

HOUSTON TOWN MEETING I

JUNE 25, 1978

ADDRESS OF FRANCES T. FARENTHOLD

THE QUESTION HAS ALREADY BEEN PUT TO ME! WHAT BUSINESS DOES A ^{SINGLE}~~MARRIED~~ WHITE WOMAN WITH FOUR GROWN CHILDREN HAVE ADDRESSING THIS CONVOCATION OF GAY MEN AND WOMEN? THE ANSWER SHOULD BE SELF-EVIDENT.

NO ONE IS FREE UNLESS WE ARE ALL FREE. *A society is neither just nor civilized unless those that are not abused are as abused as those that are*
WE CANNOT OPEN THE DOOR TO SOME MINORITIES WHILE

DENYING ACCESS TO OTHERS. RACISM IS NOT A "STRAIGHT" ISSUE-MOTHERHOOD AND CHILD-CARE ARE NOT "STRAIGHT" ISSUES-SEXISM, OPPRESSION, AND THE DENIAL OF HUMAN DIGNITY ARE NOT "STRAIGHT" ISSUES-VIOLENCE AND DISCRIMINATION TAKE NO NOTE OF CLASS, COLOR, AGE, CREED OR SEXUAL PREFERENCE. HUMAN RIGHTS IS A UNIVERSAL ISSUE.

ON JUNE 21, 1978, IN WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT ~~JIMMY~~ CARTER TOLD LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD CONTINUE TO GIVE STRONG EMPHASIS TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS DESPITE CRITICISM OF THE POLICY BY SOME GOVERNMENTS.

"MY GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BE DETERRED FROM OUR OPEN AND ENTHUSIASTIC POLICY OF PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS, IN WHATEVER WAYS WE CAN," OUR PRESIDENT SAID. AND YET INEQUALITY AND BASIC HUMAN INJUSTICE RUN RAMPANT WITHIN OUR OWN NATION. IT IS TOO EASY TO VIEW HUMAN RIGHTS FROM A DISTANCE. FOR TOO LONG THIS HAS BEEN OUR NATIONAL HABIT. ONE EXAMPLE COMES FROM OUR 19TH CENTURY HERITAGE:

BOSTON MATRONS KNITTING COVERLETS AND CLOTHES FOR IRISH BABIES DURING THE POTATO FAMINE WHILE IN THEIR OWN CITY SIGNS ARE POSTED BARRING THE IRISH FROM PUBLIC ^{IMMIGRANTS} FOOD AND LODGINGS. TWO HAZARDOUS TYRANNY OF THE MAY
there are *to be Osmear of* *124*

SOME HAVE ALLOWED THEMSELVES TO FOLLOW LEADERS WHO INDULGED IN INTOLERANT RELIGIOSITY. IN NAZI GERMANY NEARLY A QUARTER OF A MILLION HOMOSEXUALS WERE EXECUTED BY THE NAZIS BETWEEN 1937 AND 1945. IN YOUR OWN LOGO FOR TOWN MEETING 1, YOU HONOR THOSE LOST PEOPLE WITH THE TRIANGLE. MANY PEOPLE REMEMBER THE YELLOW STAR OF DAVID WORN BY PERSECUTED JEWS BUT FEW RECALL THE PINK TRIANGLE FORCED UPON EUROPEAN HOMOSEXUALS AT THE TIME OF THE HOLOCAUST. LET IT BE REMEMBERED IN AMERICA TODAY. WE IN AMERICA ARE NOT A SOCIETY CAUGHT UP IN GENOCIDE, BUT SUCH INTOLERANT RELIGIOSITY, AS WE HAVE WITNESSED RECENTLY IN THIS COUNTRY, CAN LEAD TO A SIMILAR WHOLESAL DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS HAPPENED

IN GERMANY AND, INDEED, IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE CASE OF RACIAL AND OTHER MINORITIES. IT IS A UNIVERSAL PROBLEM WHICH MUST NOW BE FACED. LIKE ALL MINORITY GROUPS BEFORE,

YOU SHARE THE HERITAGE OF DISCRIMINATION. TIME AFTER TIME IN ITS HISTORY THIS NATION HAS BEEN FORCED TO REALIZE^{CHAL} THE RINGING WORDS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON^{IN} THE BILL OF RIGHTS HAVE NOT APPLIED TO ALL. THE EXCLUDED ARE STILL HERE. THEY ARE HERE TODAY. "WE COME FROM MANY PASTS," SAYS ADRIENNE RICH, THE POET, "OUT OF THE GHETTO, OUT OF THE HOLOCAUST, OUT OF THE CHURCHES, OUT OF MARRIAGES, OUT OF THE GAY MOVEMENT, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT", (AND I ADD OUT OF THE ~~BARRIOS~~ ~~FRONT~~)--INDEED, A MAJORITY OF THIS NATION SHARES A PAST OF OPPRESSION.

