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Interview with
Ms. Linn Bendale
November 18, 1973

Place of Interview: Colleyville, Texas
Interviewer: Mr. Emory Ricketson
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Oral History Collection

Ms. Linn Bendslev

Interviewer: Mr. Emory Ricketson

Place of Interview: Colleyville, Texas

Date: November 18, 1973

Mr. Ricketson: This is an interview with Ms. Linn Bendslev regarding her participation in the first national convention of the National Women's Political Caucus. The interviewer is Mr. Emory Ricketson. The interview is taking place November 18, 1973, in Colleyville, Texas.

Linn, why don't you start by giving me a brief biographical sketch of yourself, a general outline of your life to date?

Ms. Bendslev: Oh, well, I never know what to say when you have to write one of these up for publication because you're going to be speaking someplace or something. I graduated from TCU in 1965 with a B.A. in psychology, and I have thirty hours of graduate work in psychology and education that I have gotten sort of piecemeal since that time. I'm divorced and have two children, ages ten and eleven. I've been with the Department of Public Welfare for the last year and a half as a social worker. Previous to that time, I was with the Employment Commission for three years as a

counselor. I tended bar, taught school, worked for a credit bureau, worked for the Mafia in Massachusetts. . .

Ricketson: Illuminate on working for the Mafia.

Bendslev: Well, I worked for the Mafia, I say, because I worked as a secretary for a vending machine company. The office was in Framingham, Massachusetts, and the head office was in New Jersey. I had had the job about ten days. . . a man that I had met through Parents Without Partners had hired me for the job. . . and apparently there was some kind of big power struggle going on because Stanley all of a sudden was out--he was the man who was heading the office in Framingham--and when Stanley was out, I was out, too. But there was a guy named Gino Schivatelli, complete with scar on cheek, who came up from New Jersey to close our office. I was not displeased to get out. I had been expecting a bomb through the front window (laughter).

I have checked groceries; I've worked for an advertising agency; I've sold football tickets, basketball tickets, baseball tickets over the phone. That's about. . .

Ricketson: The general idea?

Bendslev: . . . the general idea. I've been active in the women's movement since its beginning in 1972. I moved back to Texas from Massachusetts in January of '72. I went to a party in Corpus Christi where I used to live in February, and at that point I found out some real interesting things--that there was a Women's Caucus, a Women's Political Caucus, forming in Texas and that there was going to be a convention in March. A friend of mine had some application blanks, and I immediately got one of those from her and sent it in. Also, I found out that Sissy Farenthold--that I had known, I mean not familiarly, but had known when I lived in Corpus from '65 through '68--was going to be running for the Democratic nomination for governor. I had always admired Sissy very, very much, so I immediately found out who to contact when I came back to Fort Worth and got involved in her campaign as well as the Political Caucus.

Ricketson: How about backing up and giving your date of birth and the whole schlimiel while you're at it.

Bendslev: Oh, okay, I was born December 28, 1941, in Fort Worth, Texas. I attended Alice B. Carlson Elementary and George B. Clark Elementary. We moved from

Fort Worth to Richland Hills the summer after I finished the fifth grade. I completed elementary and went to junior-senior high school in the Birdville District and graduated from Birdville High School in 1960. Then I went to TCU. I got married right at the end of my freshman year at TCU and had a child the next year. I continued to go to school, though I laid out the semester I had Crissy. I went back to school in the fall, found out I was pregnant again, and I just kept on going to school and had Gabby over the Easter holidays that year. I started taking the pill and didn't have anymore. (laughter). I was divorced in 1966. I was active in the Young Republicans.

Ricketson: The Young Republicans?

Bendslev: Young Republicans. When I was at TCU I was vice president in 1964 of the TCU Young Republicans. I was sheltered (laughter) and pretty conservative. I was a very avid Goldwater supporter. Then in '65, after I graduated, I got the job with the Employment Commission in Corpus, and I started to see. . . I mean, my interpretation of it. . . I started to see how people really lived. I started to see the shit that went on, and I started

to see the sexism and the racism that I had been so sheltered from in my upper middle class environment all the way through college. I started becoming more and more liberal, and after I became a liberal, I guess I started becoming more and more radical.

I was not active in politics from the time I was in college, not real active, until 1972 after I came back down here. That year I did. . . well, I worked real hard for Sissy, and I was on the Tarrant County Coordinating Committee for Sissy's campaign, worked on the financial end of it. I was a delegate to the State Democratic Convention, and I organized my precinct for McGovern in '72. Right now I'm on the County Coordinating Committee of the Texas Democrats, which is a relatively new liberal Democratic organization.

Ricketson: Is it a split-off from the regular Democratic Party?

Bendslev: Well, we stay within the party, but it's sort of a liberal caucus, I guess you could say. We're a separate organization though. We had a convention a couple of weekends ago over in Arlington. Just a mini-convention, really, some workshops and things where people just got to know each other. But it's not really a split in the party, I wouldn't

say, just sort of a liberal caucus within the party structure. . . well, no, it's not within the party structure. It's for people to get together that are Democrats and are liberal.

Ricketson: How did the process work by which you became a delegate to the national convention? In other words, how were you selected, or how were those of you who were selected, selected?

Bendslev: Oh. . .

Ricketson: Do you understand the question?

Bendslev: Yes. In Texas, anybody that came. . . okay, you had to be a paid member of either a local caucus or a member at-large of the State Caucus, Texas Women's Political Caucus. If you went to Houston, then you were a delegate.

Ricketson: So anybody that showed up. . .

Bendslev: Anybody that showed up that was a member of a local caucus or. . . you see, there's not local caucuses in every town, so we have a provision for at-large membership. I also in 1972-73 was on the. . . I've gone blank, can't think of the word. . . not the State Coordinating Committee but the. . . we made all the policy decisions for that year.

Ricketson: The Steering Committee?

Bendslev: Well, yes, but that's not the word either. I've gone completely blank. We had an organizing conference at Eastfield College in 1972 and. . .

Ricketson: This was for the Texas Caucus?

Bendslev: Yes, and I was elected. . . at that organizing convention we split up into special interest caucuses, and I was chosen to be the Equal Employment Opportunity Caucus delegate to the State Coordinating Committee. . . I don't know why I've gone blank on that. So we met monthly. . . I mean practically monthly because there were a couple of months we skipped, but we met in Austin most of the time. We did have one meeting in Waco, and I think all the rest of our meetings were in Austin. We had had monthly meetings to coordinate the work of the Texas Women's Political Caucus. So I was a little more active in that way than if I had just been a delegate, just a member that happened to go down to Houston.

Ricketson: You sort of had an inside track in some ways.

Bendslev: Yes, I helped to make the plans and everything because the Texas delegation to the National Caucus Convention had the responsibility for making all the plans, getting everything set up.

We had, of course, some people from National who came down, but we handled all the accommodations and making arrangements for the various entertainments, making arrangements with the hotel for the space to hold our convention, and making sure we had enough microphones, chairs, all the mess.

Ricketson: Did you get pretty involved in that yourself?

Bendslev: I was fairly involved in it, yes. I wasn't one of the people that worked their tail-ends off (laughter). Like Kathy Bonner, for example, who runs our state office.

Ricketson: Do you know if most of the other delegates from other states were selected in pretty much the same way, anybody that wanted to go?

Bendslev: I think that they were because the National Women's Political Caucus was only formed initially, I believe, in July of 1971. That was when it was born. The fact that not very many women have got very much money. . . no matter what people say, we don't. I mean I don't know of anyone personally that I met at National from any place else that didn't work for a living. There wasn't anybody that was wealthy enough to charter a flight to bring all the members from Montana in. It was pretty much a

case of people getting there as well as they could, saving up for a period of time. So, yes, anybody that could get there was a delegate, as long as you belonged to the Caucus.

Ricketson: To the state or local. . .

Bendslev: Yes, I can't say for sure, but I think that was generally. . . because I know a lot of the other states were somewhat upset. They were afraid Texas was going to take over and run the convention because being in Texas they said it was a whole lot easier for us to get a whole bunch of people there. I think we did have the largest delegation.

Ricketson: Did any of them feel that that had happened by the end of the convention?

Bendslev: I don't think so. We didn't get our way (laughter). I think we bent over backwards in lots of cases not to force our views down the throats of other people because we realized that. . . well, let me say that the voting structure was not set up on one person, one vote. There was a delegation of votes, and I don't recall right offhand what the criteria was for pro-rating votes.

Ricketson: But each state had a certain percentage?

Bendslev: Each state had a certain number. But when you're talking about 2,000 people in a room, you don't have a roll call vote saying Texas casts its fifteen votes for such and such and three votes against. You have voice votes, so Texas could have only ten actual votes, but if we've got 300 people, that's a big push toward getting whatever we wanted. We'd all scream anyway.

Ricketson: In reality you've got 300 votes then as long as its a voice vote?

Bendslev: As long as it's a voice vote, yes. And consequently, we had a lot of roll call votes, which is why we ran over and over and over, and everything was way behind. There were a lot of calls for roll call votes, and I can understand that because I think. . . oh, my God, I don't remember exactly, but Texas had an incredible number of people there. We probably had a tenth anyway. A tenth of the people that were there, I would say, were from Texas.

Ricketson: You mentioned a figure awhile ago of 2,000 people in the room. Approximately how many people would you say were at the convention as delegates? Both from all over and from Texas?

Bendslev: Okay, we had people there that were not delegates because of one reason or another they just weren't on the delegate lists. Each state or local caucus had to submit an approved list of delegates, of members, so there were people that showed up that weren't on those lists and weren't delegates. There were 1,500-2,000 participants, I think.

Ricketson: And how many would you say from Texas?

Bendslev: Awhile ago I was thinking about it, and I wanted to say 400, but I think that's too many. I was trying to think of all of us sitting there in our rows of chairs. . . 10, 20, 30. . . 200 maybe, 150, 200, something like that.

Ricketson: That would fit with your 10 per cent estimate awhile ago.

Bendslev: Yes, I really wish I had the specific figures because it's been almost a year, and I have a hard time remembering. But it was a big room, and it was full.

Ricketson: Bunch of people in there, anyway, right?

Bendslev: What were we saying. . . there were some fears that we might take over but we didn't. We tried our best, I think. We tried to keep our mouth shut even if each individual might have had some

real strong feelings on something. If it was a roll call, voice vote, we tried to stay quiet, except for the people that were delegated as monitors.

Ricketson: In the setting up of the mechanics of the convention, was there any responsibility for setting up the agenda or determining what types of workshops would be held? Was the Texas Caucus responsible for that, too?

Bendslev: Well, Kathy Bonner and. . . now I've gone completely blank again. . . the chairwoman of the Texas delegation is named. . . this is so embarrassing. I'm sure that it's written down in there.

Ricketson: It's probably in this paperwork. [Working papers of the convention--see appendix].

Bendslev: Anyway, she's from Houston, she goes to law school, she has one child, she's married, she's about five foot five (laughter), she weighs about 190, oh, 175 maybe, has blonde hair.

Ricketson: I can look up the name later and just stick it in the transcript. Don't worry about it.

Bendslev: Okay. She and Kathy got together with the people from National and pretty much outlined the agenda and the general form.

Ricketson: What people came down from the National?

Bendslev: Oh, all the superstars were there, Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem. There were also people that didn't have the national prominence, that were probably the more effective. The superstars were not very effective. I mean really, Betty Friedan kind of fluttered around like a little Jewish powder-pigeon.

Ricketson: A Jewish what?

Bendslev: Powder-pigeon, you know, a tiny, short, little, buxomy lady. . . and just bombed around all the time. And Bella was very impressive. She's a buxomy lady, too, with her very big hat.

Ricketson: So they were down before the convention helping with the organizing?

Bendslev: I don't know. I don't think so. They tried to stay out of it a lot because there had been a lot of criticism that had been voiced about them coming in and taking over. There was a feeling that the movement has maybe a half a dozen superstars, and they get all the recognition and everybody else does all the work. These are some of the things that I heard.

Ricketson: Pretty general feeling of that?

Bendslev: Here and there. A lot of it I heard from Bella, who got up and spoke one time and said she was pretty much going to keep her mouth shut because she had been getting a lot of criticism in this area.

Ricketson: So you think they were aware of this criticism and were trying to compensate?

Bendslev: Oh, yes, I think they really bent over backwards to not take over, to let other people run things, and to let other people make the decisions and not use their charisma to influence people one way or the other.

Ricketson: In the literature you gave me from the convention, there were indicated many resolutions from various caucuses.

Bendslev: Yes, only God knows (laughter).

Ricketson: Yes, and only God knows if you got all of them in there, too.

Bendslev: I think I kept everything that was handed out.

Ricketson: My question is how in the hell did you get into a particular caucus. Did you just find out where they were going to meet and walk in and say, "Hi, I'm a radical."?

Bendslev: Yes, that's how you did it. They were posted, like the radical caucus will meet. . . the Texas caucus is meeting in ten minutes at 6:45, hurry, vital, vital. There was a constant flow of women with handfuls of hastily mimeoed announcements and thumbtacks or tape dashing around hanging things up in elevators and walls right in front of the elevators that you'd see when you came off and anywhere, peoples' foreheads, peoples' backs (laughter) literally. People would be running around with announcements taped to their backs that such and such a caucus. . .

There were people that had organized these caucuses. I guess that at the state level, we sent a lot of suggestions in prior to the convention from each state, saying, you know, our Chicanos want a caucus, we're going to have a native American women caucus, the black caucus, the Democratic caucus, the radical caucus, the lesbian caucus, the shit caucus (laughter). I mean lots of times you'd be walking, and you'd say I fit into this one and this one and this one, so which one am I going to go to. They were all at the same time. There were bunches of caucuses. Kathy and. . . I'm going

to have to look at the papers and get her name. . . had done a real good job in organizing things and getting paper and mimeograph machines and typewriters. Like the first day of the caucus, somebody was always grabbing the microphone and saying the such and such caucus needs volunteers to run off material. Or does anybody in the radical caucus know how to type? Or does anybody know how to use such and such a mimeograph machine? If you do, get up to room such and such quick. It was real important that everybody knew. . . I mean a group of people that has a similar interest like the radical caucus or the lesbian caucus or the black caucus or something, cannot make any decisions and put forth their views unless everybody is there. Otherwise, if you've only got two people coming in, it's not really representative of the people that fit in that category, and you're going to get an awful lot of flak. It's real important that if you're particularly interested in one issue or another that you attend the caucus and try to help hammer things out.

Ricketson: In the presentation of the resolutions to the larger caucus, were there any criteria? Or could anybody

that wanted to form and call themselves a caucus present a resolution?

Bendslev: Yes, any group that wanted to form and call themselves a caucus could present a resolution. And generally speaking, they just ran off enough copies so that there were at least several copies and generally one copy for each individual. There was, of course, a committee on resolutions which met and screened resolutions.

Ricketson: Screened them for what?

Bendslev: Well, get them into shape and make sure there weren't. . . I mean you might have the same resolution almost exactly except for a few words coming out of the black caucus, Chicano caucus, and native American women's caucus--Resolved: the forces of racism have conspired to discriminate against black women, Chicano women, you know. They might be almost exactly the same thing, so it could be combined into one resolution so that you didn't have 90,000 resolutions instead of about 900 (laughter). But you have to have committees on resolutions to get things ironed out.

Ricketson: But they weren't censoring for anything?

Bendslev: Well no, oh, no, but there are some things that are appropriate. Like for example, I didn't see Debbie Leonard. . . do you know who Debbie Leonard is? She was running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket for governor of Texas. Debbie hounded us unmercifully all year last year. She was really pissed off because the Texas delegation supported Sissy. Well, Debbie was kind of omnipresent at the Texas organizing convention at Eastfield College. I don't remember seeing Debbie in Houston. But if Debbie had been there and if she could have, she would have presented a resolution--Resolved: The National Women's Political Caucus supports Debbie Leonard for governor of the State of Texas. I mean that sort of thing, yes, there's censorship, they're screening out. You can't have special interests for one particular person. We've got enough stuff that's really important that needs to be thrashed out.

You have to remember this is our first convention, and we had to develop all of our rules. When we walked in there and first met, of course, we were going under Robert's Rules of Order. But we had to develop a constitution. It wasn't like our future

conventions will be, where we will have more of what might be termed action resolutions. This was actually an organizing convention, to get our ground rules down for the future. We're going to have another convention in January or February. It's going to be in St. Louis. Then following that we will have one every two years. But we felt like we needed to have another one in '74.
[Break in conversation]

Ricketson: The woman's name you were looking for was Helen Cassidy. I looked that up during the pause.

