

MAJOR ARTICLES CENSORED
FROM THE 1978 RANDOM HOUSE EDITION OF
REDSTOCKINGS' FEMINIST REVOLUTION

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A NOTE ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE MATERIAL THAT FOLLOWS...

Excerpts from a leaflet prepared and distributed at a speech by Daniel Shorr at the University of Rochester, April 5, 1979, by Women's Liberation Movement organizers Stephanie Haftel, Lavonne Lela and Kathy Scarbrough:

On May 9, 1975, a 16-page Press Release was issued at the (MORE) Women in Media Conference by Redstockings of the Women's Liberation Movement, a radical feminist group, whose members initiated much of the theory, slogans, writings, and actions that helped launch the Women's Liberation Movement in this country and around the world in the 1960s. The Press Release contained information about Gloria Steinem's key organizational position with the Independent Research Service, a CIA-funded organization.

The Press Release met with silence from Steinem until after several months of pressure from feminists. On August 13, 1975, she responded with a statement whose circulation she limited to six feminist newspapers "that have requested it." A major tactic in Steinem's attempt to evade the issues raised in the Press Release was her effort to portray Redstockings as a suspiciously anonymous group.

On September 20, 1975, Redstockings replied in detail to Steinem's August 13th response, and despite the intimidation and evasions within the response of Steinem and her apologists, printed on their own 5,000 copies of their theoretical journal, *Feminist Revolution*, late in 1975. This edition included the article "Gloria Steinem and the CIA" which they had released in advance as part of the 16-page Press Release, and an article entitled, "From a Finnish Notebook" concerning Steinem's CIA ties with the Independent Research Service at the Helsinki Youth Festival in Finland in 1962.

In January of 1976, Redstockings was contacted by Random House. Soon after, Random House, whose legal counsel performed the standard libel reading, and Redstockings signed a contract for *Feminist Revolution* to be published intact. However, Steinem again attempted to suppress information, this time with the forceful weapon of a threat of a libel suit. Months of correspondence followed. Added to threats of libel by Gloria Steinem were communications from other persons and organizations of or connected to the rich and powerful who figure prominently in the *Feminist Revolution* article about her. Among these were *Ms. Magazine*, Clay Felker, the Woman's Action Alliance, Franklin Thomas, the League of Women Voters Overseas Education Fund, Warner Communications and Katharine Graham.

As of this date, to our knowledge, no libel suits have been filed. As we have now learned, for the rich and powerful, the *threat* of libel is quite sufficient, without an actual libel suit, to delay and to stop the free flow of information. We have learned this only recently, with the Random House publication of the "abridged" *Feminist Revolution* – in February of this year – three years after their initial commitment to publish it just as Redstockings intended it to reach the public.

The two articles ("Gloria Steinem and the CIA" and "From a Finnish Notebook"), once free to travel to the public, have been excised. And Gloria Steinem, media-corporate backed spokesperson of a "women's movement" now revised and weakened by the suppression of radical ideas and actions so vital to its beginnings (and beginning again), has been able to deny the public's right to know.

PRESS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE AT NOON, MAY 9, 1975

For further information call: 212-777-9241

Redstockings

of the
Women's Liberation Movement
Post Office Box 415
New Falls, New York 12561

REDSTOCKINGS DISCLOSES GLORIA STEINEM'S CIA COVER-UP

Redstockings has called this press conference to release information we have uncovered showing that Gloria Steinem has a ten year association with the CIA stretching from 1959 to 1969 which she has misrepresented and covered up.

Further, we have become convinced that *Ms.* magazine, founded and edited by her, is hurting the women's liberation movement.

As the originators of *consciousness-raising* and the Miss America Protest, as the women who were the first to talk in public about their abortions and the need for women to control their own bodies, who coined such slogans as *sisterhood is powerful* and the *personal is political* that launched the movement, we are concerned that Steinem, *Ms.* magazine and *Ms. Corporation* are endangering the feminist movement.

In 1967 the *New York Times* made the first revelation of Steinem's part in setting up a CIA front, the Independent Research Service. This was after *Ramparts* magazine had just disclosed the organization had been funded by the CIA. In a *Times* interview, Steinem denied collecting names and dossiers in the course of her work. Redstockings found, however, that Steinem's name appears as Director on a 1961 publication about the Vienna Youth Festival, published by the CIA-financed Independent Research Service, which included names and political dossiers of 82 people, including a U.S. activist.

According to Steinem's first listing in *Who's Who in America*, she was still on the Board of Directors of the Independent Research Service during 1968-1969. In all later editions of *Who's Who* her period of employment with the organization is reduced from three years (1959-62) to one year (1959-60) and the later Board of Directorship in Washington is never mentioned again.

Both Steinem's career in political journalism and *Ms.* magazine were launched by the publisher of *New York* Clay Felker who worked as an editor of a newspaper published by this CIA front.