HOUSTON TOWN MEETING I IS THE BEGINNING OF THE REALITY OF A SOCIETY WITH A GOAL OF NOT SIMPLY EQUALITY BUT COMPLETE TRANSFORMATION. THE COMING TOGETHER OF GAY MEN AND WOMEN IS THE FIRST STEP IN A VALUABLE HEALING PROCESS. EVERY OPPRESSED GROUP KNOWS THAT ONLY THROUGH SOLIDARITY WITHIN THE GROUP ITSELF CAN THE POWER FOR CHANGE DEVELOP. DO GAY MEN RECOGNIZE THE DOUBLE BURDEN OF DISCRIMINATION THEIR LESBIAN SISTERS BEAR? ARE LESBIANS SENSITIVE TO THE CHAUVINISM RIFLED AGAINST GAY MEN?

THIS MOVEMENT DEALS WITH MANY OF THE SAME PROBLEMS THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT DEALT WITH. PROBLEMS OF SELF IDENTITY AND SELF ASSURANCE AND TRADITIONS ~~REPRESENTED~~ OF TIMIDITY HAVE CAUSED POLITICAL SILENCE IN THE PAST. PRIVATE SELVES VS. PUBLIC PERSONS WAS ALWAYS, AND REMAINS, A KEY ISSUE. HOUSTON TOWN MEETING I IS THE FIRST EFFORT TO ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS. YOU HAVE ORGANIZED. YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED AND ISOLATED THE SOCIAL AND LEGAL INJUSTICES LEVELLED AGAINST YOU. YOU HAVE OVERCOME THE CRISIS OF TIMIDITY. ONLY IN THIS WAY CAN YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS BE IMPLEMENTED. SOME SEEK TO MAKE THIS INTO A RELIGIOUS ISSUE, AND A FEW POLITICIANS SEEK TO MAKE THIS INTO A POLEMICAL TOOL, BUT THIS ISSUE MUST BE SEEN FIRST AND FOREMOST AS A HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE- AN ISSUE SPANNING COLOR, CREED, SEX AND NATIONAL ORIGIN. THE RIGHTS OF THIS LARGE MINORITY CAN NO LONGER BE TRAMPLED. TO CONTINUE TO ALLOW THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH BLATANT DISCRIMINATION IS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR A POLICE STATE-A STATE WHEREIN THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL MAY BE IMPERILED THROUGH THE MEREST RUMOR OR NUANCE.

THE FAMOUS QUOTE OUT OF THE SIXTIES SAYS "WE ARE THE PEOPLE OUR PARENTS WARNED US ABOUT. . ." YES, THE PEOPLE WHO CAN AFFECT PUBLIC POLICY THROUGH DIRECT INTERVENTION; THE PEOPLE WHO CAN CREATE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HUMAN HISTORY, A SOCIETY WHERE ALL MINORITIES

ARE GRANTED FULL MAJORITY RIGHTS-RIGHTS BASIC TO HUMAN
DIGNITY, EVER OTHER MINORITY ^{who has gained a foothold} KNOWS IF IT DOES NOT MAKE ^{in the}
ITS NEEDS, ITS CONCERNS, ITS COMMITMENTS KNOWN, NO ONE ^{System}
ELSE WILL. TODAY IS ONE MORE BEGINNING
THERE WILL BE OTHER MINORITY
GROUPS TO FOLLOW.
FOR WE ARE ^{only} MIDWAY IN OUR
JOURNEY TOWARD

FTF/PC

National Women's Political Caucus

Seventh Floor, Warner Building
Washington, D.C. 20004

Thirteenth and E Streets, N.W.
(202) 347-9658

REPORT OF THE ORGANIZING CONFERENCE

NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

JULY 10-11, 1971

Washington, D.C.

Hundreds of letters and telephone calls from across the nation offering services, money and encouragement--widespread and mostly serious national media coverage--the announcement of caucus meetings already taking place in over half the states, and in many counties and cities--statements on the Senate floor--all these events attest to the catalytic effect of the formation of the National Women's Political Caucus, the embodiment of an idea whose time has come.

This report includes, verbatim or in summary form, the major facts, recommendations and decisions of the Organizing Conference for reference, as women get down to the grass roots organizing that will make the Caucus effective.

GENERAL INFORMATION ON NWPC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Total conference registrants--324 (approximately). Of this total, 18 identified themselves as Republicans, 148 as Democrats, one as a Liberal and 18 as independents. 138 listed no party affiliation.

National Scope--27 states plus the District of Columbia. Participating states: Alabama (4), California (12), Connecticut (3), Delaware (1), Florida (12), Idaho (1), Illinois (5), Iowa (5), Kansas (5), Kentucky (2), Louisiana (1), Maryland (24), Massachusetts (8), New Jersey (9), New York (53), Nevada (1), Ohio (5), Pennsylvania (26), Rhode Island (1), Texas (2), Tenn. (1), Virginia (21), Wisconsin (5), and Washington, D.C. (92).