You mentioned awhile ago about what you termed superstars sort of trying to stay in the background to some degree. Did anybody emerge as the real power, either obviously or behind the scenes? Or both?

Bendslev: Well, Sissy Farenthold was elected as national chairwoman. It was really surprising to me to see the amount of support that Sissy had throughout the nation. I didn't know that she was as well-known nationwide as she obviously was. Of course, she did come in second to Eagleton in the balloting at the national Democratic convention, so a lot of people knew her. Most women that

belong to the National Women's Political caucus
are Democrats or radicals (laughter).

Ricketson: Or radical Democrats.

Bendslev: Yes. So quite a few people know Sissy. In Texas
there are too few active Republican women. And
I'd say probably even fewer conservative Democratic
women than Republican women.

Ricketson: That was one of the questions I was going to get
around to. All through the literature they keep
talking about the necessity for, shall we say,
broadening the base of the caucus, getting a broader
representation. Comment on that.

Bendslev: Okay. I think it's very necessary. We just don't
seem to be able to get the response from the more
conservative women, and maybe that's because they're
just not really into the movement. Thus, you have
people like Jill Ruckelshaus, who after the Saturday
night massacre may not be as much of a Republican
as she was before. I don't know. Her husband was
the one that was fired along with Richardson by
Nixon over the Cox thing.

Ricketson: That's what you were referring to as the Saturday
night massacre?

Bendslev: Jill Ruckelshaus has been very active in the National Women's Political Caucus, and she certainly is a conservative Republican.

Ricketson: Have you had contact or heard anything about her since the "Saturday night massacre," that you base your statement on?

Bendslev: No, no (laughter).

Ricketson: That was supposition?

Bendslev: Yes.

Ricketson: I thought it was but I wanted to clarify that. I was going to call the local newspaper and give them the scoop (laughter).

Bendslev: But we just have very few. Betty Andujar, here, our state senator, is a Republican. Betty has come to a couple of our local caucus meetings.

Ricketson: The Fort Worth caucus?

Bendslev: Right. I believe that she's a member, but she's not active. In private conversations that I have had with Betty, I have had the impression that she is not very liberated. That might not be fair of me to say that, but I really feel like it. Because any time a woman talks to me about, "My husband spent \$40,000 last year for me to run for this office". . . I don't know.

Ricketson: You feel like she should say, "I spent \$40,000" or something?

Bendslev: Or "We spent" or "John spent" or whatever her husband's name is. It just sounds like he's given me a toy. But that's just my own personal view. I mean they've got a lot of money, and so she can run for office. He can pay for it because he's made a lot of money. I just sort of had the impression that maybe it was kind of that she was bored with her clubs or something. This is not to say that Betty hasn't done a good job. I think she has done well in the Senate. I would just like to see her more committed to women's issues. She has not to my knowledge ever come out strongly like, for example, Chris Miller has done, and really aligned herself with the women's movement per se. Frankly I resent women politicians that don't. I see it as a lack of commitment on their part.

Ricketson: Okay. Realizing this will be a personal statement and from your point of view, for yourself define liberation in the sense that you used it to say that Betty Andujar is not very liberated. Define the term for yourself.

Bendslev: I see liberation as independence from traditional roles, in that if a woman is liberated, she doesn't depend upon somebody because they are the man in her life. Everybody has to depend on other people. We always do. Nobody can be completely independent. But I think that one of the facets of being liberated is that you don't depend on somebody just because he happens to be your husband. Liberation in that sense is not casting other people in roles and expecting them to come up to certain role expectations that are impersonal, really. He's my husband so he ought to do this. Or he is a husband is what you're really saying, and he ought to do this. Or I am a woman; I should do this. He is a man, and he should do that. If we get into me defining liberation we could probably go on for three hours.

Ricketson: No, let's not, I got to transcribe this goddamn thing, so don't take three hours. I did want to get just a general idea of what your concept of it is.

Bendslev: Also, in that I don't think that Betty Andujar is committed to seeing that all women become free to be whatever they choose to be.

Ricketson: Is that what you meant by the term "women's issues"?

Bendslev: Probably. I don't remember exactly what I said but probably.

Ricketson: Well, you said something to the effect, I believe, that she was not committed to "women's issues."

Bendslev: That's exactly what I meant. Okay. Betty is not committed to reproductive freedom. I don't mean that she's not committed to abortion because that's an individual decision each woman has to make for herself. I consider the feminist point of view to be that you should be free to have an abortion if you choose and never have a child in your life. Or to use any contraceptive that you choose and if that fails, to have an abortion. Or that you should be free, if you choose to, to have fifteen kids whether or not you're married. That's my idea of the feminist position on sexual reproduction, reproductive freedom. Personally, I feel that it would be irresponsible for anyone to have fifteen children (laughter), but I fully support a woman that wants to if she chooses to, as much as I support a woman that chooses not to have any.

Ricketson: That pretty well covers your definition of "women's issues" then?

Bendslev: Just reproductive freedom? Oh, no.

Ricketson: Okay. Well, keep talking then (laughter).

Bendslev: There's the equal legal rights amendment which was passed in Texas. There's an equal rights amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has not been ratified by a sufficient number of states to become part of the Constitution yet. I think that anybody in as potentially visible a position, with as much potential power as the position of state senator has, which is pretty powerful within the state anyway, should come out very strongly in favor of the equal rights amendment. I think that anybody that has any position or power or clout at all that's really committed to feminist issues should come out totally in favor of a number of other things.

If I were a state senator, I would immediately introduce a bill that would prevent any school system from using any state funds in areas that were divided along sexist lines, like the thousands and thousands of dollars that are spent on male football and the pennies that are spent, even if that much, on support of a girl's basketball team or girl's volleyball team, something like this. The thousands of dollars in a lot of school districts that are spent on setting up shop classes which in a surprising

number of places girls simply are not allowed to enroll in. I would come out very, very strongly to see that I could do everything I could to get sexist textbooks, racist textbooks, out.

I would do everything I could to establish a Bill of Rights for children. I think it's part of the fabric of our male chauvinist society that children are treated like dogs. They really are. If you're a child, you really don't have any rights at all. All of a sudden you're eighteen and you magically have rights. I think children are individuals. I think that it's part of the male supremacist idea that within your traditional home situation, the father is lord and master of not only the wife but of the children. I think children should have more rights. Particularly in my job, I work with parents that really do not see that their children have rights as individuals, and this is part of the problem. With the people I work with, it's come to the point where it's become an obvious abuse, and even our sexist society rebels against it. But it's really just an intensification of the prevailing thought within the family structure as it's set up in society today--that children really

don't have any rights as individuals, that they're not really separate human beings, that they somehow belong to the parents, and most particularly to the father, to do with what he will. I don't know exactly what I would do, but if I were in the state Senate, I would do something. I'd have a thousand bills up before the Legislature.

Children are particularly a women's issue. If I were in the political area I would have a bill before the Legislature right now to separate children's services, protective services particularly, to separate these from the Welfare Department. In fact, to separate it to a certain extent from the Mental Health Department. Where we would have mental health clinics and mental health hospitals for children and for adolescents and where we would have protective services, child welfare services, under a completely separate set up within the state with our own funding and our own administration particularly geared towards children.

So there's a lot of things that I think a woman should do. If you're a woman and you're in a position of power, which very few of us are, you damn well ought to do it.

Ricketson: And you don't think Betty is?

Bendslev: Not nearly, not 10 per cent of what I think she ought to do.

Ricketson: Evaluate Chris Miller by the same standards from your point of view.

Bendslev: I think Chris could probably do 50 per cent more than she's doing now.

Ricketson: How well do you know Chris and Betty?

Bendslev: I know Betty, like to say, "Hello Betty," and she knows me well enough to say, "Hello Linn." I know Chris a lot better, which is maybe why it makes it harder. . . it's more difficult for me to be as hard on Chris because I do know her personally. Chris is committed to women's issues, and she has come out, and she has stood up before the city council in Fort Worth to defend. . . what was the woman's name, Dratty. . . Dratty was fired by the county clerk because. . . I think she said he told her to make some changes in election returns. They gave her a lie detector test. . . the results were not conclusive that he had done this, but they were conclusive that she had made the changes, I think, (laughter) and so she got fired. She's been charged with something or the other, and it's been

like two years, and she's never come up to trial. But she was indicted for something or the other.

Chris has gotten up and come out and said things and been real forthright. Chris introduced legislation to enable single persons to homestead and this has become part of the state constitution now. The bill was passed in this last batch of constitutional amendments that we voted on a week or two ago. This was the first bill that Chris ever introduced into the Legislature.

So I think Chris does everything that she can. She hasn't been in there long enough.

Betty hasn't ever done anything specifically for women that I know of, that I can think of. She hasn't necessarily been against. She's voted for things that other people have introduced, but she hasn't taken a stand like Chris has and come out and initiated legislation.

Ricketson: Were both of them at the convention in Houston?

Bendslev: No, Betty was not there.

Ricketson: But Chris was?

Bendslev: Chris was.

Ricketson: How active has Chris been in the caucus?

Bendslev: Well, she's been as active as she could be. Chris was very active at the Texas Convention in Eastfield in March of 1972. Chris was one of the people that had made the arrangements for us to have that convention. I think the original meeting with a small group of just twenty or twenty-five people was in November of '71. They initiated plans to have the organizing convention of the Texas Women's Political Caucus at Eastfield College in March of '72. Chris was one of the initiators. I think that I heard--I wasn't living here at the time, so I don't know--that Chris had gone to Washington, D. C., to find out how to organize it.

Ricketson: Find out from who?

Bendslev: From National, when National first got started. I've known Chris for about six years. I've known Chris since about 1967.

Ricketson: On a pretty good friendship basis? Or working together basis?

Bendslev: Well, friendship. Of course, I didn't see her very much. I met her through some mutual friends and through my family, my mother, in '67. But then I was living in Corpus, and I didn't see her for a while. In fact, I hadn't seen Chris in a couple

of years when I first saw her at the Eastfield convention. But I had heard about her and about what she was doing and everything prior to that time.

Ricketson: At the convention. . . you mentioned some of the sort of hectic atmosphere. . . fifty-five different things going on at once. I'm trying to figure out how to ask the question without answering it myself, or giving away an answer I would expect. What were the relationships between different political orientation groups generally? Do you understand what I'm asking?

Bendslev: Yes, you wanted to know that if you were a Democrat, did you only associate with Democrats.

Ricketson: That and what were your feelings towards. . . was there a general feeling of tension, or was there a general feeling of sisterhood?

Bendslev: Most of us were Democrats (laughter). But, yes, there was a general feeling of sisterhood definitely. There was a tremendous amount of warmth. You would walk up and somebody would say, "Hey" and you would say, "Hey, come to the room and have a drink," and you didn't even know who they were or where they were from. But, no, there wasn't a lot of hostility along those lines at all.

There was an issue that I think there was more intense feeling about, at least within the Texas caucus. It came up later when the Chicanos presented a resolution that they be allowed to form their own caucuses separate and apart from any other local caucus that existed. Some of us were quite upset at that. I was very upset. I was enraged, in fact, primarily because I felt like so many of us had bent over backwards to try to get them a fair shake. And they were more or less slapping us in the face. The wording of their resolution was something to the effect of: all of you white people are sexist, you know, you Anglos are sexist, and you either let us have separate caucuses, or we're going to walk out. And my reaction was: don't let the door hit you in the ass, sister, as you leave (laughter). That's just exactly how I felt about it.

Like I say, I was particularly upset about it because this is something that refers again back to Eastfield, within Texas, because the largest number of Chicanos were from Texas. The Chicanos had a very big delegation at Eastfield for the organizing convention. They had come up there on

a prayer and shoestring. They had no money. They were 99 per cent of them from the La Raza Unida Party. They had been working real hard to organize. They came to Eastfield.

The two local caucuses that were the best organized were the Dallas caucus and the Houston caucus, and they were fighting tooth and toenail for control at the state level. It was really incredible, the fight that was going on. Dallas was screaming money, money, money. We have spent all this money and now everybody's got to contribute from this point on, and there's got to be dues, and there's got to be \$5 dues or \$2 dues or something like this. Houston was saying there shouldn't be any dues at all. The Chicano delegation, which was mostly from the valley, was saying we don't have any money. We've got people that don't have \$2 at a whack to put down. Some of us in the Fort Worth delegation worked out a compromise on this issue. In fact, what we did was to support the Chicano delegation and the Houston delegation and say that, no, there should be no compulsory dues because we realize that there are sisters among us that don't have \$2--and there are. They just don't have \$2. We had worked real hard on this.

Ricketson: What was the compromise? Voluntary dues or something of that nature?

Bendslev: No, it was that half of the local dues not to exceed \$1 will go to the state caucus, but you didn't have to have any dues at all if you didn't want to at the local level. So you could have a fifty cent a year dues if you wanted to, and for every member you would send a quarter a year to the caucus, the state caucus. This was the compromise. Because what Dallas had wanted was mandatory \$1 a year per person or \$2 a year per person to the state office or something like this. Other people just simply couldn't afford to do that. And a lot of us felt, and I think rightly so, that they could work. There were a lot of people that could give of their time when they didn't have any money.

Ricketson: How was the Chicano thing resolved? Let's stay with the Chicano stuff until we finish it.

Bendslev: Okay. There was the issue of the dues. There was also the issue that the Chicanos felt that if the caucus at Eastfield voted to endorse candidates in the upcoming gubernatorial races, the primaries, and then in the gubernatorial race in 1972. . . if we voted to endorse candidates, that would mean because the preponderance of people there were Democrats that we

would endorse Democratic candidates, and that it would be the same as a vehicle for the Democratic Party. Okay, most of the Chicanos were from La Raza, and they rightfully, I think, felt that they didn't want the Texas Women's Political Caucus to be a vehicle for the Democratic Party.

My primary motivation for going to Eastfield was that I wanted to get endorsement for Sissy because I was already active and working in her campaign. I went to Eastfield and I found out a couple of things. One, I found out that Chris Miller was much against endorsement. She did not feel that the Texas Women's Political Caucus should come out and endorse anybody. Chris had a number of reasons for thinking this. One, she felt we hadn't been organized long enough that we couldn't look into the issues, that we couldn't really make a rational decision on who it should be. Although Chris never came out and said it, everybody knows that one of the reasons was that she was running for office herself, and it's very bad if you're running for office to align yourself with any other candidate because if they happen to go down so do you. If they happen to take a stand that you don't want to take, your potential supporters are still going to identify you with the stand

that the other person you're supporting for office took. So for that reason and for the fact that she really honestly felt like we didn't have enough broad knowledge of the candidates and enough time to get it together, she didn't want us to endorse. There were a lot of us that wanted endorsement, and we wanted it for Sissy.

So I got to Eastfield on the first day. I guess the first day was a Friday, and I just kind of wandered and mingled, and I found that it was about fifty-fifty for and against the endorsement. And I found out that E. V. Chapa and Alma Canales and the other leaders of the Chicano group were against endorsement for the reasons that I've already told you.

I got back to Fort Worth, and about two o'clock in the morning I called Dorothy Dubose, or, no, I called Betty Fisher, who I had been working with on Sissy's campaign, and told her that it looked real bad for endorsement. She called Dorothy Dubose, and Dorothy called me back about three o'clock in the morning and said, "I will meet you there at eight o'clock at Eastfield. I wasn't going to come over, but I will meet you, and let's see what we can do." So we got over there the next morning, and we got together with Alma Canales and with E. V. Chapa, and

we worked out a compromise where if the Chicano delegation would support endorsement, we would support a resolution endorsing Alma Canales for the lieutenant governor's race. Endorsement means not just come out in the paper and say it but also contribute money, which wasn't so important for Sissy, but it was pretty important for Alma. La Raza was pretty broke.

Ricketson: La Raza was not a wealthy. . .

Bendslev: But we felt like that if they would come out and support endorsement and support Sissy for the governor's race, then we would support Alma because we felt that these were the two women who were best qualified for these two positions and that the Political Caucus should give of their support. [End of side one]

Where were we? We had got to the point where we had worked out the compromise for the support of Alma Canales. Okay. That was at Eastfield. Now the reason so many of us felt like we had been stabbed in the back. . . do you have a copy in the material I gave you of the Chicano resolution?

Ricketson: Yes, you want to see that?

