. The best didn't necessarily survive only the most aggressive.

Today science has found ways to alleviate famine, conquer germs that cause plagues, and check the size of the population itself. One germ hasn't been identified and destroyed; the germ that causes wars and destruction. That germ is man.

It is not in his interest to acknowledge his role in human suffering. The male has a vested interest in denying the implications and consequences of his existence, and that interest is the instinct of self-preservation. As long as man is in power he will never admit the necessity of his demise from the Planet Earth for the achievement of a humane evolution.

The tyrannosaurus had to become extinct. Because of the dinosaurs huge size and voracious appetite, other life forms were unable to develop and survive in its geological era. It needed all other life to feed on, to sustain its own life. After eating all other species it could use for food, they died of starvation. Only with their extinction at the end of the Cretaceous period, could other better life forms come into being and evolve.

Like the tyrannosaurus, man is blocking evolution and sustaining his life at the expense of other better life forms. Until he gives up existence, either voluntarily or by force, there will be no relief from suffering nor any moral progress on this planet.

betsy warrior

#### ALTERNATIVE SOLUTION

In areas of the world more densely populated, certain species were driven out or became extinct for the protection of the population that replaced them. The more aggressive, predatory or competitive the creature, the more disruptive they were to the harmonious functioning of the culture.

A tiger on city streets would wreak havoc, and no one would think of keeping a shark in their swimming pool, though water is their natural habitat. Bears don't roam the parks, nor elephants stampede down the expressway. We can't live in harmony with these creatures, and about the only place a city dweller ever sees one of these animals is in the zoo.

In Africa where the land isn't so scarce, in relatively populated areas, preserves and parks are set aside to contain and restrict the movement of destructive species. They can roam and kill unrestrainedly within the limits of this preserve, but they are not allowed to subject the civilized to the consequences of their behavior, by infringing on their territory or peace of mind.

If all men with aggressive, homicidal or manipulative tendencies were restricted to one island or territory centuries ago, and had unrestricted freedom in these areas, they would have kept killing each other off, leaving the rest of the population in peace. Life would have evolved into something quite different from what it is today.

As things stand these types are dispersed throughout the population. They hold influential positions, and set a pattern for others to follow.

Killers aren't ostracized but honored. Soldiers, mercenaries, and policemen aren't the only ones who are given a license to kill. They are only the more overt types. Politicians and scientists among others also make death-dealing decisions.

In fact the great majority of the population is infected and accepts and endorses this behavior. Not confined by preserves, man's battleground is the world, and the whole population must suffer the consequences. No one is safe. Today man's weapons are too destructive, and the population too dense, to tolerate him in our midst.

If females feel some compunctions about eliminating him entirely, Man preserves and zoos might prove a rational alternative.

betsy warrior

as i was walking along  
the gentleman to my left  
addressed me as a fat-assed pig  
feeling this comment to be neither  
accurate nor appropriate  
i reciprocated by calling him a  
lecherous old whore-monger  
taking no pleasure in his most recently  
acquired appellation  
he proclaimed me a  
bitch in heat  
i said in reply  
that my condition was far more  
desirable  
than his condition which was that of  
a mangy cock-sucker  
he retorted with fuck you  
whereupon i gasped admirably  
and waddled on

Jayne West



## THE QUAKER

She was afraid that entering into battle against male supremacy she would become bitter and unkind, prejudiced and unable to appreciate the good qualities of men: a humorlessness and lack of charity sometimes exhibited by other oppressed groups in their uprisings.

She, like most other women, who have always felt charitable, even affectionate, toward men, feared losing her kindness because she knew instinctively that the world is a hostile one for women, that men can be and are very cruel when you don't play by their rules, and that many more humiliations have been suppressed than it is wise to stir up.

This, in fact, was confirmed when intellectual honesty and feeling for justice pushed her into the slow but irreversible awakening.

Each little bit and piece, not obvious in itself and quickly brushed off as misunderstood or meaningless and then deliberately forgotten, now fits into a whole picture that is overpoweringly damning.

She was forced to realize that men whom she had thought were her friends treated her not affectionately but patronizingly, were so enthusiastic about her only because she was a mirror held up to their egos, and in fact showed impatience when she presumed to intrude herself.

These men did not, as she had supposed, value her as an equal. She saw herself as an equal who happened to be female, in an equality that did not deny differences in the individuals, with (she recognized) added overtones such as the sexual element that is always there for men, but also the added value of a slightly different point of view, so that, understanding his position, she could broaden his understanding by the intellectual fruits of a somewhat different experience.

Perhaps, kind as she is, and sensitive, she does not test and confront the man when the first clearly recognized insults come, but just withdraws herself from him, with mild rebukes where possible, with excuses otherwise. She feels not so much bitter as disillusioned, very sad. What she had thought was a good friendship had never been anything approaching that, and the fault was hers for deceiving herself about him, deliberately deceiving herself, for she admired this man and was flattered at his attentions and wanted to believe they were friends.

And this sad drama is played out with other friends and acquaintances, and in slightly different form, with lovers. And sometimes, inevitably, it explodes, despite her kindness and desire for peace, into accusation; and then she has to witness the devastating transformation she has dreaded and avoided, wherein, this man--so admiring, so affectionate, so full of high regard for her--is shocked, reels backward, cannot believe his eyes and ears. Confused, acutely embarrassed, he is stunned that this fine modest girl is making such demands. He has always regarded her highly, but this! she has gone to far, much too far! Her worth is great, certainly, a bright, cheerful, friendly girl of great sympathy and understanding, always with a kind word and encouraging remark, always ready to listen and offer constructive suggestions, encouraging one to fine and adventurous plans. Yes, her worth is great, but not this great! She is still, after all, a girl: a great help, but only supportive, friendly and energetic, but not a leader, bright and clever, but not a thinker, not an innovator! That's what she's asking to be treated as, as a man! No, no, I have always thought...a woman's place...oh, how embarrassed I am for her...did these neurotic ambitions always lurk beneath the cheerful surface? Has she always inwardly rebelled against my domination, jealous of my mind and abilities, imagining she could do as well,

just because I picked up a few of her suggestions? How presumptuous...I certainly would have thought of them myself. A girl..oh, no, no, how unthinkable, they're so emotional, like she's being now; intuition, that's their strong point, they are too concerned with people to ever go directly toward a goal, that's why they're no good at logic, have to be taken care of; but that's all right, someone has to be concerned with people. It certainly would be a harsh world for me if there were no women to talk to, to impress, nobody to be concerned about me and how I feel and what I think...she was so wonderful that way, why did she have to spoil it, throw it away trying to be something she isn't? I respected her for her intelligence. I have no time to waste on foolish women. They don't understand what you're saying when you talk to them about anything important, they can't appreciate you, what you're doing, your ideas, and they get squirmy after a while listening, they want to get on praising you and exclaiming, but they have no idea what you've said. I did respect her intelligence, so evidently she wants something more than respect. Equality. But that's impossible, surely she cannot imagine...I'm a man, she's only a girl... Surely it must be obvious to her that we aren't equal, we're different! Being a woman is just as good as being a man, every bit as good, better, in its own way. But she wants to be a man! No, she is not a man, she wants to be treated like a man without being one. Why, that's like me wanting to be treated like the Pope without being him. Oh, but this one, why this one? It cuts me to the quick!

All this passes over his face as she first watches in horror and then turns away. And then come the counter-accusations from him, the demands for explanation and defense, the arbitrary questions based on premises she cannot accept and he cannot question. Bravely she stands and fights until she can make her escape, an escape made either before or after the tears come.

She sees the world becoming dreary and broken only by insults, clashes and disillusionments; she sees all the men she admires one by one revealing the same attitudes she has always been unable to resist bristling at inwardly when expressed by the more vulgar and less tactful men, attitudes she bristled at inwardly but passed over outwardly in silence or even with good grace, assuring herself that it didn't matter, these men weren't important to her, and the men who were important to her didn't feel that way; a comfort now torn from her.

The friendships had been built on a falsehood, her illusion of a genuine reciprocity. True, she had rarely discussed her own projects, but she did present many ideas of her own, good ideas, and ideas they had liked and used. It had been easy to pretend.

The friendships had been a source of pleasure for her, pleasure and entertainment and knowledge. It was flattering that they admired her and lavished attention on her. She wasn't pretty, although she did her best, so she knew it was her personality that drew them and made them delight in her company. It was entertaining and even though the men grew somewhat pompous at times, talking too loud with "I" at every third word, she enjoyed hearing these plans and ideas and stories, and she learned from them.

