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REvolution:

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This is a summary of NOW's existing resolutions and policies by issue. It can be used to acquaint Chapter members with NOW's policies prior to the National Conference. Use this in conjunction with the workbook for action you received earlier to hold pre-Conference discussions with your Chapter. Only if all members are well acquainted with existing policies can we move forward at the 1973 Conference to devise strategy to implement these policies, as well as making any new policy we might need.

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I EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW

A. Equal Rights Amendment

Passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution *without amendment*:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

B. Civil Rights

1. Add sex discrimination prohibitions to Titles II (public accommodations), III, IV (public education), VI (federal funding) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. (Oct., 1966)
2. Legislation to include women on all commissions, boards and other appointive bodies. (Oct., 1966)
3. Broaden Civil Rights Commission mandate to include sex discrimination in its studies. (Oct., 1966)
4. Inclusion of sex in all new Civil Rights legislation, where relevant. (Oct., 1966)
5. Broaden Civil Rights Commission mandate to include study and reports on sex discrimination. (Dec., 1968)
6. 1968 Housing Law should be added to include prohibition of sex discrimination as well as race, religion, national origin based discrimination. Sex discrimination prohibitions should also be added to all state and local housing laws. (Dec., 1968)
7. State legislation establishing Commissions on the Status of Women. (March, 1970)
8. Study and initiate positive changes in action policies and hiring practices of all human and civil rights agencies as they relate to women. (Sept., 1971)
9. Equalizing social security and other social benefits laws eliminating distinctions based on sex. (Oct., 1966)

II ECONOMIC EQUALITY

A. Report of the Compliance Task Force. September, 1971 – September, 1972

At the September, 1971, National Conference, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That NOW rename its *Task Force on Federal Compliance* to the *Task Force on Compliance* and that part of the work of that task force be to study and initiate positive changes in the action policies and hiring practices of all human and civil rights agencies as they relate to women; and that NOW establish a caucus of its members employed by or members of civil and human rights agencies in order to combat blatant sex discrimination and the indifference towards women's rights that exists within these agencies; and that NOW urge NOW chapters to establish similar caucuses at state and local levels to work with state and local agencies.
2. The NOW urge the House Government Operations Committee to hold hearings to evaluate federal enforcement against sex discrimination in its internal and public programs, covering all agencies and executive departments, including evaluation of their in-house programs, enforcement programs and procedures, enforcement records and allocation of resources, and that the Conference direct the Compliance Task Force to adopt the securing of these hearings as its immediate priority.
3. That NOW request a meeting with the U. S. Civil Rights Commission to inform them of our program to secure extension of their mandate to include jurisdiction over sex discrimination with the necessary increase in appropriations, and NOW offer information and assistance to the CRC in developing relevant policies and programs to protect and secure women's rights.
4. That NOW call upon the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) to amend its rules and regulations to require Federal Contractors to issue a semiannual progress report on their Affirmative Action plans to all affected classes in their employment and to the public whose taxes finance their contracts.
5. That NOW support passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Enforcement Act without weakening amendments, to grant cease and desist enforcement authority to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), and to cover teachers and federal, state and local employees.
6. That NOW demand that the Department of Labor adopt the provision of childcare facilities as a work place standard, and that OFCC include the requirement to provide child care as an ingredient of Affirmative Action Programs.
7. That NOW oppose any state, federal, county or municipal employment law or program giving special preference to veterans.
8. That NOW demand of General Services Administration (GSA), Small Business Administration (SBA), and the Department of Commerce that the advantages of the Minority Business Enterprise Program be extended to women of all races and that all such federal programs, now or in the future, define the word "minority" to include women of all races.
9. That NOW demand that the Department of Labor drop the term "Manpower" and substitute a non-sexist term like "Workpower."
10. That NOW insist the following federally required form – EEO-1, breakout of the workforce, which shows the pattern of employment in a company with relation to race, ethnic group and sex, EEO-2, union membership, EEO-3, participants of Joint Apprenticeship Committee-sponsored apprenticeship programs – be made public documents. Such public reporting may be made on the basis of a percentage of the total workforce.

11. That NOW call on the EEOC to issue an immediate ruling prohibiting applications that require information on sex, including given name of the applicant, and that NOW demand that the EEOC prohibit questions concerning marital or parental plans or status and other such invasions of privacy from pre-employment inquiries of any sort.
12. That NOW urge the EEOC, OFCC, and CSC sponsor conferences or educational forums on discrimination against women for employers, public and private employment agencies, college and university placement offices, labor unions and government agencies.
13. That NOW call upon the EEOC to withdraw from circulation its publication "Equal Job Opportunities — A National Goal" until it is revised to eliminate such sexist phrases as "appoint a man" and until it includes guides for affirmative action for equal opportunities for women, and to review all publications and to withdraw all other such sexist publications.
14. That NOW demand that the OFCC, EEOC, and the Wage and Hour Division prohibit employers from discriminating against women by issuing immediate rulings requiring employers to provide equal contributions and equal benefits in all fringe benefit programs, including retirement programs.
15. That NOW calls upon that Office of Management and Budget immediately to issue Form A as proposed by OFCC with the inclusion of women in items concerning promotions.
16. That NOW calls upon the Office of Management and Budget to evaluate Equal Opportunity Enforcement Programs for women as they are now so doing for the other minorities.

Since the September, 1971 Conference, letters, phone calls, and/or personal visits from members of the Task Force, from NOW National Officers, and/or from others, have brought the following successes in the above areas: (coupled with the efforts of others)

1. Representative Edith Green has convened a Federal panel to hear testimony in cities around the country on discrimination against women in the federal government.
2. An act granting jurisdiction over sex to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission is before Congress with reasonable certainty of passage.
3. Although OFCC has not yet amended its rules and regulations to require that affirmative action programs be made public, some compliance agencies (e. g. HEW) have taken this position.
4. The Equal Employment Opportunity Enforcement Act of 1972 passed Congress and was signed into law in March, granting EEOC the right to go to court for enforcement, and extending the coverage of Title VII to state and local government employees. The law also allows individuals and groups to file on behalf of others, extends the period of filing from 90 to 180 days, and grants coverage (although not under EEOC jurisdiction) to federal employees. NOW has been credited by many, including EEOC officials, with primary credit for the passage of this law.
5. The Department of Labor adopted the provision of childcare facilities as a work place standard.
6. NOW has continually opposed law giving preference to Veterans, its most recent efforts being directed against the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. These laws continue on the books, largely because of the strong influence of Veterans organizations.
7. We have demanded of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise of the Department of Commerce that they include women of all races in their definition of minority. In recent weeks this office compounded the problem by including veterans among the groups to be given preference for SBA loans and set-asides. They have not yet included women of all races, but it appears from their responses to our letters that we have raised the consciousness of this office.
8. President Heide has been doing a most effective job of convincing people to use non-sexist terms such as "human-power" and "workpower." Department of Labor, unfortunately, has not yet seen the light.
9. EEOC has begun to revise some of its literature per our requests. Just recently, in response to a direct request by letter, they altered one of the tables in a statistical report to show breakdowns for white women.
10. The new EEOC sex discrimination guidelines specifically forbid sex discrimination in fringe benefit and retirement programs.
11. The Higher Education Act of 1972 was passed, prohibiting sex discrimination in admissions and financial aid in colleges and universities receiving federal funds.
12. Amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act were passed, extending equal pay coverage to 15 million professional, executive, and technical workers, and bringing household workers under the minimum wage.
13. Revised Order No. 4 was issued by the OFCC in December, 1971, extending the provisions of Order No. 4 to women.

Recommendations:

A specific policy is needed regarding the amount of individual mail a task force coordinator can reasonably be expected to answer, and what to do about NOW's image should coordinators simply stop answering their mail. At the rate mail comes in now, there is no time left to coordinate task force actions and advise chapters.

This task force could easily get by with *no further* resolutions for at least a couple of years. Our lines of responsibility and policy statements in the area of compliance are quite clearly drawn. I do not feel further clarification is needed at this time.

Resolutions should not be quite so specific. The Coordinator should be left free to design and modify actions based on current progress, agency awareness, and chapter feedback. Having specific actions so elaborately spelled out leaves the coordinator with no room for flexibility or new actions which might be more profitable.

Conference resolutions should state broad policy within which the most effective action can be determined by the coordinator and the task force members.

MARY LYNN MYERS

II ECONOMIC EQUALITY (Cont'd)

B. Labor Standards

1. Extension of Fair Labor Standards Acts and Equal Pay Acts to cover all workers (Dec., 1968) including all public and private employment. (Oct., 1966)
2. Support the amendment of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to require equal pay for equal work for female professional, executive or administrative positions. (Mar., 1970)
3. Extension of the minimum wage act to cover all workers. (Mar., 1970)
4. Extend the protections that are granted under state "Protective" labor laws that are genuinely needed to men; abolish the obsolete restrictions that today operate to the economic disadvantages of women by depriving them of equal opportunity. (Oct., 1966, Nov., 1967, Dec., 1968, Mar., 1970)
Ask Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, to conduct educational program on how state "protective" laws are now discriminatory and used against women and to promote the policy that "protective" laws, where necessary, must apply equally to men and women. (Dec., 1968)
5. Department of Labor substitute a non-sexist term like "Workpower" for Manpower.