Bendslev: Yes, let me see that. Okay. The part that caused the most, I would say, emotional upheaval was this resolution: whereas, the Chicanos have specific political priorities

unique to the Chicano experience in the United States, let it therefore be resolved that in those states where Chicanos reside, Chicano Political Caucuses will be established and maintained on equal basis with other state caucuses.

This does not sound inflammatory in itself, but the rhetoric that went on at the microphones when this was presented was extremely aggravating to say the least. It was said that in Texas we had discriminated against the Chicanos within the Political Caucus, not within the body politic as a whole or the state as a whole, but that within the caucus that we had been discriminatory, that we had put them down, that we didn't know what their needs were, that their needs were separate and different from ours, and that they should have a separate power structure completely. They still wanted access to what they were referring to as the Anglo power structure within the Women's Political Caucus, but they also wanted their own separate organization set up.

We had worked so hard to try to get them into working with us, a lot of us had, because we didn't feel like we could have a viable Women's Political Caucus if any one group of women were excluded.

The way that it was put to us was that either. . . and I think it was E. V., it may have been somebody else who got up and said to the effect, either give us this or we're walking out. And I thought, you know, what I said before. Take off! Because I didn't feel like they had approached the convention itself, or had approached the caucus itself, in a real spirit of sisterhood, but that they were still particularly hung up in fighting the racist things that had been going on with them and that they wanted separateness.

I feel like we have worked too many years in this country for. . . well, in our society for thousands of years women have been separated by phoney things from each other. The social structure, the social position of the husband, or the dominant male, that meant that one woman could not associate with another woman because one woman's husband or father was president of the bank and the other woman's husband or father was a garbage collector. We've always been kept separate. The whole thing that the Political Caucus and the whole women's movement is about is to get women together. And when one group of women stands up and says we don't want to be together, we want to take advantage of what you can give us, but we want to be separate, then it

was my thought that you just go right ahead because you're not really sisters anyway.

As it has turned out over the past year, those of us who reacted that way have seen that the Chicanos were reacting to some things that we were not aware of that had happened at the convention. They were more emotional. There has been no separate structure set up in Texas. We're all working together. But at the time, as far as I was concerned, they could leave. If they didn't want to come in sisterhood and work together, then they could go on. There was so much emphasis in their entire presentation of being separate and of feeling consistently put down. I think that to a certain extent its true that our Chicano sisters have not come as far as Anglo women and as black women have because of the peculiar nature of the Chicano culture--and it's so super, super machismo--that they have not broken away from that as much as black women and as Anglo women have broken away. They are still much more dominated by the male in their structure. A lot of the Chicanos. . . no, let me say some of the Chicanos were more interested in using the National Women's Political Caucus and the Texas Women's Political Caucus to further the aims of La Raza rather than to further the aims of all women.

But the split has not developed. They got what they wanted, they got the okay to form a separate caucus, and they haven't done it. And I think that's fine. Maybe they were just saying, "Tell us we can and that will show us that you would let us, and we won't need to." I don't know. But I know that I was extremely upset about it at the time.

One of the things that really upset me was that they were making allegations that Sissy Farenthold was racist. And I don't believe this to be true at all. I have never heard or even read of anything that Sissy Farenthold has ever said that could be construed to be racist, so I felt like this was very unfair. They were threatening to withhold their support of her as she was running for national chairperson. They demanded that she come and speak to them and answer their charges. They were doing a lot of demanding.

Ricketson: And that sort of irritated you?

Bendslev: I don't like that worth a damn, no. I mean if somebody gets up and starts screaming and shouting and demanding things, I just say, you know, have a lot of fun, scream. I will do a lot of things if I'm asked and not a damn thing if I'm told I have to, even if it might be something I wanted to do anyway.

Ricketson: Do you feel like that covers the Chicanos?

Bendslev: Yes, I think that that covers that. It's real interesting to me that the split has not developed. It was really a rabid issue. Everybody was going around. . .

Ricketson: It's just sort of gone away with time?

Bendslev: It's just sort of gone away, yes.

Ricketson: Give me a little bit of information on what happened and what went on at the workshops you attended at the convention.

Bendslev: Well, I attended the employment workshop. . . have you got a list of the workshops? Let me see that folder again. I know that I worked in more than that.

In the employment workshop we discussed mainly national legislation because there were people from all over. We discussed the implications of the equal rights amendment. We discussed the national legislation that had taken place within the last, say, five years or so--where it's illegal to discriminate in hiring or promotion on the basis of sex and what you can do about it. Any company that has a government contract is compelled to be non-sexist in their hiring and promotion practices. Certain large companies are also under obligation to provide help, like meeting rooms

and things like this, as part of their compliance with the act, to aid women's groups.

Ricketson: Is this sort of an educational things--what resources were available then?

Bendslev: Right. I spoke to certain things that have taken place in Texas, lawsuits that have been filed and been found in favor of women.

Ricketson: Such as?

Bendslev: I knew you were going to ask me that (laughter). Okay, we have had. . . I've gone completely blank, Emory . . . there've been several though.

Ricketson: We'll let it go at that. If you don't remember, that's all right.

Bendslev: I really should have brought some material from home. I've got a lot of material on that. But we'd just have some specific things, things like. . . I don't know. Also, I went to the credit workshop.

Ricketson: What was that like?

Bendslev: It was basically the same. We talked about things like how to get a telephone in your own name if you're a woman. How to get credit. How to threaten to sue, even if you're not really sure you can. You can do that. One of the women in our office got a divorce about a year ago, and she had always paid all the bills.

When they first got married, they had lived in another town. Her husband was in graduate school, and she was working, and she paid all the bills, wrote all the checks, and everything. When he graduated and they moved to Fort Worth, they did not have to have a deposit when they got their phone because they had had a phone in this other town. When they got a divorce, she wanted the phone changed into her own name and they demanded a \$50 deposit from her. They said they'd accept her father's signature, but her father was dead and the mother had continued to carry the phone in his name. They would have let the mother sign, I guess, as Mrs. So-and-so. But I called the phone company and pretended to be this woman that works in the office and asked for a supervisor and told them that I was going to file suit if they didn't give me the phone in my own name without a deposit because I was the one who always paid the bills, that I had the cancelled checks to prove it, that I was steadily employed, that I refused to acquiesce to them discounting my participation in the economic maintenance of the marriage now that we were getting a divorce. And they agreed to let her have the phone in her name.

Ricketson: Were most of the workshops educational in nature, in that sense?

Bendslev: Yes, there were follow-ups. . . most of the workshops were headed by people that had experience in that area. For example, how to run and win. . . campaign organizations. . . people that had run for office or people that had been campaign managers had already been lined up, and they told you how to do it.

There was the. . . I'm trying to find the [in the papers from the convention]. . . okay, the right to sexual privacy. I sat in briefly on that workshop. I left the credit discrimination workshop and went into the workshop briefly on sexual privacy. That was primarily involved with the lesbian issue, the right to sexual privacy was. I later went to a caucus, a meeting, designed for heterosexuals and lesbians to get together and rap and talk about their feelings. When they met somebody that was lesbian, what kind of reaction. The lesbians' reaction to certain things that heterosexuals felt. It was very informative.

Ricketson: What were some of the things that were discussed at that?

Bendslev: One of the big things that everybody kind of tuned in on and really got a pretty long, pretty lengthy discussion

going on was the hassle of raising children, as a single woman, particularly the lesbians. The particular hassles and problems that they were having raising their children. Because most lesbians have kids. And most of them are raising their children. The fathers don't have custody, the mothers have custody. It was very interesting to hear the problems that they had been having. I could relate a lot to the problems that they were having because what they were trying to do would be to raise their children as non-sexist, non-racist. This is exactly what I'm trying to do with my children. And the hassles in the particular areas . . . like those of us that live in Texas have got a big problem trying to raise a non-sexist, non-racist child because of all the influence from school and from the neighborhood. You can try to teach certain values at home, but you're just not with the kid that much. It's the same sort of thing in the lesbian household. They try to raise their children in a non-sexist manner, and then, of course, they have even more problems because lots of times people in the neighborhood know and the kids know. So their children get a lot of hassle at school and in the neighborhood about, you know, your mother's a "dyke," and this sort of thing.

There was a lot of real interesting discussion that got started about people coming out as lesbians and the additional hassles that they had to go through to pretend and to put up the facade of being heterosexual. . . because if anybody at work begins to get the idea that they are lesbians. . . Bam!!

Ricketson: There goes the job.

Bendslev: Yes, in many cases, there goes the job. And the tremendous hassle that they have to go through. And how they may want to have friends, female friends, not lovers but friends, but so many heterosexual women, the minute that they find out that this woman is a lesbian, immediately begin to think she's on the make for them. And how it can become very lonely not to have any friends. Same thing with men, the lesbians may want to have male friends, and the minute the men find out that this woman is a lesbian, it freaks them out and really ruins, in many cases, the friendship.

So it was very interesting. Very enlightening. I think that if I were a lesbian that there are other places I would rather live than in Texas (laughter).

Ricketson: I can understand that.

Bendslev: Like California maybe or Boston. I met quite a few women from Boston that were lesbians, and the atmosphere

apparently is pretty open and free up there. Particularly within the academic community there's not as much hassle as goes on down here.

Ricketson: You were telling me the other day a little bit about the hassle that came up with the hotel about paging.

Bendslev: Oh, my God!

Ricketson: You want to go through that for the record?

Bendslev: All right. The convention coordinator at the hotel, her name was Mary Beth, or Mary Belle, or Mary Lee, or. . . I don't remember exactly. But anyway, she had made arrangements for us to be paged if we received telephone calls or if somebody was looking for us. Okay, there were about 2,000 of us at the Rice Hotel, and most of us had our rooms at the Rice Hotel. It seems that their policy, a standing policy at the Rice Hotel from the time the thing was built, was that women were not paged. The manager said that it would lead to people being followed to their rooms or some kind of shit like that. I don't remember exactly. But we had the distinct feeling it was because they were very much afraid that prostitutes would base themselves at the hotel, and then their customers could page them, and they could come and meet them for their assignation. We considered it to be a great insult that they did not consider that. . . in fact,

I was having a conversation with the hotel manager and I told him this. I said that we considered it an insult that they considered that women could have no legitimate business other than that of a sexual nature. The dear little man was about fifty and very middle class, and he nearly had apoplexy when I said that. I thought I had phrased it very diplomatically. I went on to tell him that we'd sue him if he fired the girl, the woman, excuse me, for having taken it upon herself to make this change in policy.

Ricketson: What woman was this?

Bendslev: The convention coordinator at the hotel.

Ricketson: So this was the employee of the hotel that was coordinating the convention.

Bendslev: Yes.

Ricketson: Had he threatened to fire her?

Bendslev: Yes. They had told him that she had better not be (laughter). The whole convention was pretty much up in arms about it. Well, it was really absurd, I mean you had people that were business women, people involved in government, like Chris Miller and many other legislators from places, Bella Abzug. And this man is saying if Bella Abzug, who's a United States Congresswoman, gets a telephone call,

they're not going to page her. It was really just like out of the dark ages. It was absurd (laughter).

Ricketson: I would think that he was fortunate that you confronted him rather than Bella, for example.

Bendslev: Probably (laughter). Yes. But it was farcical. I think that the Rice Hotel was rather overwhelmed (laughter). They had not expected 2,000 people who also happened to be women, who also were liberated, pretty radical women, to descend upon their heads (laughter). All in all, I wouldn't ever go back there again (laughter).

Ricketson: In line with that, do you see much hope for the caucus broadening its base?

Bendslev: Getting other women in? Yes, I definitely think so because women's lib is not radical anymore. Almost anything new when it first comes on the scene is considered radical, way-out. You have to be kind of weird to be involved. But then after awhile it becomes pretty much commonplace and acceptable, and the people that weren't going to align themselves with anything new, after they've heard of this for five or six years--and the women's liberation movement is about that old really--they start accepting it. It's not new anymore, and the more

timid among us will align themselves. I think that any woman, whether she's liberated or not, once she becomes involved in the movement is going to become liberated.

Like one of the things that we have are consciousness-raising groups. You take the most conservative middle class housewife from the heart of Colleyville, Texas, and get her to attend a consciousness-raising group regularly for six weeks, and she will click. She either won't come anymore, or she will become part of the movement. I'm not saying she has to divorce her husband and desert her kids and all this kind of stuff because that's not really what the movement's about. Marriage, if that is what you choose as your life style, is perfectly accepted with everybody. It's just that so damn many women never have any choice. I think that probably the women's liberation movement has had a lot to do with the increasing divorce rate in this country. It has created an awareness on the part of the women because they never really had a choice. The thing that you did was you got out of high school, or you had two years of college, or maybe you graduated from college, and then you got married. And that was what you did, and there was

not ever any alternative really that was acceptable. So you did it. But now that there are acceptable alternatives a lot of people. . . and I'm not sure but that in these marriages that are dissolving that the men aren't just as happy as the women to get out of them, in lots of cases. But there's an alternative life style available now, and you're not the only one that's pursuing it. So I think it's got a lot to do with. . . but they weren't good marriages anyway.

Yes, I think we're going to broaden our base. There's a whole lot of people that belong to the caucus now that I didn't know a year ago.

Ricketson: How about some of the other political names? Let me just mention a few, and tell me if they were there or if you had any contact with them. Barbara Jordan?

Bendslev: Oh, yes, Barbara was there.

Ricketson: Pretty active?

Bendslev: I'm sure she was there. Yes, Barbara was there, yes.

Ricketson: Did you have any contact with her?

Bendslev: No.

Ricketson: Know to what extent she participated, or what caucus or. . .

Bendslev: No. I didn't have any contact with the black caucus.

Ricketson: Eddie Johnson?

Bendslev: Eddie Bernice Johnson?

Ricketson: Yes.

Bendslev: I don't remember if Eddie Bernice was there or not. I know her from Democratic politics real well. We got her in as vice chairperson of the State Democratic Convention in '72 and ousted Roy Orr. It was a coalition of McGovern and Wallace people that got Eddie Bernice in.

Eddie has said, I believe, and this is not a direct quote, that she feels while she does feel a commitment to the black movement first and that the black movement at this time is her priority.

Ricketson: How about Sarah Weddington?

Bendslev: I'm sure that she was there. I didn't have any contact with her.

Ricketson: Sinfonia Thompson?

Bendslev: I don't know her personally. I know who she is.

Ricketson: Do you know if she was at the convention?

Bendslev: I don't know.

Ricketson: Why don't you sum up what you think the major accomplishments of the convention were.

Bendslev: The convention, the National Convention? Well, there were some things that were not real concrete. Things like getting to know people, other women,

from all across the United States. Really getting to know them as individuals. Understanding the hassles that each particular. . . okay, it's not really a state-by-state thing but more on a region-by-region thing, the hassles that women have to put up with in each particular region, like the deep South, the Southwest, the far West, are different because the life styles are different and expectations are different. But once you start talking to people from all across the United States, you realize that there are a lot of things that are the same, and it doesn't make any difference which area you live in. There are differences, but underneath it's all the same, and you've all been putting up with the same kind of stuff, all had the same problems. And you've had a lot of the same rewards, too. And it doesn't really matter whether you're black or brown or you're Anglo or you're from Maine or you're from Texas. You're a woman and you know that you have sisters that are concerned for the same issues.

On a more concrete level the main thing. . . well, hell, the resolutions. . . we didn't even get through all the resolutions when everybody had to start leaving on Sunday night. So we didn't get all

the resolutions taken care of. . . with finally a resolution that we would let the resolution committee or something (laughter) decide on which ones were going to be passed. There were just so many.

But what we really did was we got a working constitution. What it means is that when we have our next convention in about two or three months, say three months from now, we are not going to have to go through the step-by-step hassle to decide who is a delegate, how do you vote. All of this parliamentary crap just piles up the first convention that you have. The first organizing convention should be scheduled for three days with everybody understanding that it's going to last six. But everybody can't get away for that long. But in three days you just. . . you get no sleep. You try to hassle and get things all. . . delegations, votes, voting strength, all this kind of stuff, it's all pretty much been thrashed out.

Now we've got a structure, and I think that that is, as far as concrete things go, that that's the most important thing. It is the thing that came out of the convention, that we have a structure. We defined certain primary issues. I would say that the one thing that everybody agreed on was that we were going

to work for is passage of the equal rights amendment to the U. S. Constitution. We passed some other resolutions but really that was the most vital one that applied across the board to everybody. And we got our structure set up. Now we can really get down to some action resolutions, I think, in our next convention in '74. We can get some structure then set up to implement some really important projects, activist types of things, and start getting more done instead of sitting around and talking, which is what we've been doing a lot of (laughter).