That is, she had enjoyed it. Now she feels a quick hot flush of anger when the arrogant male strolls in, sprawls himself down without inquiring whether she is busy, or about to leave, or enjoying a bit of solitude to think, assuming with total confidence that nothing could be as important as his attentions, that he is doing her a favor by taking her away from whatever he interrupted.

He is already talking as he walks in, greeting her jovially, perhaps with a good-natured compliment or two. His manner says that he is the extrovert, not shy; he loves people.

This image is often quite false: with other men he may be quite straight and sober, not jovial or overbearing in the least; with them he would not risk appearing foolish. But here he is performing to an audience in whose uncritical admiration and kindness he has perfect confidence.

And it's more than the fact that she's proven her appreciative qualities before. Part of it is that she is a woman and it is assumed from that that she will be uncritical, admiring, and kind.

She realizes that truth as she recalls incidents where strangers and near-strangers who were total creeps, the unpleasantest of individuals in every sense, would approach her with confident smirks and engage her in meaningless, game-playing pseudo-conversations, smirking all the while, confident, even these creeps, confident that she would be too kind to reject them, would let herself be manipulated into supplying them with the stroking they were after, would maybe even be less willing to be rude out of pity for their unloveableness.

They would hold her, waiting in line or sitting on a bus or in the halls at work, and their questions would be like spider webs, trapping her, tangling her up, winding their sickening words around her as she struggled, their smirks enjoying her discomfort and proclaiming their arrogant conquest.

They imposed themselves on her because they considered females public property and they knew she had been trained to walk on eggs around the male ego, to sacrifice herself to protect another's feelings, to be kind.

And this man now, whom once she would have called a friend, is doing the same thing. Less personally objectionable, perhaps, he is showing the same insolent disregard for her privacy.

On he babbles, never giving her an opening to end the interview tactfully, making

jokes out of her feeble hints, deriding what she considers her duties, deriding her for taking them so seriously, and worse. The imperiousness behind his friendly pose is unmasked. Play up to me or get kicked in the teeth, you neurotic little bitch; how dare you have something more important than listening to me? How dare you be so self-centered, how dare you be so RUDE? These are the messages she gets from behind the belittling amusement in his responses to her objections.

She sees all pleasure and fun, enjoyment and appreciation going out of her life, replaced by increasing bitterness. Even innocent flirting must go. Its sexual piquancy comes from the emphasis of the sexual differences, and the roles can no longer be rationalized as being arbitrary, meaningless, free from overtones of superiority and inferiority. The man's role is patronizing, the woman's demeaning.

How could she ever have derived pleasure from something so phony and so oppressive? How could she ever have been thrilled to rattle her chains for the enjoyment of a man whose ego was puffed up by the sound of women's chains rattling? So it pleased him, and he felt good will toward her for it: was that a reward?

"Here, let me do that," says the man, taking over the job she could have done every bit as well. I can do it better, he's saying. I can do it better because I'm a man. You'll never be as good as a man. You just can't take care of yourself. You need men. You need me. Now aren't you grateful? Thank me, and simper, and smile.

And she thanks him and simpers and smiles. What else can she do? He has taken over by force, elbowed her out of the way, done the job before she had a chance to protest. He has done it so she has no choice but to give him the gratitude he demands, however resentful she feels inside. It was patronizing. It was a put-down. He was manipulating her to get a

certain response (smile, gratitude, the attitude of helpless femininity standing by while the competent male gets her out of her jam). But what can she do? Make a scene? Be ungrateful? She's at his mercy.

Hard to believe now that she once simpered and smiled of her own accord, enjoying the fact that she had given this man so much pleasure and made him feel so important, enjoying the secret joke that she could have done it as well herself.

She realizes gradually that not only has she been (in effect) betrayed by all the men she admired and considered her friends, not only have many of her pleasures in life come to appear degrading, false and violently distasteful, but that also her very kindness was counted upon and played upon as she struggled to make the best of her situation, so full of good will, believing only the best of people.

But, despite the fears that have plagued her, it is not bitterness that she feels: only resentment when she is helplessly caught in a demeaning situation and sadness the rest of the time.

Her kindness and compassion stay stubbornly with her even when she knows she is being taken advantage of, and after a while she realizes that her fears of losing these qualities were groundless.

Women are not kind because they expect kindness in return. They are kind because they have been taught to think instinctively of the other person's feelings, to be tuned in, empathetic. When one is sensitive to another's suffering, one is always kind. And it is true: she feels a profound sympathy for men, even for their suffering over their slipping position of supremacy.

She struggles helplessly, clawing for air, while her kindness, smirking, presses in around her.

Dana Densmore

Excerpt from an autobiographical essay

"Maternity"

I had a private room, and I spent three enjoyable days in wonderful privacy, getting fed, which no one had done for me since I was thirteen. Twice each day they brought the baby in for me to view. They wanted me to give her the bottle. I said I would be doing that soon enough; they were getting paid well. A woman pediatrician came and told me about feeding, bathing, and sleep. I was bored at first with her expert advice, but then I got interested in what she was saying. I employed her and her firm as my baby consultants. My husband's sister came all the way from Oklahoma (to California) to take care of me. She came early, of course, to take care of him. I went home, and I was depressed; I read all the things the woman doctor had given me, and she came again. Their philosophy made sense. My sister-in-law was a Spockian with a year old baby. I could not bear her, though she had, at one time, been my mentor. She had fallen into a bad state--sloppy, boring, more trouble than help. She just wanted to boss me. She and my husband quarrelled. I was having a lot of pain and hated them both.

Everyone was patronizing, but not helpful. I was irritable. I felt responsible for the infant, and appreciated its existence, though I did not see it as inexorably connected to my own. I began to learn from the doctors, incorporating their philosophy and methods.

They thought that an infant needs regularity; that it is conditioned to erratic behavior, often in those first few days in the hospital. They also thought that the human infant was very flexible (anthropology and common observance certainly substantiates such an assertion). They thought that the adults in charge of the infant should adjust the baby's schedule to their own, so the

east tension possible would emerge, and the household would not become baby centered. The baby should not be fondled and treated as a toy. It should be regarded as a delicate organism, which needed most to be cared for and left alone. They predicted the first week would be difficult because she had not been treated properly in the hospital, but was conditioned to being picked up, when she cried (there was a woman in the ward ever present to pick up crying babies). The pediatricians (there were three in the firm) also recommended that the infant begin eating food at three weeks, preferably the same food the adults eat, but pureed. The infant should be off the bottle (or breast) at three months.

I took her in for a check at three weeks, and spoke at length with the doctors. Their philosophy indicated such respect for the wholeness and separateness of the child; they were programming me for a role, and I knew it, and was eager to learn more. I was reading Spock, and I became aware of the fallacy of his attitudes and advice: How child-centered (really mother-centered) he proposed to make a "family" and how thoroughly his methods enslaved the adults and ultimately the children as well. My doctors felt that Spock had helped create a generation of orally-obsessed, schizoid children; it would seem so. But mainly Spock helped keep women in the home. Childrearing is jolly, fun, and the child is a darling little object of affection. Also his philosophy seemed paternalistic. It was presented in such a way that the recipient could not internalize the information he offered and act from a basic theory or a set of assumptions, but had to refer constantly to Dr. Spock himself.

My doctors stressed the absolute necessity for developing ones own problem-solving devices, and to know when expert advice was essential. They tried to make experts of the adults in charge of the child, and to liberate them from needing the doctor. Spock

bound parents to him like a possessive mother. And sold a lot of books. Surely he wasn't, isn't malevolent. Paternalism is perhaps more harmful than malevolence though. The worst thing about Spock was his ethno-centricity. One would never know that babies could be raised differently. Spock never explains that the society creates the creature it needs to propagate itself (those in power). Spock, like television, did not create a new ethic; he created a new and more destructive means (a mutation) of propagating society's ethic. Spock is a counter-revolutionary who sentenced thousands and thousands of women (and children) to a terrible bondage, just when the society needed neurotic consumers.

My doctors, on the other hand, were not really conscious of the revolutionary nature of their methods. They were busy being doctors (pediatricians work very hard), and did not expound upon the social order. They adhered to the doctor's code and never left that territory. It is difficult in this atomized society, and when someone does get out to philosophy, the society is sure that the escapee reinforces rather than destroys its system--like Spock. Mainly it depends on the fact that all the really good experts are too busy with their work to look around them for ultimate causes.