To many people, *Ms.* appears to be the voice of the women's liberation movement. But in actuality it has substituted itself for the movement, blocking knowledge of the authentic activists and ideas. *Ms.* outgrowths proliferate into many other areas - women's studies programs, television shows, feminist organizations - duplicating and many times substituting for the original, authentic activists and groups that sparked the movement. It is widely recognized that one major CIA strategy is to create or support "parallel" organizations which provide an alternative to radicalism.

Because many women now look to *Ms.* as the feminist press, it has become a major center for collecting names and information about the movement and individuals. So has the Women's Action Alliance which Steinem also founded and which shared offices with the National Black Feminist Organization in the same building as *Ms.* Despite its name, the Women's Action Alliance literature promotes itself as "an information and referral network." In view of Steinem's secret CIA work, her failure ever to disavow it, and her continuing cover-up, we have to question how all this information is being used.

Furthermore, a look below the surface shows that *Ms.* is putting forth an anti-woman ideology that says to women they are inferior and damaged. It is promoting token women, wonderwomen, and "role models" and denigrating the real achievements of most women, as the accompanying article will amplify.

This whole structure is backed by curious corporate financing.

Women's liberation's popularity and groundbreaking successes preceded the installation of Gloria Steinem as the movement's "leader" by the rich and powerful. Today all the trappings of the radical upsurge remain, but the content and style have been watered down. We have reached a point when the movement must have a revival of the radical ideas and leadership which marked its early growth and success.

The information detailed in the article which follows will appear as part of a 160 page theoretical journal called *Feminist Revolution* soon to be published by Redstockings. In it we as activists involved in the beginnings of the women's liberation movement will analyze the movement's successes and mistakes and propose a renewed offensive.

Gloria Steinem and the CIA

On May 9, 1975 the following article was released to the press in advance of the rest of *Feminist Revolution*. Redstockings took this action because we felt the story was too pressing in its significance to the women's liberation movement to await the completion of the whole journal. In the months that have followed new information has come to light, sides have been taken, political patterns have revealed themselves. At some later date we would like to write a thorough evaluation of the action, its results and what can be learned from it. For the present we will just point out a few observations.

The Press Release was at first met with a virtual blockade from the Establishment media. The press, traditionally so eager to "get something" on women, did not want to air political criticism of Steinem. (We know of cases where articles were stopped from the top down.) Steinem herself maintained silence.

It was only as feminists demanded an answer to the questions raised by Redstockings that Steinem was forced to make a "response." The protest of students and faculty at Sagaris, a feminist school in Vermont, over accepting money from the Ms. Foundation, was particularly instrumental. Led on by Ti-Grace Atkinson, Alix Shulman, and Susan Sherman, one-third of the women walked out and formed a school of their own, finally prompting Steinem to rush a copy of her statement to the school.

The media followed Steinem's lead in talking about the story and a spate of articles followed. Often, the information and questions raised by the press release were avoided by attempting to portray Redstockings as a mysterious, illegitimate group.

As far as Steinem herself is concerned, nothing has changed. Nowhere has she dealt with the political issues we raised. As far as the women's liberation movement is concerned, things have changed and are still changing. As the sides have lined up it has become obvious that more is involved than the evaluation of one individual's politics and trustworthiness, that battles are being waged over the very direction the women's liberation movement should take. We feel this debate has been long needed and welcome it as a sign of the revitalization of the movement necessary to return it to the revolutionary, feminist path of its origins.

Gloria Steinem's response of 8/13/75 is available from OFF OUR BACKS
2423 18th Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
for \$2 postage and handling.

This story began when one of the editors of *Feminist Revolution* was discussing with an acquaintance the politics of Gloria Steinem's *Ms.* magazine and its effects on the women's liberation movement.

"Wait," said her friend, "there's something I think you ought to see." She brought out a pamphlet which she had stumbled on a couple of years earlier in a Cambridge-area bookstore. At the time she knew of Gloria Steinem only as a young, liberal journalist, and this pamphlet, with Steinem's name on it, jarred sharply with that image. Half on impulse she had bought and held on to it.

The document, entitled "report on the Vienna Youth Festival," was published by a group called the Independent Research Service in 1960 and as a second edition in 1961. There was no author listed, only three officers of the Independent Research Service: Gloria M. Steinem, Director, and Leonard N. Bebhick and Dr. Paul E. Sigmund, Jr., both Executive Officers. The contents and origins of the pamphlet will be discussed further below. Here it is sufficient to say that our first reactions to it, like those of our friend, were uneasiness and fear at seeing what appeared to be Steinem's name on a Cold War propaganda tract complete with individual political profiles on U.S. and foreign youth.

Some of us wondered about the group: was it really independent and possibly a sincere reflection of where a lot of people's minds had been at in the fifties and early sixties? Others of us had already heard of the group, had previous knowledge or indirect experience of its activities, and had heard that it was connected with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). We went so far as to wonder if the Gloria M. Steinem listed on the pamphlet cover could possibly be the same Gloria Steinem who had been meteorically installed into her current position as leader of the women's liberation movement through the efforts of the mass media.

