LISTEN TO THE WOMEN FOR A CHANGE

Fifty World Feminists
On Equality
Development
Peace

compiled by kay camp
LISTEN TO THE WOMEN
FOR A CHANGE

A SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY PUBLICATION OF THE
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
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Opening of First International Congress of Women at The Hague, 1915. Left to right: Mme. Thouaian, Armenia; Leopoldina Kulka, Austria; Miss Hughes, Canada; Rosika Schwimmer, Hungary; Dr. Anita Augspurg, Germany; Jane Addams, USA, President of the Congress; Eugenie Hamer, Belgium; Dr. Aletta Jacobs, President of the Dutch Executive Committee; Chrystal MacMillan, Great Britain; Rosa Genoni, Italy; Anna Kleman, Sweden; Thora Daugaard, Denmark; Louise Keilhau, Norway. The Congress created the organization named a few years later The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
INTRODUCTION

NEVER BEFORE IN HISTORY have women *made* history as they are making it today.

There have been other feminists in other times. But never has the women's movement *moved* so extensively and pervasively, --nor has the promise of its impact for change been so compelling.

Official recognition of this worldwide phenomenon was given by the United Nations' designation of 1975 as International Women's Year, and its initiation of action projected for the following decade.

Its goals, "Equality, Development, Peace" are revolutionary concepts. Their attainment implies radical changes in our lives and our institutions.

Is our collective consciousness sufficiently raised? Are we prepared to change our lifestyles and our thinking as well as the need to break through institutional rigidities? Do we recognize the scale of the opportunity before us? Will society be any different if and when women obtain equal voice?

The sceptics say there will be no difference. The reigns of queens and "presidentas" have been indistinguishable from those of their male counterparts. Women are just as competitive and violent as men, they say.

Optimists see an unprecedented opportunity for women to make the difference between a world society marked by blatant discrimination, economic injustice and rampant militarism, to one that more nearly approximates the ideals of equality, development and peace. They see women as potentially the largest and most dynamic pressure group, which by united action, could turn the tide. Either guided by natural attributes (whether biologically or sociologically determined), or simply as enlightened observers of the manmade horrors of the present
scene, women have the numbers, the capabilities, and the emerging power to change the course of history.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom opts for the optimists' view. Even without certainty of success, the struggle gives added meaning and high purpose to our lives. As WILPF begins its seventh decade of action for the goals expressed in its name (goals conceptually interchangeable with those of the International Women's Year) we rejoice in the promise of the International Women's Decade. Feminists in action since the early days, we look forward to the later day when the principles of our international women's movement will be so woven into the worldlife network that its organizations will no longer be needed.

Until then, they may be the energizing force from which basic change is made.

This booklet is an attempt to help people listen to significant women and women listen to one another. To the extent that it identifies leaders it is not for the purpose of exalting individuals but simply to present their ideas in the hope of encouraging all women to exert leadership in the cause hopefully defined by Friedan as "the shortest road to humanism."

The women in this contemporary sampler represent differing ideologies, regions and perspectives. Each is amply qualified by experience and achievement to speak. No one, however, including the editor, could be expected to agree with all of them. Their significance is multiplied by their awareness that

there cannot be equality where there is injustice and war
there cannot be development where there is war and oppression
there cannot be peace where there is oppression and injustice

I am grateful to each and all of the women herein who took the time to write down their thoughts as they go about making -- and changing, history.

Kay Camp
Pictures of Vilma Espin de Castro, Justice Annie Jiaagge, and Elizabeth Reid are United Nations photographs.

I wish to express my gratitude to Barbara Armentrout and Mary Jensen for their help in the preparation of the material, and to Ruth Seeley for the cover design.

ABBREVIATIONS

IPRA International Peace Research Institute
IWY International Women's Year
ILO International Labor Organization
NGO Non-Governmental Organization at United Nations
UN United Nations
WIDF Women's International Democratic Federation
WILPF Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA, 10107 USA
Partial view of a meeting at the 25th session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, held from 14 January to 1 February, 1974. The session recommended the convening of a World Conference during International Women's Year.
A headline in little Sri Lanka announcing the designation of 1975 as IWY read "UN Sponsors Women's Lib." It sounded a bit flip-pant and I hoped that it did not distort the true purposes for which this year was so named.

In my country, for over 30 years, girls have had access to free education as much as the boys. As for the women, if they needed to improve their status in society, they have had the use of the vote since 1931. Therefore, as far as I am concerned this year is not only for women's liberation but for the liberation of the whole of our society from the shackles that keep us imprisoned in our poverty and unemployment. Nature has endowed this little island, as well as the world, with plentiful resources. There is no need at all that poverty and unemployment should exist anywhere.

We feel that the aims of IWY have been formulated to give greater emphasis to this total struggle; this is why in Sri Lanka the National Committee for IWY is comprised of men's as well as women's organizations. Together we endorse the idea that when we achieve liberation for our society, women will be liberated not once but twice over. May International Women's Year be the harbinger of real peace and freedom for my country and the rest of the world.
I salute the gains that women are making in education, development, human rights, and civic improvement. We are finding that we can unite and work together around the world to make substantial changes in living conditions.

But in the most vital area, world peace, no comparable progress has been made. The most basic decisions, determining the life or death of the human race, are still made by men. In almost every nation, in the United States and in the United Nations, all-male war councils still set and pursue the strategy of deterrence through mutual terror. Centuries of conditioning have set their minds in patterns of nationalism, bluff, and bluster. But such games are far too dangerous for a world which can now be blown up by accident or miscalculation.

Nor can there be any major improvement in the lives of human beings so long as the world is willing to spend $250 billion a year for armaments. Societies geared to war cannot use their resources to better peoples' lives. They are locked into a pattern of threat and counter-threat, regardless of the tremendous waste involved.

Women have had a different conditioning, with species survival their primary concern. We must begin to interpose this awareness between the acts of men and their disastrous consequences. We must become part of deliberations on the highest levels of government in every country. We must press for genuine disarmament, not merely agreements that actually raise the level of nuclear weapons. And in the process, we must never lose sight of our universal sisterhood and the oneness of the human race.

United States Congresswoman.
Chair, Subcommittee on Government Information and Individual Rights. Chair, Democratic Study Group Task Force on Women. Outspoken proponent for women's rights and other humanitarian causes.
A founder of National Women's Political Caucus. Member National Commission on Observance of I.W.Y. Candidate for United States Senate.
Married, with two daughters.
The exiled widow of the martyred former President of Chile, Sra. Allende is a leader of the worldwide resistance to Chile's present military government and of the struggle to free Chilean political prisoners.

On behalf of the Chilean women who are suffering the horrors of a brutal dictatorship, I salute all organizations which engage in consistent action toward fulfilling the role of women in a complete human sense. Our battle, as women, must be part of the daily social, political and economic struggles toward equality in all human relations, and toward releasing human energy in a world of peace, because only in peace may we, and all members of society, stand to our full human stature.

In Chile, our Popular Government was fully aware of the need to break the habits and patterns of domination. Our effort toward the release of the full potential of women has been interrupted by the fascist manacles of multinational corporate imperialism.

Today in Chile's terror chambers and prisons, our people are subject to the most devastating abuses conceivable. The treatment of women goes even beyond the conceivable. The torturers unleash their sexual sadism on our companeras mercilessly.

They have made a concentration camp of my country, giving our women the especially difficult role of keeping together what is left of their families and communities, when hunger and survival are the daily considerations. These women of the working class, the vast majority of Chileans, who are carrying a double burden, represent the finest qualities of women anywhere in the world. Only by demonstrating active opposition to fascism in Chile can we pay tribute to the courageous women who maintain their dignity and morale inside and outside the concentration camps are are the strength of a resistance movement which is alive and growing and fighting despite adversity.

The knowledge and analysis of the oppression of women must be translated into anti-imperialist actions; we must turn the pain of oppressed women into indignation and channel it effectively into an organized world solidarity movement which will fight for the liberation of all oppressed peoples. We will not falter until freedom is won for all.
From my personal experience and in the context of my country, I think that the liberation of women can only be conceived in complete synthesis with the struggle of its people against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and for the construction of a world of justice and peace.

In the framework of the theme "equality, development, peace," I would like to express the following wish:

"That the women of the capitalist world be not only absorbed in the struggle for equality, but that they also know that the rights which they have, or which they ought to have, make them adult and responsible persons. Responsible toward those who are being killed, if they ever want to be out from under the yoke of the capitalists and the international trusts.

"I hope that the women of the capitalist world will be able to find in their countries, with all men of good will, the radical means to stop the exploitation of people in African, Asian and Latin American countries, and that our tears of grief will dry up, thanks to the combined efforts of all the forces burning for justice and peace."
ALICE APPEA

National Organizer and Director of SOS Children's Village.
First General Secretary of Women's Section of Convention People's Party, led by Dr. Kuame Nkrumah. Organised Market Women's Association and Women's Section of the Civil Servants' Association of Trade Union Congress of Ghana.
Has participated in many UN and UNESCO conferences and projects, such as Voluntary Work Camp in the Cameroons and UN Seminar on Civic and political Education of Women in Ghana.
Regional Coordinator of Africa and General Secretary of the Ghana section of WILPF.