A society that fed its infants real food at six weeks would free the adult in charge (the mother) from the total food-giving responsibility. A society that allowed the infant as much freedom as he is capable of handling might produce self-sufficient and responsible children and adults, resistant to conditioning and programming. A society that allowed its infants to be toilet-trained when it is first physically feasible (onset of walking) or not at all (naked children shitting, urinating on the spot) might free its people of obsessions. A society that tells the woman from whose womb an infant came that she is not totally responsible for its care, that

the infant needs only a responsible adult of either sex, the more expert the better, in attendance might free women from obligatory maternity, and make the male as responsible for child-rearing. This society does not want free beings. Why should it support such practices? The society needs soft, passive recipients of propaganda and consumer products. It even needs people to be non-violent now. So Spock to the rescue.

When I took the child for her six weeks check, all three doctors came in. They were not just checking her, I realized, but looking at her head for a long time. I felt a deep sure knowledge that something serious was wrong. I felt trapped and afraid. One of the doctors brought me a pile of medical books and started showing me pictures of the head, reading, explaining. I listened with a kind of giddy smile on my face. Then they said I must take her for X-rays. The gist of it all was that the child had no fontanel.

I took her to the radiology laboratory, and practically sat on her, while she squirmed and screamed. I was sweating in the lead coat and filled with terror, but cool, so cool. I knew if I broke...I went back to wait for the results. It was so; she had craniostinosis. They arranged for an appointment that very evening with a neuro -surgeon.

After four hours there, under that pressure, I was exhausted, still not completely recovered from the birth process. The baby was hysterical from being handled so much. It suddenly occurred to me that I was not alone; I could share the burden with my husband. I felt so lonely; it was a relief to know I was not alone. I went home and waited. When he arrived, I explained all I knew, and told him we had to be at the hospital at 6:00 PM to see the surgeon. He reacted strangely, somehow as if he had a disease, not the child, as if he would be the one to suffer or die. I immediately felt compassion and contempt and terror. It seemed the ultimate irony--that the one time I needed him to share something, he pretended to be the victim. I realized

that he would be as much the patient as the baby, and it would be worse than being alone.

At the hospital we had to wait, as the surgeon had an emergency case. We waited three hours. I began to have heavy cramps, and bleeding. I realized I was hemorrhaging, but I did not want to pay attention to it because I wanted to find out about the baby. I used her diapers to absorb the blood, but they all got soaked. I called the gynecologist, and he said that I should lay flat, not to move, get a certain drug. I told him I could not--that I was at the hospital, my baby's fate to be discussed. He said I could die. I suppose I did not care. I just had to hear what the doctor had to say, and I could not be left alone with the baby, because I kept blacking out. My husband only resented my bleeding at such an inopportune time. I was usually so efficient.

I held out till the doctor came, finally, and then I fainted. He thought I was an hysterical woman, and was somewhat contemptuous of my "lack of control." Then he saw the pool of blood. (Why do doctors and people in general think that the recuperation from childbirth is so easy? Christ, men have to recuperate from sleeping every morning, but women are supposed to revive like magic from total exhaustion, not to speak of the chemical disorder).

So I lay down. The doctor called a nurse, but no arrangements were made for my pills to stop the bleeding. My husband did not volunteer to go get them. The doctor examined the baby while I lay on a table. He told us she would have to have surgery but he would not do it till she was 6-9 months old depending on her health. He said that she might have brain damage if he waited, but that she would die if he operated too soon. I told him I would rather she die than have brain damage. He said he would see her every week, and decide

when the time was right.

We asked him apologetically as Americans do ask their doctors, if it would not be rather expensive. He got out a book on prices, and told us the wholesale cost which was so incredible, I can not remember it. He said she would be in the hospital for a month or more depending on recovery, and might have to have other operations if it grew back. It seemed we would have a child-centered family after all--one husband, a defective baby, and a mother to all.

The hemoraging set my recovery back; I also acquired an infection. I saw the gynecologist every week for months. I was also seeing both the pediatrician and surgeon weekly. The era of doctor's offices: of waiting. I read the Bounty Trilogy waiting in doctors' offices. And I looked in people's faces: saw the bliss of no trouble and more trouble than I: of cancer and retardation and tumors of the brain and palsey and the fear of the unknown, of the doctor's bills. I learned about sitting and waiting; I did not learn much about serving in the process. I was like a rat, looking always for the escape route.

It was a lonely time. My husband was "upset" most of the time. He was grateful that I was "strong" and taking it so well. It was a tremendous responsibility, because any cold, flu, disease, could set the operation back; good health could facilitate an early surgery and prevent brain damage. The doctors were very concerned. The pediatricians did not hesitate to take charge of her care as overseers of my work. I used their methods because they were designed to condition the child for resiliency and strength and independence. I kept her in a cold room for sleeping, sunbathed her, fed her whole food, and did not handle her except when feeding or bathing her. I liked her, too. She was

sturdy, self-sufficient. I respected her as a separate, total being, and I liked what I felt for her. I didn't feel a cloying sentimentality for her, and I certainly knew I could live with out her, and would never live through her. Mostly I felt rather accidentally in charge of her. She was her own person, not mine.

But I was in limbo; I was efficient still, but coldly angry inside--a sort of bitter seed was planted, and I did not yet know where to direct that anger. I knew the culprit was not I. Perhaps for the first time in my life I knew that.

I was not afraid of the baby's dying; I never really believed she would. Now and then I fantasized her dying in surgery, so I could leave my husband, but I knew he would manage to keep me as his comforter if she were to die. I was really afraid that she would be retarded. I did not want to raise her if she was retarded. I thought it immoral. The doctor did not disapprove of my attitude; he just refused to take the chance of an early operation. His duty was to mend bodies and preserve life, but to always choose life over perfection. I liked his attitude toward me--that I had no rights as the parent over the child--that she was not mine, in a private ownership sense. And he coolly advised me to put her into an institution if she was retarded, but not to ask him to kill her by butchering.

The pediatricians constantly commented on the fact that I was the best disciple they had ever had; that I loved my child in a purer, surer way than the neurotic and hysterical mothers and fathers. I was very sure of my feeling; I did not doubt or break. I became forceful for the first time in my life. It was a life or death situation and I had no room, no time for subtle frills and emotions. It was strange. No one treated me like a "mother." They were not sure my child

would live, and it seemed in bad taste to them I suppose. I was treated as all women with newborn babies should be treated and never are.

When the baby was 10 weeks old, the surgeon announced that he would operate in two weeks, if she were in as good or better condition than at that time. I was overjoyed, because I knew he would not do it until he felt it safe, but also that I had succeeded in keeping her healthy, which was surely a better proof of love, than if I had smothered her, and made her ill and weak. So I waited. I took her to the hospital the day before the surgery, and gave her over to the nurses. The pediatricians had warned me that the nurses were archaic about infant-care, so the baby might get upset. They also assured me that the surgery would be traumatic for her, but the effect would depend on reinforcement.

We were fortunately free of financial worries. Someone had told me about a state agency to which one could apply for aid for congenital defects (no insurance covers them), and I had applied. This paid all but what one could pay, and the bills all went to the agency, not to us. The purpose was clear--to relieve one to give full care and attention to the child, rather than bills. The agency was one of the first to be cancelled when Ronald Reagan came into office.

My husband's father flew in to be with us. That was very symbolic. The patriarch himself, the king had blessed us with his presence, to comfort us in case of death. The presence of the man bothered me profoundly. It was bad enough to have my husband around. I had discovered the beauty of loneliness, as compared with being accompanied by incompetents who themselves require attention.

The day before the surgery, I bleached my hair. I saw it then and now as an indication of the depths of my despair, of

my total loss of self in the past weeks of selflessness; indeed the selflessness of six years of marriage.

The child survived; she seemed hardly weakened by the ordeal. They fed her interveinously for the first day, and then began feeding her from a bottle. She seemed upset; I told them she drank from a cup and ate purreed food. They did not believe me, but allowed me freedom of the kitchen, and I fed her myself. They finally put her on a one-year old diet.

For ten days I went there early every morning and stayed till my husband came at 6:00. Then we would go eat dinner in the hospital cafeteria returning to check on her before we left. They were strange days. The baby was well, but I wanted to keep her in good condition in case complications arose.

