A SURVEY OF THE RHETORICAL DEVICES EMPLOYED
BY WOMEN'S LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES

APPROVED:

Major Professor

Minor Professor

Director of the Speech & Drama Department

Dean of the Graduate School

Kierkegaard once opined what a misfortune it was to be a woman, and yet, the worst misfortune was not to understand what a misfortune it was. If the learned Danish philosopher were alive today, he would see to what a great extent the American woman now understands her subjugation. He would see her doing everything within her power to redress the sexist conditions and attitudes which have "placed her upon a pedestal" in our society, while all the time keeping her abilities and influence secondary to man's. The Women's Liberation movement, still an observable phenomenon on the streets and in the courts today, is a non-violent revolution on the part of many thousands of women to transform woman's influence in our society to one of at least equal to that of man's influence.

This survey first traces the beginnings of the Women's Lib movement back to origins prior to the American Revolution, and also reports how the women's suffrage and industrial movements of the latter nineteenth century affected the present women's rights movement. Today these feminists are fighting for their rights. They want equal employment opportunities in every business and profession, free child care centers for working mothers, free abortions, and an over-all change of attitude by men so that women will not be considered as mere sex objects.
Just as themes are important in the analysis of a movement, the means used to promote those themes are just as significant and that is the purpose of this paper. More specifically, the purposes are (1) to describe the sub-groups and report their goals, (2) to describe the numerous rhetorical devices extant in the movement, (3) to classify the sub-groups into conservative or liberal categories: conservative, liberal, and those devices used by both conservatives and liberals, and (5) to suggest any trend of device usage which is apparent.

The techniques, physical and verbal, are too numerous for an attempt at summarization but the conclusions of the study can be reported. First, the rhetorical devices employed by the feminists are very varied. They range from such physical techniques as stuffing Freedom Trash Cans, demonstrating, and burning bras, to such verbal techniques as plays, consciousness-raising, and political caucuses.

Second, there is surprising parity between the number of physical and verbal devices used by the groups and which were reported by the various news media. In actual count in this paper, there were fourteen physical techniques and eighteen verbal techniques. This reveals a remarkable balance between verbal and non-verbal activities by the feminists. However, a trend is becoming more and more apparent that
suggests that the balance is tipping in favor of the verbal activities. Now that the movement is well established the somewhat outlandish physical techniques appear to be fading and the heirs apparent are legislation and publications.

Third, the conservatives and liberals do a lot of things in common. At first studying WITCHES, The Feminists, SCUM, etc. and comparing them with NOW, FEW, WEAL, etc., there seems very little that the conservatives and liberals could have in common; yet, five physical and ten verbal techniques are extant to make valid the conclusion that widely differing philosophies do not necessarily mean completely different techniques of persuasion.

Fourth, the liberal groups are noted for their usage of physical techniques, while the conservatives are noted for their verbal techniques. The liberal groups had only one technique (skits) not used by other groups, while the conservative groups used three techniques not used by others. Yet, the liberal groups had twice as many physical techniques as did the conservatives (excluding techniques both used), and the conservatives had seven times as many verbal techniques as did the liberals.

Lastly, the most influential type of technique is the verbal type—especially legislation and publications—because it changes people's actions through force of law, and it is
long lasting; consequently, since this is the domain primarily of the conservatives, it can be concluded that the conservative groups are achieving the major changes wrought in the Women's Liberation movement. NOW and The Women's Political Caucus particularly are mobilizing women into activities that work to get things changed. In other words, the dream of "the revolution" and The Third World by the liberals will be long, if ever, in coming, while the conservative groups are changing women's status in this society right now—not as quickly as they would like, but conditions and attitudes are changing.
A SURVEY OF THE RHETORICAL DEVICES EMPLOYED
BY WOMEN'S LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Charles David Simpson, B. A.
Denton, Texas
December, 1972
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE SUB-GROUPS AND THEIR GOALS</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE PHYSICAL RHETORICAL DEVICES</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE VERBAL RHETORICAL DEVICES</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

A newlywed daughter went crying home to report to her mother about her first fight with her husband. The mother, who despised all men, put her arm around her and said, "Now don't cry, honey. You must pray to God for guidance and She will help you."

This old vaudevillian joke has lost much of its original humor since the appearance on the American scene of a movement called Women's Liberation--whose members might label a person a male chauvinist pig for asserting that God is of the male gender. Many characteristics of womanhood that once were taken for granted as being woman's sacred and traditional roles are now being challenged: why should woman's place be in the home, why must her role be that of mother and wife only, why should her mental and physical abilities always be taken for granted as inferior to the male?

Women libbers today assert that society for generations has brainwashed females into pitying the "neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy" women who want to be scientists or writers or entrepreneurs. According to them, females are taught from childhood through adulthood that truly feminine women should not want careers or equality with men, but rather that they should devote their lives to finding a husband and bearing children.
Some women refused to play this role and began to see their situation more clearly. Gloria Steinem, one of the more popular feminist writers, has stated her revelation this way:

At first my discoveries seemed complex and personal. In fact, they were the same ones so many millions of women have made and are making. Greatly simplified, they went like this: Women are human beings first, with minor differences from men that apply largely to the act of reproduction. We share the dreams, capabilities, and weaknesses of all human beings, but our occasional pregnancies and other visible differences have been used—even more pervasively, if less brutally, than racial differences have been used—to mark us for an elaborate division of labor that may once have been practical but has since become cruel and false. The division is continued for clear reason, consciously or not; the economic and social profit of men as a group.1

As early as 1963, Betty Friedan in a widely acclaimed book entitled The Feminine Mystique stated:

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—"Is this all?"2


The struggle to free women began in America on the heels of the Revolutionary War, and grew strong with the movement to free the slaves. In 1775, Thomas Paine, a spokesman for the Revolution, was among the first to condemn the position of women "even in countries where they may be esteemed the most happy, constrained in their desires in the disposal of their goods, robbed of freedom and will by the laws, the slaves of opinion. . . ." Abigail Adams wrote to her husband during the Continental Congress as it struggled to form a new nation:

My dear, John, in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would Remember the Ladies. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention are not paid to the Ladies, we are determined to foment a Rebellion.

"Depend upon it," John Adams replied with kindly condescension, "We know better than to repeal our Masculine systems."3

During the Revolution, some ten years before Mary Wollstonecraft spearheaded the feminist movement in England, an American woman, Judith Sargent Murray, said that woman needed knowledge to envision new goals and grow by reaching for them.

In 1837, the year Mount Holyoke opened its doors to give women their first chance at education equal to man's, American women were also holding their first national anti-slavery convention in London. Shut off behind a curtain in the

---

gallery, Elizabeth Stanton and Lucretia Mott decided that it was not only the slaves who needed to be liberated.\(^4\)

Two separate movements in the late nineteenth century sped women on in their quest for equality: the woman suffrage movement and the industrial revolution. The woman suffrage movement was the child of the woman's rights movement. The origin of the woman's rights movement is commonly dated from 1848, when the aforementioned women Stanton and Mott, and a few others met in Seneca Falls, New York, and drew up the first public protest in America against women's political, economic, and social inferiority. This protest, modeled after the Declaration of Independence, was called the "Declaration of Sentiments." Stanton stated some of women's grievances against men in the following words:

> He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she has no voice. ... He has made her, if married, in the eyes of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right to property, even to the wages she earns. ... In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming to all intents and purposes her master--the law giving him power to deprive her of the liberty, and to administer chastisement. ... He closes against her all the avenues of wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine or law, she is not known. He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her. ... He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women by which moral

\(^{4}\)Friedan, op. cit., p. 78.
delinquencies which exclude women from society are not tolerated, but deemed of little account to man. He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God. He has endeavored in every way that he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

She included in the list of proposed reforms the demand for the ballot, a suggestion so advanced that Mott feared its inclusion would hurt the infant movement. But Frederick Douglass supported Stanton, Mott acquiesced, and the demand for the vote became an official part of the new movement for women's equality with men.

The founders of the women's rights movement were all abolitionists, although not all abolitionists believed in equal rights for women. Some in fact protested against women's speaking from abolitionist platforms because, desiring to persuade as many people as they could to oppose slavery, they shrank from making that task more difficult in a day when any public activity by women was considered shocking and indecent. The problem of how far to go in advocacy of change, which has in periods plagued reform movements, troubled abolitionists, too. An abolitionist might want freedom for the Negro and equality for woman for the same reason: the equal natural right and dignity of each human

---

5Friedan, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
being. At the same time he might realize that the effort to abolish slavery might be defeated if it were linked to a premature demand for women's rights. Yet he might be troubled by the problem of how far he could play down the cause of women's rights without compromising his principles. For an individual to whom one of the two causes was far more important than the other, solution might be relatively simple. But one who studies the women pioneers for women's rights in the United States cannot easily decide at all times whether the desire for their own emancipation or for the right to work for the emancipation of the slave motivated them more strongly.

When in 1840 the American delegates to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention arrived in London, only to find the women delegates among them excluded from participation, Stanton and Mott decided that it was time to fight for the right to work for abolition and for other rights for women as well. The 1848 meeting in Seneca Falls was the long-delayed result of this determination. It was the first of many such conventions, each one of which was greeted in the press with ridicule and from the pulpit with shocked denunciation. The myth that these women were "unnatural monsters" was based on the belief that to destroy the God-given subservience of women would destroy the home and make slaves of men. Such myths rise in every kind of revolution that seeks equality for a new portion
of the family of man. The image of the feminists as inhuman, fiery man-eaters, whether expressed as an offense against God or in the modern terms of sexual perversion, is not unlike the stereotype of the Negro as a primitive animal or the union member as an anarchist.

Yet other women were taking the same road. Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and many other women who were to lead the suffrage cause undertook the struggle for women's rights in the same period. When the Civil War began, the women, still abolitionists as much as they were fighters for women's rights, suspended their annual conventions and threw themselves into the war effort, to which they made notable contributions. After the war's end they resumed their demands for equal rights and for the vote, expecting the Republican party, out of gratitude for the women's war activities, to respond more favorably than before. To their dismay and disillusionment, the party leaders informed them that "this is the Negro's hour," and that the women must wait for their rights.

By 1890 the cause of women's rights had come a long way since 1848, the year of the Seneca Falls convention and the year in which New York State had given married women the sole possession of the property they owned before marriage, although they did not yet have the right to bequeath it. In 1838 Kentucky had given its women, under certain conditions, the
right to vote in school elections, but it was not until 1861 that the second state, Kansas, adopted school suffrage. Michigan and Minnesota adopted a similar reform in 1875, and thirteen other states and territories had followed suit by 1890. Wider forms of suffrage had by then been introduced, Kansas women having received the municipal suffrage in 1887; more significantly, the territory of Wyoming decreed full political equality in 1869. In 1890 Wyoming entered the Union as the first state with full suffrage for women. Colorado in 1893 and Utah and Idaho in 1896 enfranchised their women, but then a long period began in which no states adopted the reform.\(^6\)

The suffrage movement did not sleep, however. The women conducted many state campaigns, securing signatures on petitions, traveling over the immense western distances in bad weather and with dreadful transportation, speaking again and again before voters and legislators. Defeat after defeat rewarded their efforts. After the first state referendum in Kansas in 1867, which failed, fifty-five more such popular votes on state woman suffrage amendments took place in the next fifty years. Altogether there were 480 campaigns to induce state legislatures to submit amendments to their electorates; two hundred and seventy-seven campaigns to persuade state party conventions to include woman suffrage planks.

---

in their platforms; nineteen campaigns with nineteen successive congresses; and the ratification campaign of 1919 and 1920. Between 1869 and 1916 there were forty-one state amendment campaigns, with nine victories and thirty-two defeats. Between the passage of the Utah and Idaho constitutional amendments in 1896 and the Washington victory in 1910 not one state enfranchised its women.

During that period changes were taking place that made the later triumphs possible. Women's clubs proliferated and women college graduates were almost becoming accepted as normal. Economic and social changes were drawing the spheres of men and women together; women's political status changed accordingly.

In 1910 the doldrums ended, and Washington adopted an amendment to its state constitution enfranchising women. The next year California followed; and in 1912 Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona adopted the reform. The first state east of the Mississippi to enfranchise its women was Illinois, 1913, but instead of giving them the full suffrage, it gave them the right to vote for presidential electors, a reform that the state legislatures could pass without consulting their electorates. This event proved a turning point, for it broke the solid anti-suffragist East and raised by twenty-nine the number of members in the Electoral College whose constituents included women. It also showed that this manner of enfranchising women was practicable, and unlike other forms of
limited suffrage, such as municipal suffrage, it would not prove an obstacle to the further extension of women's right to vote. In the next few years one state after another enfranchised its women, until when in 1917 New York State voters finally approved a full-suffrage constitutional amendment in a referendum, victory throughout the nation was assured. A sufficient number of members of Congress now were responsible to women constituents to secure passage of the national amendment by Congress in 1919; it was ratified by the thirty-sixth state, Tennessee, August, 1920.

The second movement, the industrial revolution, gave women more opportunities outside the home. It provided the impetus to women's aspirations for equality of economic status. It was the industrial revolution that carried through the first stage in the changing position of women—the removal of legal and customary barriers previously discussed.

Today it is axiomatic that men work outside the home. But before the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, the great majority of men and women were co-workers on the land and in the home. Women worked in the fields when the chores of the home and child-rearing permitted, so that there was not only close association between work and home for both sexes, but even a certain amount of overlap in the sexual division of labor. The coming of machine production changed all that. For a time, it is true, many unmarried
women and children—the surplus labor of the day—were the mainstay of the new factory system, but that was only temporary. By the middle of the nineteenth century the bulk of industrial labor was male. The coming of the factory and the city thus wholly changed the nature of men's work. For the first time in history, work for most men was something done outside the family, psychologically as well as physically separated from the home.

The same industrial process that separated work and home also provided the opportunities for women to follow men out of the home. For that reason the feminist movement, both socially and intellectually, was a direct consequence of the industrial changes of the nineteenth century.

The process began with the home, which, in the early years of industrialization, was still the site of most women's work. Because of high land values, the city home was smaller than the farm house, and with less work for children, the size of the urban family was smaller than the rural. Moreover, in the city work in the home changed. Machines in factories now performed many of the tasks that had long been women's. In truth, the feminist movement began not when women felt a desire for men's jobs, but when men in factories began to take away women's traditional work. Factory-produced clothing, commercial laundries, prepared foods (e.g. prepared cereals, canned vegetables, condensed milk, bakery bread)
were already available in the years after the Civil War. Toward the end of the century an advanced feminist like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, impressed by the accelerating exodus of women's chores from the middle-class home, predicted that the whole kitchen would soon be gone. She was wrong there, but even today the flight continues with precooked and frozen foods, TV dinners, cake mixes, special packaging for easy disposal, diaper services and the like.

Middle-class women were the main beneficiaries of the lightening of the chores of the home; few working-class or immigrant women could as yet take advantage of the new services and products. These middle-class women became the bone and sinew of the feminist movement, which was almost entirely an urban affair. They joined the women's clubs, organized the temperance crusades and marched in the suffrage parades. With an increasing amount of time available to them in the city, and imbued with the historic American value of work, they sought to do good. And there was much to be done in the raw, sometimes savage, urban environment of the late nineteenth century.

The most direct way in which industrialization altered the social function of women was by providing work for women outside the home. Production by machine, of course, widened

---

enormously the uses to which women's labor could be put once physical strength was no longer a consideration. And toward the end of the century, as business enterprises grew and record-keeping, communications and public relations expanded, new opportunities for women opened up in business offices. The telephone operator, the typist, the clerical worker and the stenographer now took places beside the seamstress, the cotton mill operator and the teacher.