I believe that this is a woman's world. Much of the striving by men may be traced to women as the primers of the hidden strings of action in men. And, when a man, by dint of inspiration from a woman, wins the laurel, he brings it proudly home and places it at the foot of the woman in his life.

Traditions such as marriage, funerals and other rituals are sustained today as they were yesterday by women.

Even the practice of polygamy has its roots in woman's instigation. The wife felt unable to reap all the fields a man had cultivated and permitted her husband to add another wife to help her. With the introduction of education, Christianity and industrialization, the attitude toward polygamy has undergone some changes. Yet there are still women who, despite their education, would rather be the second or third than the only wife; they do not regard sex as exploitation of the female by the male.

I believe that women are cut out to play distinctive and differentiated roles in society. They are physically, psychologically, biologically and temperamentally different from men. For all his exploits, a man cannot bear a child.

Among the Akan there is a queenmother for every king. Succession and inheritance are through the maternal line. This is not to say, however, that women in Ghana already wield the power they want, --though they are more likely to want to wield influence.

The rights women aspire to can only come about through the skillful leadership of women themselves. Using their natural gifts of persuasion and influence, women can bring about social transformation.

Lives her beliefs, speaks her mind. "I had a choice of whether I wanted to be a millionairess... but I think it's pointless to have stored up x-million dollars when they could be put to use somewhere."

Life is a struggle, and an upstream one. I think it involves much pain, and many things that we may sometimes consider to be sacrifice. Work involves faith, for if we are to build a world that will give us a future, it will be the first time that world has ever been built. It means we must be ready to live for it and to die for it when the time comes. I think only when you recognize that you are intimately related to every living being on the face of the earth, only then are you being honest with yourself. Being honest with yourself gives you a cornerstone on which to begin a vital, frightening, exciting and joyous attempt at living. There is pain, there is pain, there is pain, and there is joy, there is joy, there is joy. And perhaps, when we do our work well, there will be little patches of peace.

I'm a pacifist. I have absolutely no faith in the nationstate. I have no faith in the armaments. You and I have to be serious about refusing to pay any income taxes; there's no way to gripe about B-52s and pay for them at the same time. Non-payment of taxes has to move from a symbolic act to a necessary reality. There will have to be and there will be more who refuse to fly and drop bombs.

We must begin to understand that we must take chances and risks. You may choose a life that is convenient to you, that may or may not be half a life or a quarter of a life or hardly a life at all. Or you may choose a life which involves tremendous sacrifices and is a very risky life, but it's only if you and I decide that we're going to choose a risky life that we have any meaning to the people we're killing all over the world today.

So I must ask you to join the front lines of the war against the stone age mentality of passivity, fear, and violence, and live a life where you at least choose some of your own risks. We are truly our brother's mothers and our sister's sisters. Now with weapons of truth, love, compassion, intelligence and imagination, let's prove it.
We women aspire to peace. We know that peace is essential to healthy human development, and we know that equal rights can be more easily—and perhaps only—achieved in conditions of peace.

We also know that so long as the big military establishments and the arms race dictate the priorities in national planning and budgeting, the structures and facilities needed to improve our situation as women and to permit us to play a full part in the life of our society will not be created and financed. In these circumstances, only a privileged few can hope to advance in limited areas.

And we know that peace, equality and development cannot come about without our full involvement.

To improve the situation of women, especially in the developing countries, is in itself to work in favour of peace. In addition, direct action by women against the political and economic impediments to peace is required if all our achievements are not to stand in jeopardy of being diminished or wiped out by heavy armament burdens or by war.

Alongside our struggle for improvement in our condition and equal rights, we women can and must take energetic action against the arms race and for disarmament, against waste and pollution and for rationality and a healthy environment, against oppression and for freedom, against war and for peace.

We women can draw on centuries of experience in organizing and in communicating. Let us all join to devote this knowledge and art to building a healthy society free of oppression, of hunger and of war.

WILPF Secretary General and United Nations Representative in Geneva.
Born in Sudetenland, family made refugees by Munich Agreement. Went to Britain, did agricultural labor in Northern Canada. Aided by WILPF, studied, worked for Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.
Editor, UN World Health Organization and WILPF journal.
Secretary of Subcommittee on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Apartheid, Decolonisation of Special NGO Congress Against Apartheid and Colonialism in Africa, and International NGO Congress on Discrimination Against Migrant Workers in Europe.
Member Liaison Council of World Congress of Peace Forces. Member WILPF Mission to Middle East. Executive Committee of Preparatory Committee for World Congress for International Women's Year.
Married, four children.
I share the conviction implicit in the theme "Equality, Development and Peace" that a civilised world order can be built only through the joint endeavor of men and women.

I have first-hand experience of problems concerning women's rights, through a decade of involvement in the mobilisation of rural women for roles of leadership and service, followed by a decade and a half in the sphere of national politics and international affairs. This experience leads me to the belief that it is not through equal opportunity for employment alone that women's potential for social progress can find full expression. Women do, and must, have not only equal rights in opportunity, but an equal share in responsibility as well. Our priorities would have no link with reality, especially in the world's developing sciences, if women's place in the social fabric were to be viewed solely in terms of equality in paid employment.

The harmonious ordering of life in the family and the community, and the integrated development of individual personality, are as vital to the progress of the society as is material growth. Questions of legal and economic equality, important as they are, should not be allowed to monopolize our attention. We should broaden our vision to view the potential role of the woman in a total perspective—the need not only to secure an enhancement of the material standards of living but also to impart a sense of maturity and wholeness to the process of development itself.
Efforts to create the conditions and machinery for peace have been divided between the work of governmental officials and the formal structures of society, largely men, and the work of non-governmental voluntary workers outside all formal structures, largely women. The strength of women's contributions lies in their freedom to be creative about solutions to international problems from the outside, and to the fact that women scholars and activists work together in these outside organizations. The weakness is that both activists and professional women have been compelled to remain on the outside without linking mechanisms to feed their work directly into policy-making bodies.

The new public commitment to increasing women's participation in development and peace offers a two-fold opportunity for women scholars and activists. First, a long overdue process of creating international rosters of women specialists in the social and physical sciences with expertise in development and peace problems can be started. This will make visible and accessible the large number of qualified women who have been excluded from official roles because of the systematic bias against women candidates for policy-making positions.

Second, it is equally important to link the highly relevant competence of non-scholar activists to decision-making at both national and international levels by making full use of the Non-Governmental Organizations consultative role to UN agencies. As nation-states display increasing rigidity in international problem-solving, the 61 women's NGO's which represent such large reservoirs of untapped competence must become increasingly important actors on the world scene.

NGO's, however, are also a kind of elite which stands in the way of the even broader participation that the world community requires. It therefore becomes a particular challenge for women's NGO's to form linkages with the excluded minorities among women of every country - the rural and urban poor, the single heads of households, the ethnic minorities. Deprivation can only be effectively dealt with by those who have first-hand knowledge of its social geography.
When the Women's International Democratic Federation first suggested the concept of an International Women's Year, there were many reservations and even outright opposition. However, when it came to the United Nations General Assembly, because of the discussion and dialogue, 1975 was unanimously proclaimed International Women's Year.

Gradually the idea caught on. Women's organizations grasped its possibilities. UN, trade union, peace, youth, and public organizations embraced the idea and developed their own programs.

International Women's Year gave expression to women's demands. It provoked, aroused, and mobilized public opinion. It united and gave confidence to women, and it involved men.

In some countries, women have made basic gains, confidently moving into new spheres of employment and political power. But there are still places where women must carry drinking water four to five kilometers; where the birth of a girl-child is regarded as a tragedy; and where mothers see their babies die of starvation and curable diseases. There the greatest achievement for IWY would be a water-tap in the house, a light that switches on, and sufficient food. Till all have these, "equality" has little global application.

Liberation of women must mean the liberation of humanity from poverty, oppression, and war. The lesson of IWY is unity—of women's organizations, of men and women, of young and old.

In the years to come, let us take steps to continue and expand the dialogue and unity initiated in IWY—unity to inform and arouse public opinion and make it heard and heeded in the corridors of power.
International Women's Year can only become a landmark in attaining the ideals of its theme if it helps to unlock the tremendous potential existing among women to contribute to the common effort for the elimination of war and the eradication of injustice.

It is unfortunate that the IWY theme does not also focus on the work for human rights because this too is a matter of direct significance in unlocking women's potential. There are thousands of women around the world incarcerated as political prisoners and hundreds of thousands of families suffering enormous economic and political hardships and social stigmatization because their menfolk are being unjustly held in political detention.

I would urge all women's organizations to devote major attention to the human rights problem, for is it not by abrogating these rights that repressive governments endeavor to stifle the struggle of men and women alike for the attainment of equality, peace, and development? Ironically, even some repressive governments are paying lip service to IWY and expressing their support. They must be shown in no uncertain terms that IWY is aimed at developing the struggle of women against repression wherever it exists.

