

## RECOMMENDED READING Cont'd.

WIN, (Peace and Freedom Thru Nonviolent Action), 503 Atlantic Avenue, 5th Floor, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217, USA. Tel: (212) 624 8337/8595. Weekly - 30¢ a copy. Annual sub \$15.

HECATE, (A woman's interdisciplinary journal), Carole Ferrier, English Dept., University of Queensland, St. Lukia, BRISBANE, 4067, Qld., AUSTRALIA. Annual sub A\$2.50, UK£1.80, US\$4.00.

ANARCHA-FEMINIST NEWSLETTER, c/o Sophie Laws, 43 Grosvenor Terrace, Bootham, YORK. 20p a copy - 6 issues £1.

(please note: newsletter only sent to women)

BREAD & ROSES\* (occasional paper for Women), 4 Ridge Mount, Cliff Road, LEEDS 6. Tel: Leeds 759451.

● COUNTRY WOMEN\*, c/o Lyn Rimmer, Penton, The Common, Winterslow, SALISBURY.

● RED RAG, 22 Murray Mews, LONDON NW1. Price per copy due for increase. Send 50p for a single copy to be on the safe side.

● SCARLET WOMEN\*, (open Journal/Newsletter of Socialist Feminist current), 5 Washington Terrace, NORTH SHIELDS, Tyne & Wear.

SPARE RIB, subs c/o Linda Phillips, 114 George Street, BERKHAMSTEAD, Herts HP4 2EJ. Monthly - 35p a copy. Annual sub £5/U.K., £6.50/\$12 elsewhere.

● WIRES (Women's Information Referral and Enquiries Service), "Womens Centre", 32a Parliament Street, YORK. Annual sub (26 issues) £6 or £4 if poor. (please note: newsletter only sent to women)

WOMEN'S REPORT, c/o 14 Aberdeen Road, WEALDSTONE, Middx. 30p a copy. Annual sub £2.50 (£2 if poor).

● WOMEN'S VOICE, (Revolutionary Socialist Women's mag), 24 Estcourt Terrace, LEEDS. Tel: Leeds 751120. 10p a copy - monthly.

ZERO (Anarchist Anarcha-Feminist), c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, LONDON N.1. 20p a copy - monthly. Annual sub £3.

\* frequency and price per copy not known - send what you think reasonable!

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Not much known about the following groups:-

PEOPLE AGAINST PATRIARCHY, Mike Goldsbury, c/o 5 King Street, High Bentham, LANCASTER.

SOUTH WEST MEN AGAINST SEXISM, Roger; Tel: Bridgewater 2700 or Mike; Tel: Spaxton 274.

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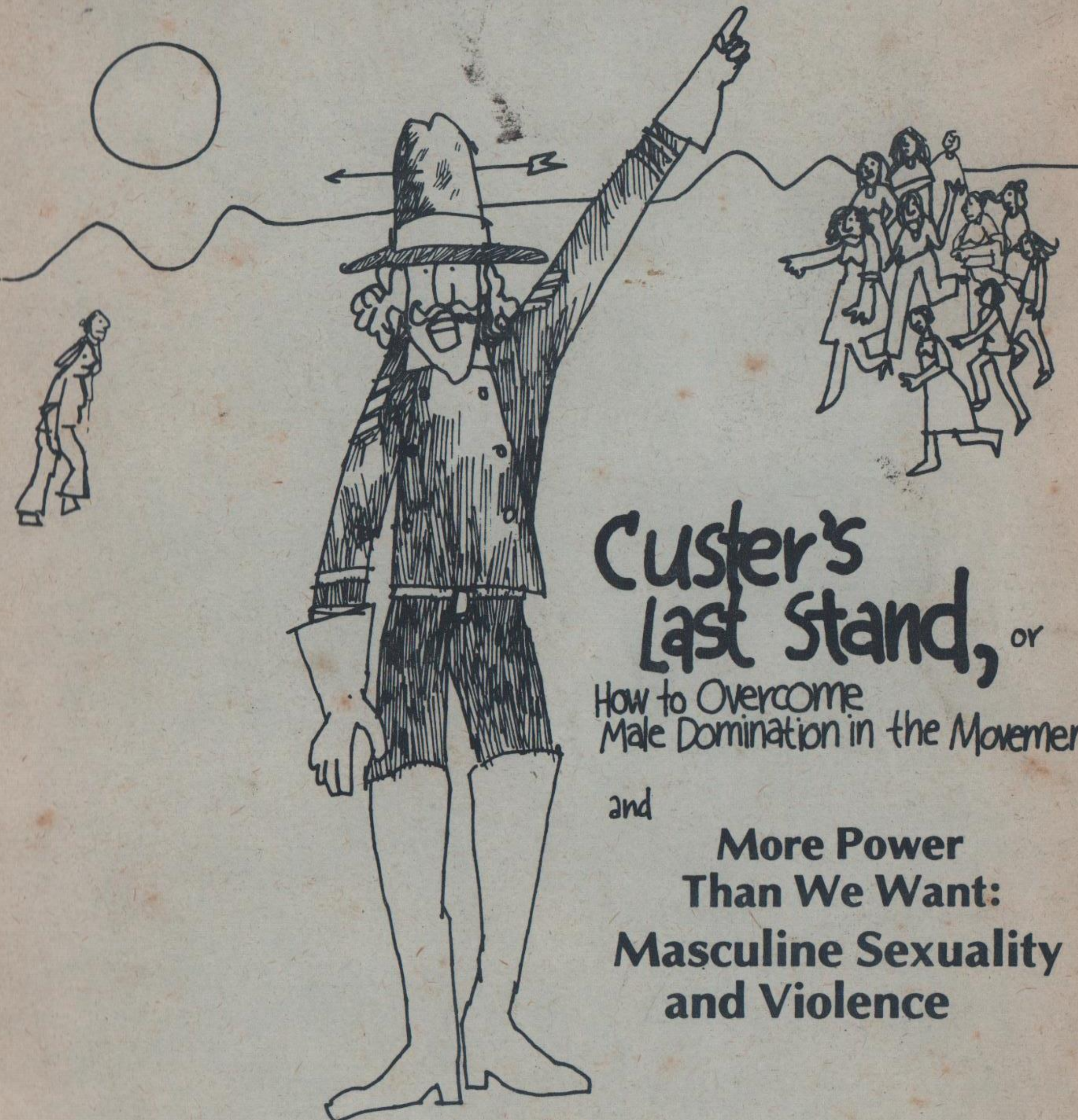
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peace & freedom thru nonviolent action

# win



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WORLD.

BUT WHUD GOOD  
IS A NUCLEAR  
WEAPON THAT  
CAN'T BE USED?

IT'LL HELP PROVIDE  
JOBS RIGHT UP TO THE  
END... YOU DUCKS  
DON'T UNDERSTAND!

# Custer's Last Stand, or How to Overcome Male Domination in the Movement\*

By Bill Moyer and Alan Tuttle  
with drawings by Peg Averill

"Sexism isn't the problem; anyone can talk when they want to," declared one man. "It's just that some of us have had more experience and can talk more easily in groups."

"We all support women's liberation," chimed in another man.

Around the room, reactions spanned a wide range: resentment, distraction, passive interest, eagerness and anxiousness.

At last week's meeting, one woman confronted the men with her frustration at their domination of the group. A couple of people had supported her, but most seemed unaware or remained passive. Defensive anger had surfaced in several of the men, despite their best intentions.

The woman who spoke out last week is absent tonight. The group has been dwindling in size since shortly after its founding last year. Many excited newcomers have attended one or two meetings and never returned. Others stuck it out for months before fading away. The group of some 30 members has shrunk to half that; of the original 15 women, five remain.

## The Problem

A hypothetical situation—but a real problem, and all too familiar to those of us who have participated in progressive organizations. Most voluntary groups, such as social change groups, are dominated by a few people, with a small number of other regular members. These groups' objectives—an equal, just, and democratic society—

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seem unattainable even within their own domain. One informal study of a dozen small groups found that the most frequent talkers spoke nine times as often as the less frequent talkers. It is no surprise that newcomers often show once or twice and are not seen again.

Domination within social change groups may be one of the main reasons that so many of them are short-lived or have small membership with substantial turnover. People are all too often stifled by heavy-handed authority: bosses at work, parents or spouse at home, and teachers at school. Most people, and especially those who join social change groups, want not only to be accepted, but also to make a contribution and be an active participant. Movement groups, because of their basic values of justice and egalitarianism, are one forum where the common problems of domination could well be dealt with.

This guide is addressed to men and to how we can overcome our own oppressive behavior in mixed (male and female) groups. More often than not, men are the ones dominating group activity. Such behavior is therefore termed a "masculine behavior pattern," not because women never act that way, but because it is generally men who do. Over the past few years there has been a tremendous increase in the awareness of many women and some men regarding masculine domination in groups. No longer is all-male leadership universally assumed or accepted. Unfortunately, groups often have great difficulty developing egalitarian relations even when everyone theoretically agrees with that ideal.

The following formulations are drawn primarily from our experience in the Philadelphia Network of the Movement for a New Society. While our focus is on changing behavior, we recognize that equally important is changing consciousness.

*change behaviour → change cons??*



Men beginning to take responsibility for confronting our behavior must do so in an affirmative way. We are making a choice to take part in the liberation of all people, through changing our actions and our views of ourselves and the world. We have been raised in a society which is oppressive at its very roots. We have learned to function in ways based on hierarchy and control. In addition to masculine domination, class, age, religion and race contribute to authoritarian structures. Our goals are to rid the society—and our own organizations—of these forms of domination.

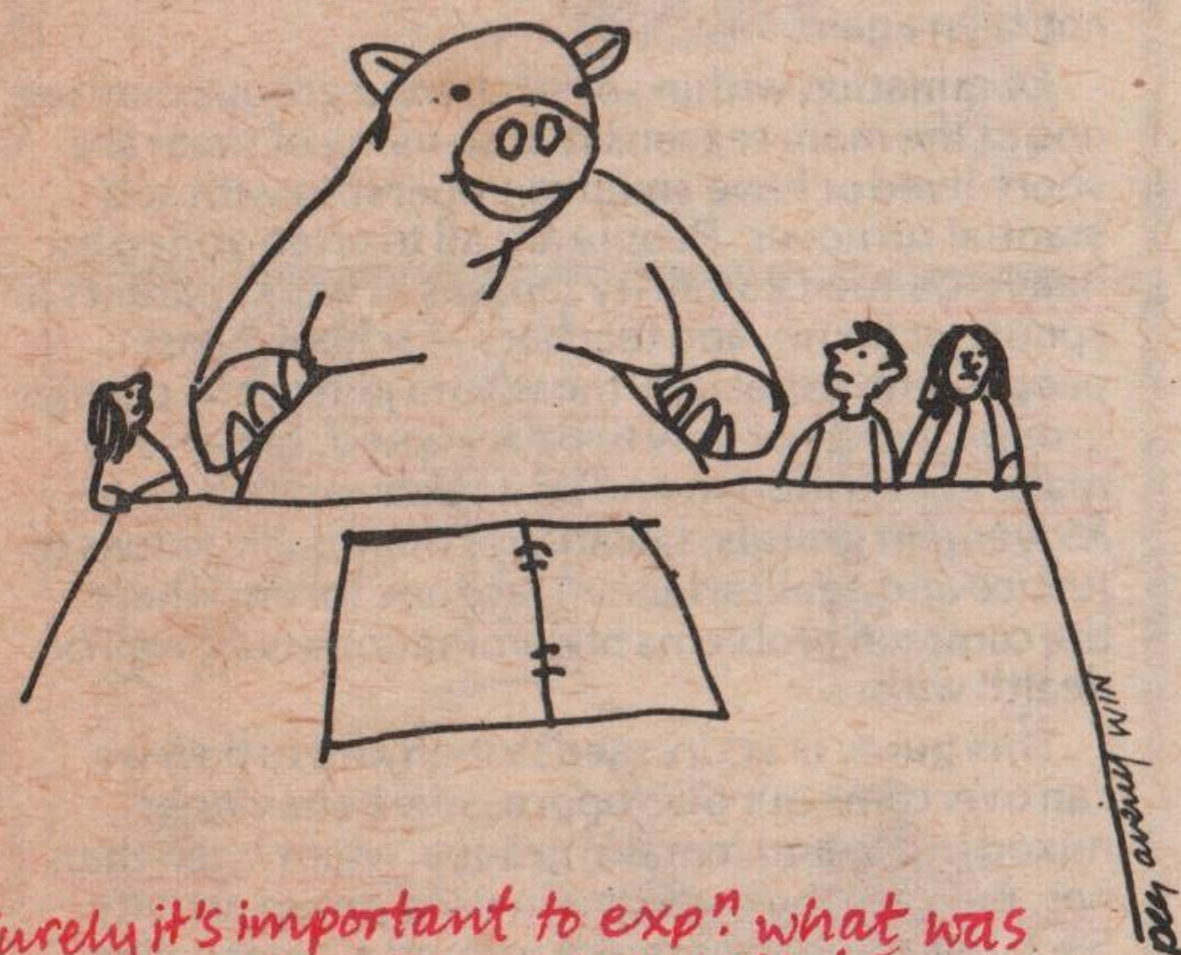
### Common Pitfalls

The following are some of the more common problems to become aware of:

**Hogging the show.** Talking too much, too long, and too loud.

**Problem Solver.** Continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.

**Speaking in Capital Letters.** Giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.



Surely it's important to exp<sup>n</sup> what was meant if it's thought that it's been misconstrued.