Age Breakdown--Age 15-20: 15 women; age 21-25: 32 women; age 26-30: 31 women; age 31-35: 35 women; age 36-40: 19 women; age 41-45: 24 women; age 46-50: 22 women; age 51-55: 19 women; age 56-60: 8 women. No age given: 112 women.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE ADOPTED BY THE
NATIONAL WOMEN'S POLITICAL CAUCUS

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 the 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 candidates.

- . 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 positions 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 the goals of fighting against racism, sexism, 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 politic:

- . Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to 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 accommodations, public facilities, and all federally-assisted programs.

- . Enforcement of all existing and proposed 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, and to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by giving it "cease and desist" powers.

- . Extension of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to prohibit discrimination by instrumentalities of government, educational institutions in their employment of both faculty and staff, religious institutions and all other organizations now exempt from coverage by 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 extension of the minimum wage and overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to include all workers, particularly domestics, service workers, farm laborers, and employees of non-profit institutions, who would therefore be covered by the Equal Pay Act.

- . Increase and extension of unemployment insurance.

- . Immediate withdrawal from Indochina, and a resolution that the U.S. will never again violate any nation's right of self-determination.

- . An end to war, 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 United States, including the use of harrassment, "security" dossiers, wiretapping, conspiracy indictments, grand jury investigations, and, in particular, persecution of political prisoners.

- . An immediate and concerted effort to end hunger and malnutrition for all Americans, with special emphasis on expectant mothers and infants.

- . Comprehensive and preventive health care for all Americans.

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

- . Fair treatment in housing to assure adequate shelter for all Americans, and to eliminate discriminatory practices against women, especially families with women heads and welfare mothers.

- . An adequate income for all Americans based on the determination of adequacy by the National Welfare Rights Organization.

- . Comprehensive community-controlled programs for all Americans. They include: free comprehensive, parent-and-community-controlled child care programs, incorporating the highest standards of education, health and child development; free, comprehensive community-controlled programs for senior citizens.

- . 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 the immediate establishment of affirmative action programs to this end and public reports on present specific conditions.

- . 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 and social degradation of women, whether by employers or by unions.

- . Adaptation of institutions, public and private, to the changing work patterns brought about by the humanizing of both sex roles, with special attention to new solutions to problems of unpaid labor in the home.

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

- . Enactment of all the recommendations of the Presidential Task Force Report on Women's Rights and Responsibilities, many of which are noted above.

We recognize the economic burden of such sweeping social change, but we believe that this country's enormous resources could be more than enough. They need only be reordered to pay for life instead of for death.

ADOPTED REPORT OF THE WORKSHOP ON THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF THE NWPC

1. It was the consensus of the workshop that a National Policy Council should be formed and that this structure represent a diversity of geographic areas, political, ethnic and issue groupings.
2. This National Policy Council should be composed of 21 women elected by this body and given the authority to increase their number to 25 members if such an increase will accomplish the desired diversity.
3. The National Policy Council, supplemented by an Assembly composed of one woman from each state, territory and the District of Columbia, shall constitute the policy-making body of the National Women's Political Caucus.
4. It was unanimously agreed that representatives from each state convene a state caucus at this meeting for the purpose of working out plans for organizing in their own states and for recommending how state organizations will relate to the national structure.
5. The workshop specifically voted down a suggestion that a Committee on Constitution and Bylaws be established. It was the consensus of the group that the national structure should have the maximum amount of flexibility consistent with implementation of the goals of the NWPC.
6. The National Policy Council shall have the right to appoint committees as needed to effectuate the goals of the NWPC.
7. The workshop agreed that the NWPC shall not be a membership organization at the national level, but that supporters be called on voluntarily to pledge financial aid. State and city groups are free to determine their own form of organization and financial support.

8. A Registry of Woman Candidates should be established at the national level, and any woman running for office shall be listed in that Registry and shall be asked to submit a short self-defining paragraph on her candidacy. (For Dissemination)
9. It was suggested that the period between Aug. 26 and Sept. 26, 1971 be designated as the period during which state organizations are encouraged to begin their activities in implementation of the goals of the NWPC.
10. Other women's organizations shall be contacted in order to find areas of possible cooperation and to combine resources for effective action, as possible.

WORKSHOPS

Of the six workshop reports prepared at the conference, two were discussed and voted on at the conference. The Women's Priorities Workshop drafted the Statement of Purpose, the text of which is included above as amended and voted upon by the full conference. The report of the Workshop on the Future Structure of the NWPC is also included above as amended and voted upon by the conference. The other four reports were referred to the Policy Council for adoption as they saw fit. These reports are summarized below; sections of the reports which were voted on by the conference are included in full.

SUMMARY OF POLITICAL PROCEDURES AND STRATEGY WORKSHOP REPORT

The workshop's first recommendation was adopted in full by the conference: "We recommend at the earliest possible moment the organization of nonpartisan women's political caucuses in each state, to have structured means to educate women about the realities of politics and to stimulate the initiative of additional caucuses, including those within the political parties."