C. Employment and the Family.

1. There be an end to discrimination in employment against those who choose to participate fully in family life; and that employers may neither require unpaid services from an employee's spouse nor discriminate against an unmarried person. (Sept., 1971)
2. Campaign to eliminate, by federal and state law, discrimination on the basis of maternity. Provide paid maternity leave as a form of social security for all working mothers, with the right to return to her job. (Oct., 1966) Help stop discrimination against teachers for pregnancy. (Nov., 1967)
3. That present employee benefits, including maternity leave and child care facilities, be extended to both men and women and that NOW work for such non-sexist goals as "parent leave" instead of maternity leave. (Sept., 1971)
4. Child care facilities for working parents. (Oct., 1966, Dec., 1968) Full deduction of child care expenses from income tax, (Oct., 1966) whether listed as dependent or not. (Dec., 1968)

D. Help-Wanted Ads

1. Demand replacement of the EEOC guidelines on employment advertisements. (Oct., 1966; it was replaced.) Set a date for national action on segregated help-wanted ads, picketing or asking the President to intervene. (Nov., 1967) Pressure local newspapers to develop or expand joint male/female columns. (Dec., 1968) Take every means possible to press for prompt enactment and enforcement of the EEOC guidelines for desegregating the help wanted ads and that NOW shall combat the American Newspaper Publishers Association suit against the EEOC with every means at our disposal. (Dec., 1968) Continue confrontations with publishers, picketing, filing complaints with local civil rights commissions. We would like to see a NOW chapter or member prove that a newspaper does exercise judgment in accepting and printing classified ads by trying to place a racist and sexist help wanted ad. (Mar., 1970)

E. Conferences, Coalitions & Training

1. Assistance to women in any industry or profession in the organization of conferences or demonstrations to protest policies or conditions which discriminate against them; to open avenues of advancement to the decision-making power structure from which they are now barred, whether it be from executive training courses, the main line of promotion that leads to corporate presidencies or full professorships, or the road to union leadership. (Oct., 1966)
2. Campaign to open new avenues of upgrading and on-the-job training for women now segregated in dead-end clerical, secretarial, and menial jobs in government, industry, hospitals, factories and offices — providing them training in new technological skills, equally with men and new means of access to administrative and professional levels. (Oct., 1966) See also Women in Poverty.

3. All chapters develop employment conferences on employment problems to implement NOW policy on equal opportunity in employment and disseminate information on problems in opportunity for employment and promotions, wages, hours, working conditions, protective laws, fringe benefits. (Pension, leave, etc.) (Dec., 1968)
4. Chapters should work with local labor unions, particularly when many union members are women, to get ideas and enlist support for joint action. Chapters should also contact other women's organizations (BPW, National Council of Women, Negro Women's groups) to attempt to use group pressure to combat sex discrimination in employment. (Dec., 1968)
5. Urge expansion of service occupations such as shopper service, wardrobe tenders, development of "practical mothers" (like practical nurses) etc. (Oct., 1966)
6. Offer career counseling to all women. (Mar., 1970)

F. Talent Banks

Develop Executive banks of able women so when employers indicate willingness to hire women, but claim they can't find qualified women, NOW can supply them with names. (Dec., 1968)

G. Women in Business

1. Encourage and support the formation of businesses for women and women in business. (Mar., 1970)
2. Provide information on securing Small Business Administration loans and obtaining government contracts available to minority businesses. (Mar., 1970)
3. Encourage and suggest procedures for women who wish to pool money to form economic co-ops for businesses, etc. (Mar., 1970)
4. Urge repeal of state and local laws which deny women the same freedoms, conditions and privileges as men have for borrowing money, owning real estate, and operating businesses. (Mar., 1970)
5. That NOW develop lists of business and professional women and businesses owned by women on national and local levels and disseminate them for the purpose of encouraging support of the businesses or practices of such women. (Sept., 1971)

H. Age Discrimination

Campaign against age discrimination, which operates as a particularly serious handicap for women re-entering the labor market after rearing children, and which is imbued with the denigrating image of women viewed solely as sex objects in instances such as the forcing of airlines stewardesses to resign before the age of 32. (Oct., 1966)

I. Veteran's preference

That NOW oppose any state, federal, county, or municipal employment law or program giving special preference to veterans. (Sept. 1971)

J. Income Tax, Social Security and Retirement

1. Eliminate tax provisions which discriminate against single persons;
2. child care deductions, as above.
3. Revise social security laws to eliminate discrimination against divorced women and working wives. (See also Marriage and the Family)
4. Revise retirement and pension plans to eliminate sex discrimination. (Dec., 1968)
5. Demand that OFCC, EEOC and Wage and Hour Division prohibit employers from discriminating against women by issuing immediate rulings requiring employers to provide equal contributions and equal benefits in all fringe programs, including retirement. (Sept., 1971)
6. Amend the Social Security Act to provide benefits to husbands and widowers of deceased and disabled women workers under the same conditions as they are provided to wives and widows, and to provide more equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives. Guarantee husbands and children of women employees of the Federal Government the same fringe benefits provided for wives and children of male employees. Provide tax deductions for child-care expenses incurred in the home. (April, 1971 board meeting)

K. Report of the Women and Volunteerism Task Force, October, 1972

1. NOW's standpoint on volunteerism.

The 1971 NOW Conference passed the following resolution:

that NOW distinguish between (1) voluntary activities which serve to maintain woman's dependent and secondary status on the one hand, and (2) change-directed activities which lead to more active participation in the decision making process;

that NOW seek to raise the consciousness of women engaged in these volunteer activities, so that they use their "volunteer power" in an effort to change policies detrimental to the interests of women.

NOW thus makes a rough dicotomy between *service volunteering* and volunteering for change. NOW encourages the latter kind which is in essence citizens' participation in the democratic process.

The first kind, which is the kind women usually do, is simply public services which are performed by non-paid personnel. Or it is charity which is dispensed as a supplement to the public service sector. For women it is also often memberships in auxiliaries or clubs which serve to aid their husband's careers.

Service-volunteering has been surrounded by an ideology which asserts that women's superior morality and aptitude for service make them particularly suited to serve as the unpaid conscience of the nation. Community service is in essence housekeeping on a large scale, and has been considered a fitting occupation for the nation's housekeepers.

NOW's position may be summarized as follows:

"Volunteering for women is yet another form of activity which serves to reinforce the second-class status of women; which is one more instance of the ongoing exploitation of women; which takes jobs from the labor market, and therefore divides middle class from poor and working women which buttresses the structures which are keeping women in a subordinate role; which is antithetical to the goals of the feminist movement and thus detrimental to the liberation of women."

2. Implementation

As a first step, a pamphlet which contained the resolution, position-paper and other pertinent material was prepared and circulated among the NOW membership. It has also received a great deal of attention outside of membership ranks.

A plan to implement the second point — "that NOW seek to raise the consciousness of women engaged in these volunteer activities, so that they use their 'volunteer power' in an effort to change policies detrimental to the interests of women" — is presently in progress. A new pamphlet has been prepared which is directed especially to the volunteer, and chapter task-force coordinators are asked to distribute the pamphlet as widely as possible within the volunteer world. This should have the effect of stimulating discussion on the local level, where each task-force coordinator may plan her campaign in whatever way is most suitable for that local area; she may engage speakers, arrange discussion-meetings with volunteer leaders, solicit articles for publication, etc.

3. Goals for 1973 conference

The above-mentioned campaign should be well underway at the time of the 1973 conference. A workshop on Women and Volunteerism should at that point decide whether NOW's position needs to be augmented by further resolutions. It may be expected that NOW should take an official standpoint on the effort to give certain kinds of volunteering tax-deductible status. Three bills to this effect are presently pending in Washington. All three limit tax-deductions to service-volunteering, *calculated at minimum wage*.

L. Women in Poverty

1. NOW will work to insure that all federal poverty-related programs, including the JOB CORPS and MDTA, shall be administered without discrimination on the basis of sex and shall provide serious training for disadvantaged girls and women, as well as boys and men, in order that they may take a rewarding and productive role in society. We will fight the current practice of ignoring women and girls in such government programs; of providing them with training, under the MDTA, of only the beauty care or unskilled clerical sort that is not geared to the future or even to the hope of adequate pay. (Oct., 1966) See Emp.
2. Recommendation for a conference on "Women in Poverty" (Nov., 1967)
3. Since it is the right of all to employment and there are not enough jobs, we support a shortened work week which will open more jobs to women and allow more men to spend more time in the home. (Mar., 1970) We support full employment and when the private economy cannot provide decent jobs, the public economy must. We look to the future by supporting in principle a guaranteed income. (Mar., 1970)
4. NOW demand the removal of such derogatory terms as bastard, illegitimate, and unwed mother from national, state, and local statutes dealing with welfare and other concerns of women in poverty. (Sept., 1971)
5. NOW insists that no woman be denied public assistance or services for refusal to identify the father of her child. (Sept., 1971)
6. NOW will actively work to oppose efforts such as bills to force women to accept involuntary sterilization which take away a woman's right to control her own reproductive life. (Sept., 1971)