O.K. Defensiveness. Responding to every contrary opinion as though it were a personal attack. "People obviously didn't understand what I was saying. What I meant was..."

**Nitpicking.** Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.

**Restating.** Especially what a woman has just said perfectly clearly.

**Attention seeking.** Using all sorts of dramatics to get the spot light.

**Task and content focus.** To the exclusion of nurturing individuals or the group through attention to process and form.

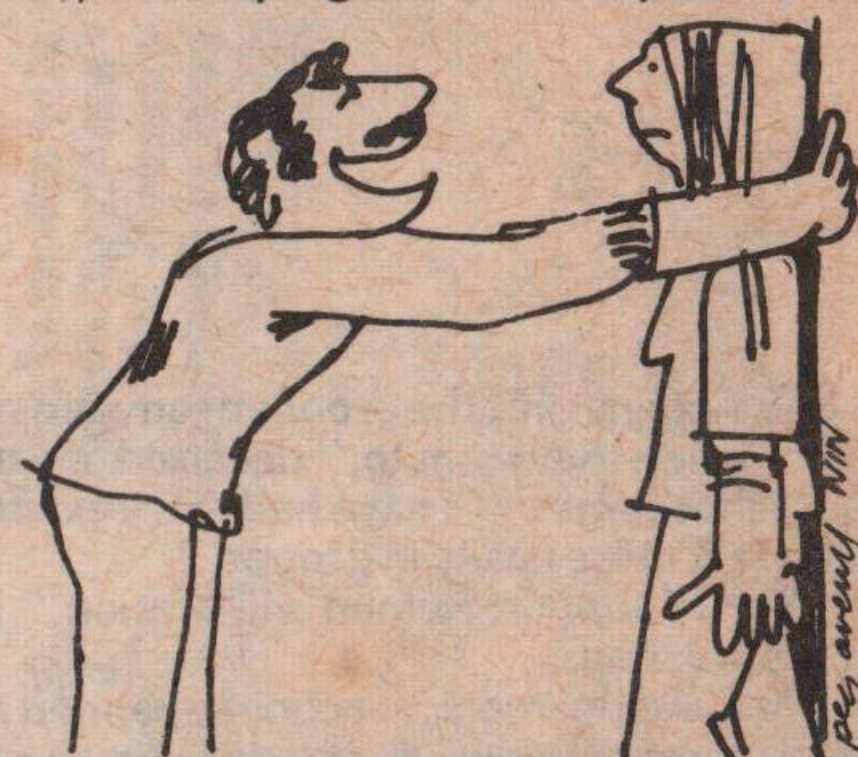
**Putdowns and one-upmanship.** "I used to believe that, but now..." or "How can you possibly say that...?"

**Negativism.** Finding something wrong or problematical in everything. *what if all solutions are wrong?*

**Focus transfer.** Transferring the focus of the discussion to one's own pet issues in order to give one's own pet raps.

**Residual office holder.** Hanging on to formal powerful positions. *In a non-hier. gp?*

**Self-listening.** Formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on, and leaping in at the first pause.



**George Custerism.** Intransigency and dogmatism; taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.

**Avoiding feelings.** Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity, or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.

**Condescension and paternalism.** "Now, do any women have something to add?"

**Being "on the make."** Treating women seductively; using sexuality to manipulate women.

**Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.**

**Running the show.** Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.

**Graduate studentitis.** Protectively storing key group information for one's own use and benefit.

**Speaking for others.** "A lot of us think that we should..." or "What so and so really meant was..."

The full wealth of knowledge and skills is severely limited by such behavior. Women and men who are less assertive than others or who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas. Those of us who always do a good deal of the talking will find we can learn a lot by contributing our share of the silence and listening to those around us.

If sexism isn't ended within social change groups there can't be a movement for real social change. Not only will the movement flounder amidst

## More Power Than We Want: Masculine Sexuality and Violence

BRUCE KOKOPELI and GEORGE LAKEY

Masculine sexuality involves the oppression of women, competition among men, and homophobia (fear of homosexuality). Patriarchy, the systematic domination of women by men through unequal opportunities, rewards, punishments, and the internalization of unequal expectations through sex role differentiation, is the institution which organizes these behaviors. Patriarchy is men having more power, both personally, and politically, than women of the same rank. This imbalance of power is the core of patriarchy, but definitely not the extent of it.

Sex inequality cannot be routinely enforced through open violence or even blatant discriminatory agreements—patriarchy also needs its values accepted in the minds of people. If as many young women wanted to be physicians as men, and as many young men wanted to be nurses as women, the medical schools and the hospitals would be hard put to maintain the masculine domination of health care; open struggle and the naked exercise of power would be necessary. Little girls, therefore, are encouraged to think "nurse" and boys to think "doctor."

Patriarchy assigns a list of human characteristics according to gender: women should be nurturant, gentle, in touch with their feelings, etc.; men should be productive, competitive, super-rational, etc. Occupations are valued according to these gender-linked characteristics, so social work, teaching, housework, and nursing are of lower status than business executive, judge, or professional football

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Photo by Bob Fitch

player.

When men do enter "feminine" professions they disproportionately rise to the top and become chefs, principals of schools, directors of ballet, and teachers of social work. A man is somewhat excused from his sex role deviation if he at least dominates within the deviation. Domination, after all, is what patriarchy is all about.

Access to powerful positions by women (i.e. those positions formerly limited to men) is contingent on the women adopting some masculine characteristics, such as competitiveness. They feel pressure to give up qualities assigned to females (such as gentleness) because those qualities are considered inherently weak by patriarchal culture. The existence, therefore, of a woman like Indira Gandhi in the position of a dictator in no way undermines the basic sexist structure which allocates power to those with masculine characteristics. *Thatcher? what about rejection of the qualities?*

Patriarchy also shapes men's sexuality so it expresses the theme of domination. Notice the masculine preoccupation with size. The size of a man's body has a lot to say about his clout or his vulnerability, as any junior high boy can tell you. Many of these schoolyard fights are settled by who is bigger than whom, and we experience in our adult lives the echoes of intimidation and deference produced by our habitual "sizing up" of the situation.

Penis size is part of the masculine preoccupation, this time directed toward women. Men want to have large penises because size = power, the ability to make a woman "really feel it." The imagery of violence is close to the surface here, since women find penis size irrelevant to sexual genital pleasure. "Fucking" is a highly ambiguous word, meaning both intercourse and exploitation/assault.

It is this confusion that we need to untangle and understand. Patriarchy tells men that their need for love and respect can only be met by being masculine, powerful, and ultimately violent. As men come to accept this their sexuality begins to reflect it. Violence and sexuality combine to support masculinity as a character ideal. To love a woman is to have power over her and to treat her violently if need be. The Beatles' song "Happiness Is a Warm Gun" is but one example of how sexuality gets confused with violence and



power. We know one man who was discussing another man who seemed to be highly fertile—he had made several women pregnant. "That guy," he said, "doesn't shoot any blanks."

Rape is the end logic of masculine sexuality. Rape is not so much a sexual act as an act of violence expressed in a sexual way. The rapist's mind-set—that violence and sexuality can go together—is actually a product of patriarchal conditioning, for most of us men understand the same, however abhorrent rape may be to us personally.

In war, rape is astonishingly prevalent even among men who "back home" would not do it. In the following description by a Marine sergeant who witnessed a gang rape in Vietnam, notice that nearly all of the nine-men squad participated:

*They were supposed to go after what they called a Viet Cong whore. They went into her village and instead of capturing her, they raped her—every man raped her. As a matter of fact, one man said to me later that it was the first time he had ever made love to a woman with his boots on. The man who led the platoon, or the squad, was actually a private. The squad leader was a sergeant but he was a useless person and he let the private take over his squad. Later he said he took no part in the raid. It was against his morals. So instead of telling his squad not to do it, because they wouldn't listen to him anyway, the sergeant went into another side of the village and just sat and stared bleakly at the ground, feeling sorry for himself. But at any rate, they raped the girl, and then, the last man to make love to her, shot her in the head. (Vietnam Veterans Against the War, statement by Michael McClusker in *The Winter Soldier Investigation: An Inquiry into American War Crimes*.)*

Psychologist James Prescott adds to this account:

*What is it in the American psyche that permits the use of the word 'love' to describe rape? And where the act of love is completed with a bullet in the head! (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, November 1975, p. 17)*

#### **Masculinity against men: the militarization of everyday life**

Patriarchy benefits men by giving us a class of people (women) to dominate and exploit. Patriarchy also oppresses men, by setting us at odds with each other and shrinking our life space.

The pressure to win starts early and never stops. Working class gangs fight over turf; rich people's sons are pushed to compete on the sports field. British military officers, it is said, learned to win on the playing fields of Eton.

Competition is conflict held within a framework of rules. When the stakes are really high the rules may not be obeyed; fighting breaks out. We men mostly relate through competition, but we know what is waiting in the wings. John Wayne is not a culture hero by accident.

Men compete with each other for status as masculine males. Because masculinity equals power, this means we are competing for power. The ultimate proof of power/masculinity is violence. A man may fail to "measure up" to the macho stereotype in important ways, but if he can fight successfully with the person who challenges him on his deviance, he is still all right. The television policeman Baretta is strange in some ways: he is gentle with women and he cried when a man he loved was killed. However, he has what are probably the largest biceps in television and he proves weekly that he can beat up the toughs which come his way.

The close relationship between violence and masculinity does not need much demonstration. War used to be justified partly because it promoted "manly virtue" in a nation. Even today we are told that the Marines are looking for "a few good men." Those millions of people in the woods hunting deer, in the National Rifle Association, and cheering on the bloodiest hockey teams are overwhelmingly men.

The world situation is so much defined by patriarchy that what we see in the wars of today is competition between various patriarchal ruling classes and governments breaking into open conflict. Violence is the accepted masculine form of conflict resolution. Women at this time are not powerful enough in the world situation for us to see mass overt violence being waged on them. But the violence is in fact there; it is hidden through its legitimization by the state and by culture.