The workshop also recommended: 1. Equal representation of women at all levels of party structures; 2. The mailing of a full list of conference participants and their addresses to each participant in the Washington conference and the provision of statewide lists of interested women upon request; 3. An active search by the national caucus for women to run for political office, particularly on the local level; 4. Creation of a national committee to assist in the organizing of state and local caucuses; 5. Creation of a national committee to study fund raising for women's campaigns; 6. An appeal to the national political parties for funds to aid women's campaigns; 7. Focusing on the upcoming special Congressional election in Illinois as a target effort; 8. Questioning of high-level officials on their attitudes towards appointment of women to policy-making positions and demanding that all candidates for executive positions be asked to state the number of women he/she will appoint to such positions.

Other recommendations of the Political Procedures and Strategy Workshop were included in resolutions adopted on the floor of the conference and are not repeated here.

In order to enact the proposed recommendations, the Political Procedures And Strategy Workshop urged the use of legal challenges, boycotts, counter-slates, strikes and resignations.

SUMMARY OF THE GRASS ROOTS WORKSHOP REPORT

The Grass Roots Workshop divided into two groups--the philosophical group and the specific group.

The philosophical group focused on an understanding of the philosophical progress of grass roots organizing and stressed the necessity for a collective understanding within any group before it could attempt to organize others. Such understanding--based on self-examination, feelings, philosophy and discussion of frustrations--would enable the group to reach women who are often left behind in the political process.

The specific group discussed concrete methods of reaching uncommitted women. Suggestions included focusing on particular issues, and reaching women through other women of a similar background and orientation--i.e., sending a housewife to reach a housewife. The group also suggested the use of letter-writing campaigns to local party officials.

When the two groups rejoined, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm outlined several concrete grass roots organizing principles. These included joining a political group and working within that group to find the strengths and weaknesses of those in power, concentrating on a specific issue, and compromising when necessary. A successful candidate, Rep. Chisholm said, must be tough, committed, have a high frustration level, and be followed by a group of 20-25 loyal supporters.

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT OF THE WORKSHOP FOR PLANNING A NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1972

The Convention Workshop recommended that the next national NWPC meeting be held early in 1972 somewhere in the southern or central part of the U.S. The workshop urged that the meeting include representation from all states and that it last at least 2-1/2 days. In addition, the next meeting should provide time for discussion and further definition of the NWPC goals, time for review of the accomplishments of state and local caucuses, and election of new national leadership.

Concerning the 1972 political party conventions, the workshop urged conference participants to encourage women to run for the position of delegate to the national conventions and urged that training meetings for this purpose be held on a regional basis.

A resolution concerning the national party conventions was presented by the Convention Workshop and adopted by the conference. This resolution is as follows (full text):*

Women have been traditionally underrepresented at the national party conventions. Though we represent 53% of the total population, we comprised only 13% of the delegates at the 1968 Democratic Convention and 17% of all delegates at the 1968 Republican Convention. Since the inception of national party conventions in 1832, a woman has chaired a standing committee of a Democratic convention only 5 times and a standing committee of a Republican Convention only 3 times.

In order to overcome the effects of past discrimination, we demand that all political parties act to ensure that women are reasonably represented at 1972 national conventions. By reasonable representation, we mean that women should comprise no less than 50% of each state delegation.

Further, as human beings interested in human rights, we cannot consider ourselves adequately represented unless all others are fairly represented. We thus demand that all disenfranchised minorities, including racial minorities and young people, be present in each state delegation to a national convention in percentages at least as great as their percentage of the total state population. White males, who have so long dominated American politics, are entitled (under any "reasonable" standard) to representation of no more than 30% on each delegation.

As noted before, we believe it is vital that women in large numbers attend national conventions as delegates. We also feel it is essential that women assume positions of power and visibility at those conventions, and we therefore demand of all political parties that:

1. The temporary chairperson and the permanent chairperson of each national convention be of different sexes;
2. States that elect a single committee member to each of the standing committees at each national convention should be required to elect two women and two men as committee representatives. States that elect two or more committee members to each of the standing committees should be required to elect an equal (or as equal as possible) number of men and women to each committee delegation.
3. Convention committees no longer have a single chairperson. Two Co-Chairpersons of different sexes should be selected for each standing committee. The Co-Chairpersons should share equally in the authority and responsibilities of the chairpersonship and preside over alternate sessions of the committees.

*(A separate resolution, approved at the conference, demanded that the National Democratic Party implement the Democratic Policy Council's Resolution on the Status of Women in the Party. The conference also voted to commend the party for appointing 11 women out of the last 16 appointments to the Policy Council. The motion also included a resolution that the Democratic Policy Council, which had passed this Resolution on the Status of Women in the Party, enact it itself.)

SUMMARY OF THE WORKSHOP ON CANDIDATE CRITERIA REPORT

The Candidate Criteria Workshop stressed that women candidates should support women's and human rights issues in order to gain the support of the national and local caucuses. Many of the workshop's specific suggestions, especially those concerning issues of importance to women, were included in the Statement of Purpose adopted at the Washington conference and are thus not repeated here.