Co-founder of TAPOL, British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners. Former Administrator WILPF British Section office.

Born in London. Graduate London School of Economics. Married Suwondo Budiardjo; two children. Secretariat of International Union of Students, Prague. Economics researcher, Indonesian Foreign Ministry. Graduate University of Indonesia in international economics; taught economics at two Indonesian universities. Member of executive committees of University Graduates Association (HSI) and Women Graduates Association.

After abortive coup of 1965 was crushed, many organizations were banned, including HSI. Was dishonorably dismissed from Indonesian Foreign Ministry, lost teaching posts and right to publish. Husband arrested 1965 and, with exception of two brief periods, has been in detention, without trial, ever since. Arrested, 1968, because of membership prior to 1965 in HSI (then a legal organization), and detained three years.
JOAN CHILD

Member of the House of Representatives of the Parliament of Australia. Committee member of the Australian Labor Party for many years. Stood for the seat of Henty and was narrowly defeated. Stood again and won. Greatly interested in the welfare of handicapped people and in all aspects of care and compassion for people, and in equality of opportunity and world peace and cooperation. Widow with five sons.

If women's consciousness is raised to working toward equality, development and peace, this time should be a vanguard towards a new way of life. There are many still unaware of their vital responsibility to others whose right to eat, breathe clean air, have shelter, freedom of choice, and a future for their children is as valid as their own.

Women should not isolate themselves, but commit themselves to assist those disadvantaged through poverty, war, oppression, and natural disaster. Aid and technical assistance should spring from genuine concern; involvement should be on a non-profit basis and therefore should contribute to the bonds of international friendship and understanding. Greed and self-interest are the scourges of our time. Self-identification with all human beings should be our goal.

Don't heed media which diffuse ideas and dehumanize those who blindly accept generalizations without question. Examine and evaluate all facts and statements for yourselves. Make support reciprocal between men and women, otherwise patriarchy is strengthened. Retain a sense of humor mixed with a love for others and a willingness to serve and to share with tolerant good temper.

We cannot survive unless we cooperate on a global level and help each other. We do not deserve to do so if we remain elitist, permitting our nations to exploit paternalistically those areas which desperately need encouragement, compassion, and aid, rather than alms paid for through economic gain and political strategy.

To achieve peace in our time may be a gigantic task, but now it is hoped that women join forces against repression and through democratic political processes work towards the liberation of all the oppressed and wretched groups throughout the world—irrespective of sex, nationality, color, or creed.
International Women's Year 1975 has provided the opportunity for women all over the world to voice their determination to obtain a good life and a better future in a world at peace.

Here in the United States the fight against the special oppression of Black, Puertorican, Chicana, Indian and Asian women is essential to the struggle to gain equality for all women. And the fight against the exploitation of working women is a key to the struggle to gain equality for all workers.

Now is the time to root out the economic crises, repression, crime, racism, pollution, drugs, and political corruption. The causes are not found in our streets, but in the corporation board rooms and in the corridors of power. The fight against racism, for women's rights, for human rights in the US is part of the world-wide fight against imperialism.

Now is the time for public opinion to tip the balance in favor of détente, of expanded trade between the US and the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, of disarmament and of peace.

Now is the time to renew our pledge of solidarity with the women of the world—with the women of Portugal and Indochina and Greece, and with the women of Africa whose countries are tasting freedom; with the women of Chile, Puerto Rico, South Africa, and Spain; and with the women of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries that are leading the way to equality through Socialism, the only and inevitable answer to the problems of the world.
FANNY EDELMAN

Secretary General of WIDF.

Born Cordoba Province, Argentina. Abandoned musical career to work politically. Imprisoned several times. Rallied support for struggle against fascism in Spain; went there with medical team to care for wounded. An organizer of Women's Victory Council, for solidarity with Soviet and other people invaded by Nazis. A founder and Secretary General of Union of Argentinian Women; active for rights of women and children, national independence and peace.

The United Nations and the world have acknowledged that without the full integration of women in social development on an equal footing with men, humanity would not advance towards progress and a peaceful future.

This realization has come against the background of bitter struggles waged by women themselves and by all the progressive forces of the world. Although the Industrial Revolution drew women into the social labor force, they have still been the victims of social and economic inequality, discrimination, and dual exploitation up to this time in most countries of the world. We can see women's equality under socialism where they have equal opportunities and access to all spheres of life. Women played a major part in the struggles for national independence, and this has brought new opportunities for them.

After the end of the Second World War, there emerged a powerful worldwide women's movement condemning war. The foundation of the WIDF was one expression of women's aspirations to peace and equality.

The women's movement grew stronger as the UN propounded the basic principles of human rights, the elimination of discrimination against women, and the rights of children, and adopted resolutions on decolonization and against apartheid.

The International Women's Year unleashed tremendous forces in women and in society to translate the proclaimed principles of the United Nations into reality. But nothing short of changes in social patterns can guarantee the full equality of men and women and create a world of peace and unhindered progress.
In order to realize the high goals of equality, development and peace, it is necessary that men and women join forces to achieve the most cherished objectives of their people: liberty, independence, and national sovereignty. When people undertake the development of just economic, political and social structures, new perspectives are opened to the woman for her full participation in all areas of life. She is able to dedicate herself to the well-being of the community and to a society which guarantees the right to education, health and work to all men and women.

The legal recognition of women's equality is only one step in the fight to achieve the practical application of this indispensible principle. For a country to advance on the road to development, it must rely on the capacity, enthusiasm, and potential strength of thousands of women eager to contribute their creative talents to the welfare of humanity.

In Socialist Cuba, women actively participate in each of the tasks of building such a new life. They constitute an important political force serving the revolution.

If women are going to win their battle, it must be the joint concern and struggle of the whole society. Only that way will it be possible to achieve the necessary changes.

In our country, not only the Women's Federation, but the political and other mass organizations actively participate in the fight to overcome the objective and subjective obstacles which still prevent the full exercise of equality.
We cannot presume to speak for all our sisters. But we can recount what we have observed from our particular plateau. We women of the industrialized west grieve for our sisters -- many held in bondage to the land, many millions living in abject misery and suffering. But this too is the blight of many millions of men and children. In such a world as ours equality alone does not suffice.

So to our minds' eye development can conjure thoughts of a material paradise. But has it actually been? Where we have had development it has frequently been for power characterized by wastefulness and the maximization of profits irrespective of effects rather than development for human fulfillment with humane value. Sometimes our technology seems guided by crazed minds. So in part humanizing development remains a dream.

We women have been trained for many centuries to remain mute in public. Unless we purposefully overcome our timidity we will remain inarticulate. If neglect and derision have been our lot as public people then timidity has been our response.

In political aptitude we are not Athena born full grown from Zeus's forehead. Political aptitude and growth have come in the doing and the stumbling, through error and retrenchment, through redefinition and renewed effort. Whatever our background and culture our roles have been secondary and ancillary in the power structure. Therefore I believe that, with less trauma than our brothers, fathers and sons, we can detach ourselves from the trappings of our particular milieu and relate to the universal human experience. Perhaps, just perhaps, that will be our path to peace.

First President of National Women's Political Caucus, USA.
Lawyer and law teacher.
Elected to Texas Legislature, two terms. Candidate for Governor twice. Polled second highest number of votes for Vice-President of USA in 1972 Democratic Convention.
FRANCOISE GIROUD

France's Minister for Women.
Born in Geneva. Through family misfortune, left school to work in bookstore, movie studio. Became France's first woman Assistant Director; wrote screen dialogue.
During the War, was part of Resistance network, arrested, imprisoned. Later awarded "Medaille de la Resistance."
Editor of new women's magazine, Elle. Co-founder L'Express, then Director.
Published memoir, I Give You My Word.

"Woman, in a literal sense, embodies the promise of peace, of joy, the end of violence, tenderness, receptivity, sensuality...hardening has been less complete in the case of women. They have been used on a lesser scale than men in the material process of production."

This thought is a man's thought—that of a famous intellectual of contemporary society.

But who are these women, and what do they do in the life of the society?

Apart from the fact that they are numerically superior to men, a fact which interests only demographers...and male politicians, they are not more intelligent, not more generous, not more active than men; on the average, they demonstrate appreciably the same characteristics as those of the other sex. Not "more gifted" but not "less gifted" is what women need to acknowledge now.

No need for a grandiose production in order to broadcast a special message or to assert a general inclination to save humanity.

Women want only to exist for all Society and not just for and through the single family unit.

Need for autonomy, without a doubt, in relation to men; need to exist through action on the social level.

This stifled power must, like all potentiality, be expressed. It is perhaps in this way and quite naturally, without attempting to lay claim to it, that women will bring something new to humanity in the way of peace, development, and equality.
More and more people realize that we live in a major transitional period. Technology has created undreamed of possibilities for a technically perfect society, but it has also produced the possibility for destruction of the entire Earth and all human happiness.