In everyday middle class life, open violence between men is of course rare. The defining characteristics of masculinity, however, are only a few steps removed from violence. Wealth, productivity, or rank in the firm or institution translate into power—the capacity (whether or not exercised) to dominate. The holders of power in even polite institutions seem to know that violence is at their fingertips, judging from reactions of college presidents to student protest in the 1960s. We know of one urbane pacifist man, the head of a theological seminary, who was barely talked out of calling the police to deal with a nonviolent student sit-in at "his" seminary!

Patriarchy teaches us at very deep levels that we can never be safe with other men (or perhaps with anyone!), for the guard must be kept up lest our vulnerability be exposed and we be taken advantage of. At a recent Quaker conference in Philadelphia a discussion group considered the value of personal sharing and openness in the Quaker Meeting. In almost every case the women advocated more sharing and the men opposed it. Dividing by gender on that issue was predictable; men are conditioned by our life experience of masculinity to distrust settings where personal exposure will happen, especially if men are present. Most men find emotional intimacy possible only with women: many with only one woman; some men cannot be emotionally intimate with anyone.

Patriarchy creates a character ideal—we call it masculinity—and measures everyone against it. Many men fail the test as well as women, and

even men who are passing the test today are carrying a heavy load of anxiety about tomorrow. Because masculinity is a form of domination, no one can really rest secure. The striving goes on forever unless you are actually willing to give up and find a more secure basis for identity.

#### **Masculinity against gay men: patriarchy fights a rear guard action**

Homophobia is the measure of masculinity. The degree to which a man is thought to have gay feelings is the degree of his unmanliness. Because patriarchy presents sexuality as men over women (part of the general dominance theme), men are conditioned to have only that in mind as a model of sexual expression. Sex with another man must mean being dominated, which is very scary. A non-patriarchal model of sexual expression as the mutuality of equals doesn't seem possible; the transfer of the heterosexual model to same-sex relations can at best be "queer;" at worst, "perverted."

In the recent book *Blue Collar Aristocrats*, by E. E. LeMasters, a working class tavern is described in which the topic of homosexuality sometimes comes up. Gayness is never defended. In fact, the worst thing you can call a man is homosexual. A man so attacked must either fight or leave the bar.

Notice the importance of violence in defending yourself against the charge of being a "pansy." Referring to your income, or academic degrees, or size of your car is no defense against such a charge. Only fighting will re-establish respect as a masculine male. Because gay appears to mean powerless, one needs to go to the masculine source of power—violence—for adequate defense.

Last year, the Argentinian government decided to persecute gays of a systematic basis. The Ministry of Social Welfare offered the rationale for this policy in an article in its journal, which also attacked lesbians, concluding that they should be put in jail or killed:

*As children they played with dolls. As they grew up, violent sports horrified them. As was to be expected, with the passage of time and the custom of listening to foreign mulattos on the radio, they became conscientious objectors (El Caudillo, February 1975, excerpted in *Peace News*, July 11, 1975, p. 5)*

The Danish government, by contrast with Argentina, has liberal policies on gay people. There is no government persecution and all government jobs are open to gays—except in the military and the diplomatic service! Two places where the nation-state is most keen to assert power, are places where gays are excluded as a matter of policy.

We need not go abroad to see the connections between violence and homophobia. In the documentary film *Men's Lives* a high school boy is interviewed on what it is like to be a dancer. While the interview is conducted we see him working out, with a very demanding set of acrobatic

exercises. The boy mentions that other boys think he must be gay. Why is that? the interviewer asks. Dancers are free and loose, he replies; they are not big like football players; and "you're not trying to kill anybody."

Different kinds of homosexual behavior bring out different amounts of hostility, curiously enough. That fact gives us further clues to violence and female oppression. In prisons, for example, men can be respected if they fuck other men, but not if they are themselves fucked. (We use the word "fucked" intentionally for its ambiguity.) Often prison rapes are done by men who identify as heterosexual; one hole substitutes for another in this scene, for sex is in either case an expression of domination for the masculine mystique.

But for a man to be entered sexually, or to use effeminate gestures and actions, is to invite attack in prison and hostility outside. Effeminate gay men are at the bottom of the totem pole because they are most like women, which is nothing less than treachery to the Masculine Cause. Even many gay men shudder at drag queens and vigilantly guard against certain mannerisms because they, too, have internalized the masculinist dread of effeminacy.

John Braxton's report of prison life as a draft resister is revealing on this score. The other inmates knew immediately that John was a conscientious objector because he did not act tough. They also assumed he was gay, for the same reason. (If you are not masculine, you must be a pacifist and gay, for masculinity is a package which includes both violence and heterosexuality.)

A ticket of admission to Masculinity, then, is sex with women, and bisexuals can at least get that ticket even if they deviate through having gay feelings as well. This may be why bisexuality is not feared as much as exclusive gayness among men. Exclusively gay men let down the Masculine Cause in a very important way—those gays do not participate in the control of women through sexuality. Control through sexuality matters because it is flexible; it usually is mixed with love and dependency so that it becomes quite subtle. (Women often testify to years of confusion and only the faintest uneasiness at their submissive role in traditional heterosexual relationships and the role sex plays in that.)

Now we better understand why women are in general so much more supportive of gay men than non-gay men are. Part of it of course is that heterosexual men are often paralyzed by fear. Never very trusting, such men find gayness one more reason to keep up the defenses. But heterosexual men are drawn to active support for the struggles of gay men because there is a common enemy—patriarchy and its definition of sexuality as domination. Both heterosexual women and gay men have experienced first hand the violence of sexism; we all have experienced its less open forms such as put-downs and discrimination and we all fear its open forms such as rape and assault.



Patriarchy, which links characteristics (gentleness, aggressiveness, etc.) to gender, shapes sexuality as well, in such a way as to maintain male power. The Masculine Cause draws strength from homophobia and resorts habitually to violence in its battles on the field of sexual politics. It provides psychological support for the military state and is in turn stimulated by it.

#### Patriarchy and the military state

The parallels between these two powerful institutions are striking. Both prefer more subtle means of domination but insist on violence as a last resort. Both institutions provide role models for socialization: the masculine man, the feminine woman; the patriotic citizen. Both are aided by other institutions in maintaining their legitimacy—religion, education, business, sport.

The sexual politics of the family provides the psychological model for the power politics of the state. The oft-deplored breakdown of the family may, from this point of view, have positive effects. Future Vietnams may be ruled out by the growing unmasculinity of soldiers and unfeminine impatience of women.

The business allies of the military are no doubt appalled. The patriarchal family gets constant bolstering from that camp: family services are traditionally the best funded of the private social work agencies; business promoted the Feminine Mystique quite consciously.

The interplay at the top levels of the state between violence and masculinity is becoming clearer. Political scientist Richard Barnett refers to the "hairy chest syndrome" among National Security Managers in government agencies.

*The man who is ready to recommend using violence against foreigners, even where he is overruled, does not damage his reputation for prudence, soundness, or imagination, but the man who recommends putting an issue to the UN, seeking negotiations, or—horror of horrors—"doing nothing" quickly becomes known as "soft." To be "soft"—that is, unbelligerent, compassionate, willing to settle for less—or simply to be repelled by homicide, is to be "irresponsible." It means walking out of the club. (Men and Masculinity, by Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer p. 136)*

Last year's Mayaguez incident, in which the US bombed Cambodia with no real effort at negotiations or other steps, was a clear example. In fact, it was so clear that Henry Kissinger felt impelled to deny that the US response was to "prove our manhood."

An Angolan leader recently tried to touch the masculinity nerve in an appeal for US help for the anti-Soviet FNLA. Holden Roberto told Newsweek (12/29/75):

*Most of the world is sniggering up its sleeve at America's detente efforts and the way the Soviets pay lip service to it while consolidating their position. Maybe, like the cuckolded partner in a betrayed marriage, the United States will be the last to learn the truth.*

From all this it seems obvious to us that the struggle for a world without war must also be a struggle against patriarchy with its masculine character ideal and its oppression of women and gays. Pacifist men, by rejecting violence, have taken a healthy first step in dropping out of masculinity. Some have sought to compensate for that by being more rigorously "tough" in other ways and by participating in the oppression of women and gays. This must stop. The feminist and gay struggles are other dimensions of the same cause: an end to violence.

It seems equally obvious that feminists and gays must include, in our list of patriarchal enemies, the military state. The sexual politics of domination/submission is so reinforced by militarism that one cannot be eliminated without the other. Masculinity and violence are so intimately related that one cannot be defeated by itself.

#### Androgyny: new people for the new society

If the masculine character ideal supports militarism, what can support peace? Femininity? No, for that character ideal also has been shaped by patriarchy, and includes along with virtues such as gentleness and nurturance, a kind of dependency which breeds the passive-aggressive syndrome of curdled violence.

We are encouraged by the vision of androgyny, which includes a blend of the best characteristics now allocated to the two genders: Gentleness. Intelligence. Nurturance. Courage. Awareness of feelings. Cooperativeness. Rooting one's sense of identity in *being* as well as doing, and not tying it to ownership of people or things. Initiative. Befriending persons rather than physical characteristics. Sensuality, with appreciation for the erotic dimension of everyday life.

Many of these characteristics are now allocated to the feminine role, which has led some men to conclude that the essential liberating task is to become effeminate. We don't agree, since to us some desirable characteristics are now allocated to the masculine role (for example, initiative, intelligence). Further, some characteristics are not assigned to either gender in this culture: having an identity independent of ownership of people and things, for example. Women are expected to be as jealous as men, and as absorbed in material accumulation or consumerism.

We invite people to continue the exploration of what a peaceful and sexually liberated society will be like and what kind of people will inhabit it. Let us allow our creativity to flow beyond the definitions patriarchy has given us.

Also needed are strategies for moving toward the androgynous vision, which will show us how to change our organizations, campaigns, and life styles. The authors are already clear that all of us in this struggle have a lot to be proud of, and none of us needs to be guilt-tripped into changing. Let's all find the support we need to keep on growing. The future is our if we only claim it.

*The issue isn't simply one of sexism in groups*

#### CUSTER'S LAST STAND Cont'd from page 2

divisiveness, but the crucial issue of liberation from sex oppression will not be dealt with. Any change of society which does not include the freeing of women and men from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.

#### Becoming Responsible

Here are some specific ways we can be responsible to ourselves and others in groups:

*Special expertise on a topic*

Limiting our talking time to our fair share. With ten people in the group, we are entitled to roughly one-tenth of the total talking time.

Not interrupting people who are speaking. We can even leave space after each speaker, counting to five before speaking.

Becoming a good listener. Good listening is as important as good speaking. It's important not to withdraw when not speaking; good listening is active participation.

Getting and giving support. We can help each other be aware of and interrupt patterns of domination, as well as affirm each other as we move away from those ways. It is important that we men support and challenge each other, rather than asking women to do so. This will also allow women more space to break out of their own conditioned role of looking after men's needs while ignoring their own.

Not giving answers and solutions. We can give our opinions in a manner which says we believe our ideas to be valuable, but no more important than others' ideas.

Relaxing. The group will do fine without our anxiety attacks.

Not speaking on every subject. We need not share every idea we have, at least not with the whole group.

Not putting others down. We need to check ourselves when we are about to attack or "one-up" another. We can ask ourselves, "Why am I doing this? What am I feeling? What do I need?"

Nurturing democratic group process. Learning democratic methods and adopting democratic structures and procedures will improve our group process.

Interrupting others' oppressive behavior. We should take responsibility for interrupting a brother who is exhibiting behavior which is oppressive to others and prohibits his own growth. It is no act of friendship to allow friends to continue dominating those around them. We need to learn caring and forthright ways of doing this.

Acknowledging our short-comings makes us vulnerable, whereas we have been taught to be invulnerable and to dominate and compete with one another. The process of changing, therefore, requires strong support in a safe atmosphere. That

is why it is important that men meet together to work on this in an affirming supportive group.