Other ideas developed in the workshop included:

1. Educational campaigns are essential in order to find candidates and workers and to make women aware of their real power.
2. In order to obtain the endorsement of the national caucus, a candidate must first gain the approval of the local caucus.
3. Certain sensitive positions concerning women's problems must be constantly examined, filled by women, and expanded to effectively project the women's point of view.
4. Women who have "powered the political machines in the past" should be actively involved in the NWPC.
5. The national caucus can aid local caucuses through financial and psychological support, campaign expertise, and speaking engagements.
6. Women candidates should represent a more diverse ethnic, racial, political, and economic point of view in order to be more acceptable to constituencies than male candidates have been.

7. Local caucuses should: seek, endorse, and support women candidates; request NWPC support for these candidates; and pressure women candidates to take positions on women's issues and to fulfill the criteria as stated by the workshop.

In addition, the workshop stated that the NWPC could endorse men candidates who fulfill the NWPC candidate criteria; but that in a two-person race where a woman candidate did not meet the criteria, the NWPC should endorse neither candidate.

BLACK CAUCUS REPORT ON RACISM - ADOPTED BY ACCLAMATION

Introduction: excerpted

Resolutions: quoted in full

Black women have long been denied elemental and basic protection as a life giving force and have had to endorse all of the conceptual forms of discrimination against women, and have had to face color as a controlling fact of life. Buttressed by tradition and the indifference of our citizenry--despite the Civil Rights Act and other legislation--the gap between the exercise of power by white America and black America remains constant and widens increasingly even in the implementation of these measures.

The goals for which black women strive--equality of opportunity, education, a good family life, economic security, health, pride and participation as citizens on all levels of life--crumble before the power and force of racism.

The liberation of women in all phases of program priorities must be irrevocably committed to the special goals set forth by black women of America. In light of the foregoing:

Be it therefore resolved: That the National Women's Political Caucus disavow and condemn all forms of racism, specifically related to the organizational framework, in the formation and implementation of policies, in the ordering of priorities and the development of structure and procedural regulations; and

Further be it resolved: That any woman candidate for elective or appointive office whose statements, actions and/or writings indicate that to all intents and purposes, she is racist, shall not be endorsed or supported by this organization and furthermore all candidates supported by this organization must commit themselves to combating racism; and

Be it further resolved: That the position on racism adopted by the National Women's Political Caucus be published in all media of communication. And finally,

Be it resolved: That the active solicitation of women--black, white, youth, and other minorities--in the program and purpose of this organization be vigorously and consistently pursued to the end that the women power of America is united in relevant tasks: to elect women of conscience to public office, to establish and pursue goals of people-priority and to commit ourselves to the awesome challenge of closing the widening gap between white, black, brown and yellow American women.

RADICAL CAUCUS REPORT - ACCEPTED BY ACCLAMATION

The Radical Caucus Report was presented in two sections.

First section (excerpted)--We have joined together here to initiate a women's force for change: for social and political change.

Instead, a sense of mutual intimidation has created feelings of division among us. . .

Strength does not mean inflexibility--coalitions and compromise are crucial. But compromise does NOT mean co-option.

Women have been compromised in that sense for centuries. To compromise here at our start--to sound bland and conservative--simply in the hope of enlisting the more timid and ladylike of our sisters is self-defeating, particularly because such non-commitment condones the further alienation of our already oppressed and alienated sisters at the other end of the social spectrum.

Furthermore, it smacks of that slick irresponsibility we know as male-oriented politics.

Compromise...means recognizing that women's liberation is at least as important as women's election...but, primarily, it means that we must recognize the human-ness in all of us as women and that we must take stands to support that humanity.

Second section (summarized)--It is extremely important that the NWPC concern itself with organizing at the state and local levels in order to reach out to all American women. We urge that the National Caucus take action to raise funds to send 10-15 organizers to at least four key states immediately.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CAUCUS REPORT - ACCEPTED BY ACCLAMATION

(Also called the 'Prime of Life' and/or Young Professional Women's Caucus)

Summarized:

We are young, educated women in our twenties and early thirties, who feel that our contributions to the National Women's Political Caucus and to the Women's Movement have not been adequately recognized. We are capable of real responsibility; we have time, energy and training--but we often do only the housekeeping work. We are not yet famous, and our Caucus is not even taken seriously, but we represent the backbone of the Women's Movement.

Though we have done much of the work at the conference, we have not been represented in the selection of conveners, the nominations to the Policy Council and other responsible positions. The NWPC is, in fact, wasting one of its most valuable resources.

We support the Black and Radical Caucuses, but feel we are not fully represented by them. Therefore, we demand adequate representation on the Policy Council and on every other policy-making body of the NWPC. We demand that our accounts be applauded and that we be given due recognition for the work we do. We are important to you; we ask that you stop taking us for granted.

Clinton

June 13, 1972

Mr. Joseph I. Maurer
Diocesan Council of Catholic Men
2436 Southgate
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Maurer:

My apologies for the delay in answering your inquiries. The volume of mail and the fact that I was not in Austin for three weeks delayed my attention to those matters for my personal reply only.