Politicians, military leaders, the Church, the UN and the peace movement have not fully realized that all aspects of life must be adjusted to the new outlook. If mankind is to survive the atomic age, the work for peace must take entirely new forms.

Till now, the peace movement has been mostly concerned with removing economic, social and political injustices, protesting and working for disarmament and peaceful settlement of disputes. This has been right and important, and has achieved some success. But we who lived through two world wars and took part in labor's struggles know that this is not enough if the goal is to do away with war and violence, and not merely to put other groups or political systems into power.

We need a new way of thinking and acting. We must change man's entire mentality. Values must be altered from power, competition, and prestige, to faith, trust and compassion.

Women's work for peace is closely connected with their struggle for emancipation. Their work for equality (recognition and acceptance of their specific qualifications) has not had much acceptance in a system which acknowledges might as right, and in which discrimination is the order of the day. Cooperation between women and men is essential to build a new world without war and violence.
Traditionally Australia has always been a male-oriented and hence a male-dominated society. The egalitarian ethos proclaimed by Australians does not include aboriginal people, new colored immigrants, or women. The dominant sector is almost exclusively a white, masculine hierarchy.

Only recently have conventional attitudes been challenged, and young women are the claimants for change. Like their sisters the world over, they are questioning the roles set for them in their society.

They call for new life-styles. They reject the mores and customs that perpetuate sexism within economic and political life and all its systems -- the educational, the promotional, and, above all, the power structures. When they attempt to climb the ladder of upward mobility with their male counterparts, they find a barrier inscribed "So far, no further." They look down and see the majority of women milling around in the lower paid posts.

While these women desire a place in decision-making, it is not for status for themselves so much as to change official policy and get rid of the sex discrimination that limits all women. Their call is for equality of opportunity for treatment within the total economy and recognition of their value as workers and contributors to the community as a whole.

There has always been a core of women's organizations who, as NGOs, have seen hope for economic and political equality for women in instruments of the UN and work for follow-up national legislative adaptation. The Government supports such action. However, requests to the Government for millions of dollars reveal areas in our so-called "affluent society" that must be upgraded before we can claim to be truly egalitarian.

Author, activist for peace and women's rights, Australia.
Former Federal President, Federation of Women Voters.
As member League of Nations Union, worked to prevent war through League sanctions; promoted post-war reconciliation and reconstruction; Lecturer, broadcaster. Charter member UN Association. Editor Peace and Freedom, Australian WILPF; Honorary Life Member, Fellowship of Writers. National Advisory Committee for IWY. Writing social history of women in Western Australia.
PNINA HERZOG

President, Council of Womens Organizations in Israel. Sent IWY Appeal to all Women in the Middle East for Cooperation and Peace.

We women of Israel endorse the purposes of the great human adventure which is the International Women's Decade, and are determined to contribute our share towards Equality, Development and Peace.

Let all the women of the Middle East seek the means together to translate this theme into the reality of our lives. Let us not be deterred by political differences that have already inflicted too much suffering upon us all. As mothers and wives we share a particular human responsibility which has been for long drowned in racous political diatribe and military conflict. All of us seek the welfare of our children. We all pray for a better tomorrow so that they may grow up without fear and without war. We must meet the challenge to probe towards each other however slowly and however many the obstacles. We are commanded to seek dialogue between us for only thus will we understand each other better -- and in understanding lie the seeds of conciliation and peace.

Our common region calls out for development, for more schools and hospitals, for women's equality and creative cooperation. History has determined that both our peoples, Jew and Arab alike, shall live side by side together in this area of the world which is the cradle of the Jewish and Arab civilization. By working together we have it in our power to enrich each other and thereby make a lasting contribution to the welfare of all mankind.
EQUALITY...in what? In opportunity to become captains of industry or of nuclear-armed submarines? To be equal cogs in the industrial or the military machine?

DEVELOPMENT...to what? To a world of squandered resources, eroded soil, polluted air and water, diminished living space, uninhabitable cities?

PEACE...of what kind? A balance of terror? A clinging to the status quo? A suppression of all dissent?

The equality we seek must be equality of opportunity for all human beings—not just women—to realize their full humanity in cooperation with one another. In our newly awakened consciousness of sisterhood, let us remember that Sisters have Brothers!

The development we seek must be in harmony with nature, and must benefit those who have too little rather than those who already have too much. Let Sisters who are rich remember that there are Sisters who are not, both in their own and in other countries.

The peace we seek must be based on justice and built by peaceable people, women and men who have not been frustrated in the achieving of their own highest potential nor alienated from their world and from each other.

Are there enough of such people? At least, International Women's Year can help to raise more of us to that level.

Pacifist and activist.
Student Christian Movement;
Fellowship of Reconciliation;
Anglican Pacifist Fellowship;
World Education Fellowship.
President Australian WILPF.
Main work opposition to Australian participation in Viet Nam War.

Collaborated with and helped organize Save Our Sons, Women for Peace, Christian Women Concerned, Mothers and Others for Peace, and Association for International Cooperation and Peace.

Mother of six.
EQUALITY with men will, among other things, give women their proper share of influence in public affairs. Here we must exercise two of the excellent qualities which, for countless generations, most of us have learned to exercise in the home, namely, a passion to protect life and a skill in reconciling conflicting interests. There is nothing more needed right now in international decision-making.

DEVELOPMENT is properly a priority for IWY. While millions are in misery and even starving, the world last year spent 250 billion dollars on arms because preparation to destroy human lives by war is, in fact, the top priority with governments having preponderant wealth and power.

PEACE, without which the other two goals of IWY lose much of their significance, involves establishing a peaceful settlement system for reconciling the differences which arise among nations before they resort to war. As every mother knows, a third party is often needed for this purpose in the home. The same has proved true at every level of society from the home up through the national level. Now adequate international peaceful settlement machinery is essential. Since international disputes will recur as long as human beings do not become saints, war can be eliminated only when a reliable and generally accepted UN peaceful settlement system is established and proves workable. Not until then are nations likely really to agree to disarm and divert necessary attention and funds to the protection of Life rather than to Death.

The trust which men tend to place in violent solutions to problems is a major obstacle to the establishment of adequate UN peaceful settlement machinery. Persons who undertake to devise such machinery must be not only intelligent but passionately committed to the protection of life and possessed of an unshakeable faith that conflicts can be solved by rational methods rather than by insensate slaughter and destruction. Who is fitted to assume this task if not the world's women?
Equality, Development, and Peace: this theme carries for every woman a meaning colored by her own life context. For some, the first issue is to stave off starvation, increase the productive capacity of the unskilled and illiterate, and raise their standard of living. For others, the feeling of being powerless to change situations in a male-dominated society is aggravated by the unfulfilled desire to realize their own potential, sharpen their capabilities, choose their occupation in accordance with their aptitude, and enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life.

Women's liberation has no meaning unless it produces the will in women to couple their own freedom with the struggle for liberation from all forms of oppression. The liberated woman cannot support her own country's oppression of other countries.

In a world in which one-third of the population drains off two-thirds of the wealth and leaves two-thirds of the population to manage on one-third of its wealth, some adjustments in the standard of living of the affluent nations are necessary.

The liberation of women all over the world, across all barriers and frontiers, bound in mutual support, must mark the beginning of the end of national patriotism (hopelessly archaic) and herald the dawn of world patriotism which knows no geographical, racial or ideological boundaries.

A truly liberated woman's vision is clear for all injustice. She knows what must be done in her own society and realizes that she must herself participate in doing it. She is able to contribute her unique insights and experience from life-nurturing womanhood to complement man's efforts in equal partnership with him in the joint search for peace and the welfare of mankind.
TANO JODAI

Former President Japan Women's University; Director, Honorary Professor.
Graduate Japan Women's College, went abroad "because it was the only way for a woman to study further during the Meiji period". Studied at Wells, Newham and Smith Colleges, Harvard and Michigan Universities. Awarded Phi Beta Kappa, first Alumnae Award of Wells College, and Honorary LLD by Smith.
Professor, Department Chair, Dean, President, Japan Women's University.
Directorships, International Christian University, Institute of Research on Women's Problems, Institute of Democratic Education, and Intercollegiate Seminar House of which she was the founder. Trustee, Japanese Research Institute; Board Chairman, Tokyo Friends Girls School; Organizer of "Small Kindness Movement", with 80,000 school-age members.
Organized Japan's first peace group in 1921, Japan Woman's Peace Association, which soon became Japan Section WILPF. Helped found Japan United Nations Association; appointed UNESCO Council member. President and Honorary President, Japan WILPF; organized Committee of Seven to Appeal for World Peace. Only woman of eight sponsors of Hiroshima Bomb 30th Anniversary Forum and World Conference Against Nuclear Weapons.

Looking back over the past thirty years since the end of World War II, we find that women have achieved much in the way of liberation, peace and general welfare. But now it is time to reflect on what must yet be done.