As workers outside the home, women buried the Victorian stereotype of the lady under a mountain of reality. After all, it was difficult to argue that women as a sex were weak, timid, incompetent, fragile vessels of spirituality when thousands of them could be seen trudging to work in the early hours of the day in any city of the nation. Empty gentility was being undermined by the new women labor force who perhaps recalled the words of the proud black feminist Sojourner Truth as she proclaimed at a meeting for the right of women to vote:

Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted
and gathered into barns . . . and ain't I a woman?
I could work as much and eat as much as a man--
when I could get it--and bear the lash as well. . . .
I have borne thirteen children and seen most of
'em sold into slavery, and when I cried out with
my mother's grief, none but Jesus helped me--
and ain't I a woman?

Nor could a girl who worked in a factory or office help but

---

8Friedan, op. cit., p. 88.
become more worldly. Carl Degler in the article "The Changing Place of Women in America" stated:

A young woman new to a shop might have been embarrassed to ask a male foreman for the ladies' room, as some working girls' autobiographies report, but such maidenly reticence could hardly survive very long. Even gentle, naive farm girls soon found out how to handle the inevitable, improper advances of foremen.9

Having learned something of the ways of the world, women could not be treated then, nor later in marriage, as the hopeless dependents Victorian ideals prescribed.

In time work transformed the outer woman, too. First to go were the hobbling, trailing skirts, which in a factory were a hazard and a nuisance. Even before the Civil War, Amelia Bloomer and other feminists had pointed out that women, if they were to work in the world as human beings, needed looser and lighter garments than those then in fashion. Until working women were numbered in the millions, no change took place. After 1890 women's skirts gradually crept up from the floor, and the neat and simple shirtwaist became the uniform of the working girl. A costume very like the original bloomer was widely worn by women factory workers during the First World War. Later the overall and the coverall continued the adaptation of women's clothes to the machine.

9Degler, op. cit., p. 196.
The physical freedom of dress that women acquired during the 1920's was but the superficial mark of a new social equality. The social forces behind this new equality are several. Some of these forces, like the growing number of college-trained women and the increasing number of women in the working force, go back far into the past; others, like the impact of the war and the arduous campaign for women's suffrage, were most recent. But whatever the causes, the consequences were obvious. Indeed, what is generally spoken of as the revolution in morals of the 1920's is more accurately a revolution in the position of women. Within a few short years a spectrum of taboos was shed. For the first time women began to smoke and drink in public. In the twenties, despite prohibition, both sexes drank in public.

Perhaps most significant, as well as symbolic, of the new stage in the position of women was their new sexual freedom. The twenties have long been associated with the discovery of Freud and a fresh, publicly acknowledged interest in sex. But insofar as these attitudes were new they represented changes in women, particularly those of the middle-class and upper-class. Premarital and extramarital sexuality by men had never been severely criticized, and discussion of sexual matters was commonplace wherever men gathered. Now, though, middle-class women also enjoyed that freedom.
After the "roaring twenties" the feminist movement was apparently over. In the 1930's and 40's, the type of woman who marched and wrote was still concerned with human rights and freedom--but for Negroes or oppressed workers. In the first fifteen years after World War II, what Betty Friedan called the "feminine mystique" became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. She wrote:

Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife, kissing their husbands goodbye in front of the picture window, depositing their station wagonsful of children at school, and smiling as they ran the new electric waxer over the spotless kitchen floor. They baked their own bread, sewed their own and their children's clothes, kept their new washing machines and dryers running all day. They changed the sheets on the beds twice a week instead of once, took the rug-hooking class in adult education, and pitied their poor frustrated mothers who had dreamed of having a career. Their only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers; their highest ambition to have five children and a beautiful house, their only fight to get and keep their husbands. They had no thought for the unfeminine problems of the world outside the home; they wanted the men to make the major decisions. They gloried in their role as women, and wrote proudly on the census blank: "Occupation: housewife."¹⁰

In the 1950's or early 60's if a woman felt a lack of fulfillment she rationalized something was wrong with her marriage or with herself. She guessed other women were

satisfied with their lives so something must be wrong within her if she didn't find the normal routine of doing the wash or waxing the floors rewarding. She was so ashamed to admit her dissatisfaction that she never knew how many other women shared it. If she tried to tell her husband, he didn't understand. Almost a century earlier Henrik Ibsen, in his play A Doll's House, had Nora saying and feeling the same things women in the 1960's were beginning to feel:

You have always been so kind to me. But our home has been nothing but a playroom. I have been your doll wife, just as at home I was Papa's doll child; and here the children have been my dolls. I thought it great fun when you played with me, just as they thought it fun when I played with them. That is what our marriage has been, Torvald.

How am I fitted to bring up the children? . . . There is another task I must undertake first. I must try and educate myself—you are not the man to help me in that. I must do that for myself. And that is why I am going to leave you now . . . I must stand quite alone if I am to understand myself and everything about me.

Her shocked husband reminds Nora that woman's "most sacred duties" are to her husband and children. "Before all else, you are a wife and mother," he says. And Nora answers:

I believe that before all else I am a reasonable human being, just as you are—or, at all events, that I must try and become one. I know quite well, Torvald, that most people would think you right, and that views of that kind are to be found in books; but I can no longer content myself with what is found in books. I must think over things for myself and get to understand them. . . .
Men were puzzled at their wives' restlessness and desire for social change, but Betty Friedan explains it this way:

If I am right, the problem that has no name stirring in the minds of so many American women today is not a matter of loss of femininity or too much education, or the demands of domesticity. It is the key to these other new and old problems which have been torturing women and their husbands and children and puzzling their doctors and educators for years. It may be the key to our future as a nation and a culture. We can no longer ignore that voice within women that says: "I want something more than my husband and my children and my home."

Today women's liberation has become a serious national movement. It has grown in numbers and militancy, embracing a wide spectrum of women: housewives, professionals, students, women who are married, single, divorced, with children or childless. Fifty years after American women were granted the right to vote, a new feminist movement, predominantly middle-class, has begun at the grass roots level. Members of Women's Liberation point to civil rights, radical activism and the black liberation struggle of the 1960's as having inspired them.

As in many movements, the goals of its adherents vary but all raise common themes: women are denied opportunity to fulfill their talents, economic discrimination must end, traditional sex roles and family structure must be changed, women must relate in new ways to one another and to men.

\[\text{Friedan, op. cit., p. 27.}\]
The Women's Liberation movement is a significant spirit pervading our society today. It is not a fad which is here today and gone tomorrow, but a force that has the potential to drastically transform the American way of life. All across America small but dedicated local chapters of Women's Lib are springing up to awaken women to their subjugation and win them over to the "cause celebre." Even men are being drawn to the movement to some degree—over 100 men now belong to the National Organization for Women! The attraction of followers to the movement, whether women or men, is not accidental for their propaganda is conveyed via carefully planned techniques of persuasion.

Statement of the Topic

The intent of this thesis is to survey the rhetorical devices employed by the Women's Liberation movement in the United States. It is not an analysis of the movement as a whole nor an evaluation of the movement's ethos or ideology. It is a survey of the means by which the members of Women's Liberation are attempting to change our society through the liberation of its women. Just as themes are important in the understanding of a movement, the means used to promote those themes are just as significant, for it has long been axiomatic in speech instruction: "It's not just what you say, it's how you say it." The term "techniques of persuasion" refers to those rhetorical devices, whether
verbal or physical, whose purpose is to win adherents to a certain persuasion, in this case women's liberation.

For years, scholars have studied speeches to ascertain a speaker's techniques of persuasion. Recently, however, rhetorical theory has recognized the importance of persuasive means other than speeches. The rhetorical devices utilized by propagandists, which are not actually public utterances, are also being studied. This paper will survey the rhetorical devices employed by Women's Liberation organizations.

In the writing the goal is to compile an overview of the ways and means the Women's Liberation movement is communicating its message. It is hoped that this survey will contribute to the process that James Alexander Brown described in his book, Techniques of Persuasion:

In an age of conflicting ideologies when whole nations are being subjected to group persuasion through new means of communication, new techniques, and the pull of mass movements led by demagogues, it is important to find out just how tough or how yielding the human mind really is, how far it is possible to produce genuine change in the individual's or group's way of thinking; and to gain some insight into the means employed to that end.12

Purposed of the Survey

The purposes of this study, then are:

1. To survey the major sub-groups within the movement and to relate their goals as a group where possible.

2. To survey the numerous rhetorical devices of persuasion extant in the Women's Liberation movement in the United States.

3. To classify the various rhetorical devices as to their usage by either the conservative, moderate, or liberal groups.

My procedure for this survey will be to read a thorough sampling of printed materials, such as significant books by the movement's spokeswomen and various news magazine articles, to ascertain what are the major groups, what are their objectives, and what rhetorical devices are they using. The advantages of this procedure are: (1) it will discover the cumulative knowledge on Women's Lib propaganda devices, (2) it will show what groups are using certain devices, (3) it will show changes of devices that have occurred from the beginning of the movement to where it has progressed, and (4) it will provide opportunities to discover agreements, differences, and strategies among the various groups.

A review of previous studies on Women's Lib is not possible at this time because the movement is still too young for academic treatments to have had time to be researched and published. Although Speech Monographs revealed no theses or dissertations on Women's Liberation per se, certainly some are currently being written or have recently been published.
CHAPTER II

THE SUB-GROUPS AND THEIR GOALS

The moment they become your equals, they will be your superior.

Cato
195 B.C.

Trying to definitively describe the ubiquitous sub-groups of Women's Liberation is like trying to count the stars at early evening: the longer you count, the more stars that appear. The tendency of this feminine revolution to shun specific national leaders and to be mitotic in formation results in numerous mini-leaders and myriad cell-groups even within the confines of one state, so one can see the frustration in attempting a chapter which tends to become passe and non-comprehensive even before completion. Therefore, this chapter will be limited to describing the major and more frequently publicized sub-groups of Women's Liberation.

To understand or appreciate the techniques of persuasion used by these modern day feminists, one must know what goals they are meant to attain. This chapter presents a general description of the more outstanding sub-groups and an enumeration of their goals.

Before dissecting the movement into some of its individual groups, an overall description of the current Women's Liberation movement might prove helpful. "Women's
"Liberation" is both a broad term covering the whole resurgent women's rights movement and a specific term for one group within the movement. Used in the specific sense, the term refers to the Women's Liberation movement, whose member groups are located primarily in New York, Boston, Washington, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and San Francisco. Though they generally support one another, they operate largely independently. Used in the general sense, it refers to a gamut of organizations, from the work-within-the-system reformists like Betty Friedan's National Organization for Women (NOW) to the radical WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell).

It is impossible to say how many belong to the movement. Anywhere from 10,000 to 50,000 activists would be a good guess. Newsweek reports the following:

Membership is mostly young (under 30), mostly middle-class origin, mostly radical and almost exclusively white. Because many of its founders came out of the New Left with its violent distrust for hierarchy, groups tend to be localized, unstructured and unconnected.2

Like other movements the Women's Lib has its extremists, like the "hate men" judo chop girls who insist that women are inherently not a bit different from men. But alongside these radicals and publicity seekers there is a hard and

serious core of dissatisfied women who are pressing their claims in court, in legislatures, and on the job.

No more than their campus and black counterparts is the Women's Liberation movement a homogeneous, compact, formally structured organization. They are ideologically diverse—Marxist, Maoist, Fidelist, Quaker, Christian, anarchist, and conspicuously anti-Freudian; some are non-ideological.

They are also occupationally diverse. One group includes a nurse's aid, a poet-mother, a student, a welfare mother, a biochemist, a teacher, a computer programmer, and a former prostitute. Other groups contain academic women and novelists.

They are far from standardized as personalities. Some enjoy the colorful dress of a turned-on generation of women who are asserting themselves as females as well as intellectual-politicos, but others in the beginning could hardly wait for uniforms, hopefully culottes with pockets. Still others objected to the very thought of a uniform. Adopting a uniform would simply be substituting one restriction for another. Some enjoy "being women who love men" while others are outraged by the "aggressive, predatory, competitive, and destructive" male. Some accept the existence of sociologically relevant sex differences but deplore them as evidence of brain-washing; others are agnostic on the subject. Some are married and some are not.
They differ, also, in style. The wit and humor of a Pat Mainardi stands out, for wit and humor are not usual qualities of revolutionaries; the scholarly analysis of a Kate Millett, the heavy academicism of a Naomi Weisstein, the Faustian passion of a Roxanne Dunbar, the exquisite tenderness of an Ellen O'Donnell are also all part of the movement's literature.

Out of all this diversity of groups, the common element is found in the use of small groups of women meeting informally to discuss shared problems. "Consciousness-raising" or "rap groups" are the recruiting ground of the movement and form its heart. Says Chicago Feminist Jo Freeman: "The rap group is what the factory was for the workers, the church for the southern civil rights movement and the campus for the student."  

Most of the groups are formed, meet for a while and are disbanded, with no one outside the principals—not even organized feminist groups—aware of their existence. In Sisterhood is Powerful, Robin Morgan wrote the following description of the movement:

This is not a movement one "joins." There are no rigid structures or membership cards. The Women's Liberation Movement exists where three or four friends or neighbors decide to meet regularly over coffee and talk about their personal lives. It also exists in the cells of women's jails, on the welfare lines, in the supermarket, the factory, 

the convent, the farm, the maternity ward, the street corner, the old ladies' home, the kitchen, the steno pool. . . . It exists in your mind. . . . 4

The goals of the movement range from the modest, sensible amelioration of the female condition to extreme and revolutionary visions. One objective on the immediate agenda is the sterner enforcement of the equal employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. When the bill was before Congress, a Southern opponent frivolously added sex to the standard list of race-creed-color conditions for which no one could be denied a job. However, women's rights advocates have found their greatest leverage against employment discrimination in the enforcement of executive orders. Under a 1967 order, federal funds can be cut off to contractors and subcontractors that discriminate in hiring and promoting women. Since most concerns of any size do business with the Government or have a subsidiary that does, federal authorities have a stout stick.

Another goal is free, twenty-four hour child care centers. If women are to have any freedom economically and socially, then their children must be cared for by someone else. Women demand that the government step in and financially support these centers at no or nominal cost to mothers.

4"American Women: History and Her Story," Senior Scholastic, November 9, 1970, 97, 8, citing Robin Morgan, Sisterhood is Powerful.
Women also assert that their bodies belong to them and if they become pregnant yet do not want another child, then there should be free abortions available. This they say would go a long way in affecting true equality between sexes.

The radical wing of Women's Liberation calls for drastic revision of society in general. In their view, the sexual roles must be redefined so as to free both sexes from the stereotypes and responsibilities that have existed for ages. The concept of man as hunter and woman as keeper of the hearth, these feminists declare, is obsolete and destructive for both sexes. It is not enough simply to share these roles without removing the pressures and drives that men now bear. To do so would merely give woman, as well as man, heart attacks and ulcers. Hence the argument for freer, less rigidly defined lives for all.

On the most radical level, the New Feminism at times seems to constitute an assault--sometimes thoughtful, sometimes emotional and foolish--not just on society but on the limitations of biology. Some argue that through the science of eugenics, the genetic code could be altered to produce a different kind of man and woman. Short of that, the extremists demand a complete withdrawal from dependence on men, including sexual ties. Village Voice columnist Jill Johnston, for example, insists that "feminism is lesbianism" and
that only when women do not rely upon men to fulfill their sexual needs are they finally free of masculine control.

**Major Sub-Groups**

Leaving now the overview of the movement as a whole, the following material is a more specific description of some of the major sub-groups under the umbrella of Women's Liberation. Treatment of the various groups ranges from comprehensive to mere title depending upon the availability of information. The groups are classified into either conservative or liberal categories. The conservative or right wing groups are dealt with first.

**National Organization for Women (NOW)**

Women's Liberation formally began with the founding in 1966 of the National Organization for Women, which remains the largest and most influential movement group. In general, NOW eschews "consciousness-raising" in favor of political action, and they are more likely to demonstrate for job equality and child-care centers than for abolition of marriage or the traditional family unit. The ladies who have joined NOW follow Robert's Rules of Order, take their platform from a board of directors, and invite their husbands to come to meetings with them.