Needless to say, the increasing recent reports of participation of the CIA in illegal domestic intelligence operations did nothing to quiet our uneasiness about what might be going on behind the scenes in American politics generally and in the women's movement specifically.

Members of our group began the preliminary research which eventually led to the publication of this article.

Our research has led us to some conclusions and to still more questions. It soon became clear that Gloria M. Steinem of the disturbing pamphlet was the same Gloria Steinem who had suddenly joined the women's liberation movement with so much hullabalo. We also learned that the famous *Ramparts* exposures of 1967 of CIA subsidy of domestic groups such as the National Student Association (NSA), had named the organization which produced the very pamphlet as a CIA front group.

We now have documentation that Gloria Steinem knowingly worked for this CIA-financed group on a fulltime basis for a period of at least three years (1959-62) as its founder and director; that her association with this group lasted as late as 1968-69 when according to her own listing in *Who's Who in America* she was still a member of the Independent Research Service's Board of Directors; that she never disclosed this group was CIA financed until after the information was already exposed by *Ramparts* magazine and after the *New York Times*, in the wake of the *Ramparts* story, named her as co-founder; that, in a later *New York Times* interview she defended her own actions and those of the Independent Research Service, partly through the use of outright lies which will be discussed below; and that in the following years there has been a cover-up of large portions of this aspect of her political history.

We have questions about Steinem's motives for entering the women's movement in 1969-70, so soon after her defense of the CIA and only a year after her Independent Research Service Board of Directorship. We are suspicious of her sudden rise to prominence as a "women's liberation leader" at a time when, unlike other prominent women's liberationists, she was active in no women's group, she had not written a feminist book, won a Congressional seat or played a superb game of tennis. In fact she was unknown to most women in the movement—or at best known to women readers of *New York Magazine* as one of the sympathetic journalists. The proof of Steinem's knowing association with a group financed by the CIA extends as late as 1968-69 and we feel it is important for women to be aware of this background, to analyze their own experiences with *Ms.* and to draw their own conclusions.

The creation of *Ms.* magazine has put Steinem in a strategic position in the women's movement—a position from which feminist politics can be influenced, but also a position from which information can be and is being gathered on the personal and political activities of women all over the world.

It is possible that this story will be dismissed as just "dredging up the past." But 1969, the year Steinem entered the women's liberation movement, is very recent past. In addition, Steinem had a chance to tell her story earlier. During the 1967 CIA exposures there were those (former NSA officers, for example) who openly acknowledged and repudiated their CIA connections. Others, while forced to admit CIA financing, continued to cover up and rationalize their activities. Steinem was in the latter group.

We realize that raising these issues will draw lines in the

women's movement. A letter to the editor in the July 1974 issue of *Ms.* complained of the CIA's sexist hiring policies; a vocational aptitude test given to women asked questions about make-up, cooking and sewing; women's tests had pink covers while men's were blue, etc. We think the issue goes much deeper. Women need a revolution and the CIA's job is to prevent revolutions.

THE PAST: GLORIA STEINEM & THE INDEPENDENT RESEARCH SERVICE

The "Independent" Research Service was in fact totally dependent on the CIA. It was formed in response to the Communist World Youth Festivals held during the 1950's and '60's. Originally these festivals were all held in Communist countries but in 1959 the festival was slated to take place in neutral Vienna. Officially the U.S. State Department discouraged Americans from attending so as not to "lend dignity to the Festival." This, combined with the widespread fear among many in the U.S. of being associated with anything communist, was enough to ensure that most Americans would refrain from going, even if they were interested and could afford to. Some Americans went nevertheless. In the meantime, the CIA covertly set up the Independent Research Service to organize an anti-communist delegation and coach it on ways to disrupt the festival.

The intricate arrangement by which the CIA financed the Independent Research Service was revealed in February, 1967 by *Ramparts*, in advance of its March issue. Money was first passed to five foundations: the Borden Trust, the Price Fund, the Edsel Fund, the Beacon Fund and the Kentfield Fund. From there it was channeled to the Independence Foundation which operated out of the offices of the well-known Boston law firm of Hale and Dorr. (Interestingly enough, this is the same law firm which provided Joseph Welch as attorney for the Army in its 1954 confrontation with Joseph McCarthy and, more recently, James St. Clair as chief counsel for ex-President Nixon in the Watergate affair.) The Independence Foundation then made contributions directly to the Independent Research Service as well as to the NSA and other groups.

Why Gloria Steinem was chosen as the "founder" and director of this group is something of a mystery. George Abrams and Richard Medalee, two early organizers of the Independent Research Service, stated in a *New Republic* article of 5/11/59 that "Most of the sponsors have had considerable experience in domestic and international youth and student affairs." We don't know if Steinem had this kind of experience in her past.