#### A Men's Agenda

The methods listed above can all be put into practice by individual men for everyone's benefit. Yet the really substantial changes which will empower women and less assertive men must be in the group's process, that is, in the way the group does its work. This change requires more than the separate acts of caring men; it requires alternative structures which are stable through time and liberate the potential of all.

We suggest that men engage in the following toward development of democratic structures and egalitarian group relations. Through two sessions totaling three to four hours, and shorter follow-up sessions, much progress can be made in becoming aware of and changing dominating behavior. The momentum from this process might lead to an ongoing men's group which could spend fun time together, focus on other aspects of sexism, and explore various issues in men's lives.

The process is a liberating one; rather than emphasizing guilt in defining ourselves as oppressor, the focus is on liberation: freeing ourselves! This includes affirmation of who we are and recognition of who we can become.

An agenda for the first meeting of the men's caucus could be as follows:

Minutes	Agenda
5	Gathering
5	Agenda Review
15	Self-affirmation as males
20	Rap and discussion (optional): "Why we need to work on dominating behavior in groups."
15	Sharing feelings (nervous? bored? excited?)
10	Game
20	Brainstorm (optional): "Ways men dominate in groups, and specific ways to overcome such behavior."
10	Break
90	Self-estimation/estimation (time for affirmative and critical sharing about each man's participation in the group, see below).
10	Plan future meetings
10	Evaluation (positives and "to be improved's").

The "self-estimation/estimation" exercise is the central part of the agenda. Each man takes a turn sharing ways he has grown as a sensitive group participant and areas in which he still needs to grow, and then getting responses from the group.

It begins with a ten minute quiet time for each man to think about himself regarding these two



areas. Then someone volunteers to be the first person focused on by the whole group. After three minutes of "think time" in which all the men think about this first man, he shares for five minutes his thinking about himself while the group listens. For the following ten minutes, members of the group share their thinking about him; how they've seen him grow and specific areas where they see changes needed. After all the men have shared, the first man has three more minutes to respond. This is time to focus on what specific things he will be trying to change, how he will be going about this, and what specific support he will need from men in the group. Contracts for support can be made at that time.

This whole process is then repeated for each man, with a 20 to 25 minute limit for each. If the group is larger than six, it might want to break into two separate groups or have a second meeting to complete the process. Follow-up sessions give the men a chance to appreciate changes in group participation and to get continued support. Repeating the self-estimation/estimation exercise, forming support pairs, doing peer counseling, and playing are other ways support can be given.

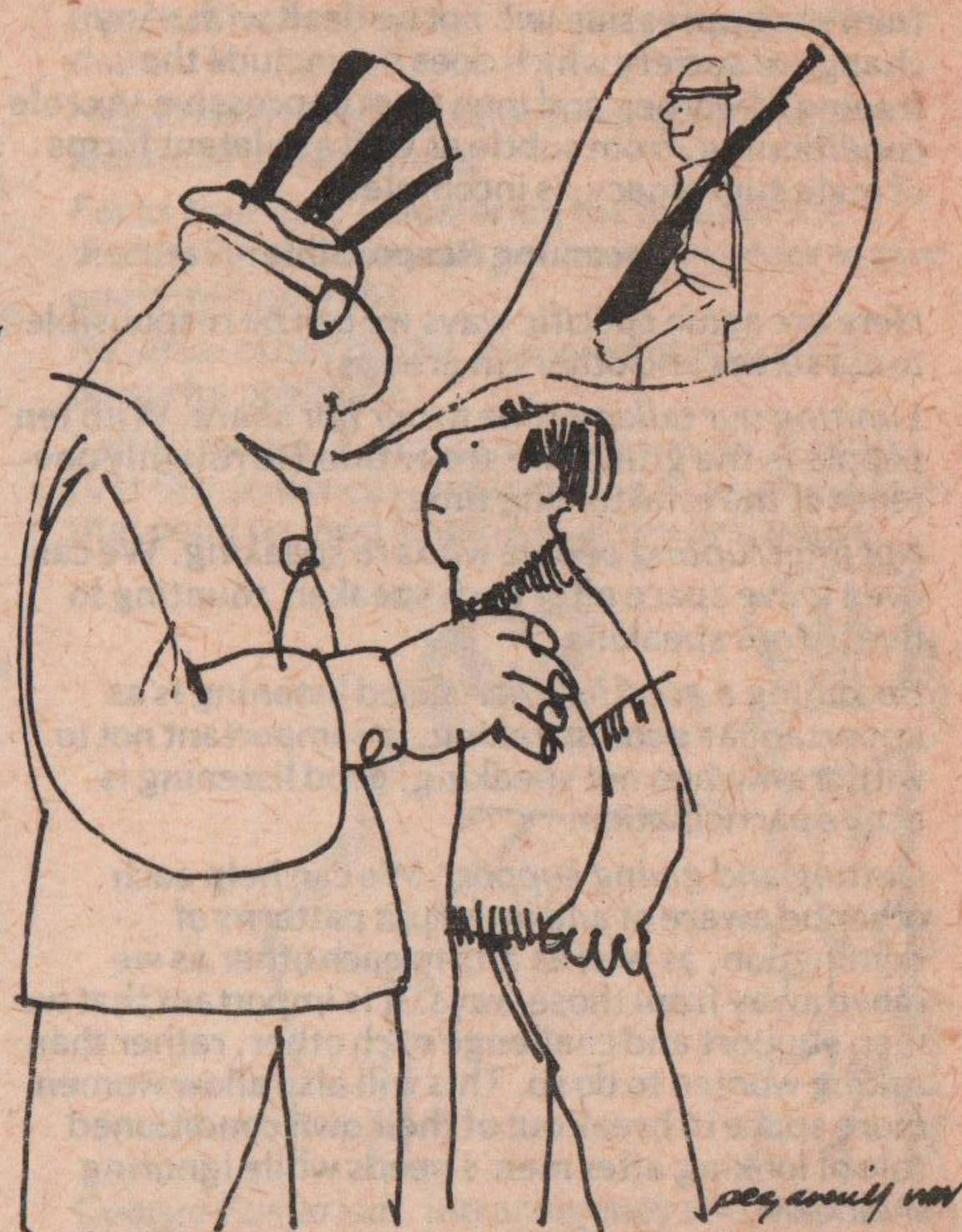
Increasingly in mixed groups there is heavy criticism of men. This is an important, positive development in the movement and essential for progress towards a better society. Although this criticism is usually accurate, it doesn't feel very good. And sometimes there is undeserved criticism mixed in with it, which feels even worse and is frustrating and confusing.

It is important that men not allow their pain and frustration in this situation to build into anger and hostility. Instead, we must acknowledge these feelings, share them, and begin to deal with them. We probably will find that these feelings, in reaction to the necessary challenging of our old behavior, are just part of the normal pain of growing and changing. And, for those times when criticism has been unjust, feelings of pain and confusion are particularly reasonable and appropriate. Through mutual support, men can respond to this without resorting to a counter-attack.

#### A Men's Anti-sexism Movement

The maintenance of present society depends upon the male population continuing to be the competitive, unfeeling people we are taught to be. The political system needs "tough" men to fight its imperialistic wars. The economic system needs highly competitive, materialistic men to fill low-level and management jobs in industry and business.

A strong men's anti-sexism movement is needed to challenge that social order. It will help men become conscious of our own pains and needs, to recognize how we dominate others, and to give support to each other in our own struggle for liberation. Becoming conscious of the ways men



dominate others, and struggling to change this behavior is a crucial starting point. And it is crucial to the movement.

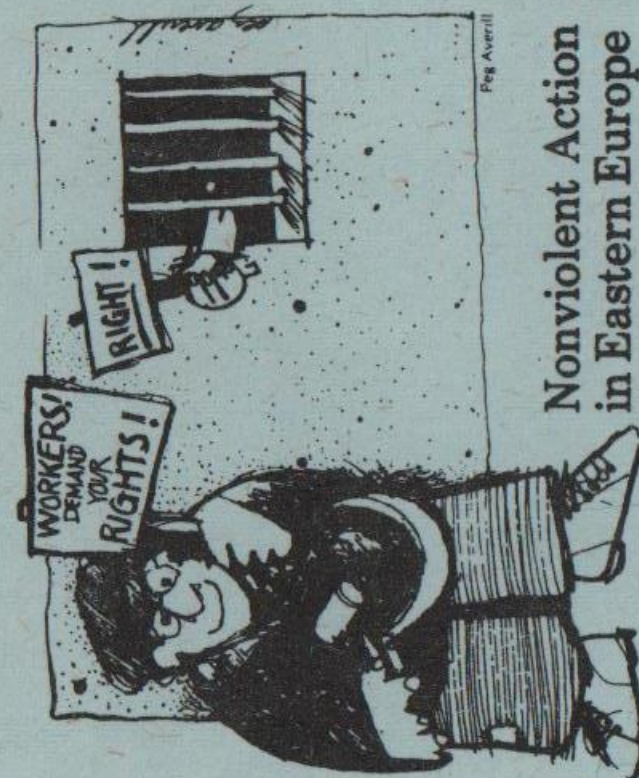
The initial impetus for the men's movement came from women challenging the sexism of the men around them. Men, therefore, often get together as a defensive measure or out of guilt. A group of guilt-ridden men with an image of themselves as nothing but oppressors have nowhere to go but down. Their focus is on how terrible they are rather than on how their potential has been limited by society. The process of growing from infancy to boyhood to manhood teaches us to be oppressive and is extremely deleterious to our own natural growth as human beings.

Men need to recognize and concentrate on our qualities of love, of deep concern and caring which have been suppressed. We can overcome the barriers which prevent us from being the full humans we are. Men's groups must affirm the human qualities of men and be a space in which men can reclaim those qualities through trust and support.

Selections from the small but growing list of materials on men's lives include: *Men and Masculinity*, Joseph Pleck and Jack Sawyer (Prentice Hall paperback); *The Male Machine*, Marc Feigen Fasteau (Delta paperback); "Masculinity and Violence," Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey (WIN Magazine, July 29, 1976). A good book describing sexism in our society is *Woman's Consciousness*, Man's World, Sheila Rowbotham (Pelican paperback).

(inside pages contain recycled paper)

## The WRL 1978 Calendar Is Out!



### Nonviolent Action in Eastern Europe

The provisions of the Helsinki accord of 1975 dealing with cooperation and human rights\* have provided a new basis for human rights activity in Eastern Europe. Particularly in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany, a number of these provisions have been observed. In Poland, further dissenting activity centered around the demand for amnesty for workers who were being punished for their protests in June 1976 against proposed price increases. Many of these workers were sent to prison or lost their jobs.

The methods used by the dissenters were classical nonviolent ones: petitions (e.g., Charter 77, which hundreds signed in Czechoslovakia, demanding the observance of civil rights and freedoms), street demonstrations, hunger strikes, and boycotts of Communist Party meetings. Predictably these activities were labeled "anti-Communist" and brought governmental repression. Many of those involved, however, insisted that the "communist-anti-Communist" polemic was not the issue. The issue was fundamental rights, violated in various ways all over the world, but deserving of respect everywhere.

Beverly Woodward

\*and pledging respect for "fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief," (e.g., the Polish committee to support the punished workers)

NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE AROUND THE WORLD is one hundred and twenty-eight pages of events in the international non-violent movement from peacekeeping to nuclear opposition. The calendar helps keep your life in order and makes a great gift, too. Edited by Beverly Woodward. \$3.25 each, four for \$12.00.