In NOW's early days it was called National Organization of Women, but with over 100 male members now, it has changed
to National Organization for Women. It is one of the most conservative groups, sometimes called the "NAACP of women's rights." Many of its members are older than most liberal groups and are professional women who concentrate on practical matters. For many young women trained—and disillusioned—in the radical movement of the 60's, NOW seemed middle-aged, middle-class, and tame; consequently, they splintered to form the more radical wing of the movement.

Ti-Grace Atkinson, now one of the leaders of the left wing group, The Feminists, was a top-ranking figure in NOW until she split in 1968 saying:

The whole thing is in a mess. We need a revolution in the revolution. We really have to get to the truth, which a lot of women are afraid of doing, and yet I don't want to say anything that could be used against the movement at this time. If we get sloppy, other people will be affected.

NOW's goals have largely been adopted by the overall Women's Liberation movement. Their major goals are: (1) to establish comprehensive day-care centers for children of working mothers, (2) to end sex discrimination in hiring, promotions and salaries, (3) to repeal abortion laws, (4) to place women in policy-making posts, (5) to introduce more women to politics.

Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)

This group has membership in thirty states, including a number of lawyers and judges. Its members, like NOW, tend to be older and better educated. In a formal complaint to the Government, WEAL charged:

Universities and colleges discriminate against women in a variety of ways. They discriminate by having quotas for women in admission. . . . They discriminate in scholarships and financial assistance; they discriminate in the hiring of women for their faculties; they discriminate by paying their women faculty members less than their male counterparts, and they discriminate by promoting women far more slowly than men.6

Chief weapon in WEAL's battle is the fact that antidiscrimination rules apply to federal contracts with U.S. colleges and universities amounting to $3.3 billion dollars per year. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance is being asked to take legal action to end discrimination under all these contracts. Meanwhile, one member of WEAL, Representative Martha W. Griffiths (Dem.), of Michigan, is demanding from the schools "full and detailed information" on such matters as admission quotas, hiring practices, promotion policies and salary differentials.

National Women's Political Caucus

More than 300 earnest women--ranging from black Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm to writer Gloria Steinem to Betty Smith, former vice-chairman of Wisconsin Republicans--met in Washington during July, 1971, to form a National Women's Political Caucus. Its goal: to seek out and promote candidates of either sex, preferably women, who will work to eliminate "sexism, racism, violence and poverty."

One thing Caucus organizers made plain: the Women's Caucus is not a political party--and there are no plans at present to turn it into one. It is nonpartisan and any woman may join who supports its causes. But it is not a "membership" organization at the national level. State and local branches, now being formed, will decide for themselves whether to issue membership cards and charge dues.

Federally Employed Women (FEW)

This is a conservative group working to promote more opportunities and promotions in governmental employment for women. FEW is composed of women in the Civil Service. It is monitoring progress or lack of it in the Federal Women's Program, the Government's vehicle for achieving equality for women.
Media Women

Media Women is a New York group which is working to bring better job opportunities and more equity between sexes for women in the news media. This group is watching magazine, newspaper, radio-TV, and movie advertising to castigate those who demean womanhood by depicting them as mere sex objects. It sells stickers to affix to public posters when the advertising is insulting to women. Lois K. Alexander is one of the group's leaders.

Women Inc. of San Francisco

This is a conservative congregation of other smaller area groups: Sisters of Lilith, the Gallstones, and SALT (Sisters All Learning Together). It supports the call for equality, opposes abolition of abortion laws, and does not approve of the anti-war movement (Viet Nam). This group publishes a newsletter called Tooth and Nail.

Women For the Free Future

This is a very active group located on the Berkeley campus. It claims the University of California failed to teach women anything relevant to their situation in society.

The remaining sub-groups fall within the more radical wing of Women's Liberation. They are the "avant-garde" of the movement.
Women International Terrorist Conspiracy
from Hell (WITCH)

New York is the base of this left wing group. Robin Morgan is the founder of this core of girls who claim ancestral feminist kinship with the witches of old. Its members insist on anonymity. One of their major concepts is that women have no need for men, even for sexual satisfaction. Their "eschatological aim is to topple the patriarchal system in which men by birthright control all of society's levers of power--in government, industry, education, science, the arts." They disdain marriage because it "exploits women."

The Feminists

Ti-Grace Atkinson, who broke away from the conservative NOW in 1968, is the leader of this New York group. It is radical and militant. No more than one third of its members may be married women. This group is against marriage, which Atkinson calls slavery. In Time she said: "If you look at the laws, it is legalized rape, causes unpaid labor, curtails a woman's freedom of movement and requires no assurance of love from a man."  

In addition, this group is anti-love. Again Atkinson said: "It's tied up with a sense of dependency, and we cling

7 "Who's Come a Long Way, Baby?" p. 16.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. 17.
to it. Those individuals who are today defined as women must commit suicide."\textsuperscript{10} Quite obviously, this group is against heterosexual affairs which is viewed as a "fundamental male means of enslaving females."

The group is highly regimented. All tasks are assigned by lot, members can not miss meetings or disagree with The Feminists' line.

\textbf{The Radical Feminist}

Within The Feminist differences over such matters as internal democracy, and the usual personality conflicts that plague all political movements, caused a new splinter group, The Radical Feminists. It is based in New York and was started by Anne Koedt and Shuli Firestone.

\textbf{Boston Female Liberation}

The early leader of this group was Roxanne Dunbar who became increasingly Marxist in her views and finally left the group in March, 1970, to proselytize among Southern women. Dunbar believes women must work with the black poor, Mexican-Americans, poor whites. She said in \textit{Newsweek}: "The last feminine movement failed--it was never able to make an alliance with working-class people. Sexism was used to divide people."\textsuperscript{11} This group publishes \textit{No More Fun and Games}.

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{11}Dudar, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 73.
Redstockings

Redstockings is a splinter group branching off from New York Radical Women, one of the earliest Women's Lib groups. To confuse matters some, there is a Redstockings group on the West Coast. The New York group has been defined as neither revolutionary nor reformist but committed to "what is good for women."

The New York Redstockings are the organization most prominently associated with the growth of "consciousness-raising," a most effective technique of persuasion to be discussed later. Self-discovery is a prime goal with this group.

Bread and Roses

Boston is the home of this liberal group. Their name has long been a feminist slogan suggesting that women wanted not only flowers but bread (wages) as well. They are dedicated to bringing about more equality in business for women.

Society for Cutting Up Men (SCUM)

This radical group is led by Valeria Solanase (the woman who shot Andy Warhol). The following excerpts from the SCUM Manifesto will furnish an explanation of the group:

Life in this society being, at best, an utter bore and no aspect of society being at all relevant to women, there remains to civic-minded, responsible thrill-seeking females only to overthrow the government, eliminate the money system, institute complete automation, and destroy the male sex.
It is now technically possible to reproduce without the aid of males (or for that matter, females) and to produce only females. We must begin immediately to do so. The male is a biological accident: the Y (male) gene is an incomplete X (female) gene, that is it has an incomplete set of chromosomes. In other words, the male is an incomplete female, a walking abortion, aborted at the gene state.

Being an incomplete female, the male spends his life attempting to complete himself, to become a female. He attempts to do this by constantly seeking out, fraternizing with and trying to live through and fuse with the female, and by claiming as his own all female characteristics—emotional strength and independence, forcefulness, dynamism, decisiveness, coolness, objectivity, assertiveness, courage, integrity, vitality, intensity, depth of character, grooviness, etc.—and projecting onto women all male traits—vanity, frivolity, triviality, weakness, etc. It should be said, though, that the male has one glaring area of superiority over the female—public relations. (He has done a brilliant job of convincing millions of women that men are women and women are men.) The male claim that females find fulfillment through motherhood and sexuality reflects what males think they'd find fulfilling if they were females. Women, in other words, don't have penis envy; men have pussy envy.

Bitch

This excerpt from "The Bitch Manifesto," describes this group's identity: "A Bitch occupies a lot of psychological space. You always know she is around. A Bitch takes shit from no one. You may not like her, but you cannot ignore her."
The Radical Mothers

Women's Radical Action Project (WRAP)

Keep On Trucking Sisters

Before concluding this chapter, the difficulty of classifying several of the sub-groups into conservative or liberal classes should be acknowledged. Usually a broad description of a group was possible just based on the many articles that might each have a sentence or two about a group, but for some groups, like SCUM, Bitch, Bread and Roses, and others, even this was impossible because of the lack of information in the literature.

After a broad description, a reporting of a group's goals was presented in this chapter, but for some groups this, too, was impossible. The cause for this difficulty was the same lack of information.

When faced with classifying a group about which little was known, the rhetorical devices they used was utilized as a guide. For example, there was little written about Media Women, but their primary technique of using stickers on advertising posters, a relatively tame device compared to those of the liberals, classified them as conservatives. Also, the name of the group helped in some classifications, i.e., Women's Radical Action Project was classified as liberal because of its radical action advocacy.
Never mind about equality--that would be a step downward.

K. Hepburn--Coco

The report of Chapter III is an enumeration and description of the sundry rhetorical devices utilized by members of Women's Liberation which are of a physical nature, such as burning oppressive objects in a Freedom Trash Can. Chapter IV will relate those devices which are basically verbal in form, for example, poems or plays.

The manner of selecting devices to achieve a certain end is very independent and democratic in this movement. First, the ubiquitous cell-groups in the movement are unique and autonomous. Any women anywhere can start a "cadre" to discuss women's subjugation and what can be done about it. Any group can formulate its own women's liberation objectives and decide which actions they wish to use to effect change. In other words, each group is free to "do its own thing."

Secondly, the strategems and actions are decided upon by all the members of a group equally. Non-elitism is a cardinal principle with this movement. Within Women's Liberation is possibly the closest practice of true democracy.
in this country—albeit only a female democracy (if that is not a contradiction of terms).

It should be kept in mind that the lib groups using the following rhetorical devices are reflective of numerous other groups which are using the same techniques but not receiving the national publicity; consequently, where one or two instances of a technique are reported in this thesis, there are certainly many other lib groups asserting their influence via the same means.

Like the sub-groups which were divided into conservative or liberal types, the devices, also, have been classified into categories: (1) those devices used primarily by the conservative sub-groups, (2) those devices used primarily by the liberal sub-groups, and (3) those devices used to some degree by both conservatives and liberals. This classification is utilized to make clearer which type groups are using certain rhetorical devices. Here, then, is a description of the interesting, bizarre, and provocative physical devices employed by members of the Women's Liberation.

Conservative Rhetorical Devices

Phony Candidate

Both the radicals and the relatively conservative women of NOW do what they call "actions" whose purpose is to raise
consciousness generally. For example, in the fall of 1969, a secret candidate was entered in the Miss America pageant who was to denounce the contest to all news media for treating girls merely as sex objects, while neglecting the many creative and intellectual abilities that females possess. Alas, the elaborate plans of this provocative action failed when the scheme, for some unreported reason, was aborted. If it had been successful, it certainly would have provided a national audience for the sexist gripes of Women's Liberation!

Male Beauty Contests

In an article in The Dallas Times Herald, Gloria Steinem was interviewed before speaking at Southern Methodist University. She stated she had witnessed what is called a "role reversal" session in which women judged men in a beauty contest. "The women were very compassionate in their judgments, more so than men have been to women," she said. Also, she added that the men found being sex objects in a beauty contest less than ideal--"one of them fled the room, another cried and one was perfectly furious." She concluded by saying "role reversal is not a bad conscience raising tool. I don't think Ms. will feature any male nudes." (Cosmopolitan Magazine featured a full color male nude, Burt Reynolds, in a center foldout a la Playboy in its March, 1972 edition.)

1 "New Feminists," Time, XCIV (November 21, 1969), 54.
Freedom Trash Cans

To demonstrate their disgust and alienation from sexist society, the libbers have utilized a symbol called a "Freedom Trash Can." Into the trash can, usually displayed on a crowded public sidewalk, go items which the women feel are symbols of their oppression, such as lingerie, false eyelashes, and steno pads.³

Lingerie is discarded because it is the foundation for the idea that females must look the way men want them to look. False eyelashes are considered nuisances women are brain-washed into wearing in order to make themselves attractive to men. Steno pads are thrown away because they symbolize the practice of casting females into the menial roles of an office or business without really assessing their ability nor giving them equal opportunities for executive responsibilities. One girl reported a prospective boss said after reviewing her educational background, "A Phi Beta Kappa from Columbia, huh? Can you type?"

This technique, exhibited before an audience on the street, has shock value that makes people think about what the symbols stand for and whether or not women are truly discriminated against as a sex.

³"New Feminists," p. 53.
Liberal Rhetorical Devices

Avoidance of Heterosexual Sex

Sexual freedom has never been the primary concern of women's movements—indeed, the English suffragettes even opposed birth control on the grounds that it encouraged lust. Nor are the feminists of the Pill generation particularly fond of the sexual revolution. Ellen Willis, rock music critic for The New Yorker and a militant feminist, explained her view on the new sexual freedom:

In a way, the relaxation of sexual mores just makes a woman's life more difficult. If she is not cautious about sex, she is likely to get hurt; if she is too cautious, she will lose her man to more obliging women. Either way, her decision is based partly on fear and calculation, not on her spontaneous needs and desires.4

Ti-Grace Atkinson, leader of the radical The Feminists, has stated her opinions on sex and love in Life magazine:

Sex is overrated. If someday we have to choose between sex and freedom, there's no question I'd take freedom. In the good society, we can't tell what will happen to sexual attraction. It may be that sex is a neurotic manifestation of oppression. It's like a mass psychosis.

Love has to be destroyed. It's an illusion that people care for each other. Friendship is reciprocal, love isn't.5

4Ibid.

In the early stages of Women's Lib, the easiest way for a man to make the libbers screaming mad was to call them lesbians; however, now lesbianism has become a part of the radical left wing of the movement. Jill Johnson is part of a lesbian splinter party. During a public talk at Theatre of Ideas on Women's Liberation, Commentary described what happened:

... she read a list of freely-associated images designed to extol the state of lesbianism and to prove that, to varying degrees, we are all homosexuals. And if the text of her speech was not shocking enough to discomfort Torvald, or if his morally-cramped brain wasn't up to picturing just what it was she had in mind, Miss Johnson then went on to provide an ostensive definition of homosexual practice. Joined by a pretty girl and a morose-looking "tertium quid" from the audience, she treated us to some minutes of "a trois" tumblings on the floor and then to a wordless beatific exit.6

"Love between a man and a woman is debilitating and counter-revolutionary," Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, daughter of David of the Chase Manhattan Bank and a member of Women's Liberation hard-core Cell 16 in Boston, was quoted as saying in Time.7 Paralleling this is Roxanne Dunbar's idea: "Sex is just a commodity." Also, Dunbar was the first lib leader to publicly advocate the right for women to masturbate.8

This Lysistrata technique is used in varying degrees. Some less extreme feminists see it as a viable means of manipulating men to achieve their women's liberation goals and, then once this is done, sexual relations with men can resume as before. There are a few militants, however, who advocate complete avoidance of sex with men—ever, which is tantamount to segregating the sexes. Propagation of the race would then be achieved by extra-uterine conception in the female. The world of test-tube babies is not as frightening and inhuman to a few Women's Lib extremists as it is to most of our society.

Fifth Column

In the WITCH philosophy the patriarchy of the nuclear family is synonymous with the patriarchy of the American business corporation. Thus, four women took jobs at a branch of the Travelers Insurance Company, where a fifth member was working, and attempted to establish a secret coven of clerical workers on the premises. For the Travelers' project, WITCH became "Women Incensed at Travelers' Corporate Hell." In short order, the infiltrators were fired for such infractions of office rules as wearing slacks to work. Undaunted, a new quintet of operatives gained employment in the vast typing pools at A. T. & T. "Women Into Telephone Company Harassment" gained three sympathizers to the cause before Ma Bell got wise and "exorcised" the coven from her midst. Two
WITCHes were fired for insubordination; the rest were smoked out and dismissed for being "overqualified" for the typing pool.\(^9\)

This "fifth column" technique of covertly overcoming an enemy from within his society is reminiscent of the 1960's when the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) infiltrated some large assembly plants that were making Viet Nam war materiel. Their purpose was to subtly persuade other workers to either sabotage their assembly lines or at least quit.