7. NOW demand equal participation in planning and implementation of voluntary job training programs and equal opportunity for placement of all job training programs. (Sept., 1971) That NOW chapters be encouraged to investigate fraud perpetrated on women by programs such as WIN, Manpower (MDTA), On Job Training and Job Corps. (Sept., 1971)
8. NOW demand the government at all levels take immediate and effective action to end the exploitation of women by organized crime. (Sept., 1971)
9. NOW actively opposes the current proposed Family Assistance Plan because it guarantees an income below the poverty level as set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, it would deprive a woman of freedom of choice by forcing her to accept menial employment and a wage below the federally set minimum wage rather than staying home caring for her children. (Sept., 1971)
10. Whereas, U. S. Census figures show that 10% of all families & 20% of all households are headed by women and the great majority of such families is near or below the poverty line and that poverty among such families increased throughout the 1960's while poverty among males declined sharply, and whereas, this poverty is frequently caused by the double burden imposed on the person who must both care for and financially support children, and whereas, court awarded child support is very often not enforced or inadequately enforced (as documented for example by the Task Force on Absent Parent Child Support of the Ca. Social Welfare Comm.) and whereas, a parent in poverty bearing the double burden of care and support, deprived of adequate enforcement of support orders often has no other recourse than to apply for welfare,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: that NOW press for legislation and establishment of procedures which will alleviate this double burden and afford those so burdened a means whereby they may avoid having to apply for welfare, including the following:

- a. Equitable sharing of child support by parents who are financially able.
 - b. Genuine enforcement of child support laws and orders
 - c. Establishment and maintenance of enforcing agencies adequately staffed by trained and motivated personnel and sufficiently funded.
 - d. Immediate payment of support directly to the parent.
 - e. Where support is not immediately forthcoming from the assessed spouse, that courts order such payments be paid immediately from public funds, with appropriate means taken to recover such payments from the assessed.
 - f. Complete deductibility from all income taxes of all payments for child care.
 - g. Prevention of similar poverty in the future by providing education for all persons that enables them to be economically independent and encourages them to achieve full human potential. (Sept., 1971).
11. Because 2/3 of the American people over 16 who live in poverty are women and because the impact of inflation on women in this country is particularly severe and because NOW is opposed to a wage-price freeze without controls on profit and interest while the government continues to hand out tax rebates to big business, NOW resolves to call on women and the labor movement to take the initiative in formulating a more effective and equitable program for combatting inflation than that which is embodied in the administration's economic stabilization package; specifically, a more equitable program should rectify the two major weaknesses of the existing government policy:
 - a. that it favors the interests of profit receivers over those of wage earners,
 - b. that it froze the existing wage structure with its many inequities and in particular those which discriminate against women;
 and we also resolve that any structure set up to deal with this problem should reflect the sex compositions of the population as well as consumers, labor, etc. (Sept., 1971)

M. Minority Women

1. That NOW supports all women in their struggle for equal rights and recognizes the double oppression of minority women and so adds a national task force on minority women for the purpose of making coalitions with organizations of minority women to support them on common issues. (Sept., 1971)
2. NOW recognizes the right of all to employment and also that there are not enough jobs currently in this country so that minority men and women and white women are forced to struggle for the limited number of jobs available. We also recognize that minority women are often particularly discriminated against on account of both race and sex. We therefore go on record as supporting minority women where there is common ground and abhor all efforts to divide us as disadvantaged groups. (Sept., 1971)
3. Government Services Administration, Small Business Administration and the Department of Commerce extend the advantages of the Minority Business Enterprise Program to women of all races and that all such federal programs, now or in the future, define "minority" to include women of all races. (Sept., 1971)

N. Report of the Taxes and Credit Task Force – October, 1972

Summary of the Problem and NOW's Position

Under the present state of law, women effectively have no credit rights in this country, and are viewed by lending, financial and retailing institutions as mere wards or appendages of the husband. Regardless of how creditworthy a woman is and even if she is the chief family wage earner, creditors generally will issue credit only in the husband's name. It is very difficult for a woman to get a loan without a male signature and then the male signer is considered to be the "principal borrower" with his credit rating the basis for qualifying the loan. Even single women are not granted credit on the same terms as men. It has been documented that a single man has a much better chance of receiving a loan or higher credit line than a single woman of the same means and circumstances, including identical income and occupation. Thus, all women are detrimentally affected: widowed and divorced women in particular have great difficulty since the credit follows the former husband and they are left with no credit rating or economic viability so necessary in this credit-oriented economy.

As for taxes, women are expected to *pay* equally but when it comes to the benefits women receive less. For example, female employees covered by pension and social security plans often find that though they contributed at the same rate as their male counterparts, they receive smaller pension checks for equal contributions than the male employee receives, and moreover that they are denied spouse's survivor benefits for their husbands which male employees are guaranteed for their wives. Additionally, present income tax law works to penalize married women who work by punitively taxing a two income family at a higher rate than two single individuals making the same income. The penalty for a two job marriage becomes increasingly severe as the two incomes become higher and more equal.

NOW believes that there should be equal credit access and financial opportunity for all persons without regard to sex or marital status, and that tax systems and laws should not maintain sex-based differences in application. NOW seeks to eliminate all discriminatory and punitive tax and social security retirement plan provisions which presume women to be dependent adjuncts of male workers.

Major Activities of the Task Force to October 1, 1972

- (1) Development of credit committees and task forces within chapters. These committees are surveying practices of local creditors, lenders, and financial institutions and are organizing actions.
- (2) Presentation of testimony before the National Commission on Consumer Finance in Washington, D. C., May 22-23, 1972, documenting the refusal of major creditors and lenders to grant credit or loans to women.
- (3) Widespread distribution of documentative and consciousness-raising information to national media, organizations and individuals.

Evaluation of Activities

- (1) The activities of chapters and individual women in resisting discriminatory credit and loan policies and the National Commission on Consumer Finance hearings has given the problem a national focus generating long overdue public exposure to these unfair practices. This exposure seems to be succeeding in raising the awareness of women to their real lack of rights and freedom to transact business on the same basis as men do.
- (2) Legislation is being drafted and introduced at local, state and federal levels. Nationally, Representative Bella Abzug has introduced House Bills No. HR15546, HR15547 and HR15548 which would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in credit and lending practices. These bills presently sit in Wright Patman's House Banking and Currency Committee.
- (3) At least one government agency, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which was maintaining a sex discriminatory guideline to banks (calling for exclusion of one half the wife's income in determining effective income for a mortgage), has revised its discriminatory guideline.

Suggested Goals for 1973

- (1) Support and passage of the Abzug bills and passage of similar legislation on local and state levels.
- (2) The filing of charges by individuals with the Federal Trade Commission offices throughout the country on every instance of sex discrimination by creditors and lending institutions. Although the Federal Trade Commission in the past has largely ignored the problems of women in obtaining credit, women should press for relief with this government agency in 1973 as this agency appears to already have sufficient authority to remedy unfair credit restraint.
- (3) A major national action against a large chain retailer or bank card system whose sex discriminatory practices have been documented.
- (4) The filing of a legal action. One chapter of NOW is currently considering the feasibility of such a suit on a class action basis.

Lynne C. Litwiller, Coordinator

O. Report of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) Task Force – October, 1972

At its fifth annual conference held in Los Angeles, NOW resolved "that the NOW FCC Committee be expanded to be able to provide assistance to local chapters" in gathering evidence, filing petitions to deny licenses of broadcasters and "to insure that the FCC guarantee fair treatment of women (image, programming, and employment) in the broadcasting industry."

In the fall of 1971 and early spring of 1972, the task force concerned itself primarily with developing a workable national strategy, based on the legal arguments delineated by former FCC Committee Chair-One, Nancy Stanley in the November 1971 *Hastings Law Review*. (Essentially, there are 3 basic arguments, which we refer to as (1) Ascertainment,¹ (2) Fairness,² and (3) Employment.³) In developing the national strategy, we consulted with Citizens Communications Center, which had had experience in filing legal challenges on behalf of minority and other groups. It became apparent that the most effective, if not only, time a group could take action was during the license renewal period or at the time of a transfer (when a licensee sells its station to another company and the buyer must seek FCC approval). We then developed an information kit which included an outline of women's basic legal arguments against broadcasters and a simplified explanation of the legal and non-legal strategies chapters might employ – during both the renewal and interim time periods. (*Report of actions taken relative to FCC are available from National Office. Length prevents its inclusion here.*)

In summary, I feel at this time that we have taken significant steps toward the goals of providing assistance to chapters in filing petitions to deny and taking other actions and in working with the FCC. The annual conference resolution "to insure that the FCC guarantee fair treatment of women . . ." is unrealistic at present – the FCC doesn't guarantee fair treatment to anyone but broadcasters. Nevertheless, broadcasters themselves are highly reluctant to tie themselves up with legal challenges and are beginning to respond, sometimes substantively, to our pressure.

Since NOW is getting to be rather well-known among broadcasters, they are increasingly contacting local NOW chapters in ascertainment interviews. This development raises some strategic problems: broadcasters can thus claim they *have* consulted with women's rights groups and hence put serious holes into or complicate our ascertainment argument. Our next immediate objective is to put together information for chapters on what to do when contacted for an ascertainment interview and how to negotiate. A newsletter will be going out shortly.

One final note: I have become increasingly aware of the importance of public pressure on the FCC as a necessary complement to our legal actions. For example, the FCC is beginning to take some affirmative steps regarding children's programming because it received over 100,000 letters regarding its children's programming rule-making. Neither the FCC nor the U. S. Court of Appeals is going to understand nor deal with adequately our fairness arguments (in the long run the most important) unless the image of women really becomes a hot issue. I am most in need of advice and assistance on this problem. I have thought about the possibility of NOW's convincing the Women's Bureau, the Women's Action Program of HEW, and congresswomen to hold a large conference – or something – to draw together sociologists, psychologists, feminists, etc. to make a public to-do about the problem. One goal (and there is precedent in children's programming and violence) might be to get the Surgeon General to do a study on the impact of the broadcasting media on the public health problem of sexism.