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THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

The National Women's Political Caucus was formed in July 1971 to awaken, organize and assert the vast political power represented by women--54% of the voting population. The organization is a coalition of women from various backgrounds, economic levels, and political affiliations who have united in the interest of all women.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE ADOPTED JULY 11, 1971:

The National Women's Political Caucus hopes to reach out to women across the country:

-To every woman whose abilities have been wasted by second class, subservient, underpaid, or powerless positions to which female human beings are consigned.

-To every woman who sits at home with little control over her own life, much less the powerful institutions of this country, wondering if there isn't more to life than this.

-To every woman who must go on welfare because, even when she can get a job, she makes about half the money paid to a man for the same work.

-To every minority woman who has endured the stigma of being twice-different from the white male ruling class.

-To every woman who has experienced the ridicule or hostility reserved by this country--and often by its political leaders--for women who dare to express the hopes and ambitions that are natural to every human being.

We believe that women must take action to unite against sexism, racism, institutional violence and poverty. We will:

-Rally national and local support for the campaigns of women candidates--federal, state, and local--who declare themselves ready to fight for the rights and needs of women, and of all under-represented groups.

-Confront our own party structures, and, when necessary, cross party lines or work outside formal political parties in support of such women.

-Train women to organize caucuses on a state and local level.

-Reform party structure to assure women of all ages, races and socio-economic groups equal voice in decision-making and selection of candidates at all levels--federal, state, county and precinct.

-Register new women voters and encourage women to vote for women's priorities.

-Raise women's issues in every election and publicize the records on such issues of all male and female candidates, so that they shall be made to rise or fall on their position and action for human equality.

-Give active support only to those candidates for public or party office, whether male or female, who support women's issues and employ women in decision-making position on their administrative and campaign staffs.

-Monitor the selection of delegates to the presidential nominating conventions for the purpose of challenging those delegations where the number and qualifications of the women delegates are unacceptable.

-Insist that there be no token female representation, that the women selected to give equal voice to women actually represent the views of women, and not merely to echo the unacceptable views of men.

-Draft and support legislation to meet the needs of women.

-Form coalitions with other oppressed groups and all humane groups which share goals of fighting against racism, sexism, and violence and poverty.

The Women's Caucus recognizes that candidates must shape their platforms to meet the needs of their constituencies. We also recognize, however, that women have a clear community of interest, and we therefore put forth--to state and local caucuses for their consideration--the following issues as guidelines to the kinds of concerns we believe women must have as women, not as imitators of the traditional male style and male politics.

guarantee equality of women under the law by eliminating inequities in federal, state, and local legislation regarding sex.

-Repeal of all laws that affect a woman's right to decide her own reproductive and sexual life.

-Amendment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to eliminate discrimination against women in public education, public facilities, and all federal facilities, and all federal

-Enforcement of all anti-discrimination laws such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the Equal Pay Act, and the executive orders referring to contract compliance and government employment. Lengthen Equal Employment Opportunity Act to require it "cease and desist" on

-Extension of

other laws now exempt from Title VII.

-Elimination of all tax inequities that affect women and children.

-Extension of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 to cover all workers, including those in professional, executive and administrative positions, and ex-

farm laborers, and employees of non-profit institutions, who would therefore be covered by the Equal Pay Act.

increase and extension of

resolution late any national self-determination.

-An end to and support for international agreements to end the arms race; an end to the use of physical violence as a traditional "masculine" way of resolving conflict.

-An end to the use of repressive measures

against persons who are justly concerned about social change in the U.S., including the use of harassment, "security" dossiers, wiretapping, conspiracy indictments, grand jury investigations, and in particular, persecution of political prisoners.

-An immediate and concerted effort to end all Americans, with mothers and infants. preventive health care for all Americans.

-All necessary legislation, enforcement and education necessary to save our natural environment.

all Americans based by the National

educational standards; free, comprehensive community development; free, senior citizens. called programs for

- An immediate and concentrated effort to end discrimination against females and minorities in all educational institutions, public and private, including students, faculty and staff, with affirmative action reports on present

-Fair treatment of working women--regardless of marital status--including full parental tax deductions for child care and household expenses; maternity benefits and voluntary parental leave for childbirth; change of the Social Security system to end discrimination against families with working women, and elimination of the economic degradation of women.

-Support state funds for development of executive level of states and territories to enforce equality and justice for women.

We recognize the economic burden of such social change, but we believe this country's resources could be more than enough.

WOMEN & POLITICS 1972

More women than ever before ran--and won-- in the 1972 state and federal elections. Fourteen women, nine of them incumbents, were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. The number of women in state legislatures increased by approximately 20 per cent. A woman, Probate Judge Mary Coleman, was elected for the first time to the Michigan Supreme Court.

Joining the nine women incumbents in Congress are :

-Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (D. Calif.) a state assembly woman, Caucus member, and first woman to co-chair the Democratic National Conven.;

-Marjorie Holt (R. Md.) a founder of the Anne Arundle County Women's Political Caucus and former county clerk of the Courts;

-Elizabeth Holtzman (D. N.Y.), an attorney who defeated Emanuel Celler in the primary;

-Barbara Jordan (D. Tx.), former President Pro Tem of the Texas State Senate and first Black woman ever to be elected to Congress from the South;

-Pat Schroeder (D. Colo.) Denver lawyer and founder of the Colorado Women's Political Caucus.

The incumbent Congresswomen are: Lenore Sullivan (D. Mo.), Chairperson of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee;

- Patsy Mink (D. Ha.)
- Bella Abzug (D. N.Y.)
- Edith Green (D. Ore.)
- Shirley Chisholm (D. NY.)
- Margaret Heckler (R. Ma.)
- Ella Grasso (D. Ca.)
- Martha Griffiths (D. Mich.)
- Julia Butler Hansen (D. Wa.)

TEXAS WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

WELCOMES
YOU
TO
HOUSTON

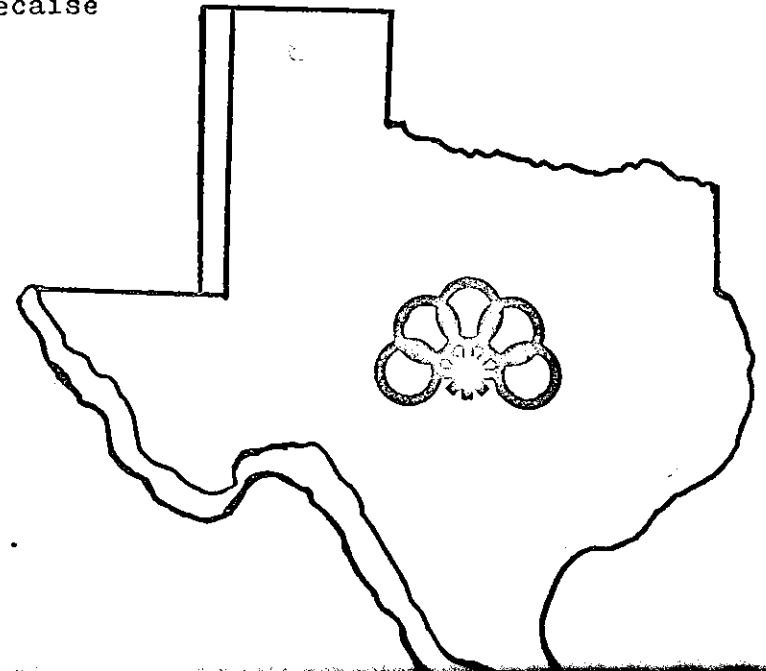
1208 Baylor
Austin, Texas 78703

Chairperson:
Helen Cassidy

474-1798

State Director:
Cathy Bonner

Treasurer:
Jeanne Necaize



THE EQUAL RIGHTS 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."

The Equal Rights Amendment passed Congress after a considerable lobbying effort by the NWPC and other women's groups. To become the 27th Amendment to the Constitution, the ERA must be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures--38 states. To date, 23 states have passed the ERA,* 15 more are needed! Lobbying efforts must continue to grow in intensity and effectiveness. **

Anti-ERA forces appear to be well-financed and organized. It will take considerable effort to counter their propaganda and insure the amendment's passage in your state. Here are some important tips to keep in mind:

- know the opposition
- organize a coalition effort
- get the press on your side
- solicit the Governor's public support
- meet with each state legislator
- be prepared to testify at hearings
- attend the vote and make sure your legislators know you are there

For more information on the ERA and how to lobby for it contact the National Office:

1302-18th Street NW #603
Washington, D. C. 20036
202-785-2911

*Alaska, California, Colorado, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming

**For detailed state by state rundown see sheet in convention packet.

Ms.

FROM THE PEOPLE AT MS. MAGAZINE

TO THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

WITH SUPPORT AND GRATITUDE

AND ADMIRATION AND GREAT HOPE

FOR THE JUST SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

Carl Barile
Susan Berman
Patricia Carbine
Charles Churchward
Margaret Cleary
Ingeborg Day
Kathi Doolan
Joanne Edgar
Ronnie Eldridge
Joann Fairchild
Bea Feitler
Nina Finkelstein
Margaret Flanagan
Susanna Goldman
Donna Handly
Margaret Hicks
Pamela Hightower
Susan Huberman
Suzanne Levine

Karin Lippert
Harriet Lyons
Cynthia Nagel
Cathleen O'Callaghan
Catherine O'Haire
Mary Peacock
Joan Philpott
Lillian Perinciolo
Letty Cottin Pogrebin
Dinah Robinson
Bernard Schick
Mary Scott
Margaret Sloan
Gloria Steinem
Ruth Sullivan
Patricia Sweeting
Mary Thom
Lynn Thomas
Rita Waterman

In 1848 American women convened a women's political convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Following is "The Declaration of Rights and Sentiments" issued at the conclusion of that convention:

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of men toward women, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted....:

He never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise. He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she has no voice.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen...he has oppressed her on all sides. He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead. He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.... In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband...the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement....He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in men.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign to her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored in every way he could to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead an abject and dependent life.

-1848



THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S
POLITICAL CAUCUS

HOUSTON'S EARLIEST AND MOST PROMINENT HOTEL

NATIONAL POLICY COUNCIL

Chairperson-Gwen Cherry, Fla. State Rep.
Vice-Chairperson-Carole Ann Taylor, staff,
Gov. Rockefeller's N.Y. Women's Unit

Bella Abzug, Member of Congress(D.-N.Y.)
Lupe Anguiano, civil rights specialist;
Women's Action Program, HEW
Evelina Antonetty, Exec. Dir., United Bronx
Parents
Nikki Beare, Dade County(Fla.) Commission on
the Status of Women
Lorraine Beebe, former Mich. State Sen.; Board
of Youth Services, Mich.
Liz Carpenter, VP, Hill and Knowlton, Inc.;
former Press Sec. to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson
Joan Cashin, Committeewoman, Nat'l Demo. Party
of Ala.; civil rights leader
Shirley Chisholm, Member of Congress(D.-N.Y.)
Mary Clarke, Calif. Women's Strike for Peace
Myrlie Evers, civil rights leader; former Cong.
candidate in Calif.; lecturer
Brenda Feigen Fasteau, writer; feminist atty.
Ronnie Feit, Columbia Univ. law student
Betty Friedan, author of The Feminist Mystique;
lecturer; founder of NOW
Jo-Ann Evans Gardner, Rep. nominee, Pittsburgh
City Council; NOW board member, beh. psych.
Elinor Guggenheimer, founder and hon. pres.
Day Care and Child Devel. Council of Amer.
Fannie Lou Hamer, Miss. civil rights leader;
former Miss. State Sen. cand.
LaDonna Harris, Indian rights leader
Wilma Scott Heide, Pres., NOW
Dorothy Height, Pres., Nat'l Council of
Negro Women
Barbara Greene Kilberg, atty.; Ripon Soc. nat'l
board; former White House Fellow and
aide to John Ehrlichmann
Margaret Laurence, atty; Pres., Women United
Olga Madar, V.P., UAW

Vivian Carter Mason, 2nd VP, Nat'l Council
of Negro Women
Midge Miller, State Rep., Wis. State Legislature
Paula Page, student; former Dir., Women's Center,
National Student Asso.
Elly Peterson, former Vice Chairman, Republican
Nat'l Comm.
Jill Ruckshaus, Assistant to the Co-chairman,
Republican Nat'l Comm.
Beulah Sanders, Chairwoman, National Welfare
Rights Organization(NWRO)
Gloria Steinem, Editor, Ms. magazine; author;
lecturer; Nat'l Demo. Policy Council

NOTES

*The ABC-TV documentary "The Hand That Rocks the Ballot Box," which featured the NWPC and selected women candidates in the 1972 elections, will be shown at various time periods throughout the Convention. Marlene Sanders produced the film.

*Caucus rooms will be available on a first come, first serve basis during the Convention. For reservations, contact Cathy Bonner.

*The National Headquarters Staff is available in the Persian Room.

*The Texas WPC has headquarters in El Vaquero Room.

*Mimeograph machines and typewriters are available in the Persian Room on a first come, first serve basis.

*Child Care is available in the Cougar Room.

*Press Headquarters are in the Silver Room.

*The San Jacinto Room has displays from many State caucuses.

*For emergency information, go to NWPC Hdqtrs.

CONVENTION

Thursday, February 8, 1973

7:00-10:00 p.m. - Registration-Mezzanine
7:00-10:00 p.m. - Welcome Reception, Texas Women's Political Caucus, Tejas Room

Friday, February 9, 1973

8:00-5:00 p.m. - Registration-Mezzanine
9:30 a.m. - Convention Opening Session-Grand Ballroom: Presiding Officers:
Honorable Gwen Cherry, NWPC Chairperson and Chair 1973 National Convention and Carole Ann Taylor, NWPC Vice-Chairperson, 1973 National Convention
Program: SEE HOW WE'VE RUN!
Moderator: Liz Carpenter
Featuring: Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm plus
Congresswoman Bella Abzug
Councilwoman Ethel Allen
Chairman Helen Delich Bentley
Justice Mary Coleman
Betty Friedan
Rhea Mojica Hammer
Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski
Jill Ruckelshaus
Congresswoman Pat Schroeder
Gloria Steinem

General Announcements

Recess

1:30-3:00 p.m. - Section I Workshop Session
3:30-5:00 p.m. - Section II Workshop Session
7:00-9:00 p.m. - Fundraising Reception, Faculty Club, Cohen House, Rice University. \$10.00 per person contribution at door.

(Main Street entrance at Sunset)

6:00-10:00 p.m. - Liberty Hall (see ad)

AGENDA

Saturday, February 10, 1973

8:00 a.m. - Registration, Mezzanine
9:00-10:30 a.m. - Section III Workshop Session
11:00-12:30 p.m. - Section IV Workshop Session
1:30 p.m. - First Plenary Session-
Grand Ballroom, Presiding Officers
Honorable Gwen Cherry, NWPC Chairperson
Carole Ann Taylor, NWPC Vice-Chairperson
Welcome: Sissy Farenthold,
former Representative, Texas State Legislature,
Texas gubernatorial candidate

Report of the Credential Comm:
Consideration and Adoption of Report

Report of the Committee on Rules
and order of business. Consideration and Adoption of report. (see sheet in packet)

General Announcements & Recess

Sunday, February 11, 1973

8:00 a.m. - Prayer Service Available,
Sam Houston Room
9:30 a.m. - Second Plenary Session, Grand Ballroom, Presiding Officers:
Hon. Gwen Cherry, NWPC Chairperson
Carole Ann Taylor, NWPC Vice-Chairperson
Welcome: Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, (D. Texas)
Balloting and Elections
Workshop Resolutions, Recess
1:30 p.m. - Third Plenary Session-Grand Ballroom, Presiding Officers:
Hon. Gwen Cherry, NWPC Chairperson
Carole Ann Taylor, NWPC Vice-Chairperson
Workshop Resolutions, other business and adjournment
7:00 p.m. - Convening of newly elected NWPC

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

Friday, February 9, 1973

Section I, 1:30-3 p.m.