**Protest Stripping**

At Grinnell College in Iowa in February, 1969, a representative from **Playboy** was invited as a guest speaker. However, when he commenced espousing the **Playboy** philosophy, coeds "stripped to the buff" to register their complaint at being treated as sex objects.\(^10\) This, obviously, was a bold technique designed to embarrass and disrupt the speaker and the audience.

**The Unseductive Look**

Many Women's Liberation members avoid makeup, fancy hair styles, and seductive clothes. If they go without bras it is to be natural, not erotic. To women who have been


\(^10\)"New Feminists," p. 53.
long-time primpers, this technique, which is meant to educate by not going to the great lengths it takes to look attractive in the eyes of men, is a hard one for women to abide. A girl in Chicago described the progression of giving up short skirts, then makeup, and, recently, shaving her legs:

I still look at my legs and think, oh my God, I cannot go through with this. I'll die for the revolution, but don't ask me not to shave my legs! I have to keep reminding myself that there's nothing wrong with body hair, and no reason for one sex to scrape a razor over their legs.\(^{11}\)

**Karate**

Many of the new feminists are surprisingly violent in mood. Hundreds of young girls are learning karate, tossing off furious statements about "male chauvinists." In *Time* a picture of Roxanne Dunbar of Boston's Cell 16 is shown at karate practice looking very defensive and formidable.

A karate class is being taught by Jayne West, a member of Boston's Cell 16. *Life* reported on one session of the class:

There were twelve women in the class, three of them teenagers, and one seven years old. Wearing coarse white uniforms, the women worked in precise, military rows, punching, jabbing, and kicking, biting their lips and yelling "kee-up!" They practice a form of karate called Tae Kwon Do.\(^{12}\)


\(^{12}\)Ibid., pp. 72, 74.
"Most women are afraid of physical conflict because they've been brought up as 'women,'" said Dana Densmore, one of the class members.

"Walking alone at night on the street," Newsweek quoted Robin Morgan as saying, "there is always that feeling of muted terror--and utter panic if you think someone is following you. Knowing a small bit of karate is really remarkable--you may be afraid, but you don't feel impotent."\(^{13}\)

In the new feminist doctrine, karate is not merely a physical or psychological technique. It is also political, an idea that makes sense if you agree that rape is a political act. And rape becomes political if you accept the premise that women are a class, that their oppression is a conscious expression of the male need to dominate, and that a sexual attack is a display of power allowed by a "sexist" society.

Shelter Persuasion

To help those wives who desire to leave their husbands, Redstockings operates a little apartment in New York. This service technique allows a wife to leave her husband and further come under the influence of Redstockings. If it were not for this aid, some wives would not leave their husbands simply because they had no place to stay, and in this manner, Redstockings expedites their decision.

\(^{13}\)Dudar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
Rhetorical Devices Used By Conservatives and Liberals

Opening Doors and Lighting Cigarettes

To draw attention to their cause, some women libbers in Chicago and New York are concentrating on what they call "little dainties," such as elaborately opening doors for men and lighting their cigarettes. Judy Stein is the founder of a Women's Lib group at her high school in New York City. She said about the custom of women having doors opened for them, "If women and men were truly equal, these silly customs wouldn't exist. They're symbols--reminders of women's old role. Opening a door is just a courtesy. I should be able to open a door for him too--no?" A Newsweek article reported:

Many open their own doors and light their own cigarettes. "Chivalry is a cheap price to pay for power," one lib leader commented. In any event, the small masculine niceties now appear to liberationists as extensions of a stifling tradition that overprotects woman and keeps her in her "place."

A woman libber said to a Time reporter on the subject, "I like to be helped on with my coat, but not if it costs me 2,000 dollars a year in salary." This technique has enough shock value to startle many a male into really

---

15 "Five Passionate Feminists," McCall's, XCVII (July, 1970), 113.
16 Dudar, op. cit., p. 72.
analyzing just why he should want to open a door or light a cigarette for a woman—chivalry, or to build his own ego by treating women as weaklings? Also, this technique makes women outside the movement consider what this "courtesy" does to keep them inferior and secondary to men.

Whistle at Men

Mock enactments of exploitative male behavior serve to shock viewers and make them question this practice in light of its subjugation of women. In April, 1970, one lib group in New York stood outside the New York Stock Exchange and leered and whistled at the passing brokers.17

This provocative technique can shock and perhaps embarrass men walking down the street, and, if so, then the men can begin to experience something of what many women feel when whistled at in this manner. (One Boston Lib publication commented on the practice of being whistled at: "We will not be leered at, smirked at, whistled at by men enjoying their private fantasies of rape and dismemberment.") This technique might go a long way toward making men realize women are frequently hired or not hired, given raises or not given raises, and dated or not dated on the superficial basis of their overt sexual attractiveness. In other words, it might help in making some men judge women by their mental abilities and personality, rather than by their bra size.

Demonstrations

A. Redstocking abortion "hearing" (March, 1969).-- Redstockings, in March, 1969, held a hearing at the Washington Square Methodist Church. Using the consciousness-raising technique, twelve women spoke on abortion from their own personal experience, before an audience of 300 men and women. The political message of the emotion-charged evening was that women were the only true experts on unwanted pregnancy and abortion, and that every woman has an inalienable right to decide whether or not she wishes to bear a child. 18

B. NOW picketed mayoral candidates headquarters (Fall, 1969).-- In 1969, NOW picketed the headquarters of the three candidates for mayor of New York for failing to take a stand on women's rights. They urged female volunteers at campaign headquarters to "stop licking stamps and boots." One of the placards which were carried read: Women and Typewriters Are Not Inseparable. 19

C. Picket Miss America pageant (November, 1969).-- Women from sixteen cities picketed at Atlantic City during the Miss America contest carrying signs, one of which read: Men Make Money Off Your Body Too, Miss America!! 20

18 Brownmiller, op. cit., p. 132.
20 "New Feminists," p. 53.
D. **NOW picketed male lunch spot (December, 1969).** -- In December of 1969, the National Organization for Women demonstrated against a traditional men-only lunch place.\(^{21}\)

E. **Feminists at St. Patrick's Cathedral (1969).** -- In 1969, The Feminists, the radical Women's Lib group, staged a demonstration for abortion reform in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York.\(^{22}\)

F. **Toymakers protest (February, 1970).** -- In New York in February, 1970, a group protested advertisements by toy-makers that said "boys were born to build and learn and girls were born to be dancers."\(^{23}\)

G. **Ladies Home Journal sit-in (March, 1970).** -- More than 100 mod and trouser-clad feminists, who represented such diverse groups as Media Women, The Redstockings, The New York Radical Feminists, and NOW, marched into the fifth floor Manhattan headquarters of Downe Communications, publishers of the *Ladies Home Journal*. The women demanded "an immediate stop to the publication of articles that are irrelevant, unstimulating and demeaning to the women of America."

\(^{21}\)Dudar, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

\(^{22}\)Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

They presented [Journal] editors with plans for an issue of the magazine they wanted turned over to them. The cover showed an obviously pregnant woman carrying a sign reading UNPAID LABOR; the suggested articles included "How To Get An Abortion," "Must Your Child Keep You From A Career?" and "Prostitution and the Law." The Journal has been chosen for attack, said a liberated spokeswoman, "because for six months we had suggested they do an article on women's liberation," and because the magazine depicts women as "totally passive, ever-suffering second-class citizens."\(^2^4\)

Downe's Family Weekly research director, Eli Belil, who was witness to the sit-in, was moved to retort: "Turn yourself off, baby. If you don't like the magazine, don't read it."\(^2^5\) Undiscouraged, an obstinate group of thirty sat down to a day-long vigil in Editor John Mack Carter's office. He demonstrated extraordinary patience by hearing the feminists out for over eleven hours. Finally, he announced that he had agreed to consider letting the group create a special eight-page Liberation supplement for future issue. After publication of the special articles, Susan Brownmiller, a freelance journalist who helped lead the sit-in, said, "We're finally reaching seven million women with the true voice of the movement in an Establishment magazine."\(^2^6\)


\(^2^5\)Ibid., p. 59.

\(^2^6\)"Liberating the Journal," [Newsweek], LXXVI (August 3, 1970), 44.
H. NOW and Colgate-Palmolive demonstration (June, 1970).--

Dozens of women from NOW picketed Colgate-Palmolive across
the nation during the year of 1970, urging other women to
boycott the company's products. They were protesting Colgate's
alleged harassment of women employees who were suing their
employer for an equal opportunity with men to obtain higher-
paying assembly-line work.²⁷

I. "Strike For Equality" (August, 1970).-- NOW and other
women's lib groups called on women to stage a Strike for
Equality on August 26, 1970, which is an anniversary of
women's suffrage. The week before that strike, in a pre-
liminary demonstration, sixty feminists brandished anti-
sexist placards beneath the Statue of Liberty which read:
Off Of The Pedestal, Into The World, and All Men Are Created
Equal--Women Want Equality. A large banner was suspended
just beneath the feet of Miss Liberty which read: Women Of
The World Unite! Along with the placards, the women raised
the clenched fist gesture of protest.²⁸

Miss Liberty, according to one of the invaders, was
chosen because "it is ironic that a woman symbolizes the
abstract idea of liberty, but in reality we are not free." This
demonstration technique was intended to publicize what

²⁷ "Business and the Radicals," Dun's Review, XCV (June,
1970), 46.

militant feminists hoped would be a national strike of women on August 26, 1970, the fiftieth anniversary of the ratification of women's suffrage. The protest strike was urged to protest the government's tardiness in enforcing equality of the sexes.²⁹

To dramatize their "instant revolution against sexual oppression," women in suffragette costumes gathered on Boston Common to flaunt balloons calling for abortion-law repeal and a coffin was displayed to symbolize all the women who have died from illegal abortions. In Chicago, the militant National Coalition of American Nuns publicized its demand that nuns be ordained as priests, and in Rochester, New York, local feminists performed a mock "tea party" at the home of suffragette Susan B. Anthony.³⁰

In Washington, D.C., members of Federally Employed Women, who are forbidden to strike, had a lunch-time rally across the street from the White House. Women in Syracuse, New York, set up a Freedom Trash Can into which objects of feminine oppression were dumped: an apron, haircurlers, a copy of Dr. Spock. Along with these actions, a committee was organized to list the products that should be boycotted

³⁰"Very Volcanic," Newsweek, LXXVI (August 31, 1970), 47.
because their "advertising practices are offensive to women."\textsuperscript{31} Posters were printed and distributed which read: Don't Iron While The Strike Is Hot--Women Strike, August 26.

This national strike was the brainchild of the indefatigable Betty Friedan, who visualized the strike-to-be in an article in McCalls:

> And when it begins to get dark, instead of cooking dinner or making love, we will assemble, and we will carry candles symbolic of that flame of the passionate journey down through history--relit anew in every city--to converge the visible power of women at city hall--at the political arena where the larger options of our life are decided. And by the time these twenty-four hours are ended, our revolution will be a fact.\textsuperscript{32}

The following quotation is how the national strike actually turned out as stated in The New York Times Magazine:

> On August 26, 1970, thousands of women filled New York's Fifth Avenue, curb to curb, and marched, shattered tea cups, dumped babies on the laps of wide-eyed city officials. The scale that Betty Friedan had hoped for--with secretaries abandoning their typewriters and home-makers leaving their stoves--had not been realized, but she and the women's liberation movement made the point that anyone who thought their intentions frivolous was mistaken.\textsuperscript{33}

J. WITCH bridal shower demonstration (August, 1970).-- Several WITCHes, who are vehement against marriage, staged a demonstration at a bridal show. They had painted on their faces "Buy Me" and, on the scarfs on their heads, they had

\textsuperscript{31}"Women's Strike," McCalls, SCVIII (May, 1971), 140.

pinned dollar bills. All this was done to illustrate the prostitution that WITCH sees in marriage.  

K. March For Equality (August, 1971).—Exactly one year after the Strike For Equality, a March For Equality was held. "The movement has become political," said Betty Friedan. "We are taking the energy from last year and forming concrete organizations to achieve the unfinished items of women's equality."

The march committee set up the following goals for improving women's rights in five areas: (1) equal political power, (2) abortion and contraception, (3) child care centers, (4) equal education and employment, and (5) equality before the law.

To further their thrust for political power, women in Wichita, Kansas, organized local political caucuses and that night they sponsored meetings with the state Democratic and Republican chairmen. Similar political rallies were held in Syracuse, New York, and Portland, Oregon. Other activities included guerrilla theatre at a shopping center in New Jersey, a twenty-one hour radio marathon in Minneapolis, picketing to protest separate male and female help wanted ads in Portland, Maine, confronting New York legislators with demands for

---

34 "Who's Come a Long Way, Baby?," p.20.
divorce reform, and distribution of the "Old Hat Award" to advertising agencies whose commercials the activists feel degrade or insult women.

**Burn Bras**

Sigmund Freud declared that "anatomy is destiny" and women's destiny was to stay at home and raise the children as well as run the house. This declaration is considered sexist and prejudiced by Women's Liberation. To combat this prophesy, which is ingrained in girls from youth up by society, the technique of burning a bra in public was originated. Many people misunderstood this symbolic act and simply laughed it off, but it was done to illustrate that anatomy need not be destiny, as Freud affirmed.

This technique was provocative and brought great attention to the then fledgling movement. It was a symbol, just like the discarding of lingerie in a Freedom Trash Can, that meant women were freeing themselves from the stereotype roles fostered upon them by a sexist society. This technique, used primarily just to win attention, is passe now.

**Clenched Fists**

Raising the clenched fist while picketing is a symbol to register women's defiance of their subjugation plus their

---

*36*"The Feminists," p. 53.
determination to effect changes. Also, this bold gesture is
used as a rallying gesture to signify to other women that
you, too, are a member of Women's Liberation.37

In summary, the conservative groups had only three
rhetorical devices which the liberals did not use: phony
candidate, male beauty contest, and Freedom Trash Can. The
liberal groups had six devices that they used and nobody
else did. These devices are the following ones: avoidance
of heterosexual sex, fifth column, protest stripping, unsedu-
tive look, karate, and shelter persuasion.

There were five rhetorical devices that both groups used
in common. These are those five devices: open doors and
light cigarettes, whistle at men, demonstrations, burn bras,
and clenched fist gestures.

CHAPTER IV

THE VERBAL RHETORICAL DEVICES

We really don't have many fatuous hopes of taking over. We would like, very much, a fair shake. We are each half of a person, we are each less than we could be. . . .

Kate Millett

By far the bulk of activity in Women's Liberation is verbal rather than physical. In the beginning the feminists had to work to obtain the much needed attention on the problem of women's second-class citizenship; they had to be taken seriously and their message had to be spotlighted before the American public. Once having received that public attention, the movement then became publication and political oriented. Many magazine and newspaper reporters were dismayed when they asked to interview some feminist or observe a conscience raising session, but the reply was negative because the feminist was currently writing her own article and did not want to give away her story. One such perplexed writer remarked that it seemed like every woman in Women's Lib was writing a book or an article!

The following devices, then, are an enumeration and description of those actions performed by members of the Women's Liberation movement which are verbal in nature. Like the physical techniques in Chapter III, where one or two
instances of the use of a verbal technique is described, certainly it is being used by many other lib groups as well. Also, like Chapter III, the techniques have been divided into one of three categories: conservative, liberal, and those employed by both.