Whitney Adams

¹ In ascertaining the problems, needs, and interests of the community, the broadcaster must meet with representatives of women, and it must air programming to meet the needs, etc. of the women's community.

² Under the Fairness Doctrine, the station must balance the traditional view of women (in the home, etc.) with portrayals of women outside the home, performing as independent, rational humans.

³ Under FCC rules, as well as Federal law, the station must afford equal employment opportunity for women. These three arguments are explained in more detail in the FCC Task Force Kit.

III EQUALITY OF EDUCATION

A. Report of Task Force on Education

Our society has encouraged females to pursue an ultimately self-defeating course in school. During the elementary and junior high school years, when girls are generally not offered the scouting and athletic outlets that most communities provide for boys, girls tend to concentrate on their school work. But upon reaching puberty, girls frequently begin to underachieve. This underachievement has been linked by researchers to the passive adult female role which is promoted and popularized by our society.

Not only have the schools failed to challenge this pattern, but they have institutionalized sex discrimination within their own structures, barring females from many of the more technical courses of instruction. If our schools are to take seriously their responsibility to teach children justice, which is basic to democracy, and logic, which is fundamental to classical education, then they can no longer permit the institutionalized discrimination and the sentiments of prejudice now directed against girls and women at every level of public and private education.

Our schools must be held accountable for the effective motivation and education of all students. Therefore, NOW urges educators and legislators to work with us toward the following goals:

- * an end to all distinctions based on sex, whether made by the board of education (in declaring sexually exclusive schools, shops, or special programs), by administrators (in hiring and promotion of personnel or in treatment of students), by instructors (in setting classroom procedures or in defining work areas for students), by guidance counselors (in college and career counseling), or by students (in limiting the membership of school-sponsored clubs);
- * the integration of all physical education courses from kindergarten through high school with athletic standards set by the entire school population, not separately by males and females, allowing all students the dignity of competing against the same standard (which will protect many males from the emotional tension and physical stress of having to perform up to an unnecessarily high male norm, but will not prevent high athletic achievers from setting new records).
- * in extra-curricular sports, the establishment of female teams in every sport for which there are male teams, and vice versa, with equal funding for both, *except* in cases where a school can demonstrate that its single varsity team has an equal representation of both sexes.
- * the provision of self-defense courses for all students;
- * the upgrading of sex education courses to include factual information on contraception and on the ecological crisis of overpopulation, and to remove all references to "ideal" or "normal" "masculine" or feminine" etiquette, social behavior and vocations;
- * the provision of contraceptive and abortion counseling in the same way that drug and draft counseling are now a part of many school programs;
- * the guarantee of continued education for the pregnant student, in her own school or in another if she prefers, during and after her pregnancy;
- * the provision of daycare facilities to enable the student mother to continue her education (the same facilities should also be available, with preference based on need, to the children of secretaries, paraprofessionals and related staff, teachers, and administrators);
- * the establishment of accredited inservice courses for teachers to study and discuss the attitudes and issues underlying sexism;
- * the distribution of bibliographies and resource manuals on women's studies to school librarians and teachers, and the supplementation of current social studies texts with women's studies materials; the establishment of female studies courses.
- * the notification of publishers that linguistic sexism and other images of girls and women presented in books for all courses and libraries will be taken into consideration on any future purchases;
- * the requirement of all companies doing business with the public schools to show employment and salary figures proving their status as equal opportunity employers for women as well as for minority racial and ethnic groups.
- * the provision of after-school supervision for children of working parents.
- * the inclusion of questions of sex discrimination on local, state, and national surveys to determine the extent of sexually exclusive schools, courses, and requirements, the comparative budgets spent on male and female instructional and athletic programs, the comparative salaries paid to male and female teachers, etc.
- * the publication of annual reports showing the number of men and the number of women holding school-related jobs at each level of rank and salary (including fellowship, loan and scholarship recipients as well as paraprofessionals, cafeteria, custodial, secretarial, and any other workers);

- * the establishment of standing committees to detect and correct all sex discrimination in the schools;
- * in early childhood education, an end to militarism, narcissism, and sexually stereotyped advertising and packaging in children's toys;
- * an end to sexist children's television programming, and the inclusion of as many positive, self-reliant female role models as there are male.

Proposed Goals, 1973

1. Publicize the Educational Amendments Act of 1972, Title IX, concentrating our efforts on it as our primary tool against educational sex discrimination, and specifically urging chapters to
 - a. locate educational institutions in their area which are receiving federal funds and determine the specific uses of these funds (e. g. textbook purchase).
 - b. determine whether these uses are sexist (if it's textbooks you can bet it is).
 - c. inform the local institution ("You must not use this textbook one more day!"), OCR's Education Division ("Withhold funds from MCP Institute because . . .") and the task force (our specialist on textbooks is Joan Bartl, Central NJ NOW).
2. Investigate the possibility of establishing an Experimental School Program to Eradicate Educational Sexism through the National Institute of Education, OE.
3. Continue 1972 goals:
 - a. have every chapter actively represented on the task force.
 - b. seek funding to produce non-sexist materials.

Anne Grant, Coordinator

B. Higher Education

1. Eliminate discrimination on college and university faculties. Encouragement of any action to require universities and colleges that are federal contractors to end discrimination against women in conformity with the guidelines of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance under Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 or to extend Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to cover sex discrimination in educational institutions and force compliance with its provisions. (Oct., 1966, Dec., 1968, Mar., 1970)
2. Establish contact with the "catalysts on campus". Establishment of female studies which we envision as interdisciplinary courses, both curricular and for credit, and extracurricular, designed to raise consciousness about and expose the biases against and ignorance on women, especially in the fields of history, literature, psychology, sociology, and marriage and family courses. (Oct., 1966, Mar., 1970)
3. Eliminate sex segregation in schools. The mobilization of, support for, erasing sex discrimination wherever it exists in education as in admissions, scholarships, fellowships, loans, textbooks, guidance counseling, division of students by sex in home economics, shop, sports and vocational training. We also urge the erasing of sex discrimination in policies on marriage, pregnancy or parenthood as related to students, faculty and staff, stocking of libraries with appropriate books, day care for all students, faculty and staff, in hiring, salaries, tenure and nepotism, in appointments such as college presidencies, in teacher training, curricula, in provision of role models outside the traditional sex role to reflect a society where women have status equal to men. We suggest studies of hiring and other forms of discrimination against women faculty on the model of the analysis at Columbia University. (Oct., 1966, Nov., 1967, Dec., 1968, Mar., 1970)
4. The seeking of funding for female studies, scholarships, fellowships, loans, and research, from foundations, corporations, alumni and alumnae groups, and such organizations as the BPW, AAUW and NOW itself and from bequests and donations from individuals. (Mar., 1970)

IV POLITICAL EQUALITY

A. Resolutions passed in conferences

1. NOW recognizes the need to act politically to achieve equal rights for women. We are non-partisan; we owe allegiance only to the cause of women's liberation, not to any political party, but we will work through existing political institutions to achieve our aims. We urge women to run for office from any political party and we will work for candidates who support and campaign for our goals. (Mar., 1970)
Resolved that NOW set up a political promotion fund which will be used to support the candidacy and election for public office of qualified persons sympathetic to and advocating NOW's purposes. (Dec., 1968)
NOTE: NOW CANNOT ENDORSE CANDIDATES.
2. We support the formation of women's rights caucuses within existing political parties and organizations and the establishment of independent women's political caucuses. These groups would seek out candidates for office in support of women's issues and would seek passage of legislation to further the cause of women's rights.
3. Even when election appears unlikely, NOW members should run for office to educate the public about our concerns. Local chapters should encourage women already active in politics to run on women's issues. Local chapters should set up committee to seek out candidates. Regional conferences should include workshops to train prospective candidates and campaign workers. (Mar., 1970)

4. NOW urges all political parties to dissolve their women's divisions which have relegated women to servant roles in political life. Women should be included on all levels of party activity on an equal basis with men. In view of the fact that only 2% of all elected officials are women, we call on political parties to seek out and run women candidates who represent women's rights and needs. (Mar., 1970) We urge women working in political parties to refuse to lick stamps and give teas unless men do their share and women are elected to policy making positions. (Nov., 1969)
 5. Women must be given proportionate representation on all policy making boards, commissions and committees to reflect the number of women in the area that said commission represents. (Nov., 1967)
 6. That NOW request that national and state Commissions on the Status of Women be renamed Commissions on Sex Role Policy to formulate policy that promotes equality between the sexes and to begin requesting government sponsored Commissions on Sex Role Policy. (Sept., 1971)
 7. That NOW insist on the inclusion of a women's rights plank in all party platforms and recommends that the NOW national board present our demands to the Platform Committees at the parties' national conventions. (Sept., 1971)
 8. That NOW urge the FCC to require stations to allot prime time as "people's time" so that all candidates may be heard equally and that NOW demand legislation that would compel all stations to furnish free and equal time in the public interest. (Sept., 1971)
 9. That NOW endorse the National Women's Political Caucus in our joint effort toward the following goals: forming women's caucuses within every party and every state; forming a caucus within every county in every party; forming a caucus within every congressional district in every party; ensuring that 50% of delegates to national conventions are women; raising funds to send a woman delegate to challenge the seating of state delegations of the national political parties if they are not proportionately representative of women; ensuring that women delegates are not "Aunt Toms" chosen to support the status quo; teaching women through schools for political candidates and otherwise how to get candidates not only on the party ticket but elected in the primaries and later elected against the opposition candidates from major parties. Be it understood that NOW's support for the NWPC does not preclude similar activities by NOW or its chapters. (Sept., 1971)
 10. That NOW urges its members to support the NWPC by helping to organize women's political caucuses at the state level and that NOW educate its members to work effectively in political parties with the object of educating citizens about women's rights and with the object of persuading them to nominate feminist candidates for party and public offices, and that NOW shall inform women immediately as to methods of delegate selection in each state and give top priority to organizing support for female candidates to ensure that 50% of each delegation to national political conventions shall be women. (Sept., 1971)
 11. Include women on all commissions, boards, and other appointive bodies at all governmental levels. (Dec., '68)
- B. Report of Politics Task Force – October, 1972

The title of the NOW National Conference, *September, 1971, in Los Angeles*, was "*From the Doll's House to the White House.*" This shows our obvious heavy focus on politics, as a key means for getting women into the "mainstream of American life," and more important, for changing the mainstream of American life.