NWPC Structure & Financing (Grand Ballroom)
How to Run & Win: Campaign Planning (Terrace Room)
How to Have a Caucus with Clout: Organizing around an issue (Trinity Room)
How to Lobby Your State Legislature: The ERA as a case study (Crystal Ballroom)
How to Pressure State Executive Officials (Brazos Room)
Welfare Is A Woman's Issue (Green Room)
The Credit Discrimination Hassle (Director's Room)
School: The Politics of Budget and Curricula Discrimination (Republic of Texas Room)
Legislation and the Ninety-third Congress (Colorado Room)
Peace and Domestic Priorities (Tejas Room)

Section II, 3:30-5 p.m

NWPC Structure and Financing (Grand Ballroom)
How to Run & Win: Campaign Organization (Terrace Room)
How to Have a Caucus with Clout: Broadening the Base (Trinity Room)
How to Take it to Court (Brazos Room)
Women Addicts and Alcoholics: Where Can they turn? (Tejas Room)
Child Care Alternatives (Director's Room)
Union Women (Republic of Texas Room)
Schools: The Politics of Budget and Curricula Discrimination (Green Room)
Legislation and the Ninety-third Congress (Colorado Room)
How to Lobby your State Legislature: The ERA as a case study. (Crystal Ballroom)

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

Saturday, February 10, 1973

Section III, 9-10:30 a.m.

NWPC Structure and Financing (Grand Ballroom)
How to Run & Win: Campaign Fundraising (Terrace Room)
How to Have a Caucus with Clout: Press and Publicity (Trinity Room)
How to Take it to Court (Brazos Room)
Divorce Law Reform (Tejas Room)
Welfare is a Woman's Issue (Director's Room)
Rape! (Republic of Texas Room)
The Credit Discrimination Hassle (Sam Houston Room)
Legislation and the Ninety-third Congress (Colorado Room)
The Right to Sexual Privacy (Rice Room)

Section IV, 11-12:30

NWPC Structure and Financing (Grand Ballroom)
How to Run and Win: Conversation with Women Candidates (Terrace Room)
Minority Women's Viewpoint (Trinity Room)
How to Get into local party structure (Brazos)
Child Care Alternatives (Director's Room)
Economic Development among Women (Tejas Room)
Political Patronage (Sam Houston Room)
Quotas--Do We Or Don't We? (Republic of Texas Room)
Women in Prisons (Rice Roof)
Legislation and the Ninety-third Congress (Colorado Room)

****Please consult bulletin**

ASSEMBLYWOMAN

A N N K L E I N

* * *

Democratic Candidate for
Governor of New Jersey

* * *

Announcement:

Monday, February 12, 1973

Robert Treat Hotel

Newark

Paid for by Citizens to Elect
Ann Klein Governor

159 Speedwell Avenue
Morristown, N.J. 07960
201-267-1999



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224 Cannon
D.C. 20515
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NOTES

Draw near, woman, and hear what I have to say. Turn your curiosity for once towards useful objects, and consider the advantages which nature gave you and society ravished away. Come and learn how you were born the companion of man and became his slave; how you grew to like the condition and think it natural; and finally how the long habituation of slavery so degraded you that you preferred its sapping but convenient vices to the more difficult virtues of freedom and repute. If the picture I shall paint leaves you in command of yourselves, if you can contemplate it without emotion, then go back to your futile pastimes; "there is no remedy; the vices have become the custom."

Choderlos de Laclos
On the Education of Women, 1783

thanks to:

The National Staff: Pat Bailey
Sharon Flynn
Katie Herring
Jane McMichael
Doris Meissner

Convention Press Coordinator: Debbie Leff
Workshop Coordinator: Marlene Miller

Convention Coordinator:
PAT BAILEY

Special thanks to Cathy Bonner and Helen Cassidy of the Texas Women's Political Caucus for handling the Houston end of this convention.

WPC Consensus of Friday Structure Workshops

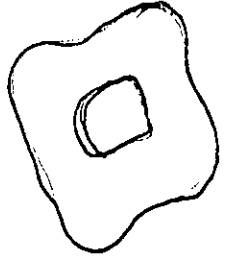
- at the Nat'l level on an at large basis* ^{non-voting} ~~Caucus~~
- A. Membership is open to all (women, persons?) who subscribe to the principles of the WPC. *Local caucuses shall retain local option whether or not to admit male members.*
- B. Membership in this association shall be available without regard to race, color, creed (see 2) economic status, age or national origin.

The State, or local caucus where no state caucus exists, will remit a sum of not less than \$1.00 per member per year to the National Caucus.

STATE AND LOCAL CAUCUSES

State and local caucuses shall meet the following requirements:

1. Support of the purpose and goals of the National WPC.
2. Hold regular, open meetings.
3. If more than one local caucus exists in the state, the caucuses shall coordinate activities and form a State Caucus which will define geographical boundaries of local caucuses.
4. Where only state caucuses exist, they must develop and implement within one year a structure for local caucuses and make a good faith effort to implement that structure. *which shall not have overlapping geographical boundaries*
5. Local and State Caucuses must file their membership lists with the national caucus.
6. Each state shall have only one recognized state caucus which shall meet the following requirements:
 - a. hold a statewide, regular, open meeting at least once a year.
 - b. co-ordinate a program of community outreach to make membership in the Caucus available to people of every race, creed, color, (see 2) economic status, age, national origin and political party.
 - c. File regular reports as specified by the National Steering Committee.



Saturday agreements on structure:

2. There shall be a national convention every two years in the odd numbered years.

Officers are elected for two year terms.

In the even numbered years there will be regional conventions.

There shall be elected at the convention by the delegates a chairperson and three vice-chairpersons.

1. The statement of principles for the National Women's Political Caucus shall be as stated in the Statement of Purpose adopted July 11, 1971 and as printed in the green program books distributed at this convention beginning "The National Women's

Political Caucus hopes to reach out to women across the country...

and ending on page two of the program book with the words:

"goals of fighting against racism, sexism and violence and poverty."

3. National Convention:

1. Composition

A. 2 representatives from each Congressional District where there are within the C.D. a minimum of 25 members of a local caucus or caucuses. Each delegate is to be elected by the local caucus or caucuses in those CD's that have been recognized as affiliated by the NWC and/or by the members of a larger caucus--for instance, at the state level (providing that those individual members are residents of the CD.

NOTE: This does not mean that caucuses must be organized on a CD basis but only that women who are voting for the CD representative live in the CD.

Administrative

4. ~~National~~ Committee:

Chairperson and three vice-chairpersons

6 members selected by the Steering Committee based on ability to serve

Treasurer and Recorder selected by National Steering Committee

5 Standing Committee Chairpersons: 5 Standing Committees are: organizing, membership, Finance, legislation, political action, selected by National Steering Committee.

- . National Steering Committee:
(see next page)

REGIONS DEFINED BY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND GEOGRAPHY

<u>REGIONS</u>	<u>CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS</u>
NEW YORK, PUERTO RICO, VIRGIN ISLANDS	40 (NEW YORK - 39; PUERTO RICO - 1)
CALIFORNIA	43
WEST: WASHINGTON, IDALHO, ARIZONA, WYOMING, KANSAS, HAWAII, OREGON, UTAH, NEW MEXICO, NEVADA, COLORADO, MONTANA, NORTH DAKOTA, SOUTH DAKOTA, NEBRASKA, ALASKA	44 33 (WASH.-7; IDAHO-2; ARIZ.-4; WYO.-1; KANS.-5; HAWAII-2; OREG.-4; UTAH-2; N.M.-2; NEVADA-1; COLC.-5; MONT.-2; NO. DAK.-1; SO. DAK.-2; NEBR.-3; ALASKA-1)
MIDWEST: Minnesota, WISCONSIN, IOWA, ILLINOIS	47 (MINN.-8; WISC.-9; IOWA-6; ILL.-24)
MID-INDUSTRIAL: OHIO, MICHIGAN	42 (OHIO-23; MICH.-19)
CENTRAL: PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, D.C., VIRGINIA, DELAWARE	45 (PA.-25; MD.-8; D.C.-1; VA.-10; DEL.-1)
NORTHEAST: MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, VERMOUNT, MAINE, RHODE ISLAND	39 (MASS.-12; CONN.-6; N.H.-2; N.J.-15; VT.-1; ME.-2; R.I.-1)
SOUTH CENTRAL: TEXAS, OKLAHOMA, ARKANSAS, MISSOURI	44 (TEXAS-24; OKLA-6; ARK-4; MO.-10)
SOUTH: LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, GEORGIA, ALABAMA, FLORIDA	44 (LA.-8; MISS-5; GA.-10; ALA.-7; FLA.-15)
EAST CENTRAL: KENTUCKY, WEST VIRGINIA, TENNESSEE, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, INDIANA	47 (KY.-7; W. VA.-4; TENN.-8, NO. CAR.-11; SO. CAR.-6; IND.-11)

REPORT OF THE STRUCTURE COMMITTEE - RECOMMENDATION OF COMPOSITION OF NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

The National Steering Committee shall be composed of:

The Chairperson, elected at convention

Three Vice-Chairpersons, elected at convention

Ten members-at-large, elected at convention

Racial Minorities:

The racial minorities, as defined below, will select at this Convention member(s) of the National Steering Committee in the numbers listed below: In the event that any racial minority group is not represented in proportion to its numbers in the population on the National Steering Committee, the Racial Minority Caucuses at the Convention will elect such additional members as may be necessary to achieve the racial balance.*

Black - 2

Chicana - 1

Puerto Rican - 1

Native American - 1

One delegate shall be elected from each state or territory

Two delegates each shall be elected from ten ten-regional districts defined so as to achieve approximately equal population groupings. These representatives shall be elected in convention by Regional Caucuses of all delegates.

Up to five representatives shall be elected to the National Steering Committee by Special Interest Caucuses recognized and approved by the convention if they have at least 10% of the delegates. In the event that more than five special interest caucuses meet this qualification those five with the largest numbers of delegates shall serve.

Each racial minority caucus is entitled to a minimum of the numbers listed above.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The NWPC Policy Council's State and Local Caucuses Committee is acting as the Convention Credentials Committee. The Credentials committee certified delegates at two meetings, held on Jan. 12, 1973, in Washington, DC, and Feb. 8, in Houston. State and local caucuses initially determined the number of Convention votes to which they were entitled and selected their delegates according to the Committee guidelines mailed on Nov. 1, 1972, to all known caucus leaders and contacts. Briefly, the guidelines provided: 1 vote per local caucus regardless of size and an additional vote for each additional 50 members over 100 up to a maximum of 7 votes; 2 votes per state (where state organizations exist), and; 2 at-large votes per state to balance the delegation where necessary. Caucuses were permitted to select as many delegates as they wished and to split the votes they claimed. No proxy voting will be allowed.

Members of the Credentials' committee are: Nikki Beare, Chair; Pam Curtis; Ann Lewis, Mass.; Virginia McCarty, Ind.; Jo Ann Evans Gardner; Ronnie Feit; Martha McKay, N.C.; Lupe Anguiano.

Adopting of the Report of the Credentials Committee, with or without amendment, is the first item for consideration by the First Plenary Session of the Convention, February 10, 1973. The Report will consist of a breakdown by caucus and state of the delegates as well as pertinent information on the overall makeup of the Convention. It will not be available until Convention time because about half of the states had not completed delegate selection in time for credentials review before Feb. 8, 1973. Since the credentials must be disposed of before the Tules and Order of Business are adopted, the following procedures will govern that discussion and that discussion alone.

1. Any delegation or individual(s) wishing to challenge decisions of the Credentials committee after its final certification meeting on Thursday, Feb. 8, must obtain the written agreement of (seven) delegates from 7(seven) different states in order to bring the challenge before the full body. The Convention Chair and the challenge delegation Chair must be notified in writing by 10:00 A.M., Saturday, Feb. 10. All required documentation of challenges must be submitted to the Convention Chair or her designee at that time.

2. Discussion on challenges will be limited to 10 minutes pro and 10 minutes con, with the number of speakers determined by the proponents and opponents of the challenge.

3. After the discussion the Chair will call for a vote and the motion shall carry by a simple majority.

WORKSHOPS

1973 NWPC NATIONAL CONVENTION

WORKSHOPS WILL FOCUS ON IDENTIFYING AND OUTLINING WHAT POLITICAL QUESTIONS PARTICULAR ISSUES AND PROBLEMS RAISE AND WHAT STRATEGIES OR ACTIONS MIGHT BE EFFECTIVE IN HANDLING THEM. DISCUSSIONS WILL ADDRESS THE AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES, EXPERTISE, AND ALLIES AND HOW TO DEAL WITH LAWS, REGULATIONS, PROCEDURES, ETC.

THE CONVENTION IS DESIGNED SO THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE PLENARY SESSIONS SHOULD BE GENERATED AND DEVELOPED IN THE WORKSHOPS. THEREFORE, GOOD FOCUS AND THE WIDEST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION AND DEBATE AMONG PARTICIPANTS IS THE BEST INSURANCE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PLENARY DISCUSSIONS.

WORKSHOP RESOLUTIONS SHOULD BE POLITICAL AND ACTION ORIENTED. THEY SHOULD STATE POSITIONS, MAKE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CAUCUS ACTION AND PROGRAMS, OR SET STANDARDS FOR LEGISLATION, BUDGETING, PUBLIC PROGRAMS, ETC. PLEASE NOTE: RESOLUTIONS MAY BE SUBMITTED BY ANY WORKSHOP, BUT THEY ARE NOT REQUIRED.

FRIDAY SESSION I 1:30 -- 3:00

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>	<u>ROOM</u>
WPC Structure	Arvonne Fraser Bobbie Kilberg Rennie Feit Dolores Delahanty	Grand Ballroom
How to Run and Win: Campaign Planning	Doris Meissner Doug Bailey John Deardourff	Terrace
How to Have a Caucus with Clout: Organizing around an Issue	Martha McKay Virginia McCarty Cathy Bonner Sandra Finley	Trinity
How to Pressure State Elected and Appointed Officials	Helen Delich Bentley, Moderator Lavon Blicsener Sue Cameron Sue Yenchko	Brazos
How to Lobby Your State Legislature: ERA as a Case Study	Vickie Toensing, Moderator Pat Keefer Mary Gereau Biddy Hurlbut Maco Miller	Crystal Ballroom
Welfare is a Woman's Issue	Alicia Escalante Fannie Lou Hamer Etta Horne	Green
How to Deal with Credit Discrimination	Pat Massey Paula Latimer Jean Sullivan Sharon Campbell	Directors
Schools: The Politics of Budget and Curricula Discrimination	Mary L. Ziegenhagen Members of the Minnesota Caucus	Republic of Texas
Legislation and the 93rd Congress	Ellen Sudow Ellen Hoffman Martha Phillips Carol Foreman	Colorado
State and Domestic Priorities	Mim Kelber Mary Clarke	Tejas

FRIDAY SESSION II 3:30 -- 5:00

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>	<u>ROOM</u>
NWPC Structure	Arvonne Fraser Bobbie Kilberg Ronnie Feit Delores Delahanty	Grand Ballroom
How to Run and Win: Campaign Organization	Anne Lewis Doug Bailey John Deardourff	Terrace
How to Have a Caucus with Clout?	Carlene Waller Kitty Smith Judy Petty Pat McDaniel	Trinity
How to Lobby Your State Legislature: ERA as a Case Study	Vickie Toensing, Moderator Pat Keefer Mary Gereau Biddy Hurlbut Maco Miller	Crystal Ballroom
How to Take it to Court	Sylvia Roberts Gabrielle McDonald	Brazos
Women and Addictions	National Institute of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse Verneille Fox Ruth Sanchez	Tejas
Child Care Alternatives	Day Care and Child Development Council	Directors
Schools: The Politics of Budget and Curricula Discrimination	Mary L. Ziegenhagen Members of the Minnesota Caucus	Green
Legislation and the 93rd Congress	Ellen Sudow Ellen Hoffman Martha Phillips Carol Foreman Pat Mossey	Colorado
Union Women	Edith VanHorn Marge Albert Edith Sloan Eleanor Bailey Rosa Walker	Republic of Texas

SATURDAY SESSION I 9:00 -- 10:30

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>	<u>ROOM</u>
NWPC Structure	Arvonne Fraser Bobbie Kilberg Ronnie Feit Delores Delahanty	Grand Ballroom
How to Run and Win: Campaign Fundraising	Midge Miller, Moderator Susan King Marion Perlman Tony Keane Cindy Sage	Terrace
How to Have a Caucus with Clout: How to Get Your Story Told	Debby Leff Mary Anne Butters	Trinity
How to Take It to Court	Sylvia Roberts Sarah Weddington Gabrielle McDonald	Brazos
Divorce Law Reform	Herma Hill Kay	Tejas
Welfare is a Woman's Issue	Alicia Escalante Fannie Lou Hamer Etta Horne	Directors
Women's Law Center of Austin, Texas	Women's Law Center of Austin, Texas	Republic of Texas
Sexual Credit Discrimination Issue	Pat Massey Paula Latimer Jean Sullivan Sharon Campbell	Sam Houston
Legislation and the 93rd Congress	Ellen Sudow Ellen Hoffman Martha Phillips Carol Foreman	Colorado
Right to Sexual Privacy	Elaine Noble	Rice Roof

SATURDAY SESSION II 11:00 -- 12:30

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>LEADERS</u>	<u>ROOM</u>
NWPC Structure	Arvonne Fraser Bobbie Kilberg Ronnie Feit Delores Delahanty	Grand Ballroom
How to Run and Win: Conversation with Women Candidates	Ida Schmertz, Moderator Sarah Weddington Alberta Murphy Midge Miller Chris Miller Sue Shear	Terrace
How to Get Into the Local Party Structure	Millie Jeffrey Mary Anne Butters	Brazos
Minority Women's Viewpoint	Lupe Anguiano Joan Cashin Carole Ann Taylor Margaret Sloan Shirley Witt	Trinity
Child Care Alternatives	Day Care and Child Development Council	Directors
Political Patronage	Sue and Martin Tolchin	Sam Houston
Women and Economic Development	Susan Davis	Tejas
Women in Prisons	Carol Jones Handy Audrey Colom	Rice Roof
Legislation and the 93rd Congress	Ellen Sudow Ellen Hoffman Martha Phillips Pat Massey Carol Foreman	Colorado
Topics: Do We or Don't We?	Bill Kilberg Osma Spurlock	Republic of Texas

Sexual Preference Workshop Resolution

Whereas we acknowledge the discrepancy between the law and human practices and whereas this discrepancy is so noticeable as in the matters of sex, be it resolved that we repeal all of the laws that restrict a woman's right to decide in her own reproductive and sexual life.