Conservative Techniques

Stickers

Feminists are getting into the act of educating the public by defacing offending ads in buses, subways, and on billboards with stickers proclaiming, This Ad Insults Women, or This Exploits Women.¹ Their primary complaint is against the generally servile role of women in advertising. Though nearly one half of American women hold jobs, they are still depicted in many ads as scatterbrained homebodies, barely able to cope with piles of soiled laundry, dirty sinks and other mundane minutiae. In most of these ads, men instruct, while women do the servants' work. This, the feminists argue, only reinforces the idea of women's dependence on men.

Another grievance against advertising concerns the use of seductive poses or seminudity to push products. Most of these ads perpetuate the notion that women are mere sex objects. The feminists are also irked by ads that provoke guilt feeling with the implication that unless women buy the product they will fail as mothers, wives, or lovers.

¹"Liberated Women," Time, XLV (June 15, 1970), 93.
Help-Wanted Ads

One way to put an end to discrimination between the sexes for jobs is to remove Help-Wanted Ads which are segregated for men and women. This technique of persuasion would help remind bosses that many of their jobs which they automatically fill with men, could probably be just as well filled with women. The National Organization for Women went to a New York court to get a federal ruling barring segregated helpwanted ads in newspapers, and now The New York Times has done just that.2

Radio-TV

Some members of Women's Liberation have appeared on radio and television but this is frowned upon by some because the movement is dedicated to being leaderless. However, there is one Lib radio program produced in New York over station WRAI. The program is called Womankind and is produced by Nanette Rainone. It features public affairs interviews.3 Esquire quotes the producer as claiming that "to be a woman is to be nothing," and she described the lives of housewives and mothers as "nothingness, total nothingness."4

---

3Ibid.
Lecturers

Along with the growing popularity of the movement and the proliferation of informative articles, guest lecturers are being sought by colleges and Lib groups. Some of the more frequent speakers are Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Germaine Greer, Shirley Chisholm, and Bella Abzug.

This is an excellent technique of persuasion because it brings the experts out to women to tell them how to start a Women's Lib group and what to do. For example, Windham College in Putney, Vermont, in 1969, invited several Women's Lib members to speak. Afterwards, about twenty-five women, many faculty wives, stayed to talk about forming a Lib group.  

Betty Friedan, founder of NOW and sometimes called mother superior to Women's Lib, is invited to speak as much as anyone in the movement; she speaks at numerous colleges and other civic gatherings every year. She once spoke at Wake Forest, the male-dominated and male-oriented school, to the largest crowd ever at Wake Forest (1700).  

Legislation and the Courts

Redstockings made its first public appearance at a New York legislative hearing on abortion law reform in February,

---

6 Wilkes, op. cit., p. 27.
1969, when several women sought to gain the microphone to testify about their own abortions. The hearing, set up to take testimony from fifteen medical and psychiatric "experts" --fourteen were men--was hastily adjourned. 7 Also, in September of 1969, four young women fought for and won in Federal Court the right to attend the previously all-male University of Virginia. 8 In New York of that same year, a Women's Liberation group collected signatures on petitions opposing abortion laws, and filed suit to have the laws declared unconstitutional. 9

WEAL has filed over 100 complaints against colleges, universities, and professional associations. In addition, the group has asked Labor Secretary George P. Shultz to file a class action suit against all schools holding federal contracts, and in January, 1970, submitted its own "Philadelphia Plan" to Shultz. 10

In the spring of 1970, two ladies from Syracuse, members of NOW, sued for admission to McSorley's Old Ale House in Manhattan. One June 25, District Court Judge Walter R.

---

7Brownmiller, op. cit., p. 28.
8"Women's Lib In High Schools?," Seventeen, XXXVIII (April, 1971), 48.
Mansfield ordered McSorley's doors opened to both sexes. His opinion contained the following:

It may be argued that the occasional preference of men for a haven of retreat from the watchful eyes of wives or womanhood in general, to have a drink or pass a few hours in their own company, is justification enough: that the simple fact women are not men justifies defendant practices.\(^\text{11}\)

Nevertheless, albeit reluctantly, the judge concluded that "McSorley's is a public place" and that "the preference of certain of its patrons is no justification under the equal protection clause (of the Constitution). The final blow fell at the end of August, 1970, when the mayor of New York, John Lindsay, signed a bill designed to open all the City's public places to women.

NOW has incorporated the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund to offer women free legal counsel. It is also accumulating employment statistics on some of the nation's largest public utilities, retailers, and financial corporations to determine which are most vulnerable to government action. Other likely targets, according to one NOW official, are A.T. & T, CBS, and some of the major publishing companies, all of which are big employers of women.\(^\text{12}\) In addition, NOW has


\(^{12}\) "Business and the Radicals," p. 90.
filed a sex discrimination suit against Harvard, where out of 411 tenured professors at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, none is a woman.

Plays

Like several other community theatres, the Caravan Theatre in Cambridge, Massachusetts, stages feminist plays. How To Make a Woman, one of their productions, used grotesque props to attack the "sexual exploitation" of women. Life displays pictures of the female characters who all have extremely exaggerated breasts and are scantily clad. This play is performed every weekend, followed by audience discussions. Although no feedback is available on the effectiveness of its winning people to the movement, it sounds very persuasive and thought-provoking.

The New Feminist Repertory Theatre in New York, directed by Anselma dell'Olio, is preparing a revue to tour the country. One sketch shows a man's reaction when he finds an impregnated uterus has been placed in his body. One line from the play: "Have you made my body the incubator of your artificial passion?"13

There are several feminist playwrights. Myrna Lamb has written a Women's Lib musical called "The Mod Donna." It was

produced by the New York Shakespeare Theatre in the summer of 1971. The play has been described as dealing with "women's sexual subjugation to Penis Power."

Also, New York has FREE (Feminist Repertory and Experimental Ensemble). It performs skits and plays written about women's need for liberation. Amy Gross, writing in Mademoiselle, had this to say about it:

It was embarrassingly amateur--probably a major setback for the theatre, we decided; and eventually numbing--the women were furies and the dramatic level was set, and held, at hair-tearing rage.

"All that elocution through gritted teeth," said my friend. "Paranoia," I diagnosed, remembering the actors' brutalization of the actresses, the slapping and grappling--"Obviously, they all want to be raped." "Sick," we labeled the sketch about a woman's revenge on the man who denied fathering her child: it is years later and she's implanted within him a womb embryo, which she refers to as "the parasite."

The San Francisco Mime Troupe performs frequent plays on Women's Lib. "The Independent Female, or A Man Has His Pride" was staged by this theatrical troupe and was also printed in Ramparts Magazine. This play has been xeroxed and may be found in the Appendix.

---

14Dudar, op. cit., p. 72.


Liberal Techniques

Skits

Life reported the first use of side walk skits used by Women's Lib in 1969. WITCH performed skits on Wall Street in New York to a shocked and amused crowd. They carried pails and brooms.17

One of the most interesting skits was again acted out by a coven from WITCH during a seminar sponsored by the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, and held at Duke University in June, 1970. The purpose of the seminar was to increase the knowledge and understanding of the complex events with which newspaper people must deal. During a talk by Marlene Dixon on "The New Woman's Movement," seven women dressed in black witches costumes with black masks entered the room. These "witches" danced around the room with sound effects of bells and shrieks and made the recitations that follow. Parts of the recitations were in chorus and others by solo performers. Throughout the recitations the members of WITCH continued to dance, chant, shriek, and ring bells:

Oh our sisters fighting for their rights,
Shall we join them in their fight,
Shall we fight for unity all
Or shall we be professional?
What is sisterhood?

We weave our spells and shriek our chants--
the WITCHING hour is here!
But if you are our sisters, you have nothing to fear.
We HEX all those who use a woman's body and her mind,
And suck her blood for profit--to them we'll be unkind!

The editors and publishers who exploit us every day,
And tell us to be grateful--for more work and less pay!
The doctors who force us to have children unwanted
And use us as guinea pigs for the pill--they shall be
haunted!

Economists who use us as a surplus labor pool;
And those who set the quotas that keep us out of school;
Psychologists who tell us that home is where we should
stay.
Then blame us for our empty lives when kids are grown
away,

All these and more will not escape,
Revolution's on its way and things are getting worse!
If they do not heed us, their decision they will rue--
WITCH will strike them down, until we get our rightful
due!18

The "Witches" then left the room, but returned later for
discussion with the writers.

Techniques Used By Conservatives and Liberals

Leaflets

"In almost any woman you can unearth an incredible fury.
And it's an anger that can be a powerful radicalizing force."
These words, declared by one of the women in the Students for
a Democratic Society, are reflective of the deep feminine
resentment that can be found in Women's Lib. Leaflets are

18Anne Firor Scott, editor, What Is Happening To American
a technique of shocking and educating the public by distributing threatening verbal brick-bats: "Watch out! You may meet a real castrating female!" Some leaflets cite with approval the dictum of the late revolutionary Frantz Fanon: "An oppressed individual cannot feel liberated until he kills one of the oppressors." This is all borrowed from the fiery rhetoric of militant black and student movements of the late 1960's.

During the picket of the Miss America contest in 1969, handbills were passed out, signed by Women's Liberation saying: "Protest the mindless boob girlie symbol of American womanhood. Help crown a live sheep Miss America. Burn bras, fashion magazines and cosmetic goop in a freedom trash can."

One of the most talked about tracts in the movement is a pamphlet by Ann Koedt called "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm," which says that most women don't have orgasms because most men won't accept the fact that the female orgasm is clitoral.

Publications

Barely two years old, the Women's Lib press has grown to include at least a dozen newspapers, two quarterlies, two annual journals, and scores of local newsletters which reach hundreds of thousands of women. While their philosophies


range from middle-class liberalism to revolutionary Marxism, most women's lib publications are produced by small cells of radical feminists whose shrill tenor is reflected in the names of their papers: **Off Our Backs** (Washington, D.C.), **Ain't I a Woman?** (Iowa City, Iowa), **It Ain't Me Babe** (Berkeley, Calif.), and **Goodbye to All That** (San Diego, Calif.).

Like much of the underground press, the feminist press is a do-it-yourself operation. Its voice is generally polemic, highly emotional, and anti-male and full of radical rhetoric. Standard liberationist reading fare includes articles on such matters as abortion or defense against rape, how-to columns on everything from checking for breast cancer to changing a flat tire, and first person stories that often read like liberated sob-sister effusions ("I am 23, a mother and a lesbian"). Even the features in the lib press, in fact, are generally polemic in tone. **Everywoman** in Los Angeles, for example, has regular columns on "Herstory" (feminist history) and "Manglish" (a dictionary of "sexist" terms).

While most of the women's lib publications have failed to reach women outside the movement, several are currently trying to do so by eschewing unduly radical rhetoric. **Up From Under**, a New York magazine which is aimed at working-class women, publishes serious articles on such matters as
labor-union policies toward women, while the politically moderate Broadside, also published in New York, provides feminist oriented reviews of the arts for its middle-class audience. "A lot of people I know are prime targets for women's lib, but the radical press just doesn't attract them to the movement," said Broadside publisher Mary Phillips. "We have to begin to speak to such women on their own term."  

A. Books.-- Until the publication of a remarkable book called Sexual Politics, the movement had no coherent theory to buttress its intuitive passions, no ideologue to provide chapter and verse for its assault on patriarchy. Kate Millett, a sometime sculptor, has filled the role through Sexual Politics.

In her book, Millett defines politics as the "power-structure relationships" by which one group, in this case the male elite, governs others. Patriarchy is thus the institutional foe. Labeling it as the "most pervasive ideology of our culture," she argues that it provides our "fundamental concept of power." Women are helpless, in other words, because men control the basic mechanisms of society. Her solution is drastic: demolish the patriarchal system. Until this is done, women and men as well will

"remain imprisoned in the vast gray stockades of sexual reaction. There is no way out but to rebel and be broken, stigmatized and cured."\(^{22}\)

One of the earliest books, if not the first, concerning the second-class citizenship of women was the landmark *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan. Published in 1963, it quickly was regarded as the bible by women liberationists. It traces how women have been subordinated by men for over two hundred years, and explicitly details how, even today, women have been "sold a bill of goods."

*Voices of the New Feminism*, edited by Mary Lou Thompson, is largely a survey on the ways in which different institutions discriminate against women. The articles are written by professional women well-known in their fields. The general emphasis of the book is on the civil rights of women, except for a few articles which speculate vaguely and abstractly on agreeable sounding solutions to the problem.\(^{23}\)

*The Dialectic of Sex*, by Shulamith Firestone, is very interesting and well worth reading, but it is extraordinarily uneven. There are a couple of chapters worth the price of the book.\(^{24}\)

\(^{22}\)"Who's Come a Long Way, Baby?," p. 16.


\(^{24}\)Ibid., p. 91.
Patriarchal Attitudes, by Eva Figes, is a much less ambitious effort than the previous books. It is an enlightening, entertaining and sensible historical survey of women through the ages, and also the ideologies that justified those conditions. It is a convincing description of how all kinds of widely differing economic and social systems have been carefully organized by men to preserve their power over women.25

Many books are now coming out on women's liberation and there is not space to comment on them all, but three others should be at least mentioned, they are the following: Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement (edited by Robin Morgan), The Female Eunuch written by Germaine Greer, a liberationist from Germany, and the book, Women's Liberation: Blueprint for the Future (compiled by Sookie Stambler).

B. Journals.— In their journal No More Fun and Games, women libbers urge women to leave their husbands and children and to avoid pregnancy. Women should dress plainly, chop their hair short, and begin to "reclaim themselves" by dropping their husbands' or fathers' names. They should live alone and abstain from sexual relationships.26

25Ibid.

It Ain't Me Babe, printed in Berkeley, Calif., is one of the most entertaining journals—in a lurid way. One eye-catching cover was a photograph of a giant penis decorated with the Stars and Stripes and protruding from a garbage can. Usually, the editorial contents feature lone, explicitly detailed accounts of unhappy sexual experiences with "super-pig supremacist" (husbands) and complaints about the latter's egregious behavior around the house. (Example given: husband's ignore wives' conversation and when wives say, "You're not listening," husbands reply, "What do you mean I'm not listening? I'm just looking at the paper.") In one issue, husbands were referred to as "the Hitlers in our homes."27

C. Newsletters.-- In the year 1971, a woman could subscribe to many papers of varying quality, levels of solvency, and degrees of editorial outrage. The newsletters come in four basic varieties: feminist reformist, independent non-affiliated, radical feminist, and political revolutionary.

The Spokeswoman, an independent newsletter, has become the best source of information for the entire movement. It covers an enormous range of feminist news and a listing of contacts and addresses follows most items. Susan Davis is the editor and a member of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union.

27Lawrenson, op. cit., p. 146.
Now Acts is a national newsletter from NOW which features news stories that get right down to the injustices and the battle plans for redressing them. Each issue covers feminist news in religion, education, legislation, employment, and public accommodations.

The New Broadside is an independent tabloid which is sassy, imaginative, and fun to read. Publisher Mary Phillips, who started Broadside, explains, "We don't represent any one part of the Movement. This way we're free to criticize certain aspects, escape the rhetoric, and explore different ideas." And they do, in lengthy but well written features, such as "The Mental Health of American Women, Programmed for Breakdown," and "Help! I'm Prisoner in a Sex Factory!" The New Broadside has good graphic design and is sometimes printed on high quality paper, however, it is not for those who like their language strictly censored.

Fashioned after The Spokeswomen, Pandora is a fairly good example of a local Women's Liberation publication. An independent, it covers abortion reform, legislation, education, and upcoming events in Seattle, Washington. And it occasionally reports important news "from sisters all over the country."