Women must get more interested in government work, be willing to take positive part in cooperation with men, and work toward a common ideal in a more vigorous, active way, with courage and confidence. And this much-needed cooperation should grow and broaden into a world-wide cooperation. Women particularly should actively work for peace whenever and wherever possible to create a strong world opinion against armament and warfare.

Japan, having experienced the horror of atomic bombs, has a special reason to abhor war. But only international cooperation can produce peace. This should be the main goal for women everywhere.

Though sexual equality is far from complete in Korea, steps have been taken. At the start of the century, the division between the sexes was virtually complete and in the capital city of Seoul, men were supposed to stay home in the evening so that upper class women could emerge from their sequestration to do errands and meet friends for a few hours without being seen by the other sex. One historic advantage that Korean women have had, however, is the simplicity of the Korean alphabet, which has resulted in almost universal literacy. About one in every five college graduates is a woman, but few of them have the chance to use their newly acquired knowledge.

Accordingly, the goal of the movement for sexual equality is aimed primarily at overcoming the Confucian-based traditions of a male-dominated society. Various women's groups have begun to help alter negative social attitudes and encourage women to strive to realize their potential. Two of the best known activities are the "No Pregnancy Year" and "More Male Participation in Contraception" campaigns -- one designed to free women from the fear and burden of unwanted pregnancies and the other aimed at men to encourage them to take more responsibility in family planning.

Lawmakers of both sexes, supported by a number of women's groups, have acted to remove the legal basis for the discrimination found against women within the family.

Women's groups and others are working to alter public opinion towards understanding the desire of all women to develop themselves, and in some cases choose a career or working marriage over the traditional role of stay-at-home wife and mother. The mass media spread the concept that a new freedom is vital not only for the physical and spiritual well-being of every woman, but also for the husband, children, and eventually the entire community. In an increasingly difficult world, the greatest of our natural resources, our people, must no longer be wasted by half.
Because women have not been a part of the leadership that has brought the world at the present time to the very brink of disaster, we have the unique opportunity to save it. The conditions for development must be created now, enabling the developing nations to achieve their own identity, work with other nations and be respected as equals, as this is the only way to achieve a harmonious community.

At this time in history, I believe that women are being challenged to give the kind of creative, caring, compassionate, dedicated and moral leadership that can lead towards solving many of the social problems that have plagued mankind throughout the centuries.

The good life, the rewarding life, rests, in the final analysis, in serving others.

It was a creative, dedicated minority that followed Jesus Christ who said that He had come to preach good news to the poor and set at liberty the captives. It was a creative, dedicated minority that followed Mahatma Gandhi and emancipated India from the yoke of British oppression. It was thousands of lovers, totally committed to the cause of freedom and justice, that followed Martin Luther King, Jr. and gave to the South and the entire American nation a new social order in which souls, minds, and bodies were liberated from the chains of discrimination and segregation. These humble people were exalted because they chose the "high road" of the loving and concerned.

Women, who are lovers by nature, for biological and sociological reasons, can transform the world by putting "love into action." What a great destiny it may be ours to fulfill.

President, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

Graduate Antioch College; studied New England Conservatory of Music. Popularized song of hope, "We Shall Overcome."

Spokeswoman for nonviolent action for social change; supports farmworkers, hospital workers, rural development, unions, Blacks, women, peace.

Widow of nonviolent activist, civil rights leader and winner of Nobel Peace Prize.

Mother of four.
Past President of Voice of Women; delegate to international women's and peace meetings in Europe, Viet Nam, USA, Israel, USSR. Organised International Women's Peace Conference, Montreal.
VOW Representative on the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.
Past President of the Association of Women Electors of Toronto and Official Observer at the Toronto Board of Education. Candidate for public office.
Former Chairman, Ontario Board of Directors of Physiotherapy; Executive Board of the Canadian Physiotherapy Association; University Settlement in Toronto. Board, Canadian Civil Liberties Association.
Married; mother of three.

When we began working for a peaceful world, it all seemed so simple. Almost everyone would be better off with peace. Our children, we thought, would learn to settle their differences without violence. Then they would continue to live peacefully in the adult community of peoples and nations.

We soon found that the problem was not simple at all. Equality—among men and women, classes and groups, and among nations—does not exist. Development often means development for the few at the expense of the many. Peace is considered an impractical ideal. Exploitation of one group by another is carried out by coercion, violence, and war. Profits, often from arms sales, are more important than people.

Historically the conservers and protectors of life, women have led in working for peace. We discovered that we also need power to make economic, social, and political decisions. To do this we must educate and promote women, combining our efforts in order to take power. Our dilemma is how to attain power without using the violence and divisive tactics that have for so long been used by men. Women everywhere MUST unite. Some will need to use force, but who are we to condemn those on whom force has been used for so long?

We must have no illusions. Imperialism is our enemy. Multi-national corporations, backed by military power, decide the fate of nations. Women have had no place in this male-dominated system.

When women unite to demand equality, as equals with men, then their voice will be heard and a peaceful world can be achieved.
JUDITH WRIGHT McKinney

Poet and writer. Eight books of verse, one of literary criticism, one novel, four books for children, short stories, monographs.


Honorary D. Litt, Universities of Queensland and New England, F.A.H.A. Encyclopedia Britannica Writers' Award; Creative Arts Fellow, Australian National University; National Estate Committee of Inquiry.

What we do, and what is done to us, has its roots finally in what we are in ourselves and what we want of life. If International Women's Year is to be more than just another occasion for rhetoric, women will have to look hard and well at themselves, as well as at the world and its problems of war, inequality, injustice, pollution, and the death of earth and seas.

The human race is really and inescapably one. Yet we lay emphasis on the divisions, not on the unity; and we blame others for the problems in which we ourselves have so large a responsibility. One thing we should know by now is that the way in which we treat our children is by far the greatest factor in what they become as adults. Women, then, have made this world at least as much as men have. Children pick up much more from what we actually are than from what we tell them: our attitudes, our expressions, our responses, and withdrawals teach them far more than the words we use, which may and often do contradict what they really know about us. If we enjoy and respect our children, that will leave them free to enjoy and respect us and the world. If, however, unconsciously, we resent and dislike them, that too will come through and will mark and limit them and through them, the world itself.

Women often like to think of themselves as non-aggressive and as sources of love in a loveless world. The truth may be very different. We have made this discordant and aggressive world, just as much as men have. True, it has often been in passive, even negative ways; but these can be at least as destructive as the positive ones.

The world holds up a mirror to us all, in which few of us are honest enough to recognize ourselves. Not to speak out against violence, injustice, greed, and the rape of the earth is as bad as to enact them, but to speak as though we ourselves had nothing to do with them adds dishonesty to all the rest.

In International Women's Year, let us look at ourselves, too, in that mirror.
Women must grasp the interdependence of politics and economics in today's world and take a stand for ethical world economic policies which can establish the basis for our INY goals of equality, development and peace. A geographical vantage point in the Third World convinces me that only a radical re-ordering of society—the transformation of both structures and attitudes—will suffice.

Two Asian perspectives stand out: (1) that the real crisis is unequal distribution, not merely of the world's wealth, but also of an international economic and lending power which is used to benefit the economies of rich lenders rather than poor borrowers; and (2) that politics and military spending, rather than population, are at the root of world poverty and hunger.

When women in Bangladesh are naked because they have sold their clothes for food, women everywhere must raise consciousness beyond personal oppression to political oppression. We must comprehend that famine today is not simply crop failure, but failure to organize our world economy rightly. We face radical change or unending war.

Women now have an international movement—in identification and in some shared goals—but we share no common comprehension from which to demand a re-ordering of world priorities. We must use our small groups; study, unite, struggle, experiment, learn and act together.

The women's rebellion can pose a radical critique of society, if we dare—a "utopian announcement of another world" where present patterns of human relations, the most practical and the most profound, are transformed for the benefit of all.
Curator Emeritus of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History and President, American Association for the Advancement of Science.

PhD, Columbia University, and numerous honorary degrees. Spent many years living with various South Seas peoples, and wrote Coming of Age in Samoa and Growing Up in New Guinea.

Returned for re-studies, wrote New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation-Manus. Produced permanent museum exhibit, Hall of the Peoples of the Pacific.

Has held numerous faculty positions and lecture ships at universities in the US and abroad.

Also co-authored A Rap on Race, and wrote Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap, Blackberry Winter: My Earlier Years, and Ruth Benedict: A Biography.

International Women's Year provides a framework within which the hopes of women in many different circumstances all over the world may be explored and plans made for their realization. Equality of opportunity means very different things to non-literate village women and to women scholars in industrialized countries who are discriminated against when they try to enter a professional field in the universities. Development, both the modernization of less industrialized countries and the alteration of wasteful and exploitative life styles in industrialized countries, will demand the full participation of women at every level of activity. The participation of women in the planning and in the execution of plans at the international, national, regional, and local levels is especially important in such fields as the production, distribution, processing, and preparation of food to meet the nutritional needs of human beings, rather than in the purely economic considerations of large-scale government and agriculture. This participation by women is also vital if population increases are to be balanced with resources which will allow for optimum conditions for all children who are born.