In order to implement the above statement we propose that the National Women's Political Caucus establish a committee on freedom of sexual expression that will be solely concerned with researching, lobbying, and creating affirmative action programs that will deal with sexual privacy with a particular interest in lesbian issues. It should be noted that both lesbian and heterosexuals serve on this committee.

THINGS TO THINK ABOUT FOR SUNDAY RAP SESSION (FOLLOWING THE ELECTION) OF
OFFICERS OF THE 18TH FLOOR TEJAS ROOM

PSYCHOLOGICAL MYTHS

We protest the myth that lesbianism is psychopathological by definition. This myth that a woman comes to lesbianism through some personality effect includes the following myths;

A. That lesbians come to their orientation through seduction through an experienced woman rather by personal choice.

B. That lesbians are genetically or hormonally imbalanced and are thereby innately lesbian.

C. That lesbian relationships are essentially a caricature or imitation of stereotyped masculine-feminine roles (butch-femme)

D. That lesbians are impulsively sexually driven and have no control over their desires.

E. That Lesbians are oriented towards women because they are incapable of relating sexually to men.

Some tentative alternative actions aimed at alleviating the above myths are the creation of a social services committee which will organize and help local social service committees to

A. Educate all women as to the validity of pursuing relations with other women if they so desire.

B. Provide information of psychologists, psychiatrists, and other social professionals who do not ascribe to the stated myths.

C. To organize and provide consciousness-raising groups for women who want to talk with other women about their sexuality.

D. To provide a large and diverse subject pool to volunteer for participation in psychological research aimed at clarifying the existing conceptual confusion.

When societal ostracism forces a woman to seek counsel about her gay feelings, she is subtly pressured either to repress or to change those feelings rather than helped to deal with the pressures of being different in American society.

It is time that counsellors and therapists became aware of the documented fact that homosexuality constitutes neither a psychological nor a physiological abnormality. Women who seek their help badly need support and reassurance of the validity and worth of their feelings; they do not need an increased sense of guilt and anxiety.

LESBIAN MOTHERS

The treatment of lesbian mothers and their children illustrates the real position of all women, all children and all minorities in this society. There are no equal rights for any of us especially chosen for paternalistic control and retribution are those women who speak out, refuse to deny their full identities as individuals, and try to speak openly of their feelings and aspirations. To live our lives in our own ways is a vital goal for all independent women. We must support each other as humans and women to strike down all props that remain to support harsh and unfair political, legal, economic and social injustices. Let's work towards putting the true minorities in their place.

PUBLIC ACCOMADATIONS AND HOUSING

Lesbians have found numerous situations where they were prohibited from renting and buying residences because of their lesbianism, real or imagined. The reason given is based on a prohibition known euphemistically as "multiple occupancy," which is justified on the basis of unstable relationships. However, unmarried men and women, and single persons are allowed to rent and buy these same residences..

JOB DISCRIMINATION--It is apparent that women, both heterosexual and homosexual, more frequently lose jobs at which they are competent and fail to obtain employment for which they are qualified because of the expression of their sexuality especially in the following fields: teaching, counseling, secretarial, food and beverage service, civil service, and military.

LESBIANS IN PRISONS--The thousands of lesbians in state and federal prisons are triply oppressed, and women, as lesbians as prisoners. : Lesbians who are identified in the prisons are separated and isolated from the other women in prisons

NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS CONVENTION

CHICANA CAUCUS RESOLUTIONS

FEBRUARY 9-11, 1973

I. La Raza Unida Party

Whereas: A Democracy cannot succeed without full participation of all the people it purports to represent and,

Whereas: Chicanas and other disenfranchised women have not successfully found political expression in the established two party system of this country and,

Whereas: The main objective of the NWPC is to encourage the participation of all women in the political process and,

Whereas: Raza Unida Party is a recognized innovative means whereby Chicanas have found effective political expression and participation,

Therefore be it resolved that the NWPC endorse Raza Unida Party as an innovative means of political expression for Chicanas, and be it further resolved that the name of the Raza Unida Party be included in all official and promotional materials which cite the Democratic and Republican parties.

II. Chicana Welfare Rights

That the National Political Caucus recognize and endorse the National Chicana Welfare Rights Organization as a separate and distinct body from the National Welfare Rights Organization because of its policies affecting Chicanas socially, culturally and economically.

Chicana Welfare Rights opposes the Talmadge Act because of its failure to provide meaningful employment or training for the poor as well as denying the mother who is poor the right to stay home if she chooses.

THE TALMADGE ACT ALLOWS FOR:

1. Breakup of the "familia" which is part of our culture. There is no education or economic mobility for the Chicana mother. The inadequate day care services force the welfare mother to leave her children at a child care center regardless of its quality. If the center is not bilingual, bicultural, and, if it totally negates the family life-style, the Chicana has no right to reject it. If she rejects the child care center because of its location, facilities, its program or its personnel, she can be rendered ineligible for welfare.
2. No meaningful training for employment which would truly enable the welfare recipient to earn adequate wage (higher than her welfare check would bring).

III. Chicana Caucus Policy Council Members

Whereas: The Chicanas are members of the largest of the Spanish-Speaking groups and,

Whereas: There exists a previous commitment of at least two Chicanas to the national policy council and,

Whereas: The Chicana Caucus reserves the right to designate the two Chicanas,

Be it resolved that this convention honor this previous commitment.

IV. Chicanas Local and State Caucuses

Whereas: The Chicana has specific political priorities unique to the Chicano experience in the United States,

Let it therefore be resolved that in those states where Chicanos reside, Chicana Political Caucuses be established and maintained on equal basis with the other State caucuses.

V. Chicana Educational Opportunities

Whereas: The Chicano community is the most neglected in educational opportunities and,

Whereas: Women within the community are even more needy of educational development,

Let it therefore be resolved that educational legislative efforts supported by the NWPC such as the Women's Education Act of 1973, include the following:

1. Concerned efforts to research educational needs of Chicanas.
2. Chicana recruitment for higher education and into the careers and continuing education programs.
3. Active, realistic financial support for the education of Chicanas at all educational levels.
4. Chicana oriented tutorial and counseling programs.
5. Incorporation of the Chicano culture into educational systems and textbooks.
6. Active support of Spanish/English, bilingual/bicultural educational programs.
7. Inclusion of Chicanas in all affirmative action activity.

VI. Support of Farah Boycott

For the past ten (10) months, our Chicana sisters at Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas and New Mexico have been on strike in a struggle to win their right to union representation and some measure of control over their working lives, let us therefore reach out our hands to these Chicana women who are taking positive action to bring the purposes of the NWPC as drafted in July, 1971 to fruition.

The Chicana Caucus urges NWPC to endorse the Farah Boycott and urges all local caucuses to enter into the Farah Boycott.

VII. Support Lettuce Boycott

Whereas: The Agricultural working woman is the most exploited in this country and,

Whereas: The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has successfully alleviated many of the problems facing Agricultural workers in this country,

Whereas: The lettuce boycott is a viable means for NWPC to become involved in supporting Agricultural working women, Be it resolved that the NWPC actively endorse the lettuce boycott.

CORRECTIONAL WORKSHOP RESOLUTION

Page A

Whereas National Women's Political Caucus applauds the progress that has been made in bringing to public consciousness the particular problems facing women who come into contact with the criminal justice system, and recognizes in particular the fine work being done in some federal women's prisons. However, much remains to be done. The National Women's Political Caucus is concerned with the continued severe discrimination against women at all levels.

Therefore be it resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus:

1. Encourages efforts to define the legal rights of women prisoners.
2. Encourages the development of alternatives to criminal treatment of persons who commit victimless crimes, which are the crimes of which women are typically accused.
3. Supports efforts to end discrimination on account of sex in the treatment of juveniles.
4. Supports efforts to upgrade the quality of women's correctional facilities with emphasis on community-based facilities.
5. Supports efforts to end discrimination against women prisoners in rehabilitation, job training, education, health, and other critical services.
6. Encourages the appointments of women to the authorities that oversee federal, state, and local correctional institutions.
7. Encourages the continuance of the information clearing-house functions of the Federal Government in this area.
8. The National Women's Political Caucus will create a standing committee to deal with women in the criminal justice system.

Whereas we welcome the cease fire and peace agreement in Vietnam,

Be it resolved in order to insure complete U.S. withdrawal from Indochina and to prevent re-intervention of American military forces, we call for:

1. The cessation of U.S. bombing and military support of forces anywhere in Indochina.
2. Withdrawal from all of Indochina all U.S. military and para-military forces, including civilians operating under Department of Defense contracts.

We call upon Congress to cut off any further funding for military or para-military operations in Indochina and for any further military assistance to any nation, party, group or persons in Indochina. We support bills embodying these concepts, such as the Case-Church bill in the Senate (S 570) and the Dingman (HR 3349 and 3350), Forsythe (HR 3410), Evans (HR 3250), Dulski (HR 3554) and Abzug (HR 3520) bills in the House.

PEACE AND PRIORITIES WORKSHOP RESOLUTION

Whereas we recognize the need for reconciliation of the divisions created in our country by the Vietnam war, and because we recognize that anything which focuses on blame rather than on forgetfulness will deepen rather than heal divisions, and whereas we recognize that case-by-case consideration of amnesty will put the heaviest burden on the poor and ill-educated to present acceptable cases for amnesty, be it resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus calls upon the Congress and the President to grant full and unconditional amnesty, such as provided in the bill introduced by Congresswoman Pella Abzug.

The Caucus also calls upon Congress and the President to provide for returning veterans and for returning prisoners of war by insuring that they receive adequate health care and by providing programs for their education, rehabilitation, and jobs.

Whereas we acknowledge the great difference between law and human behavior and whereas voluntary expressions of sexual behavior are a matter of private choice and should not be subject to legislation, be it resolved that we support repeal of all laws that restrict an individual's right to decide on her or his own reproductive and sexual life. In order to implement the above, we propose that the National Women's Political Caucus establish a permanent standing committee on freedom of sexual expression that will be concerned with researching, lobbying, and creating affirmative action programs that will deal with sexual privacy, with a particular interest in lesbian issues. Both lesbians and heterosexuals will serve on this committee.

A. CAUCUS WITH CLOUT: BROADENING THE BASE
WORKSHOP RESOLUTION

Whereas the National Women's Political Caucus is a multipartisan organization for all women, be it resolved that the local and state caucuses continue to actively seek members among all kinds of women. We urge that the national office assist the state and local caucuses by sharing techniques to broaden the base that have been successful around the country.

D.C. POLITICAL WOMEN'S CAUCUS RESOLUTION

Resolved that the people of the District of Columbia should be granted self-determination whether they chose statehood or home rule.

COLLEGE CAUCUS RESOLUTION

Whereas, women in the college and university systems form a large and viable segment of the women's rights movement; and

Whereas these women students have been discriminated against in areas such as housing and visitation regulations, admission standards, curricular structure, and lack of availability of child care services; and

Whereas women of the faculty, staff, and administration have been discriminated against in salary, access to tenured positions, and nepotism policies;

Therefore be it resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus actively support women in the university and college systems in their fight against such discriminatory practices.

Whereas United States colleges and universities train women leaders who will be influencing the young by their example and whereas conventional liberal arts courses distort or omit women's history, contributions, perspectives, and problems, the National Women's Political Caucus urges and supports the establishment of women's studies courses, investigations of existing courses, and reform of the curricula to eliminate sexist biases in college course offerings.

PUBLIC EDUCATION RESOLUTION

Whereas the public school system is the United States' only mandatory socializing institution and therefore has a responsibility to benefit affirmatively those it serves; and

Whereas the current system of schooling discriminates on the basis of race, cultural minorities, and economic groups, especially in the areas of extracurricular activities, library and curriculum materials, physical education programs, guidance and counseling, inservice training programs, hiring and promotional practices, school discipline techniques, and budgeting and capital allocation,

Be it therefore resolved that each local and state caucus be urged to participate in developing and implementing an affirmative action plan for use in their education agency to eliminate discrimination against traditionally excluded groups;

Be it further resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus lobby with Health, Education, and Welfare to require that each local and state education agencies to implement an affirmative action plan to eliminate discrimination against traditionally excluded groups;

And be it further resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus lobby with the United States Congress to insure the continued funding of currently jeopardized federal programs for education and for the funding of additional programs that recognize the special needs and interests of traditionally excluded groups.

WHEREAS, Most private insurance carriers do not provide even minimum equity for health services that are specific to women,

Therefore be it therefore resolved, That all states must require the inclusion of all women's health services by the insurance industry as a condition for state licensure of insurance carriers.

WHEREAS, Women and children in need of subsidized pre- and postnatal care and infant care receive these services through the HEW special projects, particularly in the big cities and rural areas,

Therefore be it resolved, That state governments and counties appropriate matching funds and establish and operate programs to provide these services to all people in need of them.

WHEREAS, In the majority of states, women who have not yet reached the age of majority, defined as either 21 or 18, cannot receive any medical treatment without parental consent,

Therefore be it resolved, That all states change their ^{without} laws to allow all women full access to needed medical services/state or parental intervention.

Be it resolved further that, State legislatures petition the federal government to support a greatly expanded contraceptive research program and insure sufficient funds in budgets of state universities and medical schools for contraceptive research programs; and that states petition the federal government to renew and expand the federal family planning services programs and appropriate specific funds in their budgets for the required federal matching funds for these programs; and that states require representation of women who will be served on the boards of health maintenance and comprehensive health planning organizations; and that states require that all health education and training programs, ~~and~~ including state university medical schools, be free of discrimination on the basis of sex; and that states pass legislation to support comprehensive counseling and referral services and adoption and abortion services; and that states ~~also~~ outlaw commercial agencies engaged in adoption and abortion referral profiteering; and that states increase and expand their appropriations for services under Medicaid and Medicare; and finally,

Be it further resolved that the AMPC not support any efforts by the state to coerce women with regard to their decisions concerning their reproductive lives, including forced sterilization.