Now for the heavy feminist literature. Everywoman, published by a California women's collective, displays an

28 Mulherin, op. cit., p. 91.

Liberated from underground male-supremacist editors two years ago, Rat is now run by a New York women's collective. In Rat, capitalism, imperialism, and male chauvinism amount to The Enemy. While Rat carries favorable articles on the Young Lords, radical lesbians, Weathermen, and violent revolutionaries of every nation, it is not afraid to call a sexist a sexist. Like most women's publications, Rat also offers service items--how to silk-screen a poster and how to change a tire. The quality of writing varies with the revolutionary contributor, but mostly it's all heavy rhetoric.

D. Magazines.-- With the financial scene looking dreary and discouraging for many lib magazines or newsletters, a new Women's Lib magazine called Ms. (pronounced "miz") is operating in the black. The magazine does not represent any specific group in the movement, and it features articles on several areas of legislation, abortion, and male chauvinism.
Buttons

Buttons have long been a technique of publicity and showing membership, especially in our political parties. Within Women's Liberation too can be found buttons to express membership and to show defiance as well. Mademoiselle, February, 1970, contains a picture of six of the most popular lib buttons; they are:

1. Uppity Women Unite
2. Freedom For Women
3. Sisterhood Is Powerful
4. Feminism Lives
5. fist within biological symbol for female
6. equal sign within biological symbol for female

Slogans

Like buttons, slogans are ever present with polemic movements and personalities, and so they are with Women's Liberation. One of the very earliest mottoes, when Women's Lib was just emerging out of the previous black movement, was the saying, "The Young, the black, and the beautiful." Another often quoted slogan is "If the 1960's belonged to the blacks, then the 70's are ours." Time reports this slogan:

---

30 Kramer, op. cit., p. 53.
"If God had wanted women to stay in the kitchen, He would have given them aluminum hands."31 Also Ramparts had these two slogans: "Equal Power" and "Smash Men."32

**Name-Calling**

The new feminism once again parallels with the black movement. Both are encumbered by a huge congregation of people who do not see what all the struggle is about, so they resist the movement. In the black community they are denounced by the term "Uncle Tom," while in Women's Lib they are labeled "Doris Days."33

Although many women might feel quite complimented to be called a Doris Day type, to women libbers Doris Day symbolizes the completely brainwashed simpleton who enjoys staying at home to do the servile tasks of cleaning and scrubbing. This technique is meant to embarrass housewives and make them more open to the movement.

**Symbol**

Every movement has a symbol that is meant to be an object around which members can rally and identify. To the Old South, the Confederate flag was their symbol of what

---

31 "Who's Come a Long Way, Baby?," p. 16.
32 "Independent Female," p. 20.
33 "New Feminists," p. 56.
they were living and dying for, just as the donkey and elephant are symbols for the Democratic and Republican parties. The Women's Liberation movement has its rallying symbol too. Robin Morgan, a member of WITCH, designed the movement's signet: a clenched fist within the circle of the biological symbol for female. Also, this symbol is varied by some to have an equal sign rather than a fist within the biological female symbol.

This symbol of the movement is frequently printed on placards before a demonstration and is found on the literature; even flags with the symbol are now available.

**Name Liberation**

Women's Liberation is against all forms of subjugation of women no matter how small. They think to designate a woman as being married or not by making her use Miss or Mrs. before her name is a type of subtle demeaning; a man is not distinguished as to his marital status in this manner.

One method of getting people to recognize this subjugation is for women to refrain from using the unliberated Miss or Mrs. New York's Congresswoman Bella Abzug has

---


introduced a proposal referred to as the "Ms. bill." It would forbid any agency of the Federal Government from using prefixes that indicate marital status. Along the same line, Congressman Jonathan Bingham, also of New York, has introduced a proposal forbidding the requirement that women give their marital status when registering to vote in a federal election, or until men are made to reveal their marital status too. 36

Going a little further, some feminists refuse to take their fathers' or husbands' last name, and instead take their mother's maiden name. A few keep their first name but substitute "X" for their last name.

_Herstory_

Like the blacks, the feminists too are asking with some success, that their "hidden history," the story of women's rights, be taught in schools and colleges. What better technique to educate society about women's history and secondary position to men, than to get our nation's schools to teach it! Far too long, only men's accomplishments have been taught, which indirectly, tends to give women the idea that what men achieve is actually more important than the accomplishments of women.

37"What's a Ms.?," Ms., (Spring, 1972), p. 4.
It's time for "herstory" instead of "history," feminists demand. The law school at New York University has inaugurated a course devoted entirely to the legal problems of women, including divorce law. (Law is one profession that is attracting increasing numbers of women as well as blacks, both groups eager to promote legal reforms.)

Consciousness-Raising

Consciousness-raising is the name given to the feminist practice of examining one's personal experience in the light of sexism; i.e., that theory which explains women's subordinate position in society as a result of a cultural decision to confer direct power on men and only indirect power on women. The term of description and the practice to which it alludes are derived from a number of sources--psychoanalysis, Marxist theory and American revivalism. It was born out of the earliest stages of feminist formulation begun about five years ago in such cities as Cambridge, New York, Chicago, and Berkeley.

Consciousness-raising is, at one and the same time, both the most celebrated and accessible introduction to the women's movement as well as the most powerful technique for feminist conversion known to the liberationists. Women are drawn by the idea of talking about themselves, but they remain because of this wholly new interpretation of their prior experiences.

38 "New Feminists," p. 56.
The phenomenon of "the flash of insight" to the participants in consciousness-raising is most directly responsible for the feminist leap in faith being made by many women everywhere--i.e., the intensely felt realization that what had always been taken for symptoms of personal unhappiness or dissatisfaction or frustration was so powerfully and so consistently duplicated among so many women that perhaps these symptoms could just as well be ascribed to cultural causes as to psychological ones.

In the feminist movement this kind of "breakthrough" can occur no place else than in a consciousness-raising group. It is only here, during many months of meetings, that a woman is able finally to bring to the surface those feelings of anger and frustration that have drawn her to the movement in the first place.

Claire K., a feminist activist in Cambridge, says of women's groups using this technique:

I've been working with women's groups for over two years now. The average life of a group is a year to 18 months, and believe me, I've watched a lot of them fold before they ever got off the ground. But, when they work! There is a rhythm to some of them that's like life itself. You watch a group expand and contract, and each time it does one or the other it never comes back together quite the same as when the action started. Something happens to each woman, and to the group itself. . . . But each time, if they survive, they have grown. You can see it, almost smell it and taste it.38

For all the visibility of the radical The Feminists and WITCHES, the heart of the movement is made up of hundreds of these consciousness-raising groups, sometimes called "rap groups" or "bitch sessions." The usual group meets one night a week, numbers from eight to twelve women, and concentrates on topics such as attitudes toward work, marriage, families, feminist history, and woman's role in society. The purpose of rap groups is to build common awareness of women's problems. The following questions are typical of ones asked at these sessions:

1. Why are you here?
2. How do you feel about men?
3. Have you ever felt that men have pressured you into having sexual relationships?
4. Do you ever lie about orgasm?
5. Discuss your relationships with men. Have you noticed any recurring patterns?
6. Growing up as a girl, were you treated differently from your brother?
7. What would you most like to do in life? What has stopped you?
8. What was your first sex experiment?
9. Why did you marry the man you did?
10. How do you feel men see you?
11. How do you feel about housework? What does your husband do around the house? Do you feel guilty when your house is dirty?
12. Do you think that what you do with your day is as important as what your husband does with his day?
13. How did you learn as a little girl what "feminine" meant? Do you worry about being "truly feminine?" What does "femininity" mean to you in terms of your own life?
14. What did you do as a little girl that was different from what little boys did? Why? Did you ever want to do anything else?
15. What did your parents teach you about sex?
16. How do you feel about menstruation? How did you feel when you had your first period?
17. How do you feel about petting?
18. What is a "nice girl?" Were you a "nice girl?"
19. Have you had an abortion?
20. How do you feel about being pregnant?
21. Do you enjoy taking care of your children?
22. What hopes do you have for your daughter? For your son? Why are these hopes different?
23. Do you think you could get a better job? Why not?
24. How do you feel about sexual commitment and fidelity?

Caucuses and Conferences

A giant Congress to Unite Women in Manhattan was held in 1969 to draw women from as far left as the WITCHES and as far right as NOW. It was a weekend meeting of Northeast groups
and interested individuals; it turned out to be an assembly of every kind of female.

Ladies from NOW . . . (work within the system) and ladies from the Feminists . . . (down-with-the-system, marriage, love, sex). Hatted elderly club-lady types. Young radicals featuring what will not make fashion archives as the Vietnam Surplus look. Housewives, teachers, college students, graduate students, secretaries, editors, businesswomen, at least one preacher. A few beauties. Many pretties. Some plains. A few unattractive. In general, a youngish, good-looking group. . . .

Over 500 participants attended. The really active woman liberator went to a meeting every night, raising consciousness one evening and funds the next. The Congress called for women's studies in high schools and colleges. Just as the American Indian is now realizing the positive influence of a meeting where many Indian nations come together to encourage one another and to plan strategy for their mutual benefit, Women's Liberation is doing likewise.

In June, 1970, a national conference was held in Washington, called "American Women at the Crossroads." Its purpose was to bring women together to discuss who they are and where they are going. These discussions always attract those women who are outside the movement but wonder what it is all about, and so, new members are won and other members are kept renewed by the conference. Women's caucuses have

\[\text{Gross, op. cit., p. 232.}\]
been organized in the American Political Science, Psychological, and Sociological associations as well. Marlene Dixon, a radical sociologist who has been invited to several conferences, stated: "In the last few months, I've been to ten conferences, mostly in the Midwest, and none was under 300."^40

More than 300 earnest women--ranging from black Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm to writer Gloria Steinem to Betty Smith, former vice-chairman of Wisconsin Republicans--met in Washington during July, 1971, to form a National Women's Political Caucus. Its goal: to seek out and promote candidates of either sex, preferably women, who will work to eliminate "sexism, racism, violence and poverty."

One thing Caucus organizers made plain: the Women's Caucus is not a political party--and there are no plans at present to turn it into one. It is nonpartisan and any woman may join who supports its causes. But it is not a "membership" organization at the national level. State and local branches, now being formed, will decide for themselves whether to issue membership cards and charge dues.

Caucus leaders point out: women make up fifty-three percent of the nation's voting population. Yet, as of August, 1971, there were only twelve women among 435 members in the House of Representatives, and just one woman among 100 U.S. women.

^41 "New Feminist," p. 27.
The Women's Caucus is out to change all that be getting more women elected and appointed to public office--in Washington and in state and local governments too.

The Caucus wrote up several demands, which were quoted in U. S. News and World Report:

1. An immediate demand is that at least fifty per cent of the delegates to both the Republican and Democratic Conventions in 1972 be women. (In the 1972 Democratic Convention forty per cent were women.)

2. To increase female visibility as well as power, the Caucus also calls for a woman to be either the temporary or the permanent chairwoman of each party's convention.

3. The Caucus calls for State delegates of both conventions to have at least as great a percentage of youths, blacks, and other minorities as their proportion of the State's population.

At the Democratic Convention in July, 1972, the Women's Caucus platform contained sixteen items which were brought up on the floor for a vote. Among them were:

1. A priority effort to ratify the equal rights amendment.

2. Elimination of discrimination against women in public accommodations, public facilities, public education, federally assisted programs, and federally contracted employment.

3. Full enforcement of all federal statutes and executive laws barring job discrimination on the basis of sex.


43 Ibid.
4. Elimination of all tax inequities, such as higher taxes for single women.

5. Amendment of the Internal Revenue Code to permit families to deduct housekeeping and child care expenses as legitimate business expenses.

6. Federal government financing of comprehensive development child care programs which will be family centered, locally controlled and universally available.

7. Appointment of women to positions of top responsibility in all branches of the federal government to achieve an equitable ratio of women and men.\(^4\)

Women did occupy many prominent spots in the recent Democratic Convention: Mary Loue Berg, vice chairman of the Convention, moderated the session, and Secretary Dorothy V. Bush read the roll call. However, all was not rosy. Legalizing abortion was the hardest-fought issue of the session but lost when the final vote was taken at 1,572.37 for, and 1,101.37 against. Even though the Women's Political Caucus did not achieve all their objectives, their impact on the Convention was stronger than ever before and will grow increasingly stronger. Women of Women's Liberation groups now realize that one of the best methods for transforming society is through legal means which brings the denouement of the previous flamboyant, sometimes silly, techniques that were utilized in the past.

**Songs and Poems**

Songs and poems are effective techniques of persuasion because rhythm and rhyme are entertaining as well as emotionally arousing. Where a guest lecturer may not impress a person, a song or poem rendered with meaningful interpretation can move a person, as any effective revivalist preacher will affirm. During the Women's Strike for Equality in 1970, Betty Friedan wrote a revolutionary anthem to be sung by those striking on August 26. It is called "Liberation Now!"

A portion of the lyrics are:

Liberation now, liberation now,
We're breaking out of our cage
of ruffles and rage.

We're more than mother and wives
With secondhand lives.44

So far the feminist press boasts only one literary magazine, *Aphra*, though most of the papers include a generous share of fiction and poetry. The following poem was composed by Pati Trolander and printed in the newsletter *Off Our Backs*:

**CROTCH CLAWERS**

And Mother Rapers of the World:
    come out of your stinking womb
that is no part of the women who gave you birth.
    realize a few things about me.
I am sick of playing your game.

You say that i, a woman,
    should be more sensitive
to the ways which you oppress me.

45"Very Volcanic," p. 47.
At the same time, I, a woman
am by nature a bitch.
Well your coldness
it turns me bitchier by the hour.

Self-fulfilling prophecy:
Women are evil, sneaky and wicked.
Shit.
You are the one who asked for it.
Tomorrow a couple of Father Fuckers
May be on your ass.

(I have only been alive fourteen years, how am I going
to feel ten years from now?)

The following poem was printed in the Ladies Home
Journal:

This Woman Is Anti-Semitic

When your baby girl is fretful, you go to the good book:
It says, "turn him over on his back, change his diaper,
and take a look."

Then your daughter is old enough to go to school,
And the instructions read at the top of every test:
"Everyone take his assigned place and do his best."

At the PTA meeting the chairman is Mrs. Rule.
The minister exhorts, "Act as a brother
Unto one another."
The college catalogue lists courses on
"Man and Society,"
"Man and Survival,"
"Man: Is He Godhead's New Rival?"
You graduate as a Bachelor of Science or a BA,
and with a fellowship your master's degree is underway

Until one day

---

Pati Trolander, "Crotch Clawers," Off Our Backs, p. 10
as cited in Harper's, CCXLII (March, 1971), 50.
You wind up calling a psychiatrist and his advice is "I can't understand why you should be feeling an identity crisis." 46

In summary, the conservative groups had seven rhetorical devices that they used and the liberals did not. Here are those seven devices: stickers, helpwanted ads, radio-TV, lecturers, legislation and the courts, caucuses and conferences and plays.

It is significant that the liberals had only one verbal device (skits) which they used and the conservatives did not. Skits are primarily performed by the WITCH covens of New York City.

Both groups had ten devices in common which reveals a fairly large overlapping of devices. The mutual techniques are the following ones: leaflets, publications, buttons, slogans, name-calling, symbol usage, name liberation, herstory, consciousness-raising, and songs and poems.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

What a misfortune to be a woman!
And yet the worst misfortune is
not to understand what a misfortune it is.

Kierkegaard

Before making some final observations, several qualifying statements need to be made. It should be known that the division of sub-groups into the conservative or liberal category was most difficult in several instances. The literature on Women's Liberation did give this information on such well-known groups as NOW, WEAL, and some others, but little information was available on some other groups like Women Inc. of San Francisco or Bread and Roses.

Where a judgment had to be made as to whether a group was either conservative or liberal, the basis for choosing was (1) from knowing some of the rhetoric devices used by the group, and/or (2) from knowing the group's goals. For example, if it was reported that a group was training in karate then one could assume that the group was a liberal one because this device is one of the avant-garde actions of the left wing of the movement; likewise, if a group's goals are known and one reads about the use of a certain rhetorical device that can
achieve those goals, then a determination can be made based upon this goal and device relationship.