Many statements about International Women's Year stress women's grievances against systems which are unjust and repressive. I would like to emphasize the vital contributions that women have always made to the preservation of life, the survival of the family, the cultivation of human concern, and the hope of peace.
The day when on International Women's Year is as unthinkable as an International Men's Year will be the day when the struggle for equality of opportunity and of status has been won.

Peace, however, is a different matter. The idea that women are more peace-loving than men and less likely to engage in war is a generalization that has little evidence to support it. Women in my country hurried to join the Forces in both World Wars and eagerly adopted the ill-designed male uniforms with pockets and buttons in all the wrong places for their sex.

There is hope in some women's peace groups which believe in universal disarmament and settlement of disputes by peaceful means; but until all people have been convinced that disputes can, in fact, be settled by peaceful means, armaments will continue to be manufactured and terrorism will be used.

It has long been considered a man's duty to fight to protect women; how is it that women's voices have scarcely been heard in protest at being made the excuse for men to go to war? Even if it were true, as it is often argued, that wars have brought them their freedom, they should scorn to use such monstrous and immoral means. Let women insist that the ends should and must determine the means.

Columnist for Peace News; and Vice-Chairman of the Status of Women in England. Vice-President, former Chair, WILPF.

Joined Social and Political Union. Ambulance driver in World War I.

"In London in 1917, I saw a Zeppelin, which we knew carried a crew of 60, coming down in flames. Sixty human beings were slowly burning alive, and in the streets of London, ordinary, decent, good-hearted British people were clapping and cheering and dancing as though at a play or a circus. I had seen plenty of pain and suffering while driving the wounded and blinded, but I suddenly saw that war made yet another impact upon human beings; it deprived them of their humanity. I became a pacifist then and nothing has happened since to alter my conviction that war is a crime against God and humanity."

Arrested and imprisoned for preaching pacifism. Became Executive, Howard League for Penal Reform. Former Chair, Peace Pledge Union.
We know that the world is in a very deep crisis. Nations are devoting great resources for the most horrendous waste of all, the waste which goes into weapons and into war. They feed the war machines instead of feeding the hungry. They now are using for military purposes as much money as is totally available for the poorer half of mankind. We are more and more living in a weapons culture. We are spreading arms around the globe, and promoting the power of military juntas in country after country. Young men are being conditioned to brutality. Has the army taught them respect for neighbors, for children, for women?

We must struggle against war and waste. We must deal not only with quantities of arms and of money, but with a change in values. We must turn the tables at all levels: on military budgets, on technological weapons, and also in arousing repugnance against war. We must outlaw area bombing. We must let the bombadiers know they have a right not to release their bombs and will be protected as conscientious objectors. Regions must form nuclear-free zones, and nuclear nations must pledge not to attack non-nuclear states. We must call for conversion plans so each arms plant could redirect its production.

The major task necessary to safeguard our future is to get a disarmed world under the rule of law. A world disarmament conference is needed. We women have a duty to help strengthen the United Nations, and help real disarmament come about.

We must speak up, explode myths, fortify public opinion against wars and arms, becoming truth squads that learn about the issues and bore through the false arguments of military and political leaders.

The task is urgent if we are to have a world where mankind can not only survive but where all people work together for progress for everybody.
Activist in peace, anti-apartheid, and women's movements.
Born in South Africa. Joined the Black Sash Women at age 17; lived in England, Australia, Fiji, and USA. Involved in WILPF, Anti-Apartheid, and the Women's Movement in these countries.
Led women's nonviolent direct actions against French nuclear testing in Pacific.
Married; three children.
Personal ambition: to become first "Minister of Peace" in a Department of National and International Cooperation.

Educating people to live in a peaceful society does not happen overnight. However, I believe women can change society by getting out there and doing it their way. It has not been women who have created the nuclear stockpiles or the aggressive attitudes towards other nations, people, and ideologies. We have to encourage all people that it is worthwhile to share our resources, preserve our environment, and guarantee our human rights. I have always been an activist in my approach; writing letters to politicians seems to be a waste of paper. Dialogue between people is very important in improving relations, ideas, and ideals.

All this sounds very idealistic, but I know there can be non-violent change if some of the following ideas could be tried:

---A complete change in our education system to include education for peace, without discrimination against any group or nation, and by all means of information. This should be an integral part of learning in the home, in schools, colleges, and universities, as well as in programs of continuous education throughout life.

---A change in our language: girls and boys should not always hear about MANKIND and HIS great achievements.

---An end to the streaming of women and men into stereotypic fields of activity, which inevitably leads to a reproduction of the abhorrent status quo.

---The guarantee of human rights all over the world, without which there is no peace and freedom.

Let's unite our sisters all over the world in pursuit of a more peaceful society.
Founder, President, Vietnamese Women's Movement For The Right To Live, Now merged with PRG Women’s Union; International WILPF.
Doctor in Law, Universities of Paris and Barcelona, MCL, Columbia University, N.Y.
Ex-intern at UN, Director of Scientific Research.
During war in Viet Nam, spent several years in prison for outspoken views for peace and independence. Symbol of worldwide campaign for release of Vietnamese political prisoners.
Signed Peace Treaty with US women.
Author: The Women, Architects of Peace.
Married; four children.

Living in the center of a society at war, women have received in silence all the effects of injustice and dishonesty, of faithlessness and incongruity in the huge slaughterhouse of an atrocious war. Women have suffered many cruel spectacles which are clamoring to wake up the conscience of humanity.

Being the center of spiritual development of the family and society, women represent the soul of the nation. And this is justly the favorite and preponderant medium of women to a nation as well as a human being. Though the hand and brain are necessary, they are insufficient; the soul is more decisive.

...Women can understand—they want to understand before taking action—and then use their living natural aptitudes for actions to serve and support the righteous causes of the nation. Indeed, we are determined not to be the sacrificial chessmen to anti-people schemes, not to be accomplices in internecine slaughter, and not directly or indirectly play the role of casting more oil on the flame of rancor.... Let us women be the stone that paves the way to our people's historic struggle for peace, independence and freedom.

Let us unite all good wills, overcome all obstacles, mobilize all efforts to crush the bulwark of rivalry—that manmade frontier that has confined the people in pernicious dissidence—heal the wounds of war, and unite the adversaries in mutual concession and mutual protection, so as to testify before the world that"WEST AND EAST, WOMEN WANT PEACE."
These great objectives, essential if human beings are to survive, require from women enormous determination and willingness to break away from traditional patterns. We must not only win our personal freedom but use that freedom differently than men have used theirs.

It is important to free ourselves from government domination; i.e. to learn to face problems directly, not looking at them through the eyes of our officials. This requires courage because governments do not like independent thinkers.

It is essential that we disown violence and depend only on non-violent methods. Otherwise we destroy each other. This is difficult since most of us have grown up in communities based on force and power.

It is desirable that we meet together frequently, both internationally and regionally. Also in smaller units such as teachers, health workers, students, artists, scientists, so as to exchange ideas and to develop confidence in one another.

It is vital that we know the facts of our world problems uncolored by propaganda and special commercial or political interests. It will be useful to continuously circulate information.

We must stand together as women, ready and willing to help each other. We are all in the same boat—Earth. If it continues on its present competitive course we shall destroy the resources on which we all depend for life, or we shall kill off each other with the cruelest of weapons.

Women are at least half of mankind. If we are willing to break with the past and turn this into a cooperative world we can do it! History points in this direction and we shall succeed.
In their past two thousand years' effort, men have shown us the failure in their method of running the world. Instead of falling into the same trap, women can offer something that society never had before because of male dominance: the feminine direction.

"What are femininity and masculinity?" The stereotypes have nothing to do with the true nature of men and women; most people show both masculine and feminine tendencies. But, men and women, believing in their own myths, have enacted their stereotyped roles. So-called masculine and feminine tendencies do prevail as characteristics of our society.

I am proposing the feminization of society: the use of the feminine tendencies which, up to now, have been suppressed or dismissed as shameful or even as harmful, impractical, and irrelevant in the making of society—as a positive force to change the world. Contemporary society is competitive, logical (inasmuch as the society attempts to base its thinking on logic, or pretends to), and power-oriented in its structure. Hypocrisy, violence, and chaos are the result. With feminine intelligence and awareness, we can change the society into a basically organic, non-competitive one, based on love rather than reasoning. Balance, peace, and contentment will be the result.

We can evolve rather than revolt; come together rather than claim independence; and feel rather than think. Now, these are characteristics which are considered feminine. But have men done so well by avoiding the development of these characteristics within themselves?

What we need now is the patience and natural wisdom of a pregnant woman—an awareness and acceptance of our natural resources and of the existence of our bodies and feelings. The aim of female revolution will have to be a total one, eventually making it a revolution for the whole world.
SAIDIE PATTERSON

Only the blind or the very selfish are content with the world as it is. Mass poverty, hunger, war, racial conflict cry out for a solution. Man can fly through space, walk on the moon, calculate with computers, and transplant hearts; yet seldom has he felt more trapped by processes he cannot control.