## RECOMMENDED READING

- BIG MAMA RAG, (Colorado's Monthly Women's Journal), 1724 Gaylord St., DENVER, CO 80206. 40¢ a copy - Annual sub \$5.
- BLACK MARIA, (Feminist Journal of Arts and Politics), 815 W. Wrightwood, CHICAGO 60614. \$1.50 a copy - 4 issues \$5.50.
- CHRYSALIS, (The New Magazine of Women's Culture), c/o The Woman's Building, 1727 N. Spring St., LOS ANGELES, CA 90012. Charter price \$8.
- CONDITIONS, (A new magazine of writing by women with an emphasis on writing by lesbians), P.O. Box 56, Van Brunt Station, Brooklyn, NEW YORK, 11215. \$2.50 a copy. Annual sub \$6.50 (3 issues).
- DYKE QUARTERLY, (A magazine of lesbian culture and analysis), Tomato Publications, 70 Barrow St., NEW YORK, NY 10014. Annual sub \$8.
- FEMINIST ALLIANCE AGAINST RAPE, P.O. Box 21033, WASHINGTON, DC 20009. Bi-monthly. Annual sub \$5.
- FIGHTING WOMAN NEWS, (Martial arts, self defense & combative sports), Box 5416, Grand Central Station, NEW YORK, NY 10017. Annual sub \$6.
- HARRISBURG AREA WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER, (About the activities & ideas of Central Pennsylvania women), HAWN, Room 306, YWCA, 4th & Market Sts., HARRISBURG, Pennsylvania. 6 months sub \$3.
- HERESIES, (A feminist publication on art and politics), P.O. Box 766, Cnal Street Station, NEW YORK, NY 10013. Annual sub \$10 (4 issues).
- THE LESBIAN TIDE, (Analysis, interviews, news, reviews, poetry), 8855 Cattaragus Ave., LOS ANGELES, CA 90034. Tel: (213) 839 7254. \$1.25 a copy. Annual sub \$6 (6 issues).
- MAJORITY REPORT, (The women's liberation newspaper), 74 Grove Street, NEW YORK, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 691 4950. Fortnightly - 25¢ a copy. Annual sub \$5/USA, \$7/elsewhere. (these rates('77) may have changed)
- OFF OUR BACKS, (A woman's news journal), 1724, 20th St. NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20009. Tel: (202) 234 8072. Monthly - 60¢ a copy. Annual sub \$6/USA and \$13 outside North America.
- QUEST, (A feminist quarterly - theories of revolution), P.O. Box 8843, WASHINGTON, DC 20003. Annual sub \$9.
- THE SECOND WAVE, (A magazine of the new feminism), Box 344, Cambridge A, CAMBRIDGE, Ma 02139. \$1.00 plus 25¢ postage a copy. 4 issues \$4/USA, \$5/elsewhere.
- SIBYL-CHILD, (A woman's arts and culture journal), 6906 West Park Drive, HYATTVILLE, Maryland 20783. Tel: 301-422 7493/9140. \$6 a copy. 3 issues \$16.
- SINISTER WISDOM, 3116 Country Club Drive, CHARLOTTE, N.C. 28205. 3 issues \$4.50.
- 13th MOON, (A literary magazine publishing women whoever we choose to be), Box 3, Inwood Station, NEW YORK, NY 10034. \$1.75 a copy, 3 issues \$4.50.
- WOMEN, (A journal of liberation), 3028 Greenmount Ave., BALTIMORE, MD 21218. \$5/volume/USA, \$7/elsewhere.
- WOMANKIND, (Past, present and future), P.O. Box 16306, INDIANAPOLIS, Ind 46216. 60¢ for postpaid sample first issue. Annual sub \$4 (11 issues).
- WOMAN SPIRIT, Box 263, Wolf Creek, OREGON 97497.
- WOMAN SPIRIT, (A magazine of womanlore), Box 263, WOLF CREEK, Oregon 97497. Quarterly. Annual sub \$7.

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ calendars at \$3.25 each. (4/\$12.00)

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# A UPS - EUROPE

22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent CT9 2AA, England. Tel: Thanet(0843) 25902

To save time and energy we have created four "standard letters". Hope you don't mind!

Many thanks for your request/or decision to buy a copy of our leaflet "Custer's Last Stand or How to Overcome Male Domination in the Movement" and "More Power Than We Want: Masculine Sexuality and Violence". At a later stage we may, if demand warrants, reprint this leaflet (with a larger type face!) with additional comments and criticisms. If you have any such comments, please write to us. Please indicate which parts we can reprint and whether you want your full name and address listed.

The next leaflets should be:-

**THE MAN WHO PLANTED TREES.** "One man planting trees. A forlorn gesture in a lost battle for the environment? Or a reminder that we should see ourselves as part of a natural cycle. Readers will draw their own conclusions from this true story by the French writer Jean Giono." *AGENOR* Dec '74.

**LIFE IN AN (North American) INDIAN VILLAGE** by William Pelletier; **OF MIND... HEART & SPIRIT** Liberating the Kids, Preserving Our Future; **LISTEN TO THE WHISPERING WORDS OF OUR GRAND-FATHERS AND THINK** by Sakokwenonkwass. (although these articles refer to "Indian education" and cultural values they are equally relevant to the rest of us). Source of first article unknown, first reprinted in UK by *Alternative Press Digest* No 2 (Aug '74); second article from *AKWESASNE NOTES* Early Spring '78 and last article also from *Akwesasne Notes*, Early Spring '74.

**THE CASE OF THE MEASUREMENT JUNKIES** and **I.Q.** a review of **THE SCIENCE AND POLITICS OF I.Q.** First published in *EDCENTRIC*, Spring-Summer '77 and *LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION* No 24 (Spring '78)

**BRITAIN'S STAKE IN APARTHEID** and **HELP BLACK WORKERS FIGHT T.U.C. COLLABORATION.** First published in *SOUTHERN AFRICA*, March '78 and *FREEDOM FIGHTER*, March-April '78.

**GAY RIGHTS AND THE NEW WITCH HUNT** (inc reference to position of Gays in Cuba and USA), *St. Christopher Street Revisited*, and **THE STATE, REPRESSION AND SEXUALITY.** First published by *WIN* Feb 16 '78, *GROWING SEASON* Sept-Oct '76 and *GAY LEFT* No 6 (Summer '78).

In view of your published letter/article we feel the enclosed leaflet may be of interest to you!

Would you please check that the information about your publication/group is correct and if possible send us an exchange copy.

Would you please insert this letter in the copies of our leaflet that you still have for sale in your shop.

Please note the following additions to the bibliography:-

**HERESIES** - Canal Street Station not Cnal Street Station. *WIN* - cost of single issues now 40¢.  
**RED RAG** moved to 207 Sumatra Road, London NW6. Price per copy 35p.  
The 1978 Peace Calendar is now reduced to \$1.75 a copy.

- BEYOND PATRIARCHY PUBLICATIONS**, Mary Coghill, 31 Dalmeny Road, LONDON N7. Just published: *If Women Want to Speak What Language Do They Use?* 52pp, A5, 40p - *Is It Worthwhile Working in a Mixed Group?* A5 30p.
- ISIS**, (Women's International Information and Communication Service) P.O. Box 301, CH-1227, Carouge, GENEVA, Switzerland. Quarterly journal - US\$10 per year.
- FEMINIST REVIEW**, 65 Manor Road, LONDON N.16. Three issues a year - sub rate £3.50 per year; individual bookshop price will be about £1.50 a copy (about 112pp). First issue due January 1979. "We aim to organise the Review around the issues that are important politically for feminists ... the family, the State, work, and ideology, and problems surrounding the relation of women to class struggle... please get in touch if you would like to be involved." "The Feminist Review is run by a collective of women, based in London..."
- LIGHT**, Box 1105, Stuyvesant PO, NY 10009, USA. Sample copy \$1.25. "Light publishes a wide range of work mirroring varied sensibilities in Poetry, Translation, Graphics and Photography. Light No 3 includes translations of Greek, Italian, Spanish and Argentinian women writers."
- LONDON WOMEN'S LIBERATION NEWSLETTER**, 42 Earlam Street, LONDON WC2. Tel: 01 836 6081 (Woman's Place). 10p a copy (plus 9p postage). Address may change soon, check by phone. Only available to women.
- LONGEST REVOLUTION**, P.O. Box 350, SAN DIEGO, Calif 92101, USA. \$3 a year. "A Newspaper presenting News and Views of Progressive Feminism. Local - National - International."
- MOVING OUT**, 4866 Third, Wayne State University, DETROIT, Mi 48202, USA. \$3 a year (2 issues) plus 50¢ postage. "Feminist Literary and Arts Journal".
- THE PAINTED BRIDE QUARTERLY**, 527 South Street, PHILADELPHIA, Pa 19147, USA. \$5 a year for individuals.
- MAKARA**, 1011 Commercial, VANCOUVER, B.C. Canada V5L 3X1. Sample copy \$1.25. "The Canadian Magazine by Women for People - featuring Canadian Art, Photography, Articles, Fiction, Poetry, etc."
- MATRIARCHY STUDY GROUP**, Flat 6, 15 Guildford Street, LONDON WC1. Just published: *Menstrual Taboos*. 24pp/30p
- **SCOTTISH WOMEN'S LIBERATION JOURNAL**, Sally Henry, 23 Marchmont Crescent, EDINBURGH. 25p a copy plus 12p postage. "... set up to provide a means of analysing the position of women in Scotland."
- SISTER COURAGE**, P.O. Box 296, ALLSTON, Mass 02134, USA. "Boston's Independent Feminist NewsJournal".
- SYZYGY**, (Cincinnati Women's Press) 3901 Ledgewood Drive, CINCINNATI, Ohio 45229, USA. \$2.50 a copy. "A Journal of Fiction & Sketches. Syzygy means a yoking together. We are people yoking together differing lives, styles, experiences and interpretations of reality."
- VIRAGO**, 4th Floor, 5 Wardour Street, LONDON W1V 3HE. Tel: 01 734 4608/9. "... the purpose of Virago - to publish books which highlight all aspects of women's lives, books for the general market, for women and men." Just published their latest 32pp/A5 catalogue as they enter their 2nd year as an independent company. Send sae.
- WOMEN ARTISTS NEWSLETTER**, Box 3304-M, Grand Central Station, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017, USA. \$5 for 10 issues per year. "Reports and comments on Art and the Art World... is artists talking and writing about their life and work."
- **WOMEN AND EDUCATION**, 4 Cliffdale Drive, Crumpsall, MANCHESTER 8. 20p a copy (plus postage) No 12 just out.
- WOMEN AND LITERATURE**, Box 441, CAMBRIDGE, Ma 02138, USA. Single copy \$3.50 (plus 25¢ postage). "An Annotated Bibliography of Women Writers."
- Workers Educational Association's WOMEN'S STUDIES NEWSLETTER**, Carolyn Brown, 176 Hagley Road, STOURBRIDGE DY8 2JN. Tel: 03843 5131. 10p a copy (plus postage).

\* don't forget to include postage costs or a sae(include an International Reply Coupon if writing from outside UK) and mention UAPS/Europe as this helps us in our work.

The Underground/Alternative Press Service/Syndicate is entirely dependant on voluntary donations, as it has no other source of income. Donations to help develop the service always needed and welcome.



## UAPS/Europe

Worldwide, the Alternative Press Syndicate exists to help 'alternative' papers keep in contact with each other and exchange material. This is achieved by decentralised, completely separate groups in North and South America, Hong Kong and Europe, called APS/USA, INDO/UAPS, APS/Asia-Pacific and UAPS/Europe respectively. The 'U' in some of these titles stands for 'Underground'. Most are now 'overground', hence the change to 'A' for 'Alternative'.

Member papers send copies of as many issues as they can afford to their regional HQ, which then puts together all of the information and produces a list and bulletin for internal and external distribution. Papers can then exchange copies between themselves - hundreds of them, covering many interests from all over the world.

At the moment only APS/Asia-Pacific produces a regular publication known as "Minus 7" (the number of years to go until 1984). APS/USA has produced its "Alternative Journalism Review" and INDO/UAPS its "Argentina in Brief". Back issues may still be available. UAPS/Europe produces Lists of Papers irregularly, and occasional reprints of articles in the form of leaflets or Digests. Back issues are available on request.