Whereas it is the purpose of the National Women's Political Caucus to protect the interests of women of all backgrounds, economic levels and political affiliations and to take action to eliminate sexism, racism, institutional violence and poverty;

Therefore be it resolved that we support an agenda for the 93th Congress that would:

1. Establish and expand high-quality child care programs, available free to families with an income below the lower living standard budget determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and on a sliding scale based on income to higher income families, and involving parents and community groups in decision making.
2. Amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to increase the minimum wage to \$2.50 per hour immediately and to extend protection to presently unprotected groups, especially domestic and agricultural workers.
3. Enact an omnibus Women's Rights bill prohibiting discrimination in all federally assisted programs, public accommodations, and housing.
4. Extend Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972 to prohibit discrimination in admissions to colleges and universities, and enact legislation to provide technical assistance to end sexism at every level of education.
5. Prevent discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in all consumer credit transactions, all federally related mortgage transactions, and all credit transactions with federally insured banks, savings and loan associations or credit unions.
6. Prohibit discrimination in the granting of insurance.
7. Include, in any health security program, coverage of all women's health services (including prenatal, delivery, and postpartum maternity care; voluntary contraceptives, sterilization, abortion, infertility and other fertility-related services), co-insurance or deductibles and without regard to age, marital or economic status. The National Women's Political Caucus rejects any effort to coerce women to have or not have children.
8. Until the above program becomes reality, continue and expand the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act (Title X of the Public Health Service Act) to provide family planning services and to expand development of new and surveillance of existing contraceptives.
9. Extend for five years the special project grants for maternal and child health under Title V of the Social Security Act.
10. Adopt legislation to give public and nonprofit private agencies funds to establish and operate programs to finance the costs of abortion, pregnancy counselling, adoption services and other referral services regarding options related to pregnancy.

LEGISLATION AND THE 93TH CONGRESS WORKSHOP
RESOLUTION (CONTINUED)

- 11. Eliminate inequities in private pension plans.
- 12. Amend the Social Security Act to make it more equitable by permitting payment of benefits to a married couple on combined earnings if that produces a higher benefit, reducing to five years the length of time a marriage must last in order for a woman to qualify for wife or widow's benefits, and providing benefits to householders.

In order to carry out this legislative program we support adequate funding of all agencies enforcing civil rights and women's rights laws including the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, and the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of HEW. We call on the President to enforce all anti-discrimination laws.

Because of the extensive scope of women's concerns, not only in the area of sex discrimination but also in social and economic concerns, the National Women's Political Caucus will provide full-time lobbying staff in Washington, D.C., with developing effective legislative action programs at the local, state, and national level.

CHILD CARE WORKSHOP AND WELFARE RIGHTS WORKSHOP & UNION
WORKSHOP: RESOLUTION ON THE TALMADGE AMENDMENT

Whereas the Talmadge Amendment requires that, in order to be eligible for welfare, a woman must register for work if she has no children under the age of six years.'

Whereas this Amendment is:

Sexist, because it discriminates against women who are the sole supports of their families; it perpetuates the use of women as slave labor, since they must accept any job without regard to personal aptitudes and desires; and it perpetuates the underemployment of women;

Racist, because the majority of women affected are black, brown, and native Americans;

Anti-family, because it perpetuates the status of those at the bottom of our society; it should provide quality day care facilities, but does not; and AFDC contributes to the breakdown of families and their subsequent involvement in criminal activities;

Therefore, be it resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus urges the repeal of the Talmadge Amendment and opposes any other legislation which forces a parent or guardian to go to work outside her/his home and place her/his child in a child development center or other child care arrangement.

And whereas forced labor represents unfair competition to other working women who have struggled to achieve decent wages and working conditions,

CAMPAIGN FUND-RAISING WORKSHOP RESOLUTIONS

Resolution #1

Whereas a viable democracy was founded upon and is contingent upon full participation by citizens in the political process, and,

Whereas the expenditures requisite for adequate exposure to, education of and communication with the public by a candidate for federal office are of such magnitude that many qualified citizens are effectively excluded from seeking public office,

Whereas the future credibility of our system of government, the strength of our nation and the freedom of our people demand that the political arena be open to all qualified candidates, regardless of wealth, and free from dependence on special and vested interest support;

Be it resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus endorses legislation providing full and adequate public funding, from the general revenues, of qualified candidates for federal office in primary and general election campaigns, and,

Be it resolved that the NWPC urges that the communications media, including the electronic and print media, be encouraged, by legislation and other means, to make a specified amount of time and/or print space available to candidates for public office without charge.

Resolution #2

Whereas it is in the public interest for citizens to have full information as to the sources and uses of campaign funds raised and expended in political campaigns;

Be it resolved that the NWPC urges the enactment by state legislatures of laws requiring full and complete disclosure of financial contributions to and expenditures by political candidates and committees and all groupss organized for the purpose of influencing the election of candidates to public office, and the dissemination of this information to the public.

REPUBLICAN CAUCUS RESOLUTION

PAGE Y

WHEREAS, it is in the interest of the N W P C that its membership be as broadly based as possible,

BE IT RESOLVED, the the N W P C require that each local and state caucus make a good faith effort to attain in its membership representation approximately equivalent to party affiliation in the geographic areas served.

RESOLUTION ON SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Women have achieved the right to receive an education, the right to vote and just recently, a favorable decision from the Supreme Court on the abortion issue. They have NOT yet received the right to compete openly, as a woman, for economic justice. Only when they succeed in achieving opportunity for fair competition in the job market will they receive economic power and freedom. Because the National Organization for Women and Women's Equity Action League are committed to taking action on behalf of women who have filed complaints of discrimination in employment, the National Women's Political Caucus should also consider sex discrimination in employment as a matter of major concern.

WHEREAS, NWPC recognizes that laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment have been enacted, and

WHEREAS, NWPC recognizes that legislation becomes implemented and enforced primarily through the process of litigation, and

WHEREAS, NWPC recognizes that litigants in law suits concerning sex discrimination often suffer irreparable harm as a result of instituting such suits, and in effect often stand alone and are in need of support from other women which can only effectively come through local, state and national women's organizations,

BE IT RESOLVED, that NWPC endorses the enforcement of legislation dealing with sex discrimination in employment as a viable political issue.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that NWPC establishes a Committee on Employment Practices for the purpose of helping to eliminate sex discrimination in employment by:

1. Accepting and reviewing copies of charges of discrimination that have been filed with federal or state enforcement agencies.
2. Writing letters of protest to respondent companies or governmental agencies in support of the complainant.
3. Granting authority to the administrative officer in the national headquarters to act on the above proposals.
4. Compiling an annual report to reflect the profiles of discriminatory trends as to issues; i.e., hiring, promotion, policy, harassment, reprisal and retaliation as they exist in specific industries and job categories. (This is to be implemented when funds are available.)
5. Advising and assisting an interested group or person to seek federal funds or foundation money for the above proposed research.

CHILD CARE WORKSHOP RESOLUTION

RESOLUTION I:

That a goal of the NWPC is to promote the development of a parent and community controlled, publicly supported, 24-hour child development program (including after-school) to be available to all children, ages birth to 18 years, whose parent or guardian, regardless of economic status, needs and wants such care for her/his child.

RESOLUTION II:

That the NWPC establishes a national level task force to implement this convention's child care proposals and urges that such task forces be established by state and local caucuses. Specifically, the national task force shall:

- a. urge reordering of national priorities so that a greater portion of the GNP is allocated to child development and care;
- b. publicize child care needs by participation in Children's Day (date to be determined by NWPC) activities on local, state and national levels;
- c. lobby on local, state and national levels for NWPC child care proposals;
- d. demand allocation of a portion of revenue sharing locally and statewide for child care;
- e. work with other groups whose efforts agree with the principles set forth in this convention's child care proposals; and
- f. urge early passage of legislation favored by the NWPC.

LEADS AND PRIORITIES WORKSHOP RESOLUTION

Whereas, the founding statement of the National Women's Political Caucus affirmed our belief that this country's resources are more than adequate to provide a decent life for all Americans. We stated that our priorities "need" only be reordered to pay for life instead of death."

Whereas, the President's proposed budget is a tragic continuation of those distorted priorities that submerge our well being to a military-dominated economy. Even though the war in Vietnam is ending, he is proposing to increase the military budget to record \$81.1 billion in the next fiscal year. This budget would commit us to the development of costly new weapons systems that perpetuate the absurdity of the arms race and bring us no additional security; and

Whereas, at the same time, the Administration is proposing a \$12 billion cut in federal expenditures for domestic programs that have helped millions of people: job and training programs, housing subsidies, education, mental health services, medical research, economic development, legal assistance, help for rural communities, aid to children, veterans and the elderly, and other essential programs.

Therefore, be it resolved that NWPC call upon the Congress to assert its constitutional role and to reject a budget that is insensitive to the real needs of our people and our communities.

And be it further resolved that NWPC urges instead that Congress:

1. Significantly cut military spending;
2. Increase the allocation of funds to guarantee the rights of all Americans to adequate food, shelter, clothing, education, health care, and legal protection;
3. Develop new programs and approaches to the administration and delivery of these funds, to insure, where necessary, that they reach those they were designed to assist;
4. Provide an active role for participants in these programs;
5. Enact legislation requiring the President to release funds already appropriated for existing domestic programs;

And be it further resolved that, to implement these goals, the National Women's Political Caucus will establish a national mass lobbying effort in Washington and join in coalition with other concerned groups.

And be it further resolved that, NWPC call on constituent caucuses to join in this national lobbying effort and at the community level to seek out those affected by the cuts, take action with them, and assist in programs that enable people to live with dignity and security.

Rape Workshop Resolutions

Women will no longer be victims. We demand our right to use the streets and sidewalks, to live in our homes, to carry on our daily lives without fear of sexual assault. We will no longer be accused of provocation because of our dress, mannerisms or life styles. Rape is never justifiable.

Rape is an extension of society's definition of male sexuality and, as such, has been accepted as normal, if regrettable, behavior. We demand that rape be seen as what it is: not a sexual act but an act of male dominance.

Rape is a complex problem, deeply rooted in our societal sex roles. Solutions to the problem are themselves complex and action must be pressed on all levels.

A. WOMEN TO WOMEN

Be It Resolved:

That the prevailing attitudes of our society which hold that rape cases can be effectively handled through traditional male-oriented institutions must be changed. The woman becomes a victim of that structure as well. We, as women, can and must effect change on a community and individual level. That Women's Rape Counseling Centers be available on a 24 hour basis to provide these services:

- 1) Arranging the necessary medical examination
- 2) Providing the relevant legal information
- 3) Giving women emotional support
- 4) Being familiar with proceedings and serving as aids on a one to one basis throughout the ordeal.

This center should also have records concerning high rape incident areas.

That the media be encouraged and aided in presenting material to educate the public and to dispel myths about rape. News editors should be pressured not to sensationalize rape for the purpose of selling news. The practice of sensationalizing crime increases reoccurrences.

That women as individuals must actively talk to their neighbors and friends to create awareness of rape. Men must be encouraged to view this crime with different attitudes and understanding.

B. COMMUNITY SERVICES

Be It Resolved:

That complete medical and psychological services should be provided to rape victims. These services should include an immediate physical examination, a variety of means for terminating a possible pregnancy, a follow-up examination for screening venereal disease and supportive counseling. The fees for these services should not be borne by the rape victim.

That awareness of culturally produced stereotypes of male as aggressor and female as receptor be countered in all areas of the community. Furthermore, the topic of rape, including discussion of 1) how and when rape occurs, 2) how to prevent it from occurring, 3) how women can defend themselves, 4) how to handle situations of verbal and physical abuse and 5) what to do

if a rape occurs should be included in appropriate areas of school curricula up to, and including, the university level.

C. THE LAW, POLICE AND COURTS

Be It Resolved:

That the NWPC establish a task force to review the rape laws and their enforcement, police procedures and the court room procedure of putting the woman-victim on trial

1) Law Reform Study: such a study should evaluate the following possibilities, with the intention of instituting such changes as are necessary at the state and local levels:

- a) Abolition of rape as a separate offense apart from assault and battery
- b) Abolition of the corroboration requirement where it exists
- c) Reduction of the penalties for rape in conjunction with required psychological counseling of rapists
- d) Amendment of rules of evidence so that testimony concerning the prior sexual activity of the plaintiff/victim is inadmissible in court
- e) Repeal of statutes which provide, in effect, that a woman could not be raped by her husband.

2) All rape laws shall be enforced without racial bias.

3) Local police forces should be sensitized to the psychic trauma of rape. The police attitude affects the willingness of women to report and prosecute rape. To effectuate this end we recommend:

- a) Women should not be subjected to interrogation prior to receiving medical treatment when such is necessary.
- b) There should be women police officers specifically assigned to interview all rape victims and participate in the investigation of rape
- c) All police officers and officials should receive special training in the social, psychological and emotional impact of rape.

Resolution #1

Black feminists face enormous difficulties in recruiting black women to feminism because of a series of complex sociological and political reasons. But one reason for our difficulty is clear and can be alleviated. It is the failure of the National Women's Political Caucus to give visible priority among its lobbying and other public efforts to issues vital to black and other minority women. The National Caucus has often taken admirably principled positions on issues that concern us. But these have not been the issues to which the organization has committed its resources and lobbying efforts. Issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment are vital to black women. But so are the guaranteed annual income and cruel budgetary cuts in national social programs most vital to women and children. We recognize that the Caucus must limit itself to issues of concern to women, regardless of party, class, or race. Judged by these standards, the Caucus urgently needs to demonstrate concrete concern for issues that fall disproportionately on poor and minority women. One such issue is the guaranteed income, a measure whose chief beneficiaries will be women who are heads of households and their children. Another is budgetary cuts in social services that will disproportionately affect women and children. Without a greatly expanded active effort by the entire Caucus in behalf of such issues, the Caucus will never have credibility in black and other minority communities, and our efforts to relate feminist issues to the black struggle will remain at best difficult and often impossible. Therefore, to emphasize its concern for women of all classes, colors, and origins, we call upon the Caucus to formulate a plan for national action on no less than 3 issues that fall hardest upon such women. This plan shall be formulated within the next 3 months and in conjunction with women in the Caucus who are most affected by such issues.

Resolution #2

At a time when businesses all over the country feel compelled to integrate their work forces, and when the law so requires, it ill behooves the National Women's Political Caucus to operate with an all-white staff. This is not only unprincipled as a moral matter; it is foolish as a practical matter. We cannot be expected to build a base of minority women for an organization that is not thoroughly integrated from top to bottom. Moreover recruitment of minority women to the Caucus will obviously be aided by the addition of minority staff. Therefore we call upon the Caucus to adopt an affirmative action program to add black and other minority staff with decision-making authority as soon as the financial situation allows or vacancies occur.

Resolutions submitted both by the Chicana Caucus and
the Union Women Workshop

Resolution #1

Whereas: for the past ten (10) months, our Chicana sisters at Farah Manufacturing Company in Texas and New Mexico have been on strike in a struggle to win their right to union representation and some measure of control over their working lives, let us therefore reach out our hands to these Chicana women who are taking positive action to bring the purposes of the NWPC as drafted in July, 1971 to fruition;

Be it resolved that the NWPC endorses the Farah Boycott and urges all local caucuses to enter into the Farah Boycott.

Resolution #2

Whereas: The Agricultural working woman is the most exploited in this country and,

Whereas: The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee has successfully alleviated many of the problems facing Agricultural workers in this country,

Whereas: The lettuce boycott is a viable means for NWPC to become involved in supporting Agricultural working women,

Be it resolved that the NWPC actively endorse the lettuce boycott to indicate our full support of the just struggle of all working people for a decent wage and working conditions through an organization of their own choice.

Resolution #4

Whereas: The Chicano community is the most neglected in educational opportunities and,

Whereas: Women within the community are even more needy of educational development,

Let it therefore be resolved that educational legislative efforts supported by the NWPC such as the Women's Education Act of 1973, include the following:

1. Concerned efforts to research educational needs of Chicanas.
 2. Chicana recruitment for higher education and into the careers and continuing education programs.
 3. Active, realistic financial support for the education of Chicanas at all educational levels.
 4. Chicana oriented tutorial and counseling programs.
 5. Incorporation of the Chicano culture into educational systems and textbooks.
 6. Active support of Spanish/English, bilingual/bicultural educational programs.
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7. Inclusion of Chicanas in all affirmative action activity.

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(Resolution on Selective Service
(Submitted by Peace and Priorities Workshop)

Whereas the President of the United States and leaders of both major political parties have recognized the undemocratic and immoral aspects of conscription and have called for its end, and

Whereas the existence of the Selective Service System is no longer necessary since draft calls have been reduced to zeros,

Therefore, the National Women's Political Caucus calls upon Congress to refuse to extend the expiring Presidential induction authority and to repeal the law authorizing the Selective Service System.