"The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" may be true but we must help women to play their part in building a better world, starting with themselves and their own country.

Throughout my life, I have had direct contact with about 90,000 women and the first thing I had to do was to help them to see that they counted, as they do, and had much to contribute to society.

We are all free to choose what we live for and want to give our energy, talents, and imagination to in creating a new society.

The women learn daily that a person's character is more important than the color of their skin or where they worship, or don't, on a Sunday. In every nation, there are forces at work which create bitterness, disunity, and destruction. We all want peace, but we have not yet paid the price for peace—the price of facing, with God's help, where we and our nation have been wrong.

I ask the leaders of every nation to unite in a program which puts right the past and reconstructs the future.

Our Women Together have a single message:
If you face a wall of hate, climb it with help in your hands and hope in your heart.

Chairman of Women Together, Belfast, uniting opposing factions in Northern Ireland. Left school early, factory worker. Involved in struggle for a decent living for textile workers.

First woman Chairman, Northern Ireland Labour Party; member, Training School Committees and Licensing Committees; Vice-Chairman, Belfast Girls' Club; only woman organizer, Textile Workers of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union; Treasurer, Standing Conference of Women's Organizations; member, Management Committee, Ulster Hospital; Executive Committee member, Business and Professional Women's Club: Chairman of People Together; awarded the M.B.E. by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II for work for textile workers and children.
"What a joy! What an achievement! What a dream come true!"

It is a wonderful occasion for women to think that a special day and a year are set aside which can be called "Women's." I heartily congratulate all the women all over the world who have contributed to the struggle against women's suppression, insult, and subordination. Women must enjoy equal rights, equal privileges with men in all spheres of life.

They are also endowed with the honor and respect due to them as mothers. Babies are born and bred by them; they are chiefly responsible for the upbringing of these children. Mothers must be wide awake to the big responsibility allotted to them in shaping the behavior of their children. A child must be brought up to know his or her right attitude towards other children at home, at school, and wherever they may meet. No matter what their status, religion, race, or color, children must be taught to be friendly, tolerant, selfless, and helpful to one another, for it is through this peaceful attitude among them that peace will be ensured throughout the world; they are the citizens of tomorrow. Friendliness among children all over the world will surely ensure what their attitude will be toward one another when they grow up.

I wish success to our goals and friendship among women to live forever.
Equality, Development, and Peace? Words like that sound wonderful but what do they have to do with my life? Yes, I know the world is in a mess, but what can I do about it? I don't have any power or influence to change things. I'm just one woman.

Dear sisters, we are each of us just one woman; maybe the separations that divide us should be seen as an opportunity to develop individually. A woman who develops her talents to the fullest is not only increasing the amount of skill she has to give to the world; she is also changing herself.

A wife who thinks her husband is too intelligent not to change his attitude about her, changes her marriage because she realizes that before men and women can be equal in society, they must first reach equality within the marriages which are a microcosm of their society.

A mother who gives her children an ideal to emulate provides the education and spiritual values they will need to overcome harmful outside influences, such as television which promotes nutritionally deficient foods for their bodies and violence for their minds.

A homemaker who starts a vegetable garden in her backyard is doing something about global famine in the same way that a secretary who stops smoking and uses her tobacco allowance to buy an indoor plant is doing something about air pollution.

Each of us working to develop ourselves and improve our immediate environment can spread into everwidening circles until all of us are joined together in equal pursuit of peace on Earth.

* Singer and author of *I Am Woman*, called the "theme song of International Women's Year."

* Daughter of Australian entertainers; debuted at the age of four at the Tivoli Theater in Perth.

* Came to the USA; has had numerous hit songs, appeared in movies, and appears frequently on television; active in Democratic Party politics.*
The needs of women, the problems of women, and the life patterns of women vary from culture to culture, from region to region. However, they have at least this in common: that there are cultural practices and attitudes which harm, distort, and limit the potential of women's lives.

Perhaps the most important objective we can have is to attempt to reassess and challenge the customs and practices that harm women, and the attitudes and assumptions that societies make about women's abilities, weaknesses, strengths, and lives.

If we are to build the kind of society in which women are no longer discriminated against either explicitly or implicitly, then we must refuse to accept general assessments of what women are like. A society which recognizes the particular abilities and potential of each individual woman and man, regardless of cultural expectations, must be our aim. Many of the assumptions held about women in our society, which have been passed down from generation to generation, are false and insulting. These need to be challenged and discussed in order to assess their validity. Too often the mere fact of being a woman gives rise to assumptions and expectations about our abilities, our personality, and our behavior which become so imbedded within the language and the culture of a society that we ourselves begin to see them as natural. This low self-esteem, this lack of self-confidence, leads us to consent to and thereby reinforce these myths.

We must cease to see ourselves as others see us. We must cease to lead our lives through the lives of others. Our lives and our happiness must be determined and controlled by us. Now we can begin to exist in our own right.

Special Adviser to The Prime Minister on Women’s Affairs, Australia.
Head of Australian Delegation to UN World Conference for the International Women’s Year.
First Lady of Egypt.
Founder, Chairman, Arab-African Women's League.
Founder, Director, Talla Society, to help village women.
"Wafa'a Wa Amal" (Faith and Hope) Rehabilitation Center, integrated city for handicapped veterans and civilians.

Concerns include implementing family planning programs, eradicating illiteracy, passage of Civil Rights Law, more rights to women and security to family.

Molding struggle for women's rights to meet strictly Egyptian needs. Not challenging family structure, but battling for greater feminine participation in public life.

Member, Arab Socialist Union.
Attending Cairo University's Faculty of Arts.

Mother of four.

So much has been said and written already that one feels it is futile to say any more. Action must be taken by men and women all over the world to improve the lot of mankind, for that is what equality means in the end. It means a happier family, a happier society, a happier world.

The International Women's Year is an expression of the world's growing awareness that woman must assume her rightful place in the human quest for ultimate happiness...and harmony. For what is happiness? Is it not simply to feel at harmony with oneself and one's surroundings?

It is my sincere belief that woman's main function on earth is to create and keep the harmony. A function that for so long has been neglected and must today be realized by us all. It is not a battle against man; it is not a desire to be better; it is a yearning for participation, for self-realization, for fulfillment.

It is extremely important that we direct our energies where they would be most useful; not waste them in hysterical cries for revolutionizing—and, in the process, jeopardizing—the man-woman relationship. It is important to realize and to prove to all that we are partners, not competitors, in the struggle for a better world; that we complement, not contradict, one another. That is best done by discovering our true realm and functioning wholeheartedly within it, with the sincere conviction that each grain of energy exerted, each little result achieved, contributes to the whole.

We must now initiate a concerted effort for untimate harmony ... and peace.
International Women's Year coincided with the inclusion of the first two women in Botswana's National Assembly, my country's highest law-making body. Eight years ago when we gained independence, it would have been a dream to think of a woman sitting in the National Assembly, but this has happened in most countries of the developing world.

The Chinese adage has it that a journey of a thousand miles begins with one step. What might appear to be an insignificant step forward often leads to a breakthrough. I therefore have good cause to be optimistic about the future, not only for my part of the world, but for all mankind. What contribution can women make toward the equality of the races? In the years ahead, women should be more practical in solving racial problems. We should play our effective role in the family by teaching our young ones, the future leaders of the world society, to give more thought and attention to the sufferings of the deprived and underprivileged members of society. We should frequent more mixed social gatherings with them than we have previously done.

Economic and social development of any society is not an exclusive obligation of the men. Official recognition of women's rights should be enough to reassure all women who have been doubtful about their roles.

We can contribute towards peace by evaluating our past performance in various women's organizations. Have we been hostile toward other movements? Let us bury our differences—whether protagonists of the women's domestic role or of women's lib—and strive for a united force so we can bargain for peace, equality, and freedom from a position of strength.
Since the UN began in 1945 a great deal has been done to improve the situation and status of women in the world. Age-old traditions, attitudes and practices are still, however, slow to change and the gap between law and reality remains very wide.

The percentage of women holding policy-making posts in the local, national and international areas still remains strikingly small. Women remain in many countries seriously disadvantaged at every level of education. In the field of civil law, and especially family law, the principle of equality has not yet won universal acceptance. Policies which attempt to give women an equal place with men in economic life, while at the same time confirming women's traditional responsibility for the care of the home and children, have no prospect of fulfilling the first of these aims. How can we improve the quality of life of a human being born to an illiterate, economically dependent, malnourished and over-burdened woman, whose health may leave much to be desired and who gives birth to one child per year?

-- Excerpts from UNESCO Courier, March 1975

The UN is nothing when it comes to implementation. It cannot change your laws, your education, your economic plans. You are the ones who can elect people to the parliaments and the municipal councils where all the decisions are made. You should be involved in national planning and you should be heard.

I don't think there is any country in the world which is developed -- we are all underdeveloped, and women are the most underdeveloped everywhere. So let us decide to unite, to create a community to look after the implementation of whatever comes out from the Conference. Let us create a network of women for the future. This is not the end -- it is the beginning.