We do know that she graduated from Smith and then received a Chester Bowles Asian Fellowship to the Universities of New Delhi and Calcutta, India, in 1956-58. All we know of her activities in India is the alleged publication of a book, *The Thousand Indias*, in 1957 (see recent *Who's Who in America* listings). Attempts to locate this book in the New York Public Library and in current and in past listings of the *Cumulative Book Index*, *Books in Print* and the Library of Congress listings were all

C.I.A. SUBSIDIZED FESTIVAL TRIPS

Hundreds of Students Were
Sent to World Gatherings

A New York freelance writer disclosed yesterday that the Central Intelligence Agency had supported a foundation that sent hundreds of Americans to World Youth Festivals in Vienna in 1959 and Helsinki, Finland, in 1962.

Gloria Steinem, a 30-year-old graduate of Smith College, said the C.I.A. has been a major source of funds for the foundation, the Independence Research Service, since its formation in 1958. Almost all of the young persons who received aid from the foundation did not know about the relationship with the intelligence agency, Miss Steinem said.

Ironically, she said, many of the students who attended the

festivals have been criticized as leftists. The festivals are supposed to be financed by contributions from national student unions, but are, in fact, largely supported by the Soviet Union.

Miss Steinem said she had become convinced that American students should participate in the World Youth Festivals after she spent two years in India.

"I came home in 1958 full of idealism and activism, to discover that very little was being done," she said. "Students were not taken seriously here before the civil rights movement, and private money reelected at the mention of a Communist youth festival."

Hears of Funds

Miss Steinem said she had talked to some former officers of the National Student Association, who told her C.I.A. money might be available to finance American participation in the seventh postwar festival, scheduled for Vienna in the summer of 1959.

The former association officers had had ties with the C.I.A. while serving the association, which last week conceded it had taken money from the intelligence agency since

1952.

"Far from being shocked by this involvement, I was happy to find some liberals in government in those days who were far-sighted and cared enough to get Americans of all political views to the festival," Miss Steinem said. She noted that most Americans who had attended various festivals were sympathetic to Communist policies.

The Independence Research Service, originally called the Independent Service for Information on the Vienna Festival, was organized with headquarters in Cambridge, Mass. It concentrated, Miss Steinem said, on disseminating information about the festival and urging young persons who espoused flexible, but non-Communist, foreign policy views to attend.

Miss Steinem was a full-time employe of the service till following the Helsinki festival in 1962.

About 130 youths who had made contact with the foundation did attend, although few of them received significant financial help, Miss Steinem said.

Recruits for Festival

Before the Helsinki festival in 1962 the foundation again recruited young teachers, lawyers, scholars, linguists and journalists—most of whom would consider themselves very liberal Democrats—to attend.

The Independent Service financed a newspaper, a new bureau, cultural exhibits and two jazz clubs during the festival. However, its most important work was to convince youths from Asia, Africa and Latin America that some Americans understood their aspirations for national self-determination, Miss Steinem said.

Miss Steinem insisted that the C.I.A. had never tried to alter the policy of the foundation.

"I was never asked to report on other Americans or assess foreign nationals I had met," she said.

Miss Steinem noted that since the foundation was started in "the post-McCarthy era" the Federal Government could not openly finance the foundation. Overt government support would also have "alienated" youths from other countries who were suspicious of the United States, she said.

"The C.I.A.'s big mistake was not supplanting itself with private funds fast enough," she observed.

The Independent Research Service, the other New York based organization that received funds from the CIA-connected Independence Foundation of Boston, has existed almost solely to finance the sending of delegations of American students and intellectuals to Communist-sponsored international youth festivals.

The organization was founded in 1958 by Paul Sigmund, now a professor at Princeton, and Gloria Steinem, a New York journalist, just before the Vienna Youth Festival of 1959.

—NEW YORK TIMES, February 16, 1967

unsuccessful. We were unable to verify its existence, let alone discover its contents or for whom it was published.

Steinem said in a 2/21/67 interview in the *New York Times* that after spending two years in India she had become convinced American students should participate in the World Youth Festivals. She talked to some former NSA officers who told her CIA money might be available to finance American participation in the upcoming Vienna Youth Festival. "Far from being shocked by this involvement, I was happy to find some liberals in government in those days who were farsighted and cared enough to get Americans of all political views to the Festival." She added that the group urged people with flexible, but non-communist views to attend. She did not explain what had convinced her to take an interest in the festivals in the first place, who put her in contact with the ex-NSA people who were complicit about the CIA funds or why they trusted her with then secret information on CIA financing of domestic groups.