### WHAT IS UAPS/Europe and HOW CAN WE JOIN?

UAPS/Europe is the European section of this worldwide network of people concerned with the continuing development and survival of the 'alternative' and in some countries the 'underground' press. Because of the very nature of our organisation and its ideals, we here at UAPS/Europe have limited our "rules", such as they are, to the following:-

Rule one: Papers should send, as a minimum, one copy of their paper or a letter every 3 months to UAPS/Europe. This enables us to keep our Lists and Catalogue up to date. We feel that it is in your interests to keep us informed about how you are getting on and any alterations we should know about, such as, price increases, change of address, etc., as this information is made available to fellow papers and enquiries from the general public, including book shops and libraries.

All the papers you send us are filed in our Reference Library, so if you can afford to send us every copy you publish, please do so, as this helps the Library grow and develop.

Rule two: Papers are asked to send "free exchange" copies to as many fellow papers as their finances permit. Please note though that sending an exchange copy does not guarantee that you will get one back in return! We mention this because many papers have complained about not receiving exchange copies back from papers they have sent copies to. Unfortunately we can do nothing about this, but we would ask papers to reciprocate exchange copies and to send at least one exchange copy, at some time, to their fellow papers.

As a general rule papers usually end up exchanging "like with like", so it is important that you let us have a brief description of your paper, as sometimes the title alone doesn't help identify your interests. Future copies of the List of Papers/Catalogue will include descriptions of each paper.

Rule three: Papers are asked, in all our interests, to honour all postal orders & subscriptions from the general public and libraries and to return the unexpired portion of any such subscriptions should their paper cease publishing. We still get complaints from subscribers about some papers who seem to have difficulties in processing orders and returning the unexpired portion of any subscriptions when they cease publishing.

### COPYRIGHT ADVANTAGES

From its inception in the Spring of 1971, "membership" of UPS (Underground Press Syndicate), now known as APS (Alternative Press Syndicate) or UAPS (Underground & Alternative Press Syndicate), has allowed member papers to reprint articles and graphics without having to worry about copyright. This rule still applies in most cases, except where stated otherwise in the papers. (Even when copyright is being exercised by the paper or individual, they will usually allow a fellow "member" to reprint if written permission is sought first.)

However it is essential that if you do use someone else's work that you credit the original source, e.g. Peace News(UAPS) or WIN(APS/USA), so that the copyright is protected from unauthorized use by the straight commercial press, publishers and microfilm firms. We reserve the right to remove from our Lists and Catalogues any paper that persistently uses other paper's articles and graphics without crediting the original source, should the original copyright holder(s) concerned request such action.

### MEMBERSHIP OF UAPS/Europe

Membership is free to all papers that accept our minimum set of "rules" and complete our "Information/Membership form". As "members" you are free to include in your masthead the inscription 'Member of the Underground & Alternative Press Syndicate of Europe' or shortened to 'Member of UAPS/Europe', or you can leave it off - its up to you. We have no membership fee but donations are welcome!

### FINANCES

UAPS is entirely dependant on voluntary donations as it has no other source of income apart from the sales of our publications and services such as MAGIC INK PRINTING SERVICES.

Magic Ink Printing Services started originally as an extension of UAPS/Europe and tries to provide a reasonably priced reprographic and printing service for fellow papers plus any other interested groups and individuals. Any surplus we make, after paying off our debts, goes back into improving the services we offer, as well as subsidizing the various activities of UAPS/Europe and DISABILITIES UNLIMITED (send sae for further details). When we print papers here we nearly always print an additional 150/200 copies at no charge to the paper and these additional copies are sent out to fellow "members" in packages of different papers and leaflets.

### "ALTERNATIVE?"

Please note that our interpretation of "alternative" is exceptionally wide and about the only thing we can say with certainty is that all paper that exchange(d) with us are concerned, as we are, with the development and survival of a free press, worldwide.

Like everyone else we at UAPS have our own opinions about what "freedom of the press" means and some papers certainly exercise that right in directions we find quite "strange". But then that's what "freedom" is all about - infinite variety and creativity and all manner of excesses!

APS/USA, Box 777, COOPER STATION, NYC 10003, USA. INDO/UAPS, c/o Eco Contemporaneo, C.C. Central 1933, BUENOS AIRES, Argentina. APS/Asia-Pacific, 180 Lockhart Road, 1st Floor, WANCHAI, Hong Kong. UAPS/Europe, 22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent CT9 2AA, England.



with each other and by their very nature are limited and fixed in size and do not recruit new members. This presents some problems for interested people who want to become involved. However by contacting existing groups, new ones can easily be started.

The relationship of MAS to Women's Liberation is a curious one. Whilst supporting the basic aims of Women's Lib, many men felt that it is their problem first and foremost to sort out their own position with regard to sexism. Some mixed, i.e. male/female, groups do exist but it appears that men have a great need to work out their problems on their own.

The broader aims of Men Against Sexism as a movement are harder to define. In fact one can argue that there is no real movement in terms of national organisation. Many of the people do come from the Left and in local groups there is a surprising number of scientists and engineers. There is considerable distrust of macho-revolutionaries, and of the organisations of the left. Nevertheless, most people feel that

their activities are politically valid for discussions that go on inside the groups do affect changes in oneself outside that group.

Changing in one's relationships with women is seen to be very important. Equally important is in dealing with men in, say, work situations or political groups or in any sphere where it is possible to alter other people's perspectives, attitudes and actions. Working with children, instead of leaving it all to women, brings one face to face with the earliest stages of socialisation in a sexist society.

From this article it may be possible to obtain some idea of MAS and the kind of meeting that took place at the national conference. The workshops covered a variety of topics ranging from exploitation in bed to sexuality, sexism and the class struggle. In conclusion, MAS is an amorphous movement. However, any person interested in becoming involved in a local group can telephone me at Lewes 5809.

Ted Lilley.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY cont'd

- = change of information - see corrections (as the bibliography expands and as the months go by you will need to check through the various additional sets of corrections to keep up to date - sorry about this but apart from reprinting the bibliography every week there is no other way to keep up with the constant changes) The bibliography starts on the back pages of the leaflet, then continues on the centre page (UAPS notepaper) then to these pages

Before we include further additions to the list of papers here are extracts from 2 reviews of the WIN leaflet.

"A pamphlet which should be of interest to all anti-sexists, it is one of a series of reprints published by the Alternative Press Syndicate/Europe (this one is reprinted from WIN). It contains two articles written by members of the American Movement for a New Society, the first dealing with sexism in group discussions etc. (the dominant male can easily identify himself here) and calls for a strong male anti-sexist movement. The second deals with sex roles in relation to violence and in this the male does not come out the best - the authors conclude that men should discard the characteristics of power, oppression etc. that society is conditioned to expect of them and adopt some, but by no means all, of the feminine qualities, as the female role has undesirable characteristics too.

A well written pamphlet and though it does not come up with all the answers as to what is a peaceful and sexually liberated society it is well worth reading (printed on recycled paper too). DAWN RECOMMENDED BEDTIME READING." No. 36/39

This review is from a special issue of DAWN (an Irish journal of nonviolence) called "Nonviolence in Irish History", 30p a copy from 331 Ormeau Road, BELFAST 7.\*

See also issue No. 40 for article "Violence Against Women - Report on the Galway Conference on Violence Against Women, May '78". This issue costs 15p a copy plus postage.

\*c/o Resources Centre, 168 Rathgar Road, DUBLIN 6. (this address to take effect from 1/9/78)

The second review is from WIRES (see bibliography for details).

"A pamphlet aimed at males, but nonetheless interesting for its analysis of the links between sexuality and violence in patriarchal society in the second article. The first is less well thought out but contains comments on male domination of groups which are applicable to women's groups at times - some of those I've been in, anyway, you're lucky if you've avoided all the 'common pitfalls' listed e.g. 'I used to believe that but now....'; restating what a woman has just said perfectly clearly; responding to contrary opinion as though it's a personal attack; taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items and others. It suggests ways of becoming more responsible, such as limiting talking time, not speaking on every subject, and relaxing - "the group will do fine without our anxiety attacks".

Further corrections:-

COUNTRYWOMEN moved to c/o Wendy & Tricia, No. 1 Higher Comberoy Farm Cottage, Westwood, Broad, Clyst, Exeter. "For feminists living in the country and trying to break down the isolation of rural life." Subscription: £1 for 4 issues.

SCARLET WOMEN now costs 50p a copy.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S LIBERATION JOURNAL now costs 50p a copy or £1 for 4 issues.

WIRES phone number is 0904 35471.

WOMEN & EDUCATION moved to c/o Jill Norris, 29 Corkland Road, Chorlton, MANCHESTER 21. "Everything about women and education; fighting sexism, EOC news, reviews, etc." Now 30p a copy; subscriptions: 3 issues for 90p (60p for the unwaged, students, etc.)

WOMENS VOICE moved to Box 82, LONDON E2 8DN. "Women's Magazine of the Socialist Workers Party". Now costs 15p a copy.



Further ADDITIONS to the List:

ALBATROSS, PO Box 2046, Central Station, EAST ORANGE, N.J. 07019, USA. "The Lesbian-Feminist Satire Magazine - News, Views, Reviews, Interviews, Poetry, Fiction, Humor, Comix!" \$1.50 a copy.

CALL TO WOMEN, c/o Marjorie Thorpe, 19 Shirley Drive, Worthing, Sussex. "Newsletter of the Liason Committee of Women's Peace Groups - Written for those women who are united in the conviction that they have a special responsibility for safeguarding their children and society from war." Subscription: £1 per year.

THE COLLECTIVE FUND NEWSLETTER - Rights for Women NCCL. Subscription details from National Council For Civil Liberties, 186 Kings Cross Road, LONDON, WC1X 9DE.

DES FEMMES EN MOUVEMENTS, 70 Rue des Saint-Peres, 75009, PARIS, France. 7FF +pp INTERNATIONAL FEMINISM AND NONVIOLENCE NEWSLETTER, Jenny Jacobs and Lesley Merryfinch, 2 Mentor St., Longsight, MANCHESTER 13. Bi-monthly £1.20(U.K.); £1-40 (Europe); \$3.50 Airmail (US and elsewhere) annual subscription (6 issues).

m/f, 69 Randolph Ave., LONDON W.9. £1.20 plus 25p post for single issue or £2 for 2 issue annual sub. "A new journal of Marxist Feminism with an emphasis on psychoanalysis, contemporary culture and political economy."

RIGHTS OF WOMEN, (Free Legal Advice for Women), 374 Grays Inn Road, LONDON WC1. Annual sub. £5 for newsletter. This address to take effect from Sept. '78.

SHREW, (by the Women and Nonviolence Study Group), Lynn Blackmore, Some Friends Community, 128 Bethnal Green Road, LONDON E2. 40p a copy inc p.p. (A4, 36pp)

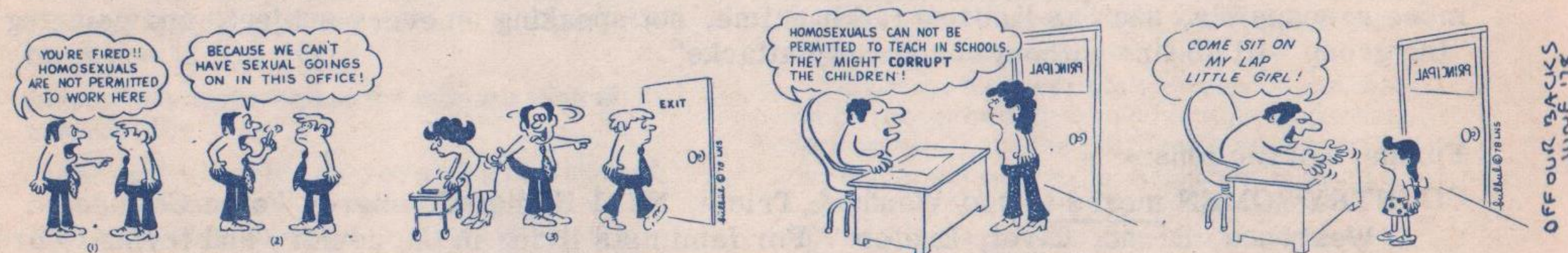
SOCIALIST WOMEN, c/o Relgocrest Ltd., 328/9 Upper Street, LONDON N.1. "A Journal of the International Marxist Group - News and discussion." Subscription: £1.50 for 4 issues Libraries and Institutions £3.