I am a Catholic. I am a practicing Catholic. Although I am personally opposed to abortion, I feel my religious beliefs should not dictate my civil duties. Thus my position on abortion, until a solution can be obtained balancing the rights of all involved, is that abortion should be a private matter without interference from the state.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Frances Tarlton Farenthold

FTF:bas

*Abortion
Case*

June 13, 1972

Reverend Alfred Moenig
Corpus Christi Abbey
1200 Lantana
Corpus Christi, Texas 78407

Dear Father Moenig:

My sincerest apologies for not replying
to your letter sooner.

The question of abortion is the most
difficult one that I have faced in my public
life. I personally do not favor abortion.

In the public arena, we must seek a
solution that balances the rights of everyone
involved. Now the positions on abortion
represent two extremely opposing views.

Until we reach such a solution, I reiterate
my position that abortion should be a private
matter without interference from the state. I
feel that this is a viable position for a Roman
Catholic officeholder in order to avoid religious
beliefs dictating civil duty.

Very sincerely,

Frances Tarlton Farenthold

FTF:bas

Speech by Frances T. Farenthold

"ABORTION SPEECH"

NWPC San Jose, CA
9/10/77

1. NWPC - San Jose, CA
9/10/77

acknowledgment
[unclear]

9/10

THANK YOU VERY MUCH, AND VIVIAN, I DO APPRECIATE YOUR EFFORTS BECAUSE THAT
ELECTION TO THE BOARD OF VASSAR WAS THE VERY LAST ELECTION I WON. BEFORE WE
PRAISE OUR CONESIVENESS, OUR DEVELOPMENT AND OUR SUCCESS, LET US EXAMINE AND REVIEW
WHERE WE ARE ON THAT UNIQUELY PERSONAL DECISION, THAT MOST FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF
WOMEN - THE DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO BEAR CHILDREN OR NOT. YOU SEE I NO LONGER HAVE
ANY CONSTITUENCY TO WORRY ABOUT. I CAN REMEMBER ONE JULY EVENING IN THE CORRIDORS
OF THE CONGRESS WHEN BELLA ABSUG WAS SO UPSET ABOUT A RIDGER THAT WAS BEING ATTEMPTED
TO ~~BE PUT ON~~ AN HEW APPROPRIATIONS BILL. IT WAS THE PROIBITION ON FAMILY PLANNING
TECHNIQUES. I DON'T REMEMBER THE DETAILS. AND I COULDN'T REALLY QUITE UNDERSTAND
HER GREAT CONCERN. I THOUGHT WE HAD HAD ROE VS. WADE. THAT THE SUPREME COURT HAD
SPOKEN AND THAT THAT WOULD BE THE END. BUT SHE HAD THE FORESIGHT AND ACUMEN TO
UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS AROUND THE CORNER. IF I MAY INJECT A PERSONAL NOTE - HOW WE
HAVE MISSED HER - ALL OF US - HOW WE HAVE MISSED HER BEING IN THE CONGRESS THIS YEAR.
AND HOW WE HAVE MISSED HER FOR THAT MIGHT OF BEEN IN THE SENATE. AND ALL I CAN SAY
IS IT'S NOT OVER, BELLA, AND I TRUST THE TIME WILL COME WHEN THERE IS A VACANCY
ON THE SUPREME COURT AND/WE CAN STAND FIRM AND COHERENT AND ADAMENT. I HAVE COME
TO YOU TODAY WITH AS GREAT A SENSE OF GRIEVANCE AND INJUSTICE AS I ~~HAVE~~ OF
INDIGNATION, WITH ANGUISH AS WELL AS ANGER OVER THE RECENT COURSE OF EVENTS IN
ALL THREE BRANCHES OF OUR GOVERNMENT AS REGARDS THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO ABORTION.
ALL THREE BRANCHES NEED TO BE EXAMINED. THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING
WILL CONVENE ON TUESDAY. AND WE KNOW, WHATEVER WE FIGHT/WHAT WE GET OUT OF THERE WON'T
BE VERY GOOD. WE KNOW ALL THE ANTI-ABORTION EMPHASIS THAT WE HAVE HAD IN THE LAST
TWO YEARS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONGRESS, WHERE A VARIETY OF MEASURES TO LIMIT ROE VS. WADE
HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN. AND WE ALSO KNOW THE SPILLOFF THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE
ON THE STATE LEVEL. WE ALSO KNOW THAT WE HAVE A SPECTER FACING US IN 1978 OF THE
POSSIBILITY OF A U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. ^{These are} MATTERS THAT WE NEED TO BE GREATLY
CONCERNED WITH. WELL, ELECTIVE OFFICIALS ARE NOT NECESSARILY COURAGEOUS PEOPLE.
AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT. AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT IF YOU DON'T GET ELECTED ^{the argument} ~~THEN~~ YOU
WON'T BE ABLE TO DO VERY MUCH. ^{GOOD.} SO, WE'LL OVERLOOK THE CONGRESS FOR THE MOMENT.