During the last two years, the Politics Task Force has worked with hundreds of NOW members who have run for office. Many have been elected. I have conducted *Schools for Candidates* – at which women are taught, in a crash-Head-Start manner, some of the skills necessary for running for office – in a dozen states.

Prior to the *Democratic National Convention*, members of the Politics Task Force worked with the Clearinghouse (of women's groups, minority groups, and youth caucuses) to coordinate efforts of challenges to the Credentials committee, challenges to the Rules committee, and submissions to the Platform committee. Politics Task Force members testified at the ten pre-convention hearings on platform, which were held all around the country. We were also present at the convention, primarily in an educational role, but also did our share of power-brokering.

Prior to the *Republican National Convention*, three NOW members testified at the Platform hearings in Miami Beach; each made much news and influenced to a great extent the tone of the GOP convention. For example, the *only* plank in the final Republican platform which differed from that submitted by Richard Nixon was the plank on child care.

The major thing which we have done, and which we will continue to do, is to *change the consciousness* of political leaders, and of the women and men of this country, *as to the proper and just role women must play in American political life.*

At the Los Angeles conference, the following resolutions were passed by the Task Force:

Be it resolved that NOW endorse the National Women's Political Caucus in our joint goals toward the following:

1. Form women's caucuses within every party and every state.
2. Form a caucus within every county in every party.
3. Form a caucus within every congressional district in every party.
4. Raise funds to send a woman delegate to challenge the seating of state delegations of the national political parties if they are not proportionately representative of women.
5. Ensure that women delegates are not "Aunt Toms" chosen to support the status quo.
6. Teach women how to get women candidates on the party ticket and elected in primaries against opposition candidates from major parties.
7. Run Schools for Candidates.

Be it resolved that NOW insist on the inclusion of a women's rights plank in all party platforms, and recommends that the NOW National Board present our demands to the Platform Committees at the parties' national conventions.

At the *Second National Conference* of NOW, held in November, 1967, in Washington, D. C., we had resolved:

To urge women working in political parties to refuse to lick stamps and envelopes and give teaparties unless men do their share, and women are elected to policy-making positions. (A short editorial: what was wild, revolutionary dreaming in 1967 became standard rhetoric in 1972.)

Women must be given proportionate representation on all policy-making boards, commissions, and committees, to reflect the number of women in the population.

NOW supports the adoption of federal legislation to make unlawful any distinction on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the qualifications for service, and in the selection of any person to serve, on grand or petit juries in any federal or state court.

At the *Third National Conference*, in December, 1968, in Atlanta, Georgia, it was resolved that NOW set up a political promotion fund which will be used to support the candidacy and election to public office of qualified persons sympathetic to and advocating NOW's purposes. (There is more . . .)

Karen DeCrow, Politics Task Force

V LEGISLATIVE GOALS

A. Report of Task Force on National Legislation — October, 1972

(Full report of actions of Legislative Task Force available from National Office. Length prevents its inclusion here)

The primary concern has been development of the task force and establishment of state coordination this year to facilitate state lobbying for the ERA. Materials have been developed for Task Force members:

- A *NOW Lobbying Kit*, available free to members of the Task Force, and \$1 to other members of NOW.
- A position sheet, which is a description of Task Force activities
- A solicitation letter to chapters not represented in the Task Force
- Legislative alerts
- An ERA ratification kit
- A kit on the EEOC bill
- A legislative Program sheet for the Marriage and Divorce Task Force

A Directory of NOW chapters and some individual members has been compiled by Congressional District.

Equal Rights Amendment

NOW has put together materials to aid in the ratification effort. We have devised a three-step ratification strategy including what is to happen *after* the state legislature ratifies the Amendment, and have put together a kit for the state legislative coordinators.

Future direction of the Task Force

The Task Force on Legislation is a sort of service task force for the members of NOW and the other task forces. The next goal of the task force should be to work with the other task forces in developing legislative programs for the year, and for encouraging those task forces to work together on the chapter level.

A second goal should be to encourage the State Legislative Coordinators, along with the chapters in their states and the task forces, to develop state legislative programs, including drafting their own legislation.

Finally, lobbying should be considered as all the kinds of pressure we bring to bear on the institution of American society. We should consider national actions as part of our function, including demonstration and confrontation.

Ann Scott, Legislative Task Force

B. Report of Task Force on State Legislation – October, 1972

The Task Force on State Legislation, like the National Legislation Task Force, is principally a service task force. The actual expertise in areas comes from the other task forces – e. g. the Compliance Task Force supplies the experts of State Fair Employment Practices Acts, the population control task force supplies the experts on abortion law. The State Legislative Coordinators and the members of their task forces organize the people with the expertise, supply them with information on the mechanics of getting legislation enacted and coordinate the legislative efforts throughout their state.

The National Task Force on State Legislation provides a mechanism for sharing information from state to state. Generally, the exact wording of bills, the needs for specific types of legislation, etc. will vary from state to state. But a clearing house *is* needed for ideas for bills, for testimony that has taken days to prepare and may be helpful to people in other states, and for hints that have worked in your state.

The National Task Force on State Legislation would also provide a measure of what is happening to the laws of the 50 states because of NOW. This information has been a well kept secret up to now.

The Goals for State and Local Action in 1970 were:

1. Repeal of abortion laws
2. Repeal of restrictive and discriminatory state protective legislation for women only and extension of valid labor protection to men
3. Establishment of (or pressuring for action) states' commissions on the status of women.

The Goals for State and Local Action in 1971 were:

1. Repeal of restrictive state protective legislation for women (and extension of valid protective laws to men)
2. Repeal of abortion laws
3. Legislation establishing Commissions on the Status of Women
4. Repeal of all married women's statutes which prevent married women in some states from contracting or going into business in their own name or from changing their names without the consent of their husbands, etc.
5. Repeal of all laws which discriminate against women by granting men privileges which are withheld from women (e. g. husbands may sue for loss of consortium, wives may not; husbands are allowed an occasional unfaithfulness, wives are not; husbands are not punished for killing a man found in the act of sexual intercourse with their wives, but a wife killing her husband under the same condition would be guilty of murder)
6. Repeal of all property laws which deny women the same rights to property as are afforded men.

The Goals for State and Local Action for 1972 were:

1. Passage of State Equal Rights Amendments and resolutions asking Congress to enact the Federal Equal Rights Amendment. This is now – Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment
2. Repeal of abortion laws
3. Repeal of discriminatory state protective legislation and extension of valid labor protection to men, including the extension of maximum hours of work or voluntary overtime provisions to all workers so that an employee may refuse to work excessive overtime without penalty.
4. Establishment of (or pressing for action of) state Commissions on the Status of Women.
5. Amendment or repeal of laws penalizing women because of pregnancy: enactment of laws establishing job security during maternity leave and establishment of a general system of basic protection for men and women against wage loss due to temporary disability, including illness, pregnancy and maternity, to be provided in one insurance program.
6. Extension of unemployment insurance to employees forced to seek a change of employment because of a move to another city with their spouses.
7. Passage of laws to change marriage to an equal partnership.
8. Elimination of inequities in state tax laws.
9. Provision for full deduction of child care expenses on state income taxes.
10. Amendment or enactment of state laws to provide loans or credit on an equal basis regardless of sex.

11. Extension of state Civil Rights and Fair Employment Practices Acts to outlaw discrimination by sex and provisions for sufficient funding for these agencies to perform their responsibilities.
12. Extension of the jurisdiction of state and local human relations commissions to include the elimination of sex discrimination.
13. Enactment of laws providing for comprehensive child care and the funding necessary for its implementation.
14. Passage of laws guaranteeing women equal educational opportunity or amendments to existing laws prohibiting discrimination in education on other bases to include sex.

It is impossible to give the status of these resolutions in the 50 states.

We would, however, like to have available summaries of laws which discriminate against women, differentiate between men and women, cover sex discrimination in employment, education, restrict abortion, etc. in the 50 states.

We are asking State Legislative Coordinators to work with Task Force members in their states in compiling legislation presently in force in their states, both restrictive to women and helpful in eliminating sex discrimination. Many states now have lists of codes which differentiate between men and women and which may violate the Equal Rights Amendment. We would like copies of these when they are available. We would also like summaries of laws which forbid sex discrimination in employment, housing, educational opportunities, etc. and laws which restrict abortion and provide for child care facilities and tax deductions for child care expenses by working parents. We would also like lists of well-prepared testimony on bills by subject area, so that an interested person might obtain a copy of testimony someone prepared in one state and use those parts which might apply in another state (such as the status of laws of this type in other states or the federal government, statistics, etc.)