WOMEN'S RESEARCH & RESOURCES CENTRE NEWSLETTER, 27 Clerkenwell Close, LONDON EC1. "News of feminist research (they have an index of around 400 research projects in progress), W.S. contacts, book reviews; they hold seminars and are building up a library of periodicals, pamphlets and books." Tel: 01 235 7568. Subscription: £5 for 6 issues - £10 if earning £5,000 p.a. or more & for Institutions.

WOMEN'S STRUGGLE NOTES, Box 339, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, LONDON N.1. "Written for working class women - lively articles on health, housework and all women's struggles. 15p a copy. £1.50 for 6 issues.

WORKING CLASS WOMEN'S LIBERATION NEWSLETTER, 199a Manningham Lane, BRADFORD 8. 20p a copy or £1 for 6 issues.

\* thanks to the Women's Studies Newsletter for much of the above information.



FEMINIST BOOKSTORES' NEWSLETTER, c/o Old Wives Tales, 532 Valencia, SAN FRANCISCO, California 94110, USA. "...devoted to making it possible for bookstores to talk to each other, about ideas and issues that are important to us, and to tell each other about new books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc. that are important to feminists. Sometimes we print lists of books on a specific subject - i.e. books for/by third world women, children's books, books by/for lesbians... One of our regular features is a column of new books from small and feminist presses..." Sample issue \$2.

Only women and women controlled bookstores, periodicals etc. can subscribe to FBN. Women who work in mixed male and female stores can subscribe if they understand the need for women-only spaces.

MOTHER RAGE, c/o 1029 W. Colonial Park Drive, GRAND LEDGE, Mi. 48837. "Mother Rage has put together a packet full of information on publications, references, groups, resource centers... They say "We are fat, feminist, anti-authoritarian, environmentalist, non-smoking, non-drinking, hard working dedicated women-loving dykes..." Donation needed for packet..."

FEMINIST COMMUNICATIONS, 4003 Wabash, SAN DIEGO 92104, USA.

PAID MY DUES, P.O. Box 6517, CHICAGO, Illinois 60680, USA. "has a fine spring issue, good stuff on jazz and jazz women by Susan Abod, also a directory of women choirs, and a special choral section."

THE PERFORMING WOMAN, 26910 Grand View Ave., HAYWARD, Ca 94542, USA. "A national directory of professional women musicians... new edition coming out in June, annual subscription \$5.

MUSICA, P.O. Box 55, TROUTDALE, OR 97060. "Woman's journal about music festivals, records, concerts."

MUSIC & WOMEN, Box 880 downstairs, 166 W. 21 St., NY 10011, USA. "A newsletter especially for managers, producers and distributors."

THE LIBERTY CAP, from The Academy Press, 360 N. Michigan, CHICAGO, IL 60601, USA. "Publish a catalogue of non-sexist material for children with more than 1,000 reviews of books, records..." \$5.45 a copy.

WOMEN'S STUDIES NEWSLETTER, Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, NY 11568, USA. "Spring issue has useful information on status of women and feminism in INDIA. India is one of the few countries where there are fewer women than men, and the proportion of women is declining. Infant mortality among girls in India is 30 to 60% higher than among boys..."

FEMINIST:JAPAN, c/o Diane Simpson, 555 Main Street, Apt. S 1802, Roosevelt Island, NY. NY 10044, USA. First issue in English. \$2.50 a copy.

IT'S ABOUT TIME!, PO Box 14643, HOUSTON, Tx 77021, USA. "Official newsletter of the National Lesbian Feminist Organisation".

COGS, PO Box 222, COLUMBIA, MD 21045, USA. "Coalition of Gay Sisters" - Dedicated to establishing a network of gay women in the Baltimore-DC area."

LESBIAN HERSTORY ARCHIVES, PO Box 1258 NY, NY 10001, USA. "Feb issue contains poetry collection and bibliography..."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS LAW REPORTER, 180 University Ave., NEWARK, NJ 07102, USA. "...has lots of interesting articles on work laws, economic laws, family laws, with an upcoming issue on reproductive freedom..."

THE BLACK SCHOLAR, Box 908 (2658 Bridgeway) SAUSALITO, Ca. 94965, USA. "April issue has articles on rape by Angela Davis, on prison by Assata Shakur, on love by Audre Lorde, on black women in early U.S. history by Johnetta Cole, on comparing black and white women's paths to liberation by Elizabeth Hood..."

FARMING WOMEN, Box 511, GARBERVILLE, Ca. 95440, USA. "Articles on farming women..."

CHROMO-URI, PO Box 1057, AMHERST, Ma 01002, USA. "...a women's multi-arts magazine, wants graphics, fiction, essays, on rape, forced sterilization, prison, lesbian custody, abortion..."

WOMEN & LITERATURE, Douglass College, NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ 08903, USA. "...first two issues will be devoted to articles by "respected scholars"... then maybe an issue on contemporary women novelists and film, and one on French literature..."

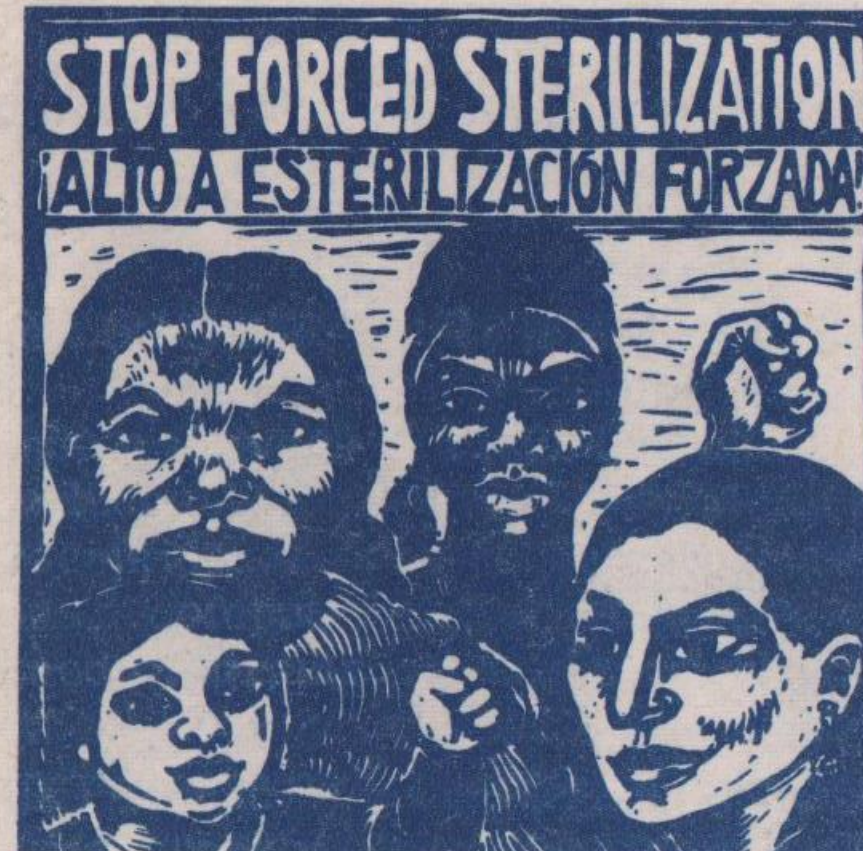
\* thanks to chicken lady of "Off Our Backs" for the above information.

INDIGENA, P.O. Box 4073, BERKELEY, Ca. 94704, USA. "This newspaper appears irregularly in Spanish and English and carries articles and information on the Native American peoples of both North and Latin America. The Director, Marie-Helene Larque, is particularly interested in collecting information on population control and sterilization programs... people doing similar work asked to contact her..." No fixed price - contribution requested. CESA, (Committee to End Sterilization Abuse), Box A244, Cooper Station, NEW YORK, NY 10003, USA. "An excellent fact sheet on sterilization is available from CESA."



WASA (Women Against Sterilization Abuse), 3619 Baring Street, PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania 19104, USA. "WASA is a women's group organizing against sterilization abuse and for women's control over their bodies. They have produced an excellent pamphlet in English and Spanish.....It is entitled "Women Beware!"

STERILIZATION ALERT INFORMATION POSTER, available from Women's Issue Program, American Friends Service Committee, 2162 Massachusetts Avenue, CAMBRIDGE, Mass. 02140, USA. "printed in English or in Spanish, this poster provides the basic information needed by women to make informed decisions regarding sterilizations..." \$1 plus 50¢ a copy/bulk rate \$40 for 50 copies.



POPULATION AND IMPERIALISM - WOMEN IN REVOLUTION, LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES, P.O. Box 5703, RIVERSIDE, Ca. 92517, USA. "A theoretical and practical journal for the discussion and debate of critical issues relating to capitalism and socialism in Latin America, devotes its autumn '77 issue to the subjects of population and imperialism and to the relationship of women's movements and class struggle.... Other articles deal with population growth and capitalist development in Mexico, infant mortality and capitalist development in Brazil, and population control and experimentation with contraceptives on women in Puerto Rico."

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS NEWSLETTER, c/o New American Movement, 3244 North Clark, CHICAGO, Illinois 60657, USA. "First issue contains "Bill of Reproductive Rights".

CIDHAL, (Boletín Documental sobre las Mujeres), Apartado 579, Cuernavaca, MORALES, MEXICO. "This documentation center and its bulletin have a large number of articles and documents on the issue of birth control and population control in Latin America."