I came to know the other children and their mothers in the ward. There was a child dying of lukemia, one recovering from open-heart surgery, one that was born without a bladder, and a "mongoloid." I saw those mothers, burdened with their charges--alone, resigned, awaiting death, or a crippled child to take home. Many were from far away, and were staying in the expensive rooms near the hospital, with vipers of death for landlords. I felt most fortunate.

I enjoyed that time. I was able to gather my shattered tired self together. I had finally recovered from the birth. It was easier taking care of a baby in the company of others, and with good facilities, knowing you could call on someone for help, or come and go freely. I learned a great deal, and talked with the women. It was there in those days that I first conceived of communal care for children.

Roxanne Dunbar

## AMERICAN RADICALISM

### A DISEASED PRODUCT OF A DISEASED SOCIETY?

The values of capitalist culture have pervaded every aspect of American life. The radical movement is more than just a rebellion against this culture; it is a product of it.

As a product of this society, it has been formed and nurtured by it. American radicalism dragged along the characteristic American ailments when it reared its head on the American scene.

As this society is rotten to the core, some of this rottenness is inherent in the movement. The typical American diseases wouldn't be tolerated in their conventional forms within radical groups, so they have become disguised.

If radicals don't start examining themselves soon, they will only succeed in perpetuating this diseased society in a different form. The cause of the sickness of inequality will remain, though the symptoms will have changed.

Chauvinism is a cancer that comes in many varieties. To have to identify with some country, doctrine, race or sex group to assert your worth, rather than by gaining acceptance from individual, autonomous, human value--that is chauvinism.

It is a product of the competitive mentality. The struggle isn't worthwhile unless at the end you can say you are better than others. American chauvinism, White chauvinism and male chauvinism are just a few of the infinite variety. Like a virus that has survived antibiotics, it will develop new strains that are immune, or go undetected by traditional social consciousness.

One of the new strains is educational chauvinism. Those who had the tools to compete, the time, the incentive, the money, now feel they must be rewarded for the struggle. As a group they want prestige and recognition for the fact that they have had an education. This is their monopoly. In a new book by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution, it is noted

that when the demand for higher education began to grow explosively, university teachers found themselves in a strategic position. Until recently they had been humble educators. Now they are the sole possessors of a scarce and precious product. Like all monopolists they used this commodity to gain prestige, authority, wealth, and power. It is not unusual for a professor to receive an income of \$50,000 from salary, government and foundation grants, outside lectures and consulting fees today.

They have used their new monopoly position to gain power to decide who shall be hired and fired, what shall be taught, and who it will be taught to. The profits they want are salary increases, prestigious campuses and the admiration of their colleagues. They don't care about being good teachers, because the students would take up too much of their time that could be used on research--which is what pays off in money and prestige. They want the monopoly on prestige. Their 6,000,000 students have a monopoly on education.

The radical movement is the new "bourgeois" the "in" hip scene. All the nice little middle-class, college-educated darlings are groovin' with it. To be hip gives one prestige. They go to the right schools, pick the right causes, dress the role and have their own little cliques. The radical movement in some cases has replaced the sorority and fraternity.

With the advent of economic monopolies, material superiority is a rather unrealistic goal. But individual radicals are still competing within the movement and in the context of a capitalist society, in one of the few areas left open to them.

There is a large population that can be exploited for the profit of prestige. And radicals, with the necessary competitiveness and aggressiveness, can assert their superiority over the masses, by the number of followers they can get. And they can do this only under the guise of helping the masses, and identifying with them.

They compete with their rivals for human minds, not dollars, and reap the rewards of

recognition and prestige. They qualify for their positions by saying the right words, having the right education, saying they have the only true answers. Anyone who doesn't go along with them is accused of being a sellout to society.

Abstract values have a quantitative, as well as a qualitative, aspect. When one person or nation or group monopolizes the desired value, the rest must go without a relative amount. In economic matters it is recognized that when a few people or nations have a lot more wealth than they need to live on, others must go without necessities. When people or hegemonies hold great power and authority others must suffer a loss in this area.

Freedom is quantitative too; the slaveholder had great freedom of action, to the point of exercising the power of life and death over his slaves. This freedom is gained only at the expense of the slave, by depriving him of a corresponding amount of freedom, depending on how much the master wants for himself. Like laws against slavery, all criminal laws are designed to deprive people of freedom that could be used to infringe on other peoples freedom.

Prestige is another abstract value that the same rules can be applied to. Personal power and recognition when monopolized by one person or group, leaves others with less than the necessary amount for a healthy self-image, confidence and self-esteem.

In simplest terms, superiority is a monopoly concept. Whether applied to wealth, freedom power, education, or prestige, superiority always demands inferiority of others. Equality in all value areas, is the only way of achieving a harmonious society of self-realizing individuals.

By preserving an elite, the radical movement is in the same bag as the rest of the monopolists, though they won't recognize or admit it. The spirit of aggressive competition is still there, the motive force. The profit is prestige.

At one time the robber barons epitomized the personality types of sharks and wolves, without compassion, ruthlessly asserting their

superiority. The social background is different today, but the types remain in new guises. The fact that there is an elite attests to this. With their drive they were able to exploit their potential amid the privation of the masses, and at the cost of many.

The elite must maintain divisions to hold their status. The real heroes aren't the ones who have had a chance to gain recognition, but the unnamed Victor Charlies who give themselves with no thought of personal reward. They die in jungles, streets, mountains, and some very unlikely places, without a blink from the rest of the world.

They do what they do because they have to, not because it's the "in" scene. The guerrillas' beards and clothes are a physical necessity, not a display for the role they are playing. A few intent on playing the role reap all the credit, while the rest are too busy or lack the aggressiveness to compete for recognition.

There should be enough human prestige to go around, but if some want all the acclaim for themselves and brainwash the people into thinking they deserve it, they will be depriving the masses of their right to claim their own personal worth. They give up a certain amount of autonomy, depending on how much the demagogue will claim, by way of glory and infallibility.

This is traditional capitalist competition: those who are the most ruthless usually claw their way to the top of the heap. Throughout history, the value of the individual has been extolled most by those who had the opportunity of developing their individualities at the expense of others. Now it is combined with the injunction that social interference with the individual should be kept down to a minimum (as in a laissez-faire economy).

This principle not only sanctions inequality, privileges, and exploitation, but gives the victim a deep sense of the inevitability or even appropriateness of their fate. In a political system that relies on checks and balances

within a competitive framework, the only check on the ambitious is their conscience, and history has proven this an inefficacious method.

Whether the battleground is physical, social, intellectual, economic or political, it is still the same competitive behavior that has ruined the world today. The corrupt professionals, politicians, policemen are just a natural outcome of this kind of society. They can't be swayed from their course by compassion or sentiment; people who are, soon fall by the wayside. Then people wonder why doctors are moneymakers instead of medics, why lawyers, politicians, and police make deals and can be bought off, if the price is right. Corruption and despotism are the norm.

Some segments of the radical movement resemble a mafia-like operation. Competitive and full of internecine fighting, working outside or against the governments or competing with the government. Considering any dishonest corrupt act justified by being a rebellion or a protest against a corrupt society. The same excuses are used by policemen, lawyers, and politicians. Even punks and hoods and gangsters use the same line of reasoning to justify their behavior.

In this society things just couldn't be otherwise. The people who should be in responsible positions, by their very qualities of sensitivity, compassion, and selflessness are unable or unwilling to compete. They are deflected from their course by putting human values before personal and material goals. If they do achieve their goals, they are stripped of all their worthwhile qualities in the struggle.

betsy warrior

"I may be a morose ascetic, but quite often this so-called "new sex life" of young people--and frequently of the adults too-- seems to me purely bourgeois and simply an extension of the good old bourgeois brothel."