In the *New York Times* interview Steinem was described as a fulltime Independent Research Service employe in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1959 until after the Helsinki Youth Festival in 1962. She gave a distorted picture of her activities, however. She said the Independent Research Service concentrated on disseminating information about the festivals and urging non-Communists to go. Steinem said that most of the U.S. students sent to the festival did not know about the relationship with the intelligence agency. (The official line was that backing was provided by prominent Boston businessmen.) According to Steinem, all the group did at the two festivals was establish a newspaper, news bureau, cultural exhibits and jazz clubs. Its most important work, she said, was convincing youths from Asia, Africa and Latin America that there were some Americans who understood and cared about their situation. Steinem emphasized, "I was never asked to report on other Americans or assess foreign nationals I had met."

This is a serious lie.

The *Report on the Vienna Youth Festival*, published with her name on it as Director of the Independent Research Service, contains 13 pages devoted solely to biographies, political affiliations, and even pseudo-political analyses of individuals from all the countries participating in the festival (see box).

SUPPLEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION:

NOTES ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL

This report on the Vienna Youth Festival has been compiled from information given out by the Festival's organizers, from articles in the international press, from reports of Austrian and other student and youth groups present in Vienna, and from the personal observations of Festival participants. The Independent Research Service, a privately-supported educational foundation which provides research on international subjects of interest to youth and students, has published this report in English, French, and Spanish in the hope that it will be useful both as a research document in future studies of the Communist youth movement and as an aid to groups and individuals deciding their attitude toward future festivals.

•••

Thus far, the organization, aims, and techniques of the Eighth Festival seem to be identical with those of its predecessors. In the light of these developments, it is perhaps even more necessary that those individuals and groups debating attendance in Helsinki examine closely the case history of the Festival in Vienna.

September, 1961
New York, New York

APPENDIX II

**The following are excerpts from a Research Release Published By
International News Bureau, Vienna:*

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON FESTIVAL PERSONALITIES

A major effort has been made by the sponsors of the Seventh Youth Festival to make the event appear non-partisan. As evidence, the sponsors often have pointed to individuals outside the Soviet orbit who have endorsed the Festival, maintaining that the Festival staff is international and representative of all political tendencies.

The following list of individuals associated with the Festival's organization — often very much in the background — would seem to indicate a far greater communist control of this event than the sponsors wish to admit. This list has been compiled from Festival documents and careful research by those who have observed the organizers in action.

...
[REDACTED] — Italy. A WFDY vice-president since March, 1958, [REDACTED] has worked on the PC in Vienna since April of that year. He was initially named Treasurer but later was replaced in this position by [REDACTED], an Italian communist. [REDACTED] was also one of the leaders of the Italian delegation to the Moscow Festival. In actively working on the PC, he is ignoring the directive of the Italian (Nenni) Socialist Party of which he is a member, which requests that there be no official participation in the Vienna Festival. [REDACTED] PSI membership has been cited in the Festival journals as proof of the non-partisan character of the event. (Ed's note: Since the Festival, the PSI youth disaffiliated from WFDY.)

...
[REDACTED] — Italy. Another PSI member who is violating the party's request against official Festival participation, [REDACTED] has been a member of the PC since October 1958 when he replaced Bahomonde of Chile.

...
[REDACTED] — Niger. A non-communist and representative of the French West African Council of African Youth (CJA) [REDACTED] apparently is an individual who sees the Festival as an opportunity to contact youth in the communist countries. As a Catholic and non-communist, he often has been asked to sign Festival correspondence and act as a Festival spokesman. Through this use of his name, the communists have successfully used the reputation of the genuinely neutral CJA to imply that a major responsibility for Festival organization rests with CJA and [REDACTED].

This is just a small sampling of the 82 individuals listed, researched, and assessed in this appendix. Names of individuals have been blocked out by Redstockings.

Redstockings

"I was never asked to report on Americans or assess foreign nationals I had met."

— Gloria Steinem, *New York Times*, February 21, 1967

Director:

GLORIA M. STEINEM

Executive Officers:

DR. PAUL E. SIGMUND, JR.

LEONARD N. BEBCHICK

▲
← from *Report on the Vienna Youth Festival*,
Independent Research Service, 1961,
▼

[REDACTED] — China. Publicly active in communist youth affairs since 1949, the 35-year-old [REDACTED] came to Budapest in the fall of 1956 to work in WFDY headquarters, where he was to head the WFDY Asian-African Commission. He, too, participated in the organization of the PC while attending the Stockholm meeting and has lately been working with the PC in Vienna.

...
[REDACTED] — Federal German Republic. A member of the Socialist Party of Western Germany (which has asked its members not to be official Festival participants), [REDACTED] has been working on the PC since early 1959 as a member of the publications board and as the person in charge of Western European affairs. In the latter role he has traveled in Western Germany to stimulate participation. His efforts have been largely unsuccessful on the representative youth group level, since nearly all such German groups have boycotted the Festival in solidarity with the Austrian organizations.

...
[REDACTED] — Argentina. A well-known Festival personality — perhaps because he maintains he is an anarchist rather than a communist and hence appears more respectable — [REDACTED] is chairman of the Student Commission of the PC of which the Bulgarian, [REDACTED], is secretary. [REDACTED] has been active in the Festival from the start and has traveled widely in its support.