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CHICANA CAUCUS RESOLUTIONS

Resolution #1

Whereas: A Democracy cannot succeed without full participation of all the people it purports to represent and,

Whereas: Chicanas and other disenfranchised women have not successfully found political expression in the established two party system of this country and,

Whereas: The main objective of the NWPC is to encourage the participation of all women in the political process andm

Whereas: Raza Unida Party is a recognized innovative means whereby Chicanas have found effective political expr ession and participation,

Therefore be it resolved that the NWPC recognizes Raza Unida Party as an innovative means of political expression for Chicanas and other disenfranchised people, and be it further resolved that the name of the Raza Unida Party be included in all official and promotional materials which cite the Democratic and Republican parties.

Resolution #2

Be it resolved that the National Women's Political Caucus recognizes the National Chicana Welfare Rights Organization as a separate and distinct body from the National Welfare Rights Organization because of its policies affecting Chicanas socially, culturally and economically.

Resolution #3

Whereas: THE TALMADGE ACT ALLOWS FOR:

the breakup of the "familia" which is part of Chicana culture, and there is no education or economic mobility for the Chicana mother. The inadequate day care services force the welfare mother to leave her children at a child care center regardless of its quality. If the center is not bilingual, bicultural, and, if it totally negates the family life-style, the Chicana has no right to reject it. If she rejects the child care center because of its location, facilities, its program or its personnel, she can be rendered ineligible for welfare, and

there is no meaningful training for employment which would truly enable the welfare recipient to earn adequate wage (higher than her welfare check would bring),

Be it resolved that the NWPC supports the Chicana Welfare Rights Organization's opposition to the Talmadge Act.

RESOLUTION OF THE WORKSHOP ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR WOMEN

WHEREAS, women constitute a disenfranchised minority in terms of access to credit, capital and other business avenues,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the National Women's Political Caucus demand

- 1) that the Department of Commerce declare women a minority so as to qualify them for special business assistance as coordinated by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) and
- 2) that new and massive resources, quite independent of those already allocated for minorities, now be allocated for women's economic development.

CREDIT WORKSHOP RESOLUTION (CONTINUED)

WHEREAS, women have been denied equal access to available rental housing, and

WHEREAS, this denial has been particularly detrimental to those women who are not married or not living with their husbands,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the NWPC shall endorse and lobby in favor of state and local legislation to ensure equal access to housing without regard to sex or marital status.

CREDIT WORKSHOP: PROPOSED RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, women encounter widespread discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status in connection with consumer credit, mortgage loans, and all financial transactions, and

WHEREAS, discrimination on the basis of marital status virtually constitutes sex discrimination because of its systematic effect on women, and

WHEREAS, the inability of women to attain credit is a mere symptom of our underlying inequality in the financial community, and

WHEREAS, credit is an ordinary incident to general financial transactions in our credit-oriented society, and equal access to credit is essential if women are to compete with men in the financial marketplace, and

WHEREAS, the NWPC recognizes that equal access to credit is a vital prerequisite to the attainment of a meaningful role in our nation's economy,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That NWPC encourage and endorse the activities of its members in connection with identifying issues, collecting data, and disseminating information through the media about the sexist and discriminatory elements of credit policies of retail stores and financial institutions, and
2. That NWPC cooperate with other women's organizations in the establishing coalitions to force reevaluation and revision of sexist credit policies, and
3. That NWPC recognize the need for and support federal legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status in all consumer credit transactions, all federally-related mortgage transactions, and all credit transactions with federally-insured banks, savings and loan associations, or credit unions,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

1. That NWPC's endorsement of federal legislation does not diminish the need for similar legislation on a state and local level, and
2. That lobbying efforts for state and local legislation be placed among the priorities of the caucuses in states with an absence of legal remedies in connection with consumer credit, mortgage matters, and all financial transactions, and
3. That NWPC consider in its evaluation of candidates for political office their support for legislation to provide women with equal access to credit and the general promotion of the economic equality of women.

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PAGE U

RADICAL WOMEN'S CAUCUS
Statement of Purpose and Proposed Resolutions

As women we share some of the concerns that have been articulated at this convention. As radical women, we feel however that the larger and more urgent questions of our society have been ignored and that involvement in electoral politics does not provide a solution or even an adequate examination of such questions. By radical, we mean getting to the roots.

We believe that politics and the way we live our lives are one and the same. Electing greater numbers of women to political office is meaningless in and of itself. There must be a fundamental commitment to change the basic structure of our society and to create alternatives.

As radical women, we are not bipartisan. We have definite politics and would argue that our political perspective has been overlooked in this convention's activities that emphasize electoral politics as a total solution.

We most certainly do not repudiate the necessity to actively work toward change in the here and now or the necessity for each state and local caucus to engage in those practical activities currently available to them in order to make political opportunity accessible to all people. However we believe that the NWPC as a whole must work beyond partisan politics in order to carefully examine and struggle to change basic power relationships of dominance and submission which exist between men and women, parents and children, institutions and individuals which prevent our working together to create a new society in the belly of the old.

We radical women are involved in and committed to grassroots political projects that are working to insure:

- a. HEALTH: by providing free quality health care for all through community-controlled clinics and hospitals; training para-professionals; implementing the Supreme Court decision on abortion so that women may in fact control our own bodies; promoting intensified research on safe and sure birth control, for both men and women.
- b. THE ELDERLY: maximum independence and control of their own lives; services which provide the option of remaining in their own homes, such as building programs, homemaker services, meals on wheels; developing and maintaining councils of the elderly.
- c. CHILDREN: an education process that begins at birth allowing them to learn about themselves, to learn skills that are necessary to meet their needs so that they may grow into self-sufficient and self-determining individuals; educational community where learning and doing are integrated, where the community is the school.

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- d. QUALITY FOOD, CLOTHING, AND SHELTER: providing for all through a guaranteed and adequate income and/or utilization of federal, business, and community resources to provide necessary resources (land, tools, and material) and training for people to meet their own needs. The public should support groups which love the land against those corporations which continue to rape it.
- e. PROTECTION: from harassment of false and damaging images of women in advertising and the media; from the production, promotion, and sale of toys, clothes, medicine, cosmetics, and food which are unhealthy.
- f. JUSTICE: by defending civil liberties and the right of privacy which are being seriously threatened by oppressive courts, police, lawyers, and bail agencies; by supporting legitimate prisoner grievances and working toward eventual abolition of prisons in favor of more humane methods of resolving conflicts.
- ~~g. PEACE: is not just the absence of war but the presence of~~

just relationships ,political, social and personal. The nations and peoples of the world must be free to achieve political, economic and cultural self-determination.

- h. JOBS AND PRODUCTION: by providing meaningful work (including work in the home with children) for all, work geared to production for the real needs of people and communities... production and distribution to be determined by the workers and consumers jointly.
- i. AN END TO RACISM: and end to racism by ending all oppressive and discriminatory practices; police harassment; and systematic exploitation of black, brown, Asian and native American peoples. By promoting minority control of minority communities; by ending racist welfare, educational, housing and medical practices; by supporting the liberation struggles of minority people.

Whereas in order to keep alive the women"s movement in the spirit of its rebirth in the 1960"s to cause basic change in our society, we must seek alternative solutions rather than exclusively committing ourselves to the mainstream of the male political party structure, and whereas we must continue to challenge the values on which that structure is based,

Whereas the NWPC by its emphasis on electoral politics has given insufficient attention to a large group of active political women who are also committed to basic change and to major social issues of political and social change.

Be it resolved that the NWPC recognizes radical women as a part of the NWPC, and

Be it further resolved that the NWPC establish a work force to support grassroots political programs that are outside any governmental agency or structure and which respond to the needs and rights of women.

WHEREAS, NWPC desires to improve communication, understanding and unity with the millions of organized and unorganized working women of the nation.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that NWPC form a Task Force of Union Women at all levels of the Caucus: national, regional, state and local. And, that this Task Force at each level shall have the responsibility of bringing together union women at each level of union responsibility for the following purposes:

to raise consciousness of Caucus women as to the problem of union and other working women as well as to raise the consciousness of union women so that they can better struggle for their rights within their own union structure;

to publicize the legal right of working women under the National Labor Relations Act to better their conditions on the job through forming or joining unions for collective bargaining with their employers; and

to exchange ideas and furnish assistance on the problems of working women.

WHEREAS, most Americans are guaranteed their right to organize to better their conditions on the job.

WHEREAS, despite this, some categories of work are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act which provides such protection.

WHEREAS, we are particularly concerned about such predominantly female areas of employment which are not covered by the Act such as private household employees and nonprofit hospital workers.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that NWPC urge amendment of the National Labor Relations Act to cover all workers.

BE IT RESOLVED that NWPC supports the pledge of the National Committee on Household Employment regarding a code of standards for employment of household technicians. NWPC strongly urges every delegate attending this conference who employs a household technician or who is a household technician to sign and abide by "A Household Employment Pledge" which is being circulated among the delegates pledging such conditions.

NWPC further urges that this pledge be taken back to every local caucus to support decent working conditions for all household technicians.

RESOLUTION FROM UNION WORKSHOP

WHEREAS, the Hatch Act and similar state and local laws make second class citizens out of all federal, state and municipal employees and those who work for employers who receive partial funding from the federal government,

WHEREAS, they are not allowed to run for office, even at the club level, to be delegates at a convention, to raise funds for a candidate or a party, to campaign as a volunteer for a candidate or distribute material for a candidate,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the N W P C urges the repeal of the Hatch Act and similar laws if the courts fail to remove this discriminatory legislation.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE AND HUMAN SERVICES CRISIS

WHEREAS, we deplore the racist and sexist nature of the attack by this administration on the entire social welfare program via the proposed massive budget cuts and refusal to mandate welfare benefit and human services increases, and

WHEREAS, we submit that Racism and Sexism are the Achilles heel of this country, and

WHEREAS, the budget cuts affect senior citizens, welfare recipients, community mental health, health services, education and housing for the poor and will place a special burden on women, Blacks, Browns, Native Americans, Asians and ethnic minorities, and

WHEREAS, no proposal has been advanced to increase grants and benefits, ~~minimum wage and unemployment compensation coverage, or significant proposals for tax reform, and~~

WHEREAS, the federal government agencies are using guidelines and regulations to limit the number of people who will be eligible for these services and thus to cut expenditures, and

WHEREAS, the elderly for example, will have their social security increase wiped out by changes in their benefits such as increased housing costs, Medicare premium increases, decreases in veterans pensions and loss of food stamps beginning January 1, 1974, at the same time that the cost of food climbs and wages and welfare grants do not keep up with the cost of living increase, and

WHEREAS, the President has said that he will order the Office of Management and Budget not to spend money constitutionally appropriated by Congress for human welfare and instead direct people to local and state government for help, and

WHEREAS, the money for social welfare is supposed to come from revenue sharing funds, and

WHEREAS, the revenue sharing funds are grossly inadequate in comparison to federal monies available until now, and

WHEREAS, this will inevitably result in pitting the workers, the poor, senior citizens and those in need of health and mental health services against each other,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Women's Political Caucus demand that Congress insist that money appropriated by Congress be spent on human welfare programs and not bottled up by the Office of Management and Budget, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the National Women's Political Caucus support increased welfare grants and funding at the current and better levels for human services, cutting the federal budget instead via arms cuts such as the \$8 billion that Senator Goldwater has said is not needed by the Tactical Air Force,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the National Women's Political Caucus reflect its opposition to sexism and racism in dealing with all issues relating to human welfare and human services, and

FINALLY BE IT RESOLVED, that the National Women's Political Caucus set as a top priority that local caucuses join with the National Caucus in forming coalitions with senior citizens, welfare recipients, professional groups, Blacks, Browns, the vanishing Native American, ethnic minorities, and citizens committed to improving income levels and benefits for the poor and low income people, as well as increasing service programs, and to develop priorities for the spending of revenue sharing monies and systems to monitor and evaluate the spending of revenue sharing money.

RESOLUTION 1

WHEREAS, the Puerto Rican women have been denied adequate representation in this conference as well as ongoing participation in the NWPC and its member caucuses,

BE IT RESOLVED, that:

Puerto Ricans be guaranteed proportional representation (based on a population of six to seven million) on the NWPC governing body;

the Puerto Rican Women's Political Caucus reserves the right to designate its representation on the NWPC governing body;

member caucuses from geographic areas having a Puerto Rican constituency be required to develop affirmative action programs to guarantee fair Puerto Rican representation; and

any member caucus failing to meet this condition will be subject to challenge.

RESOLUTION 2: DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PUERTO RICANS

WHEREAS, in those regions of the United States where we have settled;

we suffer from the highest unemployment rate of any group;

we have the lowest annual family income of any group;

we suffer from the highest school drop-out rate of any group;

we suffer from the highest drug addiction rate of any group;

we suffer from the highest incidence of chronic illnesses of any group;

we are victims of a malevolent welfare system that has destroyed our family unit; and

we suffer from the lack of adequate housing.

BE IT RESOLVED, that the NWPC and all its member caucuses support national and local legislation and programs conceived to alleviate the conditions described above, and specifically:

- # bilingual-bicultural child care services and education from early childhood through college;
- # nationalized health services including but not limited to prenatal care, treatment for drug abusers and preventive medicine;
- # guaranteed annual family income;
- # bilingual manpower development programs; and
- # federally funded and subsidized low-income housing.

RESOLUTION 3: FUNDS FOR PUERTO RICO

WHEREAS, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has not solved its basic problems of poverty, unemployment, lack of opportunity, poor housing and other social and economic inequities,

BE IT RESOLVED, that Puerto Rico be allocated federal funds on an equal basis for programs geared to remedy these conditions.

MASSACHUSETTS CAUCUS RESOLUTION

PAGE DD

WHEREAS, the National Womens' Political Caucus endorses the concept that all concerned citizens must be involved in the decision-making process at all levels of government as a basic cornerstone to the total revitalization of our communities; and,

WHEREAS, the National Womens' Political Caucus believes the continued and increased funding of social programs is essential to the growth ~~and development of our nation; and,~~

WHEREAS, the National Citizens Participation has requested the cosponsorship by the National Womens' Political Caucus of a resolution calling for effective citizen involvement in social programs and continued funding for those programs;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the National Womens' Political Caucus supports the inclusion of citizens' participation in all federal programs; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Caucus questions the wisdom of budget cuts and financial impoundments for federally funded programs in areas such as child care, education, manpower, health, housing and community development; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we call upon all groups concerned with the cause of uplifting humanity to join with us in improving the present status of the Human Condition, so that fear, disease, unemployment, ignorance and blight shall not prevail in this affluent Society.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL PARTY REFORM

WHEREAS, the National Women's Political Caucus is committed to the principle of full participation of women in all political parties and their equal representation in the party structures, committees, leadership and conventions,

AND

WHEREAS, the Republican members of the NWPC heartily support the formation of the Steiger Reform Commission, created as a result of Rule 29 at the 1972 Republican National Convention,

BE IT RESOLVED that the NWPC calls upon the Chair of the Republican National Committee to appoint equal numbers of women and men to the Steiger Commission,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the NWPC urges the Steiger Commission to require equal representation of women in all levels of party activity, including delegate selection and convention and party officers; and to work vigorously to insure that the spirit and letter of the rules passed at the Convention be followed to open the Republican Party up to the fullest participation of women, minorities and young people,

AND

WHEREAS the participation of women has greatly increased in the Democratic Party, and especially in the Presidential nominating process that took place in 1972,

AND WHEREAS this increase was due in large part to the adoption and implementation of the McGovern-Fraser reform guidelines which opened the Democratic Party to participation by all Democrats, and required specific affirmative efforts to overcome the effects of past discrimination against women and other underrepresented groups,

AND WHEREAS this effort has started but is not yet complete, and in recognition of this the Democratic Party has formed the Mikulski Commission to review and further implement the reforms,

~~BE IT RESOLVED~~ that the NWPC commit itself to work for the preservation and continued implementation of the Democratic Party reforms which have contributed to the increased participation of women in the political process, especially the implementation of a compliance review mechanism to assure that the required affirmative action is taken, as mandated by the 1972 Democratic Convention; and actively to encourage the Democratic Party to continue its efforts to create an open and representative party.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, a 50-year struggle to obtain Constitutional affirmation and protection of the equal rights of women and men is close to victory, and

WHEREAS, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is vital in order to assure first-class citizenship to all persons, and

WHEREAS, the 27th Amendment to the U.S. constitution has been approved by Congress and has been ratified by 26 of the required 38 states,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that completion of the ratification process be a top priority of the NWPC and its state and local caucuses, and

BE IT RESOLVED that the NWPC calls on all women and men of goodwill, political, religious and other leaders, including the President of the U.S., to use their prestige and influence to help achieve final adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that members of the NWPC will not support for reelection any members of state legislatures who vote against ERA.