Lenin

(Clara Zetkin, "My Recollections")

WHY ARE THERE SUCH BAD THINGS IN THE  
SPLENDID ORGANIZATION OF OUR PARTY? THE  
REASON I THINK IS VERY SIMPLE. IT IS THAT  
OUR PARTY IS NOT A PARTY THAT HAS FALLEN  
FROM THE HEAVENS; IT IS A PARTY THAT HAS  
GROWN OUT OF THE EXISTING CHINESE SOCIETY.  
ALTHOUGH IN GENERAL THE PARTY MEMBERS ARE  
RELATIVELY THE BEST CHINESE MEN AND WOMEN,  
THE VANGUARD OF THE CHINESE PROLETARIAT,  
THEY COME FROM EVERY STRATUS OF THE CHI-  
NESE SOCIETY AND ARE STILL LIVING IN THIS  
SOCIETY WHICH IS REplete WITH THE IN-  
FLUENCES OF THE EXPLOITERS--SELFISHNESS,  
INTRIGUES, BUREAUCRACY AND EVERY KIND OF  
FILTHY THING....IS IT ANYTHING STRANGE  
THAT THERE ARE MUDDY STAINS ON A PERSON  
WHO CRAWLS OUT OF THE MUD AND WHO CON-  
STANTLY DABBLES IN THE MUD?

LIU SHAO-CH'I

## FEMALE LIBERATION AS THE BASIS FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION

"Women form the oldest and largest continually oppressed group in the family of humankind, their subjugation dating from the downfall of primitive communal society and the rise of private property."

This is the introduction to the SDS Resolution on Women's Liberation presented at the National Conference in December, 1968. The resolution covers several important areas of Women's Liberation which are meant to serve the ends of SDS within a continual phallic structure. There is nothing in the resolution which would suggest what many of us mean by Female Liberation. And it is doubtful that the free speech which is called for will prevail in the future. The oppressive nature of SDS is built into its structure, and not much will change if a few specially selected women are allowed to speak pedantically enough to share the power with the big guys, and exert power in a territory of their own--women.

Marriage or living arrangements, an overwhelmingly important and absorbing matter in the day to day, and ultimately the whole, lives of the majority of people, was simply not discussed. The programmed subservience of women in the domestic situation assures continued masculine domination in public. Most members of SDS come from middle-class (I prefer the term "privileged" because many are very newly in the middle-class and are climbers which explains much of their behavior) families, and though they question many of the values of their heritage, they do not seem to question the economic and psychological basis for that class--the nuclear family and the private possession of children.

Upon what basis do New Left Americans and Europeans analyze (or refuse to analyze)

the family? Surely not Marx and Engels. Marx and Engels wrote in 1846: "The first division of labor is that between man and woman for the propagation of children." (German Ideology) In The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, Engels goes further: "The first class opposition that appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male." (p. 5)

The materialist conception of history is an analysis of the production and reproduction of the immediate essentials of life--the production of the means of existence, and the production of human beings themselves--the propagation of the species. (p.5) Contemporary radicals tend to totally ignore the latter, and emphasize the former. In strategy, Marx and Engels also downgraded the reproductive faculties, since they thought the family had practically been demolished among the working class at that time. One could, they thought, deal with the two functions separately. It would seem that the rationale was in error then, because the family has not been destroyed automatically through revolution, though the head is often missing. Certainly the rationale is in error now when the family (including its degeneration--divorce) has attained a whole new lease on life, even among the working class

It is no accident, Engels said, that the enslavement of the woman coincides with the rise of private property; in fact, woman (her labor and her product) was (and still is) the most valuable property that a man could possess. Today, every pop song, every movie, every TV show, every personal statement from a man--including working class and radical men--attest to that fact.

Engels said: "The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules." (p. 65) This precise

statement suggests that to attempt to reform or transform the institution would be analogous to the attempts made to reform the institution of Slavery in America, or to transform the institution into peonage, which is what happened. Even when a woman is declared legally free, her bondage is unbroken. "In the majority of cases today, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family, he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat." (pp. 65-66) This is still largely the case, since the working woman is considered a temporary worker within a structure which idealizes the little woman in the home with her brood.

Engels does not suggest that women or anyone else can be free from oppression within the capitalist system, but he certainly does not say that battles should be postponed, or that only working class men's women should be "organized." Quite the contrary. Engels saw the middle-class man's woman as a domestic slave, not a middle-class person. It is unfortunate that radicals are so programmed by the system's propaganda that they believe there is such a person as a "middle-class woman."

As with the strategy for building revolutionary consciousness among workers, Engels saw the necessity for a democratic republic to provide a "clear field" on which the ultimate battle could be fought. He saw that legal equality of rights had to exist before the peculiar character of the supremacy of the husband over the wife could be seen. "Then it will be plain that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry and that this in turn demands the abolition of the monogamous family as the economic unit of the society." (p. 66) Even the present liberal demands of NOW (National Organization of Women) are not contradictory to our communist

thesis, as those women are advancing the legal equality of women so that we have a clear field for the battles we are fighting. It is disheartening to hear radicals (male and female) condemning such reform activity as counter-revolutionary. Not every one has to do it, but we should be glad that someone is, and not condemn them for their labors which are ultimately necessary for our own fight, into which we hope to bring the women of NOW, when they see how hopeless is reform within this system.

We operate within the democratic-republic which Marx and Engels rightly saw as necessary to the revolutionary process in an industrial economy. Women have, or will soon have full equal rights. These legal rights do not mean anything in reality for women (or for anyone), and they were not really won, but given by the system to preserve itself, as it needed to absorb pressures (remember there was a fierce century-long battle for women's liberation, which like the Black movement, took back seat to the nation's wars). Equal rights expose the nature of the vicious prejudice against women at every level, just as analogous rights for Blacks have revealed racism.

Engels pointed out that in his time working class men enjoyed only the psychological not the economic advantages of the oppression of women, and apparently Engels underestimated the tenacity with which these little men tend to hold on to their need for the servility of others. The working class white man in America enjoys the psychological aspects of two servile castes--women and Blacks, which makes the working class white man doubly arrogant and filled with a false sense of power. In both cases, the poor worker compensates for his own wretched condition by venting his resentment on his competitors for jobs, who are in a weaker position than he. In Engels time, industry had taken the proletariat wife out of the home, and put her on the labor market, often making her the

breadwinner. In this way, the proletariat escaped the monogamous family through the "freedom" of the working class woman to support herself and her children. Today in the United States, this is the case among very few people--mainly Black people. Generally the system, because of cybernation, has put the woman back in the home, making that at any rate the ideal, in order to get her off the labor market. The counter-revolutionary freedom of the working class man in America is that he, too, can own a wife, kids, and a house just like a good bourgeois. The psychological rewards are enormous, even if the economic and social status is nil. The same pattern has developed in Western Europe, and seems to be developing in Western socialist societies, though women are still needed in the labor force. As a compensation for lost bargaining power (leaving public industry), women ("the happy housewife") have been given "buying power". Of course, we are educated (brainwashed) to buy certain things--never our freedom. Women have also been given the right to engage in debilitating activities, formerly allowed only to men (and at one time to only upper-class men) and courtesans--drinking, smoking, drug-use, sexual promiscuity. The crass Virginia Slims slogan capsulizes that "freedom;" "You've come a long way baby; now you have your own cigarette."

There is much confusion about the "right" of a man to support, protect, and defend (e.g. possess) his family. This notion has led the Black movement onto a counter-revolutionary path, already tread by the White working class. That is, among the demands of Black radicals is the right to "family." The system agrees. Every major magazine and television specials pronounce the virtues of family, and the tragedy of the Black man's inability to attain one in his economic situation. And, of course, the Moynihan Report is famous. They proclaim "The Plight of the Negro Man." Get your manhood; get a Black

woman, put her in a house, breed her, then you will be a man, just like the White man. And "radical" Kathleen Cleaver tells the San Francisco Chronicle Society reporter that she wants nothing more than a private life as mother and housewife; that she is only fighting to help her man out, so he can be a good father and breadwinner. This nonsense will surely change as poor Black women protest their falling from 0 to -10 on the scale of relative freedom to even function in this sick society. Indeed poor Black women will have to emerge as leaders before the movement will move toward real liberation.

## II

Now we can begin to think the unthinkable, ask questions never posed. For instance: Why should the organ for revolution be a masculine organ within which women's liberation is a faction (caucus)? The existence of power is always the rationale for continued power. When we fanatic female liberationists insist on the primary importance of female liberation, we do not mean that men are excluded (really wishful thinking on the part of radical men). We do not say our oppression is greater than others; we simply say it is basic to all other struggles. The origin of caste was the oppression of the female sex. The struggle against the basis of oppression is at a higher stage of revolution than the archaic strategy of the present radical analysis. In a time when nearly every American male is economically capable of possessing a household slave, we consider women to be the proletariat.