Mary Samis, Task Force Coordinator

VI CHILD CARE

A. Resolutions passed at national conferences

(See also Marriage and the Family and Employment)

1. Campaign to permit the deduction of full child care expenses in income taxes of working parents. (Oct., '66)
2. Resolved that NOW actively work to have federal and state government set up child care centers for children of all ages and that immediate consideration be given to the subject of tax deduction for child care. Second, employers and educators should be encouraged to establish such centers for employees and students to facilitate work and study opportunities for men and women. Use of child care centers optional. (Dec., '68) NOW establishes a Task Force on Child Care to implement above.
3. Child care must become a political priority. We therefore propose a coalition of organizations representing all socioeconomic, professional, educational, philanthropic organizations, etc., interested in the establishment of child care facilities in keeping with NOW's goals. The purpose of this coalition would be to join together to exert pressure on the power structure in labor, industry and government to immediately make available facilities, funds, etc. and to grant tax deductions for quality child care. (Mar., 1970)
4. We propose to send the following telegram to Congressman John Brademus; The 4th annual conference of the National Organization for Women supports the philosophy behind the Brademus Bill HR 13520 which addresses itself to child care facilities for children of all economic and social groups. (Mar., 1970)
5. Child care facilities for working parents (facilities adequate to needs of all children from pre-school through adolescence as a community resource available to all citizens from all income levels). (Dec., 1968)

B. Resolutions passed at western regional conferences — April, 1971, March, 1972

1. The father has equal responsibility with the mother for the child care role. Society has a supplementary role in assisting families to provide quality care for all children. The child care crisis involves every segment of our society and the total community must participate in finding acceptable solutions.
2. NOW endorses the ideal goal of free child care facilities, available as a community service as are libraries, schools, playgrounds, and public parks. As interim steps, we support flexible fees, if any, to reflect the more urgent needs and limited resources of some families now.
3. NOW endorses the goal of child care available 24-hours per day to meet the various needs of parents who, for example, work shifts, who might become ill, or who might need child care outside of the regular working day.
4. NOW endorses the goal of developmental care based on the child's needs at various ages rather than mere custodial care. Crucial to a developmental program are nutritional, medical, physical, emotional and educational components.

5. Due to the diversity of child care needs and the desirability of maintaining a variety of options to meet these needs, child care must encompass a multiplicity of types of care, including:
 - infant care (birth to 1 year old)
 - toddler care (1 to 2-1/2 years old)
 - preschool care (2-1/2 to 5 years old)
 - extended care for children in school
 - drop-in care for emergencies such as out-of-town visitors, conventions, etc.
 - sick care, both contagious and recuperating
 - care during school vacations
 - week-end care
 - help after a baby is born
 - care for exceptional children such as those with learning disabilities or physical handicaps
6. Child care facilities should be conveniently located throughout the community and readily accessible, as determined by community needs and priorities, including:
 - neighborhood centers
 - centers at places of employment, e. g. union negotiated
 - hospitals
 - existing educational facilities — public and private, elementary, colleges, and universities
7. Child care facilities should be parent and community controlled with the assistance of trained professionals. Both women and men should be represented at all levels of responsibility and participation.
8. Quality care must provide:
 - a. A safe, wholesome, comfortable, secure "home away from home".
 - b. Warm, sensitive adults who are continuously responsive to each child's physical, emotional, and intellectual needs, and who understand that "children's play is their work". In-service training should be provided so that lack of professional training does not preclude participation by adults with these qualities.
 - c. Educational and enrichment experiences with an opportunity for social interaction with children of varying social and economic backgrounds.
9. Realizing that each individual child has the capacity for the full range of human characteristics, the child should not be channeled into a role based on sexual stereotypes. Further research must be undertaken to discover ways to prevent sex-role channeling.
10. To affirm that profit should not be made from children and to ensure uniform standards for both public and private child care centers, we must reorder our priorities for the use of national resources and re-allocate our tax money to support child care facilities. In the interim national and state legislation should be enacted to allow parents to deduct child care on their income-tax forms as a business expense. Child care should be recognized as being as legitimate an expense as luxury items like business lunches, drinks, entertainment and travel which can presently be deducted.
11. Recognizing that legislation and programs concerning child care are a bureaucratic maze and piece-meal at best, we should strive for a uniform child care program.

VII REPRODUCTION

- A. The basic human right to limit one's own reproduction includes the right to all forms of birth control (contraception, including sterilization, and abortion), recognizing the dual responsibility of both sexes. We therefore oppose all legislation and practices that restrict access to any of these means of birth control and advocate positive measures requiring:
 - that all public hospitals offer contraception, sterilization and abortion to anyone requesting these services;
 - that these services be made accessible to as many people as possible by the establishment of a network of local public clinics;
 - that the availability of these services be widely and continuously publicized;
 - that public funds be allocated for research into new methods of contraception, sterilization and abortion which would increase their safety and availability. (Mar., 1970, Dec., 1968 for individual's control, Nov., 1967, Oct., 1966)
- B. Repeal of all abortion laws. (Oct., 1966, Nov., 1967) Women should be guaranteed their civil right to an abortion performed by an qualified person in any suitable setting. Urge regional conferences on abortion law repeal. (Mar., 1970)

VIII EQUALITY IN FAMILY RELATIONS

- A. Report of the Task Force on Marriage, Divorce and Family Relations — October, 1972
 The basis of the present guidelines for the Task Force are largely action resolutions adopted at the *December, 1968, Atlanta Conference*, the *March, 1970 Chicago Conference* and resolutions passed in 1971 at the *Los Angeles Conference* by the Women in Poverty Task Force, which dealt with child support.

The Goals of the Task Force as stated in the resolutions are:

1. We demand that women be protected by law to ensure their rights to return to their jobs within a reasonable time after childbirth without loss of seniority or other accrued benefits, and be paid maternity leave as a form of social security and/or benefit. (1967)
 2. We demand immediate revision of tax laws to permit the deduction of home and child care expenses for working parents. (1967)
 3. Resolved that all states adopt the U. S. Standard Certificate of Divorce of the U. S. Government. (This refers to reporting divorces by state) (1968)
 4. Resolved that the Social Security Act be amended to reduce from 20 to 10 the number of years a divorced woman must have been married to her former husband in order to be treated as his wife or widow for purposes of eligibility for wife's or widow's insurance benefits. (1968)
 5. Resolved that the Social Security Act be amended to insure the housewife as an individual and not as her husband's dependent.
 6. Amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 "to extend the head of household benefits to all un-remarried widows and widowers and to all individuals who have attained age 21 and who have never been married or who have been separated or divorced for one year or more." (1968)
 7. Review income tax laws to allow deductions for child care, whether or not child may be listed as dependent. (1969)
 8. Revise Social Security laws to eliminate discrimination against working wives. (1969)
 9. Revise Social Security laws to eliminate discrimination against divorced women. (1969)
 10. Resolved that marriage should be an equal partnership with shared economic and household responsibility and shared care of the children. (1970)
 11. Resolved that the economic responsibility for the family should be shared proportionately according to income, if both partners work outside the home. (1970)
 12. Resolved that if only one partner works outside the home, half the income should by law belong to the other partner. (1970)
 13. Resolved that all institutions should acknowledge that parenthood is a necessary social service by granting maternal and paternal leaves of absence without prejudice and without loss of job security or seniority. (1970)
 14. Resolved that a pamphlet on the legal rights of both partners as well as divorce and population statistics should be issued with the marriage license. (1970)
 15. Resolved that the Social Security law should be amended to provide: a) separate Social Security deductions for employed persons and their dependent spouses in acknowledgment of the fact that the employer is receiving the services of the household spouse as well as the employed person, b) full Social Security payments should continue to children regardless of the remarriage of their parents, c) as long as the present Social Security law is in effect, a dependent spouse should be guaranteed continued coverage regardless of the years of marriage or the financial arrangements of the divorce. (1970)
 16. Resolved that upon dissolution of a marriage, the dependent spouse should be guaranteed health and accident insurance by the government. (1970)
 17. Resolved that government-sponsored child care centers should be available to all in acknowledgment of the responsibility of society toward children. (1970)
 18. The dependent spouse should be guaranteed government-sponsored retraining for re-entry into the job market. (1970)
 19. Company pension plans should be expanded to include coverage for the widow, if she so desires. (1970)
 20. We encourage insurance companies to issue "end of marriage" insurance. This could be a form of term insurance to be paid to the economically dependent spouse as a form of pension. The sum paid would depend upon the years of service. (1970)
 21. Resolved that the wife should be able to keep her own name or the husband to take his wife's name, and/or there should be the option of both partners choosing a neutral second name to be used also by the children, or the children should use both the wife's and husband's name. (1970)
 22. A woman's title should be "MS" without differentiation as to marriage, and a woman should use her given first name. (1970)
 23. Amend the Social Security Act to (1) provide benefits to husbands and widowers of disabled and deceased women workers, and (2) provide more equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives. (1971)
 24. Pass legislation to guarantee husbands and children of women employees of the Federal Government the same fringe benefits for families with working wives. (1971)
- And from the Task Force of Women in Poverty, 1971 resolutions passed: resolved the NOW press for legislation and establishment of procedures which will:*
25. Provide for equitable sharing of child support by parents who are financially able.
 26. Provide for genuine enforcement of child support laws and orders.
 27. Provide for establishment and maintenance of enforcing agencies adequately staffed by trained and motivated personnel and sufficiently funded.