Also difficult was the division of some rhetorical devices into the physical or verbal category. In some cases it was not clear what group performed a rhetorical device, and even less information was given on the motivation for the device. For example, some women libbers utilized the Freedom Trash Can device but it was not clear as to what group the women really represented nor what they expected the device to accomplish.

The nebulous gray matter composed of the combination of physical and verbal rhetorical devices caused some difficulty too. Is a skit or play a physical device or a verbal one? Is a law suit physical or verbal? Seeing no benefit in a combination rhetorical device category, a few somewhat arbitrary judgments were made and the "gray devices" were put into either a black or white category.

In addition to the bases for those judgments made by this writer, the comprehensive knowledge that accrues to one who has read over seventy-five Women's Liberation articles and several of the leading books helps to provide an educated guess. Judgments as to group and device type category have been made, however, only when the literature did not proffer explicit information.

Rather than evaluate each rhetorical device used by the feminists, which would be inordinately lengthy, the chart in the Appendix will serve that purpose.
After studying the diverse physical and verbal rhetorical devices utilized by the liberated feminists, some observations seem apropos. Although conclusions are more readily obtained from studies other than descriptive ones, at least five can be distilled from this study.

First, the techniques of persuasion employed by the feminists are very varied. One could further classify the numerous types of techniques used--such as educative, shock-value, attention-getting, etc.--and still find variations of usage under each type. The women libbers certainly are not limiting their propaganda to any specific device type.

Second, there is surprising parity between the number of physical and verbal devices performed by the groups and which were reported in the various news publications. In actual count in this paper, there were fourteen physical devices and eighteen verbal ones. This reveals a remarkable balance between verbal and non-verbal activities by the feminists. However, a trend is becoming more and more apparent that suggests that the balance is tipping in favor of the verbal. Now that the movement is well established the somewhat outlandish physical devices appear to be fading and the heirs apparent are legislation and publications.

Third, the conservatives and liberals have a lot of devices in common. At first studying WITCHES, The Feminists, SCUM, etc., and comparing them with NOW, FEW, WEAL, etc.,
there seems very little that the conservatives and liberals could have in common; yet, five physical and ten verbal devices exist to make valid the conclusion that widely differing philosophies do not necessarily mean completely different rhetorical devices.

Fourth, the liberal groups are noted for their usage of physical devices while the conservatives are noted for their verbal devices. The liberal groups had only one verbal technique (skits) not used by other groups, while the conservative groups used three physical devices not used by others. Yet, the liberals had twice as many physical devices as did the conservatives (excluding devices both used), and the conservatives had seven times as many verbal devices as did the liberals.

Lastly, the most influential type of rhetorical device is the verbal type—especially legislation and publications; consequently, since this is the domain primarily of the conservatives, the conservative groups are achieving the major changes wrought in the Women's Liberation movement. NOW and The Women's Political Caucus particularly are the prime movers that are mobilizing women into activists that work to get things changed. In other words, the dream of "the revolution" and The Third World by the liberals will be long, if ever, in coming, while the conservative groups are changing women's
status in society right now—not as quickly as they would like but conditions and attitudes are changing.

In conclusion, this survey of rhetorical devices is not finished, nor will it soon be concluded, because the march that feminists are making towards true equality with men is just beginning. The movement is just at the developmental stage of learning to walk and many more periods of growth remain in its exciting future. It is hoped that this paper will be a benefit to those who want to know how Women's Liberation organizations employed rhetorical devices to promote their propaganda.
APPENDIX
DIAGRAM OF PHYSICAL AND VERBAL TECHNIQUES USAGE
BY CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL GROUPS

Physical Techniques

Conservatives
1. Phony Candidate
2. Male Beauty Contest
3. Freedom Trash Cans

Liberals
1. Avoidance of Heterosexual Sex
2. Fifth Column
3. Protest Stripping
4. Unseductive Look
5. Karate
6. Shelter Device

Both
1. Open Doors & Light Cigarettes
2. Whistle at Men
3. Demonstrations
4. Burn Bras
5. Clenched Fist

Verbal Techniques

Conservatives
1. Stickers
2. Help-Wanted Ads
3. Radio-TV
4. Lecturers
5. Petitions and Suits
6. Caucuses and Conferences
7. Plays

Liberals
1. Skits

Both
1. Leaflets
2. Publications
3. Buttons
4. Slogans
5. Name-Calling
6. Symbol
7. Name Liberation
8. Herstory
9. Consciousness-Raising
10. Songs and Poems
THE LIBERATED WOMAN
The Independent Female
(or, A Man Has His Pride)

Introduction

MUSICIAN: Ladies and gentlemen: The San Francisco Mime Troupe proudly welcomes you to this evening's performance of The Independent Female, or, A Man Has His Pride. We humbly introduce you to the characters and the themes of this tender but passionate drama. Our heroine (characters enter as they are introduced)—the beautiful, innocent, but impressionable Gloria. Will this fragile creature be led down the road to ruin and parted forever from the manly, promising and courageous John? Or will our hero save her in time? Will this young couple know the bliss that Gloria's Mom—to her eternal regret—willfully denied to herself and her patient, long-suffering Walter? Or will the mad lust for power and the devilish plotting of the unspeakable Sarah Bullitt push everyone—even the city of San Francisco—over the brink of destruction? We hope all present find our story instructive, and are especially pleased that so many of the fair sex could be with us this evening, as it is in their interest, above all, to be reminded that:

In perfect trust, and mutual fondness twine
The mighty oak tree, and the clinging vine.

(Music)

Act I
The Pennybank Home

Scene i

MOM (enters): Today must be the happiest day of my life—except the day Walter asked me to marry him—and the day little Walter graduated from college. My daughter Gloria just got engaged—and this engagement is extra special. Gloria sometimes acts a bit... independent: I often feared she might not have a future. But now it's all settled—and I'm glad Mom hasn't lived in vain! (Gloria enters) Darling—do you want the bridesmaids in aqua or salmon?
It had our first fight!


ORIA: John doesn't want me to work.

OM: The sweetheart! But what did you fight about?

ORIA: I like working.

OM: Gloria! What are you getting married for?

ORIA: Because John is the most wonderful man in the world—deeply intelligent—and serious, and commanding, and tall. But Mom, must a woman devote all her time to her marriage?

OM: What else could she do? Oh, this might never have happened, had tragedy not obliged you to support us...

GLORIA: But Mom...

MOM: I know. I know who keeps putting these wild ideas in your head—it's that ugly Sarah Bullitt—that career woman you've grown so fond of! She knows she'll never find a husband, so she can't bear to see you happy with a young prince like John!

GLORIA: Well, at least Sarah's nice to me! And John was so mean! Oh, Mommy—he yelled at me! He called me a...

MOM: Don't cry, dear—you'll get used to it. You see, darling, there is one thing education and modern home appliances and the pill can't change, and that's the basic difference between a man and a woman. A man has his pride. We may not be slaves in our homes any longer, but our main job is still to help our man feel strong.

GLORIA: Is that what you did with Dad?

MOM: I failed as a woman. And I don't want to see you make the same mistake, Gloria! You children didn't know this, but—I used to criticize Walter.

GLORIA: You don't think he just left because you got old?

MOM: No, darling—he had to leave, because I threatened him. Don't suffer as I have! Tell John you've decided to give up your job. Be a woman,
darling, before it's too late! Oh, my shame! (Exit)

GLORIA: Poor Mom! Can I be headed down the same road? And is it true what she said about Sarah? Oh, I mustn't be so headstrong and selfish—I love John, and I want us to be happy—but this

crazy independence (karate movements)—sometimes it's stronger than I am!

Scene ii

(John enters and she hits him inadvertently)

JOHN: Do you still think I don't make enough money?

GLORIA: I never said $50 wasn't enough! But my salary would help—but it's not just the money.

JOHN: I told you I would give you an allowance. Am I not enough for you, Gloria?

GLORIA: Darling, you're everything! But what about the job?

JOHN: What about it?

GLORIA: Mr. Peabody says he doesn't know how they'll replace me. He's sweet—do you know what he said about our engagement? "I hope this doesn't mean you'll be breaking up the team."

JOHN: Gloria. Once upon a time, not so long ago, man roamed the woods, hunting food, while woman stayed home and tended the fire. On the surface, things have changed since; but in his heart, man is

still a hunter—at least I am; and I still want a woman in my cave!

GLORIA: Oh, John!

JOHN: I thought you were a real woman, Gloria—that's why I chose you for my wife. If you want a career, I won't stand in your way—but I want a wife, not a business partner. Goodbye.

GLORIA: No!

JOHN: A man has his pride.

GLORIA (aside): Mom was right! (To John): Wait, John—I'll do it—I'll quit! I'm going to make being
your wife my full-time job!

JOHN: Little girl!

GLORIA: Forgive me, darling—I want us to have a good marriage—it's just that I've got the—independence habit. (Hits him again)

JOHN: I'll help you get over it. Lean on me, Gloria—I'm going to treat you the way my Dad said every woman ought to be treated—like the most precious thing a man owns!

Scene iii

SARAH (enters) (Aside): Beauty—and the beast! (Aloud): Am I intruding? (Mom peers around curtain, sees Sarah)

JOHN (aside): Sarah Bullitt—the company malcontent! I fear her ill influence on Gloria!

GLORIA: Sarah! We're going to be married!

SARAH: This is quite a surprise.

JOHN: Miss Bullitt has some news of her own, I believe.

SARAH: I've been fired.

JOHN: Terminated, I understand, for insubordination.

SARAH: I said if they refused to promote me, I'd have put a hex on the company.

GLORIA: It seems so unfair. Why, Sarah was the best accountant the company had! And the cheap—(Goes to Sarah) Don't feel too bad, dear—I guess a woman can't win. And you won't be all alone—I've decided to quit!

SARAH (aside): Disaster—for her life and our plot! (Aloud): Only last week you said you'd never been so happy at work.

GLORIA: I know, but John would prefer I stayed home.

SARAH: So you're signing over your independence!

JOHN: You girls were made for the lighter work—washing, cooking, raising children.

SARAH: And you for the heavy stuff eight hours a day. Why, men are so strong, they get paid for work we do!

JOHN: This bitterness is what makes your life difficult. If men have privileges, it's because we've earned them. After all, males are responsible for every major achievement of our civilization.

SARAH: War, waste, competition, pollution, inflation . . .

GLORIA: What have we women done?

JOHN: Take Gloria, forever prattling about the way things should be: she needs me to stand between herself and reality. Why aren't you girls content to be what we need? Competent secretaries, thrifty housewives . . .

SARAH (to Gloria): What did you want to be?

GLORIA: A forest ranger.

JOHN: Ha, ha, ha.
GLORIA: What's so funny?

MOM (enters): Why, Miss Bullitt. What a surprise!

SARAH (aside): UNCLE MOM!

MOM: A lovely dress—I believe I admired it at the last Polish Ball.

SARAH: You were a groupie for Lawrence Welk at the time?

MOM: Well—three's a crowd. don't you all think? So John, you'll let Gloria help her Mom with the tea? (Signals John to get rid of Sarah)

JOHN: It's my pleasure.

MOM: Come, dear. (To Sarah): So sorry you have to run off!

(GLORIA and MOM exit)

JOHN: You're wasting your time trying to convert Gloria, Miss Bullitt. She's a normal girl.

SARAH: Don't let it frighten you.

JOHN: I'm sure this is painful for you—I doubt there can be any happiness for a woman who wishes she were a man.

SARAH: I doubt it myself—after all, what sort of woman would wish to be oversized and underdeveloped—a vain, childish, life-hating, undersexed clod? It's true that some women want justice!

GLORIA: Darling—lemon or cream?

JOHN: My hat! The only justice a woman needs is a man to shut her mouth. (GRABS GLORIA AND KISSES HER) I'll call when you have time to see me. (TO SARAH)

SARAH: Do you know what the trouble with you is? You're frustrated. (EXIT)

Scene iv

GLORIA: HOW can I hate the man I love?

SARAH: How can you marry that swine?

GLORIA: We're engaged! And you can just save your breath—I've accepted my role as a woman.

SARAH: To gratify, amuse, cushion, flatter and serve.

GLORIA: We should let men be boss, since it means so much more to them.

SARAH: To be seen as a piece of meat by every man who walks by?

GLORIA: That's the price we pay for being attractive.

SARAH: Forty-nine cents a pound? And you end up with the fat.

GLORIA: What's the choice—to end up lost, the way you are?

SARAH: You could have a choice—if women demanded their rights.

GLORIA: What rights?

SARAH: All the ones men have—plus a few of our own. What do you think would happen if all the women in our office went on strike?

GLORIA: Oh, Sarah—don't be silly; a strike in the office? That's impossible—they don't even know how to type! I mean the machines—the correspondence—the phones—well, I just can't imagine—why, the whole thing would stop!

SARAH: Divine vision! You've got to take my place—bring every woman at Amalgamated out on strike
for equal work with men, equal work by men; equal pay for equal work...

GLORIA: Equal pay? But wouldn't that be wrong? Are you sure the company can afford it?

SARAH: Are you kidding? They own Argentina!

GLORIA: I could talk to the other girls—there's 100 of us in the department—then 200 downstairs—then the whole seventh floor—golly, there must be 500 men in the company!

SARAH: How many men?

GLORIA: Maybe 50... Let's do it!

SARAH: Don't you think you'd better ask John?

GLORIA: Oh, I don't have to—he's bound to find out—what mad passion stirs in me?

SARAH: The righteous rage of female rebellion!

(Exeunt)

Act II

Scene i: Outside the Office

SARAH (enters): "In education, in marriage, in everything, disappointment is the lot of woman. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart till she bows down to it no longer."—Lucy Stone, 1855. Lucy was a revolutionary history has made anonymous. The way we learn history, the slaves never rebelled, the Indians died of shame, and all women ever wanted was the vote. But the irrepressible truth is that black resistance is as old as slavery and there have been women fighting this country since men first established it; and what now is smoldering between the lines will soon break out and cover the page. Our work proceeds swiftly—in a week Gloria had every woman in her office on fire—in two weeks the fever was sweeping the city. Today any laundromat may harbor an agitator—every steno pool may be a dangerous cell. (Gloria music) But Gloria still wants her freedom and her fiancé—at any moment that balancing act could topple our plans. (More Gloria music).

GLORIA (enters): Equal power!

SARAH: Smash men! Let's hear your report.

GLORIA: Here's how the different departments line up. Accounting and Billing are eager to move. Marketing only needs one more push to get started. The cafeteria girls are with us to a man. (Pauses) But I'm having a little trouble in—Personnel.

SARAH: Personnel? But that's your own department!

GLORIA: And—John's.

SARAH (aside): Gadzooks—just what I feared! (Aloud): He knows nothing?

GLORIA: Nothing—he still thinks I'm planning to quit; he thinks—oh, this makes me feel awful—he thinks we're planning a surprise for his birthday!

SARAH: He'll be surprised, all right. How can you free other women from your own husband?

GLORIA: But what about love? To serve our cause can't mean I mustn't love John!
SARAH: That's not love; that's penal servitude. If you want your independence you'll have to sacrifice your chains. Very soon now you'll have to make a choice.

GLORIA: No! I'll tell John everything! I'll make him understand.

SARAH: Tell him—but not until after tonight.

GLORIA: Our first women's meeting!

SARAH: Seize the time—this very night we will call for a strike.

GLORIA: Strike!

SARAH: And it won't end at Amalgamated Corporate Life! Business in San Francisco will grind to a halt—and it won't start up again until we change everything!

GLORIA: Everything?

SARAH: "We've tried peaceful education for 1900 years—now let's try revolution and see what it can do."—Helen Keller, 1916. Call in sick and go to work on your speech. And remember—at all costs our plans must be secret.