Black people identify as a colony with colonized people all over the world. Spanish Americans and Indians identify similarly. Unless the men of those groups insist on sharing the privilege of the White man-- possession of a woman and children--they might be able to establish organs for national liberation as a united front (men and women) with a conscious basis of female liberation.

The case is very different for the privileged man. White male radicals are the inheritors of power, the golden boys of the society, the cream of the crop. They must prove their ability to lead to the fathers. They seem to think they are free of all that. Yes indeed Black people, Chicanos, women, workers need to be liberated in the revolutionary struggle, which White men will lead. The White man's role is the White Man's Burden--updated. Protect little brown people and women. But by what prerogative? What makes these men think they are equipped to deal with anyone's liberation when they have not even begun to analyze their own consciousness?

I do not find men that oppressed by this society, though I hear men and women all the time argue that men are just as oppressed. I can not see it; they do not seem to find it unbearable; the compensations for men seem to leave them freer for creative activity than the compensations (humiliating at best) offered women in place of real power. Radical men want power, but they have a social conscience, so they must establish a new order of sorts. Yet they do not appear to be operating as leaders in a revolutionary effort (like Lenin, Mao, Fidel) or as cultural workers teaching the people with some humility (like Fanon, Sartre, Marcuse), but rather as politicians. They so accept their right to power that they do not even think it is a problem. No one of the master class has escaped the damage done to him in a caste society. Every white man in this country has been raised with a false sense of power.

Men run the Movement. There is not much possibility that the situation will change automatically. Masters do not relinquish power; it is wrested from them. Radical men show no inclination to change their attitudes toward women, the family, the use of the economy (what else is there except rhetoric--a politician's only tool?). These men transmit ideology for the radical movement. It is

essential to know how they structure reality, if they are to retain positions of authority as teachers and leaders. If they consider themselves cultural workers in the service of the revolution (the people), would they not seek self-criticism, correct thinking? Would they not seek knowledge from the oppressed, rather than authoritatively directing their "liberation?"

Women are now formulating ideology for a female liberation movement, and we have our own ideas and tactics for building a revolutionary base which we think will be more effective than the present ideology of the movement. The SDS resolution assumes that the ideal model of humanity is the man (the radical man, of course), and that women must be allowed to participate on an equal basis, but on masculine terms. We do not agree. In Female Liberation meetings, much of the meeting is spent in reminding ourselves to stop "acting like men." All of us seem to be infected with the phallic structure to some extent, but the point is that we do not like it--in ourselves or in men. We consider such behavior alien to what we are trying to do, and become. Nor do we like the identity men have given us--femininity. We see that we must begin creating the new person--in ourselves, and not by breeding heirs. We want men and women to reject their programmed roles, and question every single aspect of this society, their role in it, and their behavior.

The first question from a male radical to a female liberationist is: "What about sex?" This seems strange. Apparently, women can "do their thing" as long as they don't cut off the sex supply, which is the major use radical men have for women (like politicians). I answer by saying that it is not an important question; that women should of course have control of their own bodies, and never submit to sexual relations simply because they fear they might appear frigid or lose a friendship with a man. The response from the male radical is almost always that my attitude

is repressive. It seems clear that the "sex problem" is the man's problem, and he will have to take care of it. Women have been accepting the responsibility for it for far too long. Females should be talking about political strategy, not sex. Men should be experiencing a little psycho-therapy, group therapy and T-groups to straighten out their minds.

### III

The female liberation movement will undoubtedly continue to develop at many levels to meet the varying situations and needs of women. Groups have formed spontaneously throughout the society. The direction so far in these groups has been educational, analytical. We all seem to feel a need for new analysis, ideology, because little of traditional analysis relates to the timeless situation of woman. Our most accurate ideologists have been Socialists and Communists but Marx and Engels are consistently used against us by male radicals. Though no man has ever completely overcome his mystification of women, and his need for an alter-ego, Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Lenin, and Mao have analyzed woman's condition and place in history accurately.

Though female liberation is the most advanced revolutionary thought available to us at this point in history, we should not fight on an exclusive, narrow front. Ultimately, we want to destroy the three pillars of class (caste) society--the family, private property, and the state--and their attendant evils--corporate capitalism, imperialism, war, racism, misogyny, annihilation of the balance of nature. By exposing attendant evils, as SDS does so well with imperialism and war and now misogyny, the nature of the system is revealed, but we do not begin to annihilate it. We must attack the pillars of the class system directly, as well as the attendant evils. They are so interrelated

(private property, the family and the state) that an attack upon one should be an attack upon another, but the family is often left free of attack because it is such a convenient unit for the very people who are attacking the system. And it is basic to the continuance of the system. We should question whether we have truly attacked private property and the state, or are we still capitalists, trying to reform the system?

It seems that the state is being attacked from many sides. The struggle against American Imperialism in process throughout the world, is a battle against the State. Within each of these national liberation wars, a female liberation movement will emerge and radically reorient and radicalize the movement toward communism. It is vitally important that a Southern separatist movement take form. The South, as a colony, can be mobilized against the State with a united front of women and poor Black and White men. The South is one of several colonies now considered a part of the nation of the United States. The disintegration of that structure is the key to the revolutionary movement in North America, a fact that Northern radicals find hard to swallow since they identify with the nation and not with any colony. If they look they will find that they too are part of a colony, and must work from there (i.e. New England, the Midwest, Jewish, Irish, Greek, etc.)

If men are to become truly revolutionary, they too must fight the institution of the family and not "leave it to the women" as the family is now left. Everyone must fight for female liberation, not just women.

At some point warfare (querrilla style) will be necessary. There is no hope of ever arriving at that stage of revolution unless the people are educated to fight for their own liberation. The key area of influence will be through the educational system, and through the organizations that are being set up by women. First the teachers must be

taught. It would seem that the American school teacher is a committed enough teacher to be convinced of the need for revolution. There is little tendency to Fascism among them. Perhaps this is due in part to the fact that so many teachers are women. Perhaps we should first organize these women as organizers.

There is only one way to overcome the enormous propaganda influence of the media and political structure which program the people: we must go directly to the people and teach them to think for themselves within a revolutionary framework. To do that we must enter their communities, not use the political platform or the media. They do not believe anything they hear through those organs; the programming is subtle and we can not hope to overcome it through the existing media or to replace the media. We can form women's projects in culturally defined areas. The organizers should be of the people with whom they will be working.

We must avoid one major error of middle-class organizers. In an effort to "win" people over to the movement (win a vote?), organizers often immitate the style of life of those they are organizing. This is patronizing and unliberating and cruel. People who are oppressed want new alternatives, and want to learn. They do not want to be further entrenched in their oppressive style of life. We must be generous with our knowledge, and not underestimate the desire for freedom on the part of the oppressed, and not mistake ignorance for desire. California is proof that people can radically alter their mores and style of life in a short time, and indeed want to do so. If we do not open doors to people, they will find them through the oppressive structure--through the Californias.

#### IV

Many radicals (male and female) seem to think that female liberation would be divisive, because women would be fighting the agent of their oppression--men. Such a thought reveals the prejudice against women. That is, men make revolutions; women help. And if men have pressures on them from women, their power as fighters is diminished. I fail to see how women fighting the authoritarian power-hunger in men can but greatly aid the revolution.

There is a strong fascist trend developing among poor white American men (some would call many of them middle-class), and I can imagine that somewhere there is a young man developing into a Hitler. Such a force could spell doom to a revolutionary effort by recreating a situation of genocide similar to Nazi Germany. Most of us would quickly be put away. Fascism is a man's game, not very appealing to women (Hitler had to brainwash the women to be earth mothers and breed--a budding woman power movement perverted to womb power.). I do not think men can be trusted as long as they hold the kind of personal and social power they do, and they will hold it until it is taken from them, when women refuse to continue the game.

Finally, I want to explain the term "female Liberation" so that its full revolutionary meaning is grasped. I use the term "female" rather than "woman" to denote a principle. When I say female liberation, I mean the liberation of the female principle in all human beings--the worldview which is maternal, materialist, and peaceful (non-competitive). I do not suggest that all women exhibit these traits, though many do; certainly some men do (che Guevara and Big Bill Haywood for instance), but not many. Women are programmed for a role--motherhood--which does allow the female principle to take ascendance over the male principle. The position of the woman in relation to the man in America is analgous to the position of the Black in relation to the rich man or bossman.