...
[REDACTED] — Argentina. [REDACTED] is a member of the Radical Intransigent Youth of Argentina and has worked on the PC since April 1958. Festival publicity has given much attention to the fact that Argentine President Frondizi also is a member of the Radical Intransigent Party. It has not mentioned another significant fact — that in late May the government of Frondizi closed the office of the Argentine National Festival Committee under a decree which bans all communist activity in Argentina.

...
[REDACTED] — United States. As chairman of the United States Festival Committee, [REDACTED] has been working on the PC, both in Vienna and in the U.S., since June 1959. He has been head of the Marxist Discussion Club of the City College of New York.

...
[REDACTED] — As an important functionary of the small Communist-front Union of Democratic Women of Austria she has been playing an active role in the Austrian Communist Party's preparations for the Festival.

DIRTY TRICKS IN THE U.S. STUDENT MOVEMENT

EXERPTS FROM A REDSTOCKINGS UPDATE

The past: Gloria Steinem and the student movement

The "Independent" Research Service was, as we have seen, dependent on the CIA. . . .

The CIA was piqued that the Communists "dared to hold their World Youth Festival outside the Iron Curtain," as Deputy Director C.P. Cabell, put it (*Congressional Record*, 9/9/59, p. 18861).

Independent was set up to organize and coach a group of students for what it termed unofficial or "nonrepresentative" action at the Festival. At the same time, according to a statement of purpose in the *Congressional Record* (3/10/59), it was promoting an official boycott of the Festival by student groups in Western countries, including the U.S. Among other programs, this unofficial action involved infiltrating and countering the American organization that had arranged with the Festival's sponsors to send a delegation.

With Independent footing the bill for

many students' summer trips to Europe, it was able to "pack" the American delegation (As *Newsweek* put it, 7/6/59) creating a secretly CIA-subsidized "majority" by which to attack the delegation and the Festival in the name of "democratic procedures." (The splits and other disputes led by this "majority" filled newspaper accounts of the Festival.) . . .

In the 1967 *Washington Post* and *New York Times* interviews in which Steinem defended her work with the CIA, she gave a distorted picture of what was going on. (She would repeat these distortions in essentially the same forms in her statement in response to Redstockings in 1975.) It is a picture that could have been quickly dispelled by looking at the news clippings from five and eight years before with the new knowledge that the CIA was subsidizing the actions and events they were describing. (To our knowledge, none

of the reporters who interviewed Steinem at the time the story broke did this.)

Steinem presented the CIA as "liberal" and "farsighted." She left the impression that her group and the CIA were resisting McCarthy era forces against participation in the World Youth Festivals and representing the "diversity" of American youth at the Festivals.

She failed to remind people whose memories might be boggled by former propaganda and shockingly new information that, as observed earlier, the CIA's goal was to drive the Festivals back "behind the Iron Curtain," if not eliminate them completely; that the nature of the "participation" her group was subsidizing was of an adversary kind; and that Independent was actually promoting a boycott of the Festivals that was designed to *prevent* diversity at the Festival of an official, open kind.

REDSTOCKINGS of the WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT
P.O. Box 1284, Stuyvesant Station
New York, New York 10009

This is just the tip of the iceberg, however, since this section of the *Report* is described as "excerpts" from a longer listing published by the International News Bureau in Vienna. Although we cannot be sure, it seems reasonable to assume that this is the same "news bureau" referred to by Steinem in the *Times* article as one of the creations of the Independent Research Service. The section states, "This list has been compiled from Festival documents and careful research by those who have observed the organizers in action."

Another function of the Independent Research Service seems to have been lying about who did what in Vienna. A comparison of what Steinem said in the *Times* article with the Independent Research Service publication reveals this. All the activities detailed by Steinem in the *Times* as having been set up by the Service—the various news and cultural presentations—are attributed in the Festival *Report* to local Viennese youth, as proof of their opposition to the Festival. As summed up by the Service: "... the Austrians, the many foreign students studying in Austria and the several international youth and student organizations with offices there offered delegates discussions and diversions which amounted to a free and diversified second Festival."

After dishonestly covering up the CIA control and funding of these activities, the Independent Research Service goes on to use its own supposed spontaneity and

independence to criticize planned Festival activities: "Though small and spontaneous compared with the IPC's (the Festival's International Preparatory Committee) mammoth and carefully planned affair, its freedom impressed many delegates more than the Communist-style Peace and Friendship for which they had been brought."

Similar "spontaneous" activities marked the 1962 World Youth Festival attended by the Independent Research Service in Helsinki. In addition to news and cultural events this Festival was marked by four nights of "spontaneous" rioting against the Festival during which 40 people were arrested. *Newsweek*, in its 8/13/62 issue remarked incredulously that "Pravda, of course, blamed the disturbances on well-financed CIA and FBI agents. . . ."