GLORIA: At all costs... (Music)

SARAH: Hairy race of tyrants—your doom is nigh! (Music)

Scene ii: The Pennybank Home

MOM (offstage): Coming! Another paper! What can Gloria be up to? The way she banged in and out of here... (Another knock) Come in. (John enters)

JOHN: Good afternoon, Mrs. Pennybank. Is Gloria in? (He is feigning calm)

MOM (feigns surprise): Aah—no! Shouldn't she be at work?

JOHN: She telephoned and said she was sick.

MOM: There must be some mistake. Why, I just can't imagine—

JOHN: Well, I can! Gloria's been acting very strangely lately. She avoids me in the office. She's always whispering with other girls. Today she—missed my birthday. Her mind's not on me. There's only one explanation. Mrs. Pennybank, who is the other man?

MOM: No!

JOHN: Your attempt to protect Gloria is shortsighted. Don't you see that her interest lies in my knowing everything?

MOM: Gloria doesn't confide in her Mom anymore! I admit she's preoccupied—seems driven, sometimes; makes phone calls at all hours; comes and goes without warning...

JOHN: That's enough—farewell, Mrs. Pennybank. (Starts to leave)

MOM: Wait—perhaps there's another explanation! (She stretches out her hands and John sees the paper)

JOHN: What's that? It's in Gloria's hand!

MOM: Oh, yes—she dropped this just now.

JOHN (grabs it, reads): "Are women human? Abused and ignored—last hired and first fired." (Looks accusingly at Mrs. P.)

MOM: I don't understand.

JOHN: I'm afraid I'm beginning to. (Reading): "When will women break the chains of household slavery and assume their rightful place beside men in the life of the world?"

MOM: It doesn't sound like a love letter...

JOHN: It's much worse. Have you heard of "Women's Liberation," Mrs. Pennybank?

MOM: You mean "menstruation"? I've heard of it.

JOHN: "Liberation" is the high-sounding term with which a clique of unwomanly, power-mad females masks its plot to destroy the family and enslave the male sex.

MOM: Gloria's a good girl! (Mom kicks John and John gets hat)

JOHN: Good thinking (receives hat)—there's no villainy of which she's incapable! There's another line—"We meet here tonight"—zounds! This makes it sound like a speech! Poor deluded Gloria is setting them as a carrier of the disease!

MOM: We must stop her.

JOHN: I mean to stop her—and when I bring her back she'll need your constant attention. (Kisses her hand) Permit me to say, Mrs. Pennybank—this is what can happen when female "independence" is not nipped in the bud! (Exit)

MOM: Oh, I've failed again! Failed as a mother! (Exit)
Scene iii:

Back at the Office ("Ladies' Lounge")

(Enter Sarah and Gloria)

SARAH: At last the stage is set for our all-female revolution! It's only taken 10,000 years. (Looks around) No to reach the meeting hall without being seen.

GLORIA: What we're about to do sets me tingling all over—my heavens, in a single month, how I have changed!

JOHN (enters without being seen): Something's afoot. (Sees them): Aha!

SARAH: Remember—no one must see us.

JOHN: Feeling better, Gloria?

GLORIA: No, I feel worse.

SARAH (aside): Meddling lout!

JOHN: You needn't sneak and lie anymore—I know all.

GLORIA: All? You know about the—

SARAH: Let him tell us what he knows.

JOHN: I know what a fool I was to allow you near Gloria—know what poison you've administered to her innocent mind—how you've provoked her to dissatisfaction; intoxicated her with insane ambition; hypnotized her to stirring up discontent!

SARAH (to Gloria): We're safe—he doesn't know about the strike!

JOHN: Thank God this is not going to go any further. (Seizes Gloria) Listen, darling—it's all a lie! It's a plot against our happiness! Don't you want children?

GLORIA: Oh, John—happy birthday.

SARAH (takes Gloria's arm): Yes, happy returns—now you'll have to excuse us.

JOHN: Don't touch her!

SARAH: Gloria's not your property yet!

JOHN: Be very careful. There are laws to take care of people like you—new ones every day!

SARAH: "We are not bound to obey laws in which we have no representation"—Abigail Adams, 1776.

JOHN: Darling, forget this woman—let me take you home now!

GLORIA: I can't—tomorrow I'll explain!

JOHN: Tomorrow! Do you think I could live through the night?

GLORIA: Please, John—what I'm doing is for us! It's for all men and women!

JOHN: Gloria, the male spirit shrivels when deprived of the confidence, the trust, of the female. I tell you this thing is wrong—you scoff at my words! Of course, you can't know how you're hurting me—but I'll have to break off our engagement.

GLORIA: No!

JOHN: Then come home with me now!

GLORIA: Oh!

SARAH: Gloria!

JOHN: My darling, my angel, my sweet—is this the end, or only the beginning?

GLORIA: It's—the beginning.

SARAH: And the end of your independence! (Gloria is seized with a terrible fit)

JOHN: My God! It can't be hopeless?

SARAH: Precisely—it's hopeless for you! Women will soon be moving as one, and men will either move over—or go under, and learn for yourselves what it is to be kept for pleasure and breeding. (Exit, helping Gloria)

JOHN: Hideous affliction! But if it's too late to save Gloria, what must I do to spare others the same fate?

Scene iv

MOM (enters): John!

JOHN: Mrs. Pennybank! You—here!
MOM: I've found another paper! (Hands it to him)

JOHN: "Strike meeting, eight o'clock." Strike meeting—oh, no! What hellish vision rises before me?

MOM: It's ten to eight now!

JOHN: After you . . . We haven't a moment to lose!

(Exeunt, Chase scene)

Scene v: A Hall in San Francisco

(Music: "There once was a union maid." Sarah and Gloria enter; Gloria mounts soap-box)

GLORIA: My sisters! We are here to decide whether women are human. Men struggle to make themselves more than they are—women struggle to make themselves less. We all know "masculinity" is a screen for men's weakness; well, "femininity" is a drug that makes obedient slaves. And when I say we're slaves, I'm not just talking about housewives; for those of you who think equality comes with a career, our average wage is 50 per cent of men's, and a woman with a college degree earns less than the average white male high school dropout—but I'm not just talking about wages. I'm talking about every woman who assumes she's worth less than a man—and we all know that's every woman here, regardless of how much she's paid, or how many token privileges separate her from her sisters!

SARAH: Women aren't the only slaves in this country—a few men own all the others, and they use sex like race, to keep the people divided. We say goodbye to all that. We want an end to private ownership of people. We want our own names. We want free choice of work, love, and when to have children. We demand equal education, free and safe birth control—

GLORIA: No experiments—

SARAH: Free abortion—

GLORIA: Not just freedom for male doctors to decide.

SARAH: We demand guaranteed maternity leave, so a woman doesn't have to choose between a job and a child; and free child care, so she doesn't have to buy the right to work. We demand these things as basic rights. We demand freedom for all people, and we know our rulers are not going to give it to us. (Enter John and Mom) So it's up to us: we've got to show the men that drive this machine where the power is that runs it.

JOHN: Gloria!

GLORIA: That means—strike! That means—women, say no—stop typing, stop filing, stop taking orders, stop serving, stop spending, and start moving—

SARAH: Until we have a society where free choice is a right, not a privilege—where the necessities of life aren't commodities—where no person needs to be dependent on another, because all are equally dependent on all!

GLORIA: Free our sisters!

SARAH: Free ourselves! (Exit, leading chants)

JOHN: My worst nightmare come true!

MOM: ShriII voices! Raised fists! Anger is so unbecoming—for the first time in my life, I'm ashamed of my sex. Oh, what would Gloria's father say, if he knew about this?

(Exeunt)

Act III

Scene i: Two weeks later

Office of the Chamber of Commerce

(Walter enters, distraught. Steady chant of "Strike, strike, strike" in background)

WALTER: My fellow Americans—at this moment we face a serious challenge to our free, competitive way of life. Management has three choices of how to respond. One, we could do nothing, and be destroyed. Management has rejected this option. Two, we could unleash all the mighty forces at our disposal, and destroy everybody. We don't like that one either. Or three, we can do what I intend to do. This may not be the easy way, but it is the right way. Let me make one thing perfectly clear. In this crisis, man-
iment will not behave like a pitiful, helpless giant. We will behave like a merciless and cunning giant, and God help the underdog. (Doorbell rings) Aha—our operation begins. Miss Jones! (Doorbell rings again) Miss Jones! (Rings again) Miss J—dagnab! I keep forgetting. Come in!

Enter John, totally disheveled. Walter sniffs at a bad smell.)

JOHN: Forgive my appearance, sir. I had to come through the sewers.

WALTER: Take off the coat, Beefheart!

JOHN: Er—it's Cartfart, sir.

WALTER: Cartfart?

JOHN: Er—Heartfart! No—Heartright! That's it.

WALTER: Well, Heartcart, you know why I've sent for you?

JOHN: Something to do with the . . . strike?

WALTER: They've got 100,000 women on strike. It's cost this city $10,000,000 so far. Money that could have been spent on poverty programs. Money that could have cleaned our polluted environment.

JOHN: And because of my relationship with—

WALTER: Money that now is rotting in the banks! We can't move it! For the first time in my life, I can't make anything happen!

JOHN: Sir, there is one thing I must say—

WALTER: Money—

JOHN: As Gloria's (sighs) former fiancé, my first loyalty must be—

WALTER: Money that could have doubled the salary of every man in this city!

JOHN: —to the American Way of Life!

WALTER: I never doubted it, son. Let's be realistic and consider where those women would lead us—free abortions, free telephones, free transportation, free child care—free Bobby! Equal work, of course, is out of the question. You can't put men in those jobs.

JOHN: Men wouldn't take them! This can't mean you're going to give in?

WALTER: Not completely—after all, we still own everything. But it does mean we can't get around equal pay. We'll have to cut men's salaries.

JOHN: You couldn't cut—profit?

WALTER: You mean capital expansion? Are you suggesting we castrate the American eagle?

JOHN: I wasn't thinking.

WALTER: You'd better start, my boy—their bargaining committee will be here any minute.

JOHN: All right, sir—tell me what I must do.

(Walter whispers; John briefly protests, but is convinced)

WALTER: That's it, son. (Doorbell rings) The enemy's trumpet! Into my inner office. Be square, my boy, and obey the law of the pack.

(John exits with Boy Scout salute)

Scene ii

(Sarah and Gloria enter)

WALTER: Good morning! Are you girls looking for work?

GLORIA: Equal work!

WALTER: So this is the bargaining committee. It's an honor to meet two such dedicated ladies. (To Gloria) You look like a dangerous adversary! (Aside): She would be—if we were alone!

SARAH: Spare us your compliments. You know our demands.

WALTER: Yes: "free everything." I find them excessive. Management is prepared to make a generous offer. (Aside): I wouldn't care to be alone with this one!

GLORIA: Pretty generous, giving us what we've won!

WALTER: Spunky—I like that! (Aside): Where have
I seen a face like that before?

SARAH (to Gloria): It seems your appeal has reached management.

GLORIA: Ugh—I hate older men!

WALTER: Who is tidying the home? Who is washing the clothes, who is taking care of junior, while women are out parading in the streets? Management doesn't think any man should have to carry two jobs, so it is acting fast to bring women back to their posts.

GLORIA: We are waiting for your offer!

WALTER: I'm confident we can work out an agreement. But first, meet the other half of management's team. (He lifts the curtain, revealing John with pistol to temple)

GLORIA: Oh, no!

SARAH: Curses—foiled again by this idiot!

JOHN: Gloria, please renounce your demands.

GLORIA: What does this mean?

WALTER: It means that at least one American boy is not a curly-haired crybaby communist!

SARAH: It means male supremacy is the foundation of capitalism.

WALTER: Harrumph! (Prompting John): "But when you threaten . . ."

JOHN: But when you threaten every red-blooded man in this country, when you attack the foundations of the American economy—that's when I come out fighting. Either you sign this paper (holds out paper), or I blow my brains out.

SARAH: Tear it up. The gun probably isn't loaded.

WALTER: Does she want to find out?

GLORIA (reads): "The San Francisco Women's Union hereby acknowledges its previous error in proclaiming the equality of the sexes. Henceforth our organization recognizes the leadership of the male. In addition, its members agree to return to work at previous rates of pay." Why don't you shoot me?

JOHN: I couldn't.

GLORIA: But you're asking me to betray 100,000 women out there!

WALTER: What're 100,000 women, against one brave man who loves you? By God, if I still had some lead in my pencil . . . I'd do the same!

SARAH: Love—the tender trap to pacify women!

WALTER (to John): If you live, I'll see you get a raise to start a good life with her.

JOHN: I couldn't look you in the face if I weren't man enough to do this.

GLORIA: The man I love—or everything I've worked for!

SARAH: Choose—your master or your independence! (All look at Gloria; she does not quiver) Tear it up!

GLORIA: I can't—love is stronger.

(John lowers gun)

WALTER: Thank God—just sign here.

SARAH: Not so fast! (She has them covered with a
... Magnum) Now—tear it up. (To John who starts to raise gun): Drop that or I'll blow your hand off. (He drops it. Walter tears paper) Now, we're going to write a new statement—one that puts the Women's Union at the head of every company in San Francisco; equal pay, equal work and equal power.

WALTER (clutches chest): Ugh—my wallet... I think it's my heart.

SARAH: But first we must arm our troops. Call the commander of the National Guard. Tell him you're sending 100,000 women over—tell him they're strike-breakers—ha ha—and tell him you want them armed. Dare to win! Thus do we accomplish in minutes what I thought would take years to achieve! Go on—call!

JOHN: You can't do it, sir! It will mean revolution!

WALTER: The woman is crazy—she'll kill us!

SARAH: "Where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself."—Mao Tse-Tung.

WALTER: "I don't understand these young people."—Pat Nixon, 1969.

SARAH: Make that call!

Scene iv

MOM (offstage, calls): Gloria!

GLORIA (reviving): Mom?

MOM (enters): I have something to say.

WALTER (overjoyed): Matilda? And (looks at Gloria) —oh, no!

MOM (radiant): Walter!

WALTER (joy ebbing): Matilda?

MOM (radiance fading): Walter?

WALTER (picking up John's gun): Matilda!

MOM (jerocious): Walter!

WALTER: Argh... (Dies elaborately of a heart attack)

(Funeral march plays)

GLORIA: Dad?

MOM: I thought if you two knew each other, you might work things out.

GLORIA: Now there's no one to sign anything!

SARAH (who has turned her back in disgust): Even death's a male chauvinist!

WALTER (revives): Truer than you think! (He shoots her and falls back down)

GLORIA (catching Sarah as she falls): Sarah! Darling! Say something!

SARAH: My last curse—'Their own works will destroy them.' And my epitaph: "Shot in her back for refusing to live on it." (Dies. Mom and John move toward Gloria)

GLORIA (grabs Sarah's gun): Yellow dog traitor, don't you come near me!

MOM: She's very upset.

JOHN: Darling—don't you love me?

GLORIA: I love my sisters! And my brothers—if I meet any! And I'm going out to join with everybody who wants to turn your prison homes, and your frozen minds, and your whole racist, sexist, imperialist, male system over! And we will turn it over! And when everybody's independent, we can all have our pride! (Dies. Mom and John move toward Gloria)

GLORIA (as Gloria): Coming, Mom? (Mom looks at men, then at Gloria, and exits with upraised fist)

JOHN: Is it possible I've been a fool?

WALTER (crawls back on stage and hands John the gun): Beefheart—do your duty! After them! (John exits)

WALTER (stands): The decision as to whether our free system triumphs or is destroyed lies with you young people.

(The three return together and surround him menacingly. All take their bow after audience indicates its preference)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Articles


Dudar, H., "War on Sex," Newsweek, LXXV (March 23, 1970), 71-76.

"Five Passionate Feminists," McCall's, XCVII (July, 1970), 52-55.


"What's a Ms?," Ms., (Spring; 1972), p. 4.


**Newspapers**