One must not romanticize that position, but it is clear that the excluded are less corrupt, therefore the potential leadership of the revolution.

(Page numbers cited from Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, International Publishers, NY)

Roxanne Dunbar

"A revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing fancy needlework; it cannot be anything so restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence whereby one class overthrows another."

Mao-Tse-tung

## ON SISTERHOOD

Do you see yourself stronger, more able to resist or reject conditioning, more real than other women? Are you better able to act in this society as an individual rather than relating solely to the stereotypes of feminine behavior and the woman's place?

It is because you were fortunate enough to have some countervailing influences that others didn't have to counteract all that propaganda to some degree.

You were, perhaps, more trusted by your parents in your youth and learned to trust yourself and your own instincts. Or you were taught straight out that certain things were vanity, or silly, or unworthy. You were taught that individual action was honorable when others were taught only that inaction, womanly passivity, was honorable.

Now you both carry out what you have learned, both doing what you were taught was the honorable thing, and you look down on the others and say you have no sympathy for their suffering or the slights they incur, because they "ask for it", they "like it".

There is nothing male society succeeds in so well as Divide and Conquer. We have all fallen for it, so there can be no pointing the finger, but it is a shameful thing nonetheless.

"You are different," they say, and how eagerly we agree.

We are not like those other women who sit at home all day reading magazines and gossiping. We are not like those silly bunnies using their bodies and the padding of torturedly sleek bunny costumes to get big tips from silly men.

We are not like those empty headed girls who spend all their money on clothes and all their ingenuity on snagging men into marriage and get together to giggle over nothing for hours. We are not like those nagging possessive wives who have nothing to offer but sap the life out of their husbands. We are not like those bitter dried up women of whatever age who hate sex and are desperately afraid that someone somewhere may be having a good time.

"You are different," the men say, and justify the

most vicious prejudice and discrimination and cruelty by inviting us into their select little club (or rather by giving us the false illusion that we are in).

They make us accomplices; eager for respect and acceptance, we insist that we too are prejudiced; we too, we agree eagerly that women are contemptible indeed--most women, that is, the masses of women, not me of course, but most women.

This is a strange but very widespread schizophrenia which results among women who have been not entirely ruined by the womanhood conditioning. They see that men are free and respected and identify with them, rejecting their own sex in horror, pretending that it is some kind of moral failing, convincing themselves of it even, saying the women like it because they are lazy and selfish.

In fact only a low self image could produce that kind of self-destructive conduct, a low self image and general despair.

They have been taught that it is immoral and selfish to try to make something of yourself, to care about yourself, not to devote yourself to your family and home. But it isn't easy to devote yourself to your family and all their faults are but symptoms of their unhappiness.

The kind of "moral strength" it takes to stand up and fight the world for the right to be an authentic person, a functioning individual rather than an undifferentiated function (housekeeper, mother) comes only from training and encouragement. The ego can be hopelessly crippled and it is at a very young age in American Indians, blacks, and women.

So you pulled yourself up by your bootstraps, did you? Despite the disadvantage of being a woman, and tainted with the laziness and unreliability and stupidity of other women, and subject to the very natural prejudice against women, you succeeded. This proves that any woman with ambitions could succeed too if she works hard enough to prove that she's different. Men will be glad to accept her as an equal if she only proves that she's different. Or at least most men will.

But the bootstrap theory is false. Those women are where they are because that's what they've been conditioned for.

They have been taught that to do otherwise is wrong, and enormous pressures are immediately brought against them if they try. And suppose they aren't intelligent enough to get your glamorous jobs even with the healthiest egos in the world? Do you then write them off?

You have no sympathy for women who "like" playing the feminine role. They "enjoy" the discrimination, they "ask for it". But they've been conditioned, programmed, even traumatized to shun "unfeminine" behavior.

If they do enjoy the attention a good job of femininity brings them, you are cruel to feel contemptuous of them for enjoying the one pleasure they're allowed, the one honor in all that degradation. They're too ruined to assert themselves the way you do, demanding attention as an individual; that requires self-respect and they have none; they were taught to believe fully in their inferiority.

We are all one. All the same influences have acted on us. If you have somehow escaped the consequences of your conditioning you are lucky, not superior, not different. We are all sisters.

We all work within the same constraints. The prostitute, the married woman, the model, the bunny, and the career woman who makes herself glamorous are all using their bodies to get what they want or need from men. We all play the role to one extent or another and in one style or another and the career woman who plays lends honor to the system that oppresses her less healthy, ambitious, talented, educated, intelligent sisters.

But their oppression oppresses her because she will never be a man, she will never be accepted as a man; her mind and talents are just being used; ultimately all men know she is a woman and will never completely accept her. She is a woman, and women, as she so eagerly agrees, are stupid, selfish, and lazy, not to be respected, clearly not the equals of men. She cannot be exempted just by imagining she is.

This ugly elitism is rampant among the only-partially-ruined women, the golden ones who were brought up to have a strong sense of self, the intelligent educated talented ones who have

"succeeded".

There is a complete identification with the ruling class, coupled not only with a rejection of their own class, but with an insistence that the pressures, influences, and conditioning that forced the women into their oppressed situation did not exist. ("They never should have HAD so many children, they should have thought ahead. They knew that marriages break up. They deserve to be in that fix. I can't have any sympathy for women with ten kids.").

This is bad faith and bad sociology. It is worse. It is an incredible lack of compassion, explainable only as a defensive rejection to avoid identification.

They are identifying with the men. To have sympathy for women is by implication to condemn the circumstances that oppress them, and those circumstances are the male power structure. But the elitist women cannot afford to criticize the male power structure even by implication because they are so busy currying favor from men to maintain their own "success".

So they must maintain an attitude of moral superiority toward those who do not succeed, and avoid at any cost analysis of why they "chose" their oppression.

An appalling snobbishness is involved in the elitist golden career girls brushing off impatiently as irrelevant the plight of the masses of women who don't identify with the men, who have been convinced that they are, in fact, inferior, and who are just trying to do the best they can in a miserable situation.

We are all one. We are all sisters. We all work within the same constraints. If some of us are more successful and less oppressed it is because we are less crippled, not because we are superior, not because we are different.

Dana Densmore

## SOURCES OF INFORMATION

There are many bibliographies of writings pertinent to Female Liberation. Perhaps the most thorough was compiled by Cindy Cisler, and can be ordered for 25¢. Write Cindy at 102 West 80th St., NYC. Since the list was compiled many new papers have come out. Some of the most interesting are by Southern women who are now organizing in the South. These papers can be ordered from SSOC, P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212 at 10¢ each.

Rather than reprint an entire bibliography, I will emphasize a few books and mention some not usually listed on the bibliographies, and list some films on women that are excellent.

I might note that every book and film, indeed everything, becomes "information" for women's liberation after one begins to see the system of female oppression clearly. Not often do the authors intend one to get the real point, but one can see through most popular literature and movies how people are programmed to play certain roles. Books, articles, and films which reveal the truth of our situation are exciting. All of ones private thoughts and feelings are given credence and proof by informing ourselves that we are not alone. One feels then that "women's problems" are valid social problems. I have heard many women say, "Now I know I am not crazy." As our knowledge of the universality and timelessness of our oppression grows, so will our determination that the suppression of women must end.

### The Second Sex

For many of us Simone de Beauvoir's, The Second Sex changed our lives. This book was written at a time (1948) when feminism had been thoroughly discredited as a movement, and women were being shuttled back into domestic slavery. Many "liberated" women scoff at Simone de Beauvoir's "bitterness" and her "envy" for men. Instead of scoffing we should understand how hopeless and bitter and even insane

one can become thinking the truth isolated and alone. Somehow Dostoevsky, Rimbaud, Nietzsche, and Proust are brilliant and admirable for their bitterness, jealousy, and anger, but a woman is condemnable when she is bitter. That fear of "bitterness" in women exhibited by American men and women reflects their social programming; a woman is supposed to be "fullfilled", "satisfied" and "happy." It would seem that a little bitterness is due in America.

The Second Sex is still the most intelligent, human, and thorough document written on Female oppression and masculine supremacy. Simone de Beauvoir is one of the few intellectuals who has tried to break with the tradition which enslaves women--the family.

#### A Room of Ones Own

This essay by Virginia Woolf is brilliant and incisive. It actually gets to the elemental structures of the system of oppression, and is a surprisingly thorough radical statement. Female cultural workers will especially identify with Virginia Woolf's characterization of the man's problem.