In its efforts to represent "America" abroad—or at least to represent certain American interests—Independent Research Service activities were inextricably intertwined with the U.S. domestic political situation. One example is the group's publication in 1959 of a pamphlet called *A Review of Negro Segregation in the United States* (Steinem's name again appears on the inside cover, this time as Co-Director).

This pamphlet, written before many bloody years of the recent civil rights movement, concentrates on all the supposed advancements of black people in America. To quote, "... beyond the noisy clamor of those who would

Photo and caption from A Review of Negro Segregation in the United States published by the Independent Research Service in 1959. No author designated but Steinem and Bebachick listed as co-directors.



That gala American spectacle, the "Beauty Contests," now segregates only according to beauty: the prettiest girl wins.

All pamphlets referred to published by the Independent Research Service (and Independent Service for Information on the Vienna Youth Festival) are available in the Library of Congress and the Harvard University libraries.

obstruct justice and fair play, no alert observer can be unaware of the concerted effort to rule out segregation from every aspect of American life (p. 45). "The group concedes that some discrimination still does occur. This is because "... it is also self-perpetuating, in that the rejected group, through continued deprivation, is hardened in the very shortcomings, whether real or imaginary, that are given as the reasons for discrimination in the first place" (p.2). In other words, it continues not because of white interests and continuing violence and oppression, but because blacks actually have become inferior. For example, low voter registration among Southern blacks did not occur because they were fired from their jobs, kept off voter registration lists in various ways, even killed, but because "... in many areas of the South there exists a profound apathy among Negroes toward this paramount responsibility of good citizenship" (p. 22). (This denial of black oppression has an ideological parallel in *Ms.* magazine's rationale to explain away the continued oppression of women. The problem, they say, is that women have become inferior and apathetic.)

The Independent Research Service did not cease its operations after the Helsinki Youth Festival. In 1965, it was planning activities for the upcoming Youth Festival to be held in Algeria (later cancelled by the Algerian government). A college friend of one Redstocking told her that while a student that year he had visited the Independent Research Service offices asking to go to the Algerian festival. While there, one of the Independent Research staff members working in the office told him of hiring goons to disrupt the festival. "Of course, it may have been a joke," said her friend.

The subsequent activities of the Independent Research Service and its original officers are not always easy to trace but certain patterns do emerge. Leonard Bebchick, who had been an international affairs vice president of the NSA in 1953 before working for the Independent Research Service, went on to become a Washington lawyer who practiced before the Civil Aeronautics Board. But his association with the CIA had not ended. In 1965 he surfaced again as the person who arranged for the NSA's free 15-year lease on a capitol headquarters—paid for by the CIA via the earlier mentioned Independence Foundation (*The New Republic*, 3/4/67). Paul Sigmund, the other Executive Officer, left his teaching post at Harvard, where former students remember him for his part in opposing anti-war activities on campus, and became an Assistant Professor of Politics at Princeton. He has since published books on revolutionary ideologies in the Third World. His publisher, Praeger Books, was also exposed in 1967 as a recipient of CIA money. Steinem was still serving on the Independent Research Board of Directors until at least 1969, well after she had begun her journalism career.

The Independent Research Service was to come to public attention one more time. In 1967 it had been described by the *New York Times* as "largely inactive." But in 1968, while Steinem was still a director, it continued its attempts to surreptitiously influence the politics of international youth movements. *Ramparts* again broke the story in its September 1968 issue. Another World Youth

Festival was being planned, this time in Sofia, Bulgaria. Some letters, leaked from the files of a Norwegian anti-communist youth group, revealed that negotiations between that group—the Norwegian Young Socialist League—and two CIA fronts—the Independent Research Service and the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs—were underway to finance activities at the Sofia festival. The letters further revealed that the FYSA and the Independent Research Service had been funneling about \$50,000 per year of CIA money to the anti-communist International Union of Socialist Youth (of which the Norwegian group was an affiliate) each year since 1957. With the publication of the Norwegian letters and the scandal they caused throughout Europe, all CIA plans for the Sofia festival had to be dropped.

A year later, in 1969-70, Gloria Steinem first began to publicly identify herself with the women's liberation movement. At this time also there was a change in the biographical information given in *Who's Who in America* (*Who's Who* sends data sheets to the subjects to furnish their own material). The 1968-69 edition, the earliest one in which she appeared, listed her as "Director, educational foundation, Independent Research Service, Cambridge, Mass., N.Y.C., 1959-62, now member Board of Directors, Washington." In 1970 this was shortened to "Director, educational foundation, Independent Research Service, Cambridge, Mass., N.Y.C., 1959-60." Not only was her previous term of employment shortened to one year, but there was no mention of the much later Board of Directors association. The listing appears in its shortened version in each successive edition of *Who's Who* up to the present.