LET US THEN GO TO THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. I CAN REMEMBER STANDING ON A PODIUM IN BOSTON AT THIS VERY KIND OF CONVENTION AND SAYING WE NO LONGER HAVE STARS IN OUR EYES OVER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OR NATIONAL PARTIES. WE FORGET, I AM AFRAID MANY OF US FORGOT THAT. WE DID DEVELOP STARS IN OUR EYES OVER OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. AND FROM WHAT I SAW OF MANY WOMEN AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION IN '76 WE DEVELOPED STARS IN OUR EYES OVER THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. NOW, LET'S GO TO THAT JULY 13TH ⁷⁷ PRESS CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S. LET US NEVER FORGET THOSE RINGING PLESTIC WORDS ON ABORTION FOR THE POOR, AND I QUOTE: "AS YOU KNOW THERE ARE MANY THINGS IN LIFE THAT ARE NOT FAIR, THAT WEALTHY PEOPLE CAN AFFORD AND POOR PEOPLE CANNOT. BUT I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE ACTION TO MAKE THESE OPPORTUNITIES EXACTLY EQUAL, PARTICULARLY WHEN THERE IS A MORAL FACTOR INVOLVED." I PUZZLED AND THOUGHT ABOUT THAT PHRASE, AND THAT EXPRESSION, AND ALL I COULD THINK OF WAS ^{"DOES} /THIS MEAN MORALITY FOR THE POOR? DOES IT MEAN THAT IT IS A MATTER OF EITHER MONEY OR MORALITY? OR DOES IT MEAN THAT MONEY IS MORALITY. AND THEN, TO THE SECRETARY OF HEW, LET US SAY NO MORE THAN THAT HE CERTAINLY PRACTICES HIS PRINCIPLES IN THIS PARTICULAR SITUATION WITH AN INCREDIBLE ZEALOUSNESS. DOES THAT ZEALOUSNESS REFLECT THE COMMITMENT OF HIS PRESIDENT? I CAN'T TELL AND I'M NOT GOING TO TRY TO READ BETWEEN THE LINES. OR DOES IT REFLECT THE ZEALOUSNESS OF THE BISHOP'S CONFERENCE. AND LET ME AGAIN SPEAK ON A PERSONAL LEVEL. I KNOW THE STRUGGLE AND THE LOBBYING AND THE EFFORT IT HAS TAKEN TO GET WOMEN APPOINTED IN THIS PRESENT ADMINISTRATION. I REALIZE THAT THERE WERE LETTERS WRITTEN TO THE PRESIDENT. YOU EACH WILL HAVE TO MAKE UP YOUR MINDS ON THIS. BUT ARE THOSE LETTERS ENOUGH? SOMEHOW OR OTHER THE ANALOGY COMES TO MY MIND THAT ALL THOSE "BRAVE" PEOPLE IN THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND I PUT QUOTES AROUND BRAVE, THAT OPPOSED THE VIETNAM WAR, DIDN'T SPEAK OUT UNTIL THEY WERE OUT OF OFFICE.

AND THEN WE COME TO OUR THIRD BRANCH. AND I GUESS I HAVE THE GREATEST SENSE OF CHAGRIN THERE BECUASE WE DO EXPECT MORE OF THAT GROUP THAT I NOW CALL "THE SUPREMES." IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY THE COURT TURNS THOSE CASES THAT IT DOES HEAR INTO CONSTITUTIONAL DISASTERS. THIS IS APLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE CASES OF ABORTION HANDED DOWN ON JUNE 20TH OF THIS YEAR. BUT ACTUALLY WHY DID WE EXPECT MORE? THOSE DECISIONS ARE IN THE TRADITION OF THE BURGER COURT DECISIONS WHICH HAVE FALLEN MOST CRUELLY ON THOSE LEAST ABLE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES. DURING THE COURT'S PAST TWO TERMS IT HAS DENIED SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS TO ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN WHO WOULD HAVE RECEIVED THE BENEFITS AUTOMATICALLY HAD THEY BEEN LEGITIMATE. IT HAS REFUSED TO ALLOW POOR PEOPLE IN KENTUCKY TO SUE OVER THE CURTAILMENT OF SERVICES TO INDIGENTS BY LOCAL HOSPITALS. IT HAS KICKED OUT OF COURT ANOTHER GROUP OF POOR PEOPLE WHO COULD NOT FIND PLACES TO LIVE IN THE SUBURBS OF ROCHESTER BECUASE OF ^{RE} STRICTIVE ZONING ORDINANCES. IT HAS ALLOWED THE STATE OF VIRGINIA TO PROSECUTE HOMOSEXUALS FOR SODOMY WITHOUT EVEN BOTHERING TO WRITE AN OPINION SAYING WHY THAT WAS CONSTITUTIONALLY PERMISSIBLE OR WHAT THE STATE'S INTEREST IN SUCH PROSECUTION WAS. ^{IT HAS REFUSED} IT'S THE COURT THAT SPEAKS ABOUT THE COMPELLING INTEREST OF STATES IN CHILDBIRTH AND YET WILL PERMIT THE USE OF PHYSICAL FORCE EVEN WHEN IT IS EXCESSIVE IN THE SCHOOL CASE THAT THEY HANDED DOWN IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR. ~~A LIKELY PRELUDE TO THE JUNE 20TH DECISIONS.~~ THE THREE DECISIONS ^{as} BEAL VS. DOE ^{A STATE} PARTICIPATING WAS NOT REQUIRED BY TITLE XIX OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT TO FUND THE COSTS OF NON-THERAPEUTIC ABORTIONS ALTHOUGH A STATE IF IT DESIRED WAS FREE UNDER TITLE XIX TO PROVIDE SUCH FUNDING. ^{as Beal v. Doe, the court ruled that} MAHER VS. ROE ^{is a decision} HANDED DOWN ON THE SAME DATE. A CONNECTICUT REGULATION EXCLUDING FUNDING FOR NON-THERAPEUTIC ABORTIONS DID NOT VIOLATE THE EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE OF THE CONSTITUTION, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS FUNDING FOR PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH. ^{is provided} THERE IS A FOOTNOTE ON THAT CASE. THOSE TWO PLAINTIFS WERE A SIXTEEN YEAR OLD HIGH SCHOOL JUNIOR AND AN UNWED MOTHER OF THREE, ^{They are} THAT'S THE HUMAN FACTOR INVOLVED. POELKER VS. DOE HANDED DOWN ON THE SAME DATE, AN INDIGENT WOMAN SOUGHT TO OBTAIN A NON-THERAPEUTIC ABORTION IN A CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION

ON THE BASIS OF CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATION IN A PUBLIC HOSPITAL AND WAS TURNED DOWN.
ON JUNE 29TH THE U.S. SUPREME COURT NULLIFIED JUDGE ^{DOOLING} ~~DOOLING~~'S RULING HOLDING
UNCONSTITUTIONAL A CONGRESSIONAL BAN ON FEDERAL FUNDING OF ABORTION TO END
PREGNANCY THAT DID NOT ENDANGER A MOTHER'S LIFE. YES, THAT COURAGEOUS JUDGE
~~HAD RULED~~ AND PERSEPTIVE ~~ONE~~, HAD RULED IT DENIED THE NEEDY THE MEANS TO EXERCISE
A RIGHT GUARANTEED THOSE WITH MONEY. I'VE READ AND REREAD THOSE DECISIONS AND THERE
IS BEAUTIFUL AND MEANINGFUL LANGUAGE IN SOME OF THE OPINIONS. THE ONLY PROBLEM IS
THAT THE LANGUAGE IS FOUND IN THE DISSENTS. AS JUSTICE BLACKMAN SAID IN HIS
DISCENT IN BEAL VS. DOE "THE COURT TODAY BY ITS DECISIONS UN THESE CASES ALLOW
THE STATES AND SUCH MUNICIPALITIES AS CHOOSE TO DO SO TO ACCOMPLISH INDIRECTLY
WHAT THE COURT IN ROE VS. WADE BY SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY AND WITH SOME EMPHASIS I
HAD THOUGHT, SAID THEY COULD NOT DO DIRECTLY. THE COURT CONCEIVES THE EXISTENCE OF
A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT BUT DENIES THE REALIZATION AND ENJOYMENT OF THAT RIGHT
ON THE GROUND THAT EXISTENCE AND REALIZATION ARE SEPARATE AND DISTINCT. FOR
THE INDIVIDUAL WOMAN CONCERNED, INDIGENT AND FINANCIALLY HELPLESS AS THE COURT
OPINIONS IN THE THREE CASES CONCEDE HER TO BE, THE RESULT IS PUNITIVE AND TRAGIC.
IMPLICIT IN THE COURT'S HOLDINGS IS THE NOTION THAT SHE MAY GO ELSEWHERE FOR
HER ABORTION. AND ^{Justice} BLACKMAN CONCLUDES, I FIND THIS ALARMING, ALMOST REMINISCENT OF
"LET THEM EAT CAKE." SOME NINE OR TEN YEARS AGO A BLACK ACTIVIST IN TEXAS TOLD
ME THAT JUSTICE OUGHT TO TAKE OFF HER BLINDFOLD AND SEE WHAT WAS GOING ON.
BUT AFTER READING THOSE MAJORITY OPINIONS I REALLY DON'T THINK IT WOULD ENLIGHTEN
THE MAJORITY OF THE SUPREME COURT TO TAKE THEIR BLINDFOLDS OFF.

YES, THE RIGHT TO ABORTION HAS BECOME A CLASS ISSUE, A RACE ISSUE, A
PRIVACY ISSUE, EVEN A CONSUMER ISSUE, BUT ABOVE ALL IT IS OUR UNIQUE ISSUE.