28. Provide for immediate payment of support directly to the parent.
29. Where support is not immediately forthcoming from the assessed spouse the court should order such payment be paid immediately from public funds, with appropriate means taken to recover such payments from the assessed spouse.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Our most outstanding success was our support and publicity of the Elizabeth Barrett case against Internal Revenue for child care tax deductions in May, 1971; subsequently the Internal Revenue Act of 1971 substantially liberalized employment related expenses for child care. Other minor, or smaller scale accomplishments are: divorce statistics are now being reported by almost all states instead of the 22 that prompted our resolution. Every year, Federal legislation revising Social Security has been introduced at our request — it is still pending. New York State in 1971 passed a bill making it mandatory to offer to convert group health and medical insurance to the divorced spouse. The increasing adoption of the title "MS" and the liberalization of maternity and paternity benefit leaves reinforce our goals. Increasingly insurance companies and other groups are studying divorce insurance. We are beginning to assemble literature on marriage contracts.

As more focus is placed on divorce, chapter committees have testified and met with government and bar association officials to work with enforcement, legal and financial problems and grievances. Efforts to obtain statistical data to back up our claims are underway in both Chicago and New York. NOW members in Los Angeles, under other auspices, pioneered in reports on lack of child enforcement orders. The N. Y. C. Chapter's Marriage and Divorce Committee, under the leadership of Mildred Chatzinoff, saw its recommendations translated into a pilot divorce bill which was introduced in the New York State legislature in 1972.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Established policy goals cover most of the areas the Task Force works in. However, more clearly defined policy is needed in the area of divorce and as we work toward the 1973 Conference we will need resolutions on:

1. Ownership of marital property
2. Alimony and child support
3. Child custody rights
4. No fault grounds for divorce

Betty Berry, Task Force Chair-One

IX RELIGION

A. Religion Resolutions

1. Discrimination on the basis of sex is contrary to assumptions of Church teaching and laws, and that it is in the very best interests of humanity to oppose religious teaching and laws which impose such discrimination. (Nov., 1967)
2. Because the wearing of a head covering by women at religious services is a symbol of subjection within many churches, NOW recommends that all chapters undertake an effort to have all women participate in a "national unveiling" by sending their headcoverings to the task force chairman. At the Spring meeting of the task force of women and religion, these veils will be publicly burned to protest the second class status of women in all churches. (Dec., 1968)
3. Since church bodies have contributed to the development of concepts which encourage discrimination against women and have faithfully reflected these ideas in their own practices, and since the National Council of Churches represents such a large coalition of churches, we urge the NCC to:
 - a. Challenge and assist church bodies to rethink and restate theological concepts which contribute to a false view of women.
 - b. Give stronger leadership to efforts to eliminate discrimination against women in society and in the life of the church.
 - c. Take the lead in uniting women of all denominations and religious groups to work together to support efforts to recognize the right of women to be ordained in religious bodies where that right is still denied.
 - d. Place the issue of discrimination against women and its relationship to the work of the NCC on the agenda of its general board, its divisions and their departments.
 - e. Develop personnel policies and practices that will achieve a more adequate representation of women at all levels of the executive staff of the National Council of Churches and its affiliated churches.
 - f. Ensure that women are included in significant numbers among the planners, leaders, speakers and participants in all NCC-sponsored conferences. (Mar., 1970)
4. We decry the outdated, blatant discrimination displayed by the Roman Catholic Church recently in refusing to accept the credentials of the woman appointed to represent the West German government at the Vatican. (Mar., 1970)

5. In light of the enslavement of body and mind which the church historically has imposed on women, we demand that the seminaries:
 - a. immediately stop and repudiate their propagation of sexist, male supremacist doctrine,
 - b. initiate women's studies courses which cut through the traditional male, religious mythology to expose church and other social forces denying women their basic human dignity,
 - c. actively recruit, employ and justly promote women theologians and other staff in all departments,
 - d. actively recruit, enroll, financially aid and seek equal placement for women theological students. (Mar., 1970)
6. We demand that the churches desexigrate help-wanted ads in their own publications.
7. We demand that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act be amended so that religious groups no longer have legal sanction to discriminate on the basis of sex. (Mar., 1970)
8. NOW will challenge the tax exempt status of the Catholic Church since it is lobbying against abortion law repeal. (Apr., 1971)

B. Report: NOW Ecumenical Task Force on Women and Religion – October, 1972

At the beginning of this year, January, 1972, I was appointed Chair-One for this Task Force, replacing Elizabeth Farians.

The Packet – In May I edited a packet of materials, "Women and Religion" and have since then received requests for over 340 copies; the registrar at The Yale Divinity School requested 56 of these and 40 more were sent by request to The Religion Advisory Committee of The National Planned Parenthood Association. The other packets were requested by various educational institutions and individuals, and about 40 went to our local Religion Task Forces.

Publication – I wrote a Task Force statement which was printed in the Sept.-Oct. edition of "Church and Society," a publication of the United Presbyterian Church U. S. A. and the Presbyterian Church U. S.

Advisory Committee – Because of my concern and discomfort with making unilateral decisions about Task Force statements, I set up an advisory committee consisting of seven NOW members from around the country.

Future Projects – Projects in the works include a newsletter for our local NOW chapters with information about the programs which the chapters have been working on. Joyce Slayton Mitchell of Wolcott, Vermont, is preparing that. I am now, by request, writing a statement for a McGraw-Hill Publishing House one-volume *Encyclopedia of the American Woman*. The statement will describe our Task Force work and goals.

Implementing a Resolution – The work for implementing Resolution No. 104, passed by the NOW National Conference, 9/3/71, is being done by Mary Jo Smith of Detroit. She has drawn up the corporation papers, and they are almost completed. The Women Tithe for Women board presently consists of Mary Jo Smith, Elizabeth Farians and myself. This board is temporary, as we want to have members who are on the NOW National Board, and also want to structure a more complete separation between Women Tithe for Women and the NOW Ecumenical Task Force on Women and Religion.

A Task Force Position – A formal Task Force position regarding women and religion is, at this time, difficult to formulate from the few resolutions which have been passed at the national conferences. The few resolutions which were passed generally were directed at sexist policies within individual groups (The Roman Catholic Church and the Salvation Army) or requested specific action from an individual group (The National Council of Churches). But there has been no inclusive resolution by a national conference condemning sexism in ALL religious groups.

Suggestion for a Resolution – For the 1973 conference, I recommend some kind of an inclusive resolution. I hope that our local chapters will discuss this, and send in suggestions. I will soon be getting material out to them to encourage this local chapter participation in the formulation of resolutions.

Emily A. Champagne, Task Force Chair-One

X WAR AND VIOLENCE

1. Whereas, war is the expression of the masculine mystique that historically has used violence as a solution to problems – not only international and political ones, but those relating to personal and social relations as well, and whereas, war and violence are logical extensions of a system that sees the use of power, dominance and coercion as an accepted way of life, and whereas, for centuries women have been victimized by this tyranny, for centuries wars have taken the lives of men and women, for centuries human values of compassion, equality and cooperation have been sacrificed to the military system; – *Be it resolved*: That as feminists, we seek to bring a universal end to war and to create a society in which feminist, humanist values will prevail, and – *Be it further resolved*: that NOW oppose the further pursuit of a military solution to the conflict in Indochina and call for an immediate end to all American military activity there. (Sept., 1971)
2. Whereas, women are victims of the military in war, through rape and forced prostitution, and Whereas, military training relies upon sexual slurs against women to inflame soldiers into aggression, and Whereas, military decisions are exclusively made by male supremacists, and

Whereas, men themselves are subject to loss of life and personhood by being subject to compulsory military service from which women are exempt, and

Whereas, women in the military are restricted on the basis of sex in job training, education, area of service and are confined to low level, non-policy positions,

Therefore be it resolved: That NOW condemns the degradation of women by sexist practices within the military and the sexist basis for compulsory military service. (Sept., 1971)

XI CRIMINAL JUSTICE

A. Rape

Whereas, rape victims meet with disbelief and/or derision when attempting to report a rape to police, and
Whereas, the conventional method of investigation is to pry into the private life of the rape victim in order to excuse the act committed, and

Whereas, when the case is brought to court, the victim's personal life style is on trial with attendant publicity, and

Whereas, the crime of rape as legally defined treats women as a separate class,

Therefore be it resolved: That NOW take a strong position that the crime of rape be redefined as felonious assault,

Further: That we work against humiliating treatment of rape victims by police officers, judges, District Attorneys, probation officers and other legal personnel as well as, by society generally, and

Further: We recommend that the investigation of these cases be done by women. (Sept., 1971)

XII FEMININE AND MASCULINE MYSTIQUES

A. Masculine Mystique

Whereas, the ideal of NOW is truly equal partnership for men and women and the reality is that many women continue to find men a stumbling block to their own development, and many men are not free to develop in ways other than those considered typically male; and the pervasive effects of privileges for women and perogatives for men are equally injurious to their mutual growth; and human liberation necessarily involves the critical examination, vigorous analysis and daily reacceptance of themselves as men and women, and consciousness raising groups of a continuing nature provide both the time and framework within which such an examination can occur; *Therefore we resolve to* create a task force on the Masculine Mystique charged with suggesting the best methods in which women and men can successfully raise their consciousnesses to make truly equal partnership a reality. (Sept., 1971)

B. Women's Self-Image

We must develop a better means of reaching the many women who are victims of self-hatred. Our anger, so often directed at ourselves, must be focused where it belongs, on the discriminatory laws, policies, and attitudes of our society. We can help women to become aware of the need for feminism by approaching the factors that divide and immobilize women:

1. Failure to recognize our sisterhood.
2. Overcoming stereotypes and labels which have socialized us in a male-chauvinist society.
3. Consciousness of the common oppression that affects all women regardless of age, economic status, race or religion.
4. Fear of the feminist movement because of the "sex object" image we have been socialized to believe.