-- Excerpts from remarks to Tribune of IWY World Conference, Xilonen, June 23, 1975
AGNES ZENA STAPLEDON

What more compelling evidence could there be for the need of International Women's Year than the thousands of millions of pounds the national governments propose to spend on armaments in 1975? Even the British Labour Government alone is to spend 3700 million pounds! When things have gone so wrong with world relationships as they have at present, surely those who have borne the burden of decision-making would positively want others to share the responsibility and take a look at the situation through fresh eyes.

Let us admit that women are not as experienced in world leadership as men are, but they do look at the world with different eyes. Men excel in some skills in which women have less or no aptitude at all. In other spheres women are traditionally supposed to have no aptitude, and in consequence, they have never succeeded in getting themselves adequately trained to function. With such acquired skills added to the intuitive qualities fairly general in women—sympathy, imaginative understanding of human reaction, down-to-earth assessment of what really matters for living—they could make a positive contribution toward a peaceful world.

The least we can hope from International Women's Year is the elimination of the most blatant discriminations against women—in law, in economic parity and independence, and in equality of opportunity for training and promotion. The day has yet to dawn when the average man will cease to undervalue characteristics in women which differ from his own. That will be the end of "second-class citizens!" There will be no more need for International Women's Year.

President, British Section WILPF.
Born in New Zealand. Spent 25 years in Australia; went to England after marriage.
Two incidents in early life inclined her to work for peace: as a child seeing Australian troops embark for Boer War; as adolescent taking part in referendum on conscription in World War I.
Joined WILPF in early 30s and served on local and national committees, and International Executive Committee.
ETHEL TAYLOR

National Coordinator, Women Strike for Peace, USA. 
Organizer and participant in actions for peace and disarmament. 
Former member WILPF Policy Committee and Sane National Board. 
An organizer of Committee of Liaison with Families and Service-men Detained in North Viet Nam, after visit to North Viet Nam, and International Plea for Peace. 
Mother of two.

Women sometimes band together at dangerous intersections to prevent traffic from proceeding until the authorities promise to prevent death or injury to innocent people, especially children. How much greater is the need for women to band together internationally to prevent a nuclear collision.

The very immensity of the problem tends to numb our capacity to act. Yet it is possible that a nuclear explosion will take place somewhere within the next five years either by accident or design.

Lip service is given to deescalation of nuclear arms and disarmament by governments. Nuclear weapons and nuclear countries increase. The proliferation of nuclear reactors, ostensibly for energy use, can cause a like growth in the number of nations with nuclear weapons potential.

Women just join together in international sisterhood to demand of governments an end to the development, testing and production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles. There must be an end to the macho dream of nuclear superiority and limited nuclear war if our children are to have a peaceful world.

If these times are to have any meaning then they must signal the beginning of the total involvement of women in the liberation of their country and the world from military domination and nuclear expansion which can destroy us all. Only in this way can human needs be met and only in this climate can women realize true equality and development.
All around the world, meetings and symposia are held and expert groups are working to find formulas for the solution of today's burning global problems of mass poverty, population growth, energy and food crises, and the dangers to which we expose the human environment. A growing number of people seem to agree that, if left unsolved, these problems will constitute a threat to human survival.

As the Swedish representative in international negotiations on disarmament, I have been struck by the comparatively small amount of time and space given in the international debate on resources, environment, and human equity to the greatest misuse of resources ever seen in a world in need and suffering, i.e., the armaments race. Quite beside the danger of extinction, always imminent in a world where the qualitative nuclear arms race continues year after year, and where proliferation of nuclear explosion capacity is again taking place, we shall of course never have sufficient resources to cope with food, energy, and other urgent problems without considerable reductions in spending on armaments and the corresponding transfer of human and natural resources to development and peace-building.

As mankind's future is inextricably linked with drastic change in resource use, and as this decade is the decade of development and disarmament, I hope that all concerned groups of people will find ways and means to bring pressure to bear on this world's big and mighty to reduce, soon, the burdens of armaments on mankind and thereby brighten the human prospect.
VALENTINA NIKOLAYEVA TERESHKOVA

First woman to fly in space. Cosmonaut, aeronautical engineer. Hero of Soviet Union.
Chairman, Soviet Woman’s Committee. Member Presidium, Supreme Soviet.
Represented USSR and SWC at many international conferences.
Married, one daughter.

"Equality, development, peace".
They are inseparable.

Without peace, there can be no progressive development of mankind, nor full equality of women, no matter in what country they live.

Peace is the grand achievement of mankind. To implement peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems has been the primary task of Soviet foreign policy.
To make detente stable and irreversible, to deliver mankind from the threat of a new world war and to eliminate tension caused by aggression, nations must vigorously work for it. This problem cannot be solved without women's participation.

Soviet women are ardent champions of peace. Having lived through the horrors of invasion which cost the Soviet state 20 million lives, our women, equally with men, consider themselves responsible for promoting peace. Nothing unites women more closely than the common concern about peace and the destiny of our future generations.

Women's equality has come true in our country. Soviet law proclaims the equality of women in labor, the family, and society. In a short time, our country has reached great achievements. An indispensable condition of swift development is the active participation of women in all spheres of society's life that is ensured by socialism, such participation being the source of great moral satisfaction.

Soviet women are making a considerable contribution to the development of their country. Half of all employed in all branches of the national economy are women. They make up 70% of doctors, 73% of workers in education and culture, 40% of researchers and 32% of engineers. Among the deputies to the Supreme Soviet, one third are women.
Through their inspiring work, Soviet women create material wealth, transform their native land and take part in administering state affairs. For this they enjoy prestige and the love of all our people.
MARTHA TRANQUILLI

Honorary Vice-President USA Section WILPF.
Nurse; went from north to Mississippi to work in Black hospital.
Refused to pay income tax for Viet Nam War. Arrested, tried, imprisoned.
WILPF representative among Oglala Sioux Native Americans.
Mother of three, grandmother.

The news fills me with foreboding. The Times carries a front page headline, "Police Train for Food Riots." They are training with M-1 rifles. Addiction to food (eating) is widespread, so I suspect anyone interested in obtaining food is going to obtain guns first--after reading that headline. And I doubt very much if the hungry women with hungry children are going to be interested in what we write about.

The astronomical figures involved in studying the economy benumb me much the same as the overdose of violence has blunted the sensibilities of our citizens. With unemployment rising and plants operating far below capacity, this is an ideal time to convert the nation from a war to peace-oriented economy.

With Mr. Nixon's resignation which prevented an investigation of the misuse of Presidential power or the illegal use of that power the insidious growth of fascism is becoming visible. What is not visible is the awareness of the people.

Perhaps that is our job as women; exposure of the erosions of our Constitution. (Question: why do the Arabs with all that oil need a nuclear reactor for energy?) Is exposure enough? Must we not, as givers of life, teach by example? Refuse to nurture the machines of death? Refuse to feed it with our money or our sons? Tax money channelled into alternative projects or shared with others who need it is better spent than tax money given the government.

The last Depression taught us that money in a bank was not security. From the coming Depression, we will learn that by ignoring the needs of developing nations or of our own people, we will destroy ourselves. Shuffling men in and out of Congress will change nothing unless we demand the change.

--Excerpts, Letter from Terminal Island Federal Prison
Men, women, and children should be encouraged to respect their own identity. Women who try to ape men in the desire to be equal are defeating their own object. They merely pander to the already overblown ego of their men. Women cannot find equality by aping their men.

Women of the world should work towards educating their sisters, to break their ropes of bondage placed there by men. Men can be trained at home with the children to share the work load. Rotating the work load prevents boredom. Men, as well as children, should be encouraged not only to select a menu but also to cook the meals. A child of three can and will answer a phone just as well as mum or dad. Dad is as clever as mum when it comes to changing baby's diaper. Women are as clever as men in mowing lawns. Besides it is good exercise for all the family. This sharing of the work load at home does lead to peace, harmony, and unity.

It's time to come to the human relationship conference table and to talk about the sharing of all work. Be it house, field, industry, or professions, all people can share the load. Never refer to any work as being men's work or women's work or children's work.

After women have educated the home field, it will only be a matter of time before they and their educated men and children will be out educating the other fields outside the home. It's up to the women to show the way by teaching.

SO GO TO IT, WOMEN!
IN ABSENTIA

Some of our sisters never received our correspondence.

Others were unable to respond.

It is not easy for us to write ... because of the exceptional situation we are living through . . .

... names of persons who formerly belonged to a now illegal organization are placed on a list and they are then subject to . . .

... here in this warfare situation there is no time to write or even to think . . .

... Unfortunately we are precluded from being quoted ... nothing that I say can be quoted . . .

... only official individuals appointed by the authorities can participate in international activities . . .

You understand it well, I hope . . .

My thoughts, hopes and prayers are with you all . . .

... Love to all of you, dearest friends, for all of your devotion and loyalty to principles for which so many millions of women are standing with untiring and increasing determination.
Distributed By
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