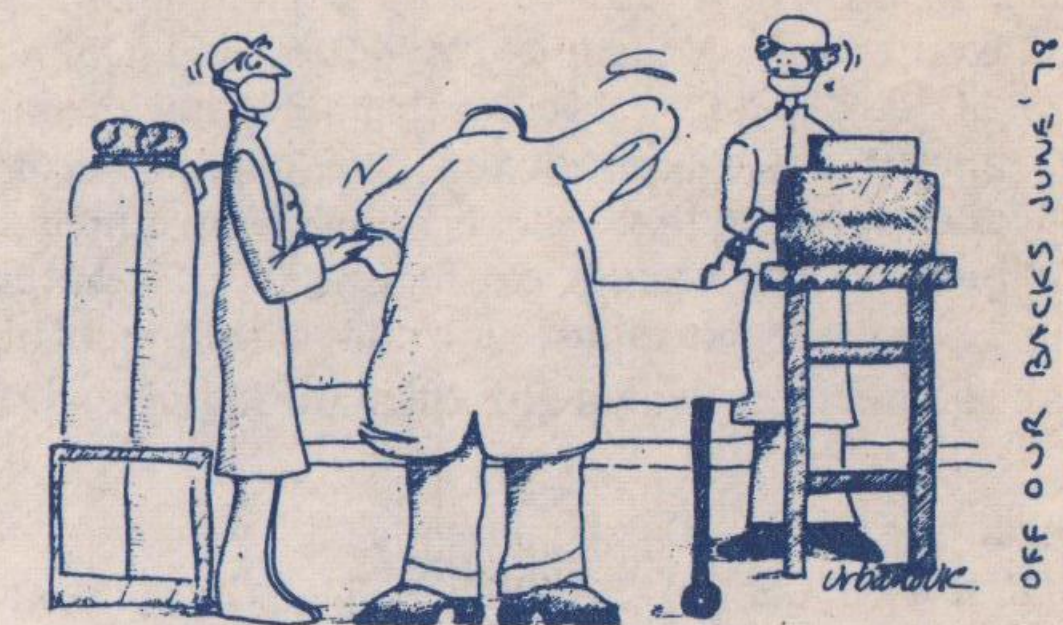
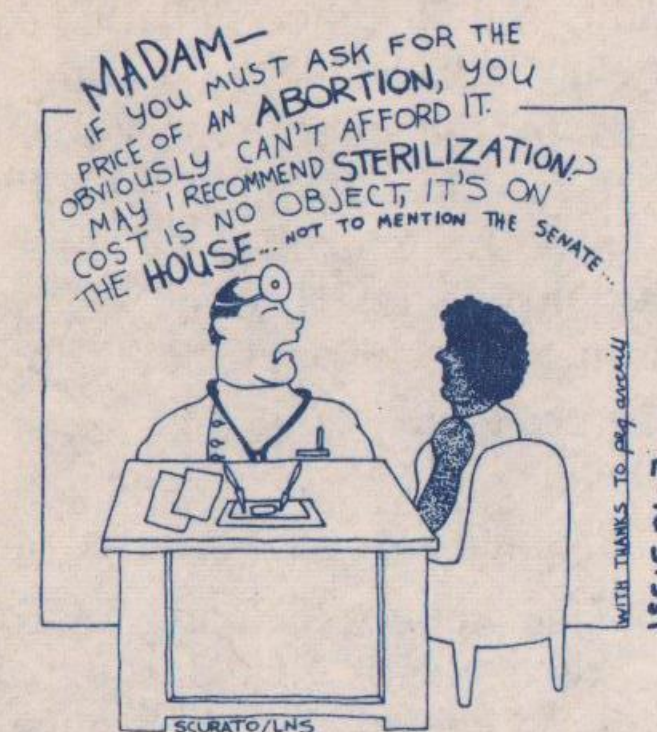
THE POPULATION CONTROL ESTABLISHMENT and their publications:-

PEOPLE-INTERNATIONAL PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION, 18-20 Lower Regent Street, LONDON SW1Y 4PW, England. "Published quarterly in English, French and Spanish, this magazine covers population control activities all over the world. No.2 vol.5, 1978 was on abortion laws of different countries." Subscription: £5 a year.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD FEDERATION OF AMERICA, Inc., 810 Seventh Avenue, NEW YORK, NY 10019, USA. Tel: (212) 541-7800. "This organisation produces both a quarterly and a monthly publication as well as other literature on family planning in both English and Spanish. A list of publications and a list of films is available from the above address."

FUTURE, (newsletter of the IPPF Indian Ocean Region), 49 Sir Ernest de Silva Mawatha, COLOMBO 7, SRI LANKA. "English language, bi-monthly publication of the IPPF covering activities in India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran..."

THE POPULATION INSTITUTE, 110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., WASHINGTON, DC 20002, USA. Tel: (202) 544-2202. "The Population Institute was set up in 1969 to perform a catalytic function in halting population growth and bringing into balance with resources and a quality environment..."



ZERO POPULATION GROWTH, 50 West 40 Street, NEW YORK, NY 10018, USA. Tel: (212) 354-8688. "Publishes both monthly and quarterly magazines."

POPULATION REPORTS, Department of Medical and Public Affairs, George Washington University Medical Center, 1340 High Street, N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20005. "Produces monthly reports on "fertility regulation" i.e. abortion, sterilization and contraception... Also give information on worldwide laws and policies on fertility control and has computerized data based on published and unpublished material on population control and programs. Reports available in English, French, Portuguese and Spanish."

QUOTIDIANO DONNA, Via del Governo Vecchio 39, 2° piano, ROME, ITALY. Tel: (06) 486536/4741017/659812. "A feminist newspaper just started publishing in Rome. 8 pages, weekly, hope eventually to go daily..."

EFPE, c/o Women's Lending Library, Via della Stelletta 13, 1° piano, ROME, ITALY. "EFPE the feminist monthly magazine has just opened a lending library of feminist books and magazines from Italy and many other countries at above address, Mon-Fri 15.30 to 19.30."

LA MAUVAISE GRAINE, Place du Tunnel 4, LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND. "A women's bookshop with records, posters, feminist newspapers and periodicals...."

\* thanks to ISIS International Bulletin No.7 (special issue on "Who controls health and reproduction resources") for the above information (abridged)

We seem to have missed out the many UK gay magazines, these are as follows:-

FEMME magazine, 62 Railey Mews, LONDON NW5 2PA. Has now become a broadsheet given away free at Femme discos, or send sae for a copy to above address.

GAY LEFT, 36a Craven Road, LONDON W2. 40p a copy plus postage - every 4 months. See issue no.5 for Lesbian Invisibility; issue 4 for Love, Sex and Maleness, Lesbians and the law; and issue 3 for Women in Gay Left.

GAY NEWS, 1a Normand Gardens, Greyhound Road, LONDON W14 9SB. Tel: 01 381 2161. Published fortnightly - 30p a copy. (inc. comprehensive list of pubs, meetings etc.)

GRAIN, (Gay Rural Aid and Information Network), c/o 50 Riverview Grove, Chiswick, LONDON W4 3QP. Bi-monthly newsletter for gay people already living in the country or those who want to move out.

MOVE (Bristol Gay Women's Group magazine), 32 Hill Street, Totterdown, BRISTOL 3. Tel: 0272 712621. Published 10 times a year: 20p a copy.

OUTRAGE, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, LONDON N.1. "4th edition includes NCCL Gay Rights Campaign, a defence of bisexuality, sexuality in Eastern Europe and paedophilia..." 40p a copy.

SAPPHO (for Gay women), The Basement, 20 Dorset Square, LONDON NW1 6QB. Tel: 01 724 3636. Published monthly: 50p a copy. (inc comprehensive list of organisations etc)

SEQUEL, Box 188, Peace News, 8 Elm Avenue, NOTTINGHAM. A free contact publication for gay women created on a voluntary basis.

TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF GAY LIBERATION, (a 24 page special in MOVEMENT No 22)



see also:-

CLINT EASTWOOD LOVES JEFF BRIDGES. TRUE! (subtitled Homosexuality, Androgyny and Evolution, A Simple Introduction) Quantum Jump Publications, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, LONDON N1. "Bob Mellors having dismissed the Victorian obsession with classification, specifically homosexual and heterosexual, proceeds to classify people by the use of bitch and butch roles. Bitch being femininity and butch being masculinity. These roles cut across gender and sexual preferences. . . . author gives examples in films, TV programmes, etc. " . . . this pamphlet is quite worth reading and is humorous in parts. " 30p a copy post free.

\* thanks to Peace News for this abridged version of their review.

see also:-

LABOUR FOCUS ON EASTERN EUROPE, Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Road, LONDON N.16.

Special issue on women includes articles on "Birth rate politics in Eastern Europe and USSR" and "Action of Hungarian women against the new restrictions on abortion."

THE LEVELLER, 155a Drummond Street, LONDON NW1. "Non-aligned socialist magazine covering women's issues, politics, finance, industry, law, education, music. . ." 35p a copy.

MOVEMENT, (The Journal Of Christian Action and Ideas), 168 Rathgar Road, DUBLIN 6. 50p a copy (annual sub U.K. £3; overseas surface £3.30; overseas airmail £6.50) Summer issue (No.34) has 24 page special on "Why Men Priests? Effects of Male Domination in The Church & Psychological Roots of Male Resistance to Women Priests." See also the issue (numbered o.31) for article on "The Western Religious Tradition and Violence against Women in the Home"; issue No.31/Autumn '77 for GENESIS 1: Feminist account of the Creation; issue No.33 for "Exploitation of women in S.E. Asia & in 28 page supplement on Celtic Theology - How Celtic Women Fell From Power and Mary of the Celts - The Power of the Powerless.

OPEN ROAD, Box 6135, Station G, VANCOUVER, B.C. CANADA V6R 4G5. Issue No 6 has article "Feminists turn tables on rapists". 60¢ (canadian) a copy. "ANARCHIST JOURNAL MONTHLY"

PEACE NEWS, 8 Elm Avenue, NOTTINGHAM. Tel: 0602 53587. 15p a copy fortnightly.

Although not a feminist publication, it prints many articles with feminist viewpoints. (they also reprinted extracts from both the WIN articles in our leaflet)

POVERTY AND POWER, War on Want, 467 Caledonian Road, LONDON N7. "First issue just out covers racism, Asian women and the British Health Service, Tobacco: the cancer merchants, Baby milks: Battle against the bottle, Depo Provera - the ignorance-based contraceptive plus many more articles on poverty in the Third World and power in the Industrialized world. . ." Price per copy, 20p.

UNDERCURRENTS, 12 South Street, ULEY, DURSLEY, Glos. "Special issue (No. 29, Aug./Sept '78) on Women and Energy - inc. Women & Energy, Feminists against Nukes, Bringing it all back home - Women, Work and Trade Unions, Woman thought, A return to our senses - birth and technology, Woman AT home, Communes and exchanging skills, Information on Women's groups, plus lots more. Price per copy 45p (US\$1.25)

AUG '78

The following article was due to appear in our Alternative Press Digest No. 4. Unfortunately we had to discontinue publishing the Digest (back issues of No's 1,2,3, still available - £1/\$2 for the 3 including postage) and we have also lost the original source of this article. As it is about the Brighton area it could have come from the 'Brighton Voice', 7 Victoria Rd, Brighton.

10h/copy

For information on current Men Against Sexism groups please contact:-

MEN AGAINST SEXISM, Attic Library, 178 Waterloo Place, Oxford Road, MANCHESTER 13, UK

Recently 200 men from all parts of the country came to Brighton to attend the the national conference of Men Against Sexism (MAS) held at the University of Sussex. Since most people have never heard of MAS even though there are six groups currently active in the Brighton-Falmer-Lewes area, it seems appropriate to ask what are the origins of the movement, what are its aims, and what are the people in it doing?

For many men, the origins of Men Against Sexism lie in the Women's Liberation Movement which, by radicalising the the lives of women, inevitably affected the women's relationships with men. It didn't take long for women to make it clear that the old ways of men following their traditional roles were no longer acceptable. At the same time, some men were aware that they had for years been cast in masculine roles in which they felt oppressed. In fact they discovered that they had very positive things to gain by making changes in their lives. Not that changes come easy, recognising that as a man, no matter how enlightened, radical, revolutionary or whatever, you are inevitably an oppressor of women. Similarly, by being competitive, insensitive to other people's feelings, ego-centric, etc., we oppress our fellow men. Another of the roots of Men Against Sexism stems from the Gay Liberation Front, since this group represents the other main sector of society in which people are discriminated against in a sexist way.

In dealing with this situation men have

again learned from Women's Liberation by forming consciousness raising groups which are now the principle activity of MAS. Typically, the groups have about 6 members, who meet at each others houses for three of four hours each week. The commitment is often remarkably high in that these groups may continue for more than a year with members rarely ever missing meetings.

Such a group will often start with each person describing his life history. To begin with, men find it hard to talk about personal matters, their feelings, and to show emotions, but they find it easy to intellectualise and talk in abstract terms. After some time the group may come round to talking about the present situation of its members, but only when a good deal of trust has developed within the group are men able to really discuss very personal issues, especially their feelings about each other. Naturally the discussions contain a strong element of therapy. Explaining one's own feelings, becoming aware of the reality of one's relationships with men and women, is an experience that men rarely go through. And yet, it is by no means simply a psychotherapy group experience, for sexism is the mirror through which we see ourselves.

Most men come to join MAS groups by knowing friends, lovers, or wives in Women's Lib who provide the contact, or through men already in groups. An open meeting at the University recently led to the setting up of two new groups. Generally groups have little contact