We resolve that:

1. Every chapter and each member of NOW develop skills of communication to large and small groups and on an individual basis. Sensitivity groups could be used to develop support for one another.
2. Training programs be provided to educate women in public speaking, organizing, sensitivity and desexigration techniques.
3. We must trust ourselves and other women approaching new situations. United we stand and progress. (Mar., 1970)
4. Local chapters encourage the development of programs which bring women together in situations of crisis such as divorce, aging and the "empty nest" syndrome. (Sept., 1971)

C. Media Image of Women

1. Elimination of separate "women's pages" in newspapers. (Oct., 1966)
2. Implement Creative Complaining Project by sending information or copies of all offensive advertising to Claudia Lipschultz. (Dec., 1968)
3. Citizen's suit for equal time for feminist views on TV, radio. (Mar., 1970)
4. FCC complaints against unfair representations about women. (Mar., 1970)
5. NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund will seek grant for commercials for a positive image of women. (Mar., 1970)

6. We decry sex role stereotypes on educational TV and call for meeting between producers of Sesame Street and feminist psychologists and writers. (Mar., 1970)
7. Establish a committee for awards to movies, etc. for honest portrayal of women as human beings and for progress toward eliminating sex stereotypes. (Mar., 1970)
8. Call for more women media executives.
9. Organize and educate women already in media. Work toward getting them in NOW.
10. Call for more women on news and substantive programs on TV networks.
11. At chapter meetings, conduct letter-writing campaigns to companies with particularly obnoxious commercials.
12. Stickers on ads — "this ad is offensive to women."
13. Every member should write to commend fair coverage of the women's movement.
14. We can now complain to newspapers about unfair, dishonest or snickering treatment, and the reporter (Male or Female) who writes such an article should receive no further cooperation. The committee unanimously adopted a motion to urge cooperation with any honest reporter, male or female.
15. To improve coverage in the media, we can: picket newsstands urging boycotts of particularly obnoxious newspapers, NOW news conferences should be scheduled at 9 a.m. if possible, and scheduling of other NOW events should take competing news into consideration.
16. Investigate the power of sit-ins to encourage the media to be fairer to women. Ladies Home Journal sit-in produced a number of desirable changes. (Mar., 1970)
17. The FCC be expanded to provide assistance to local chapters to collect evidence documenting discrimination by offending radio and TV stations, to file necessary petitions to deny licenses to offending stations, and to insure that the FCC guarantee fair treatment of women (image, program, employment) in the broadcasting industry. (Sept., 1971) (See also FCC — II O)

A critique of resolutions passed on the subject of the image of women has been prepared by Anne Hall, Chair-One, Image of Women Task Force, and is available at the national office.

XIII HUMAN SEXUALITY

A. Lesbianism

1. Amend NOW's policy statement to read:

... NOW endorses the principle that it is a basic right of every woman to control her reproductive life, and therefore NOW supports the furthering of the sexual revolution of our century by pressing for widespread sex education, provision of birth control information and contraceptives, and the repeal of all laws restricting abortion, contraception and sexual activity between consenting adults in private. (Sept., '71) (Parts as above, Dec., 1967)

2. *Whereas*, the first wave of feminist anger in this country recognized the fundamental issue of women's liberation as "the most sacred right of all — a woman's right to her own person." This is the right that NOW reaffirmed a century later when it took up the banner and dedicated itself to changing those conditions in society, the laws, the practices, the attitudes — that prevented women from realizing their full human potential. Recognizing that a woman cannot reach this potential if she is denied the basic right to control of her own body, NOW has demanded the dissemination of birth control information and contraceptives and the repeal of all laws against abortion. It has stopped short, however, of clarifying its position of every woman's right to define — and express — her own sexuality; to choose her own lifestyle. Specifically, NOW has been silent on the issue of lesbianism. Yet no other woman suffers more abuse and discrimination for the right to be her own person than does the lesbian, and

Whereas, the lesbian is doubly oppressed, both as a woman and as a homosexual, she must face the injustices and degradation common to all women, plus endure additional social, economic, legal, and psychological abuses as well. In education and employment, the lesbian confronts more than discrimination or tokenism. She can be arbitrarily rejected or dismissed from many professions, even those — including teaching — traditionally relegated to women. Married women are denied equality under the laws that decree men as head of the household, but a wife is nonetheless allowed some legal protection. A lesbian, however, who shares her home with another woman — regardless of her income or responsibilities — foregoes all the economic and legal compensations granted to the married woman, including tax deductions, insurance benefits, inheritance rights, etc. and

Whereas, this prejudice against the lesbian is manifested in the courts as well, and

Whereas, most divorced women are conceded the right to their children, a lesbian is automatically presumed unfit for motherhood and can have her children taken from her, and

Whereas, these are but a few of the laws and practices in our society that reflect irrational assumptions about lesbians. Just as the false and demeaning image of all women provides the rationale to keep them subjugated, so does the distorted stereotype of the lesbian sanction her persecution. Not only is she assumed to be unstable or sick or immoral; but because she defines herself independently of men, the lesbian is considered unnatural, incomplete, not quite a woman — as though the essence of womanhood were to be identified with men. Obviously, this Playboy image of the lesbian reduces her to an abject sexual object, deprived of the most basic civil and human rights due every person, and

Whereas, because she is so oppressed and so exploited, the lesbian has been referred to as "the rage of all women condensed to the point of explosion." This rage found a natural outlet in the women's liberation movement that seemed to view women in a new way and promised a new pride and sisterhood for every woman in search of equality and independence. Lesbians became active in NOW and in other groups fighting for all the feminist goals, including child care centers and abortion repeal. As a result of their activism in the movement, lesbians — as did all feminists — reached a new consciousness, a new sense of their worth and dignity as women and human beings. They began to rebel against the intolerance of a society that condemned their life style. But instead of finding support from their sisters, lesbians discovered that NOW and other liberation groups reflected some of the same prejudices and policies of the sexist society they were striving to change, and

Whereas, lesbians were never excluded from NOW, but we have been evasive or apologetic about their presence within the organization. Afraid of alienating public support, we have often treated lesbians as the step-sisters of the movement, allowed to work with us, but then expected to hide in the upstairs closet when company comes. Lesbians are now telling us that this attitude is no longer acceptable. Asking women to disguise their identities so they will not "embarrass" the group is an intolerable form of oppression, like asking black women to join us in white face. Furthermore, this discrimination is inconsistent with NOW's stated goal to "recognize our sisterhood" and to help women "overcome self-degradation." If this pledge is to be anything more than idle rhetoric, NOW must reassess the priorities that sacrifice principles to image, and

Whereas, some members of NOW object that the lesbian question is too controversial to confront right now, that we will weaken the movement by alienating potential and current members who are comfortable with NOW's "respectable" image. The same argument, that women would be frightened away, was raised a few years ago when NOW took a bold stand on the controversial abortion issue. The argument did not prove prophetic then, and we do not believe it is valid now. We are, after all, a reform movement, with revolutionary goals. The DAR can be "respectable", but as Susan B. Anthony pointed out: "Cautious, careful people always casting about to preserve their reputation or social standards, can never bring about a reform . . ."

Whereas, it is encouraging to note that feminists are not so easily frightened. Since the resolution supporting lesbians was passed in Los Angeles two months ago, the chapter has increased, not decreased, in membership. If a few cautious, careful people scurried away, the loss was imperceptible. And we are stronger now because many women feel more relaxed and are freer to work with us towards NOW goals, and

Whereas, another objection to the resolution contends that lesbian oppression is simply not relevant to the concerns of NOW; the movement will be weakened or even destroyed if we diffuse our energies on non-feminist issues. This is a curious argument, since all one has to do is read the NOW Bill of Rights to find that we have pledged support to the cause of "equal rights for all those who suffer discrimination and deprivation;" further, we have recognized a "common oppression that affects all women." If lesbians are women, and if lesbians suffer discrimination and deprivation, then the conclusion is inescapable: their oppression is not only relevant, but an integral part of the women's liberation movement; and

Whereas, we are affected by society's prejudices against the lesbian, whether we acknowledge it or not; as feminists we are all subject to lesbian-baiting by opponents who use the tactic of labelling us the worst thing they can think of, "lesbians", in order to divide and discredit the movement and bring women to heel. Even within NOW, regrettably, this tactic is employed by some members who conjure up the sexist-image of lesbians and shout "lavender menace" at anyone who opposes their views. NOW is inevitably weakened by these attempts to undermine the spirit and efforts of its members; we can no longer afford to ignore the problem; and

Whereas, the resolution does not mean that we are changing our emphasis and concentrating on specific lesbian issues, however. We have not been asked, nor do we intend, to diffuse our energies in any way. The resolution, in itself, is an action — the first step towards breaking down the barriers between women that have kept them weak and suppressed. We are giving notice that we recognize our sisterhood with all women and that we are fighting for every woman's "sacred right to her own person." As feminists, we can do no less; THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That NOW recognizes the double oppression of women who are lesbians, and

Be it further resolved: That a woman's right to her own person includes the right to define and express her own sexuality and to choose her own lifestyle; and

Be it further resolved: That NOW acknowledge the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate concern of feminism. (Sept., 1971)

Compiled by: Mary Samis, Tish Sommers, Marjorie Suelzle and Nan Wood