#### Fanshen

Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village by William Hinton (Vintage) has deeply impressed every woman I know who has read it. For once we find out what happened to all the people in an historical situation. Hinton does not mention women patronizingly, but really regards women as persons. Women are visible in every facet, every aspect of the revolution. He even contends that the key to the revolution was the women. Not only is this study heartening because it includes women, it is a training manual for any would-be organizer.

#### HISTORY

Many historical works reveal insight into the historical oppression of women, and relate

war, patriarchalism, class division, slavery, the rise of capitalism and imperialism to the downgrading of the female principle in men and the suppression of the entire female sex. Usually authors are unconscious of the depth of their analysis; they are simply well-trained, scientific historians observing all the data before them within a universal historical context. Marx and Engels and most other socialist and communist intellectuals found themselves exposing the oppression of the female sex as basic to the class system.

My understanding of the origins of female oppression have developed through my graduate studies in the history of colonialism and slavery. I began to realize that all the arguments and terms used to keep colonials and slaves in an inferior position were the same as the ones used to keep women subservient (they are childlike, incapable of governing themselves, do not want out of their situation, etc.). I also realized that those arguments were just as invalid when applied to women as they are when applied to colonized peoples.

#### SLAVERY

Here are some of the books on Slavery that influenced my thinking:

Thomas Dew and George Fitzhugh's writings. These are two foremost apologists for slavery. As ante-bellum Southern sociologists, they make analogies of the role of slaves and the role of women and the role of children relating these roles to the ego-needs of the master (the patriarch).

Ulrich Phillips, American Negro Slavery. An excellent historian, also a racist, reveals the master's need and problems.

Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution A contemporary liberal historian. In this book one can replace "woman" for "Negro" and "man" for "master" and learn much about the master's disease toward women and blacks.

Eugene Genovese, The Political Economy of Slavery. Genovese shows how masters never just die or fade away, but must be forcefully overthrown.

David B. Davis, The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture is an excellent study of the intellectual (psychological) structure of Western man which has produced the need for ultra-power (or which thought has been a result of such power).

Winthrop Jordan, White Over Black is an arduous study. It introduces a psychosociological analysis of the history of racial attitudes in America. It is so brilliant and so revealing of the relationship of man-woman in the West, that I could not believe that Professor Jordan was unaware of the connection between Slavery and the ascendance of the male sex over the female. However, I met Professor Jordan, and he responded to my enthusiastic inquiry as to his consciousness of the connection with something less than enthusiasm. I should have known since he dedicated the book to his wife.

Stanley Elkins Slavery compares the life of the slave with a concentration camp victim. Again one is amazed that he did not make the further analogy with the housewife or "wife-man" (woman). But he does not.

Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma. This classic on the American system of caste actually includes an appendix comparing women and Blacks.

#### PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY

Though there are numerous psychological studies on women (all oppressed people are studied under psychology or sociology as if they are problems, not real historical beings.) they are almost all reactionary. Again one must interpret to learn about women. All of Freud's work is revealing if one reads only what he wrote on men, knows the situation of woman, and analyzes women based on his interpretation of the male (human to Freud) psyche. Most good psychoanalysts are useful when so applied. Ronald Laing is good without interpretation though it is not clear where he places women. His new book

soon to be published, Politics of the Family, should be important.

B. F. Skinner (especially Walden II and Behavior of Organisms) is refreshing. His basic thesis is that human "nature" is created (whether we intend it or not) and not innate. Skinner says that a society creates the human being it needs to survive (for those in power to survive we assume), and no biological or anatomical factor determines the outcome of behavior in human relationships. The human being's behavior is a result of the social programming he is given. Skinner's thesis supports our thesis that man created woman and man and children as he needs them to maintain power as the patriarch. Such a theory considerably downgrades the role of reproduction and motherhood as creative activities. Such functions should be demystified. However, people react rather strongly to Skinner. Much of the human ego in the West is tied up in the idea of individualism--that we create ourselves--and Skinner demolishes any such notion. The reactions to Skinner show how well-programmed we are, that truth is horrifying rather than liberating to us.

#### PHILOSOPHY

Now and then an intellectual appears who has no vested interest in retaining the status quo. An intellectual who is conscious and honest is rare. Many (most) falter when it comes to their attitude toward the role of the female. Since most intellectuals are men (See A Room of Ones Own for an analysis of that fact) very little is said of the oppression of women, though much is made of the oppression of men by all kinds of demons including women ("Who is the master, the master or the slave?"). Very few actually put down men, the role they play, the puffed up arrogant sense of power, the pretentious assumption of superiority. This is the main

failing of intellectuals. They regard the masculine world as the world. I can think of no works of philosophy which give special insight into the oppression of women, though nearly all works of philosophy give women who read them insights into their view of the world as people.

#### MALE ALLIES

There are books by men which debunk the validity of masculinity. The works of George Bernard Shaw are notorious for demystifying masculinity and femininity. Another ally is Wilhelm Reich, especially Listen, Little Man, which is a wonderful criticism of masculinity, but does not then put femininity on a pedestal like Ashley Montague, Eric Fromm, and Erick Erickson do.

Donald Meyer's The Positive Thinkers is an historical study of the rise of "mind-cure" religion from Mary Baker Eddy to Peale. Meyer sees the new religion as a counter-action to the rise of total power of the masculine industrial order. Mind power became a substitute for real power. Meyer studies power relations between persons and is conscious of the total lack of social power of the female and the total personal power of the White male American.

We would like to see men write on the role of men, what men do to women (from the inside), and begin to analyse their power role rather than denying they hold power over women.

#### FILMS

The Queen and Portrait of Jason are documentaries on male homosexuals. The Queen covers a drag-queen beauty contest. In showing the absurdity of "drag" on men, the absurdity of females "in drag" (dressed up) is revealed. Shirley Clarke's Portrait of Jason is a long interview with a Black homosexual male who tells it like it is for Blacks, women, and homosexuals.

Jean-Luc Goddard's My Life to Live, Contempt, One or Two things I Know About Her, The Married Woman, and Masculine-Feminine are all about women. Indeed all of Goddard's films are structured around the polarization of masculine-feminine.

François Truffaut's Jules and Jim (about the vamp-woman), Soft-Skin (the married woman and the hypocrisy of the man), The Bride Wore Black (a woman fighting men for her man) are all excellent films, though less insightful than Goddard's. Shoot the Piano Player is less obviously about women, but a statement is made in regard to a woman's suicide in the film which will bring pain to every woman.

Petulia, a film of Richard Lester, is a portrait of the sickness of the contemporary American society at its base--the family and male-female-child relations. Lester portrays a woman as "the last Indian" (Brave New World), who is trying to bring people alive. Petulia ends up breeding.

Faces brings out pity rather than anger, and perhaps more pity for men than for women, but is a good documentary on the middle-class man's woman. It also shows how men oppress themselves and each other.

Ingmar Bergman's last three films have been on women--Persona, Hour of the Wolf, and Shame. Bergman's female characters are admirable and maternal, but are doomed to destruction by the leech-like qualities of the man-child.

Agnes Varda's film, Le Bonheur (Happiness), is a camp version of romantic love and the perfect marriage. Varda uses all the clichés, and shows just how everything turns out so happily, in the fairy tale--for the man, that is.

Luis Buñel's, Diary of a Chambermaid and Belle de Jour, are excellent analytic studies of women as physical and psychological slaves and reveals the ignorance, cruelty, and "innocence" of men toward women.

These films are all ones that try to break through the myth of woman and man, and question the family and the system. There is another category of films, indeed nearly all other films and TV shows that reinforce the myths we live by. It is not difficult to see how brainwashed we have been, and what a monolithic structure we must crack and eventually shatter when we see the popular movies. Definitely a conscious effort on the part of all of us is necessary. Any movie, even the ones listed above, can be seen in abstraction, their important points lost in technique. We must frame these films, make them a social lesson, give them a context, deprogram the people.

Roxanne Dunbar

#### The Early Dawn

When the Dawn rises  
It turns morning in our city.  
Sometimes it is night in other  
Cities.

Dawn Luthuli (age 9)



IF PRODUCT OR PERFORMANCE DEFECTIVE  
★  
**Good Housekeeping**  
GUARANTEES  
REPLACEMENT OR REFUND TO CONSUMER