This was not Steinem's only attempt at rewriting history. A biographical blurb in the June 1973 issue of *Ms.* magazine itself, for example, goes even further, stating: "Gloria Steinem has been a free-lance writer all her professional life ... *Ms.* magazine is her first full-time, salaried job."

Some ex-CIA agents and associates have complained that their past involvement with the Agency made it difficult for them to find work afterwards. This was not the case with Steinem. Her career skyrocketed a year after the 1967 exposures. Much of the credit for this must go to Clay Felker, publisher of *New York* magazine. Recently in the news for his acquisition of the *Village Voice*, Felker immediately fired its two remaining founders from their jobs as publisher and editor. Included in this section of the journal is an article, "*Ms.* Politics and Editing: An Interview" which quotes from an interview with two Redstockings critical of *Ms.* magazine. It was part of an article assigned by the old *Voice* and bought but never printed by Felker's *Voice*.

Felker was Steinem's editor at *Esquire*, where her first free-lance pieces were published. Felker hired her as contributing editor to *New York* magazine in 1968 and booked publicity spots for her on radio and television talk shows. Felker put up the money for the Preview issue of *Ms.* in January, 1972, a large part of which appeared as a supplement to the 1971 year end issue of *New York* magazine. In effect, it was Felker who made Steinem famous by giving her a platform from which to establish her

Ms., February 1973

Who's Who in America, 1968-69

STEINEM, Gloria, writer; b. Toledo, Mar. 25, 1936; d. Leo and Ruth (Nuneviller) Steinem; B.A. in Govt. magna cum laude Smith Coll., 1956; postgrad. (Chester Bowles Asian fellow), U. Delhi, U. Calcutta (India), 1956-58. Dir. ednl. found. Ind. Research Service, Cambridge, Mass., N.Y.C., 1959-62, now mem. bd. dirs., Washington; writer various publs. including *Esquire*, *Life*, *Harper's*, *Vogue*, *Glamour*, *N.Y. Times*, *McCall's*, *Ladies Home Jour.*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Show*, 1961—; TV writer weekly show *That Was the Week That Was*, NBC, N.Y. City, 1964-65; contributing editor *Glamour* mag., 1962—. Editorial cons. *Curtis Pub.*, N.Y.C., 1964-65, *Condé Nast Publs.*, N.Y.C., 1962—. Active Student Non-Violent Coordinating Com.; mem. *Citizens for Stevenson*, 1956, *Volts. for Kennedy*, 1960. Mem. *Author's Guild*, *Author's League Am.*, *Writer's Guild Am.*, *Nat. Acad. Television Arts and Scis.*, *Phi Beta Kappa*. Author: *The Thousand Indias*, 1957; *The Beach Book*, 1963. Address: care Sterling Lord Agy., 75 E. 55th St., N.Y.C. -10022.

In the above photostat of the 1968-69 edition of Who's Who in America Steinem lists herself as Director of educational foundation Independent Research Service, Cambridge, Mass., N.Y.C., 1959-62, now member of Board of Directors in Washington. This is the first year that Steinem is listed in Who's Who. In all later editions of Who's Who, her period of employment with the CIA-financed Service is reduced to one year, 1959-60, and the board of directorship in Washington is never again mentioned. Below is a photostat from one of the editions.

Who's Who in America, 1973-74

STEINEM, GLORIA, writer; b. Toledo, Mar. 25 1936; d. Leo and Ruth (Nuneviller) Steinem; B.A. in Govt. magna cum laude, Smith Coll., 1956; postgrad. (Chester Bowles Asian fellow), U. Delhi, U. Calcutta (India), 1956-68. Dir. ednl. found. Inc. Research Service, Cambridge, Mass., N.Y.C., 1959-60; writer various publs. including *Esquire*, *Life*, *Harper's*, *Vogue*, *Glamour*, *N.Y. Times*, *McCall's*, *Ladies Home Jour.*, *Show*, 1961—, *Look* mag., 1968-70. TV writer weekly show *That Was the Week That Was*, NBC, N.Y.C., 1964-65; contbg. editor *N.Y. mag.*, 1968—; editor *Ms. mag.*, 1972—. Editorial cons. *Curtis Pub.*, N.Y.C., 1964-65, *Conde Nast Publs.*, N.Y.C., 1962—. Active Student Non-Violent Coordinating Com.; women's liberation. Mem. *Citizens for Stevenson*, 1956, *Volts. for Kennedy*, 1960. Mem. *Author's Guild*, *Author's League Am.*, *Writer's Guild Am.*, *Nat. Acad. Television Arts and Scis.*, *P.E.N.*, *Phi Beta Kappa*. Author: *The Thousand Indias*, 1957; *The Beach Book*, 1963. Address: care Sterling Lord Agy 660 Madison Av New York City NY 10021

U. S. POSTAL SERVICE STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION (ACT OF AUGUST 12, 1970: SECTION 3685, TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE)

1. Title of publication: Ms. Magazine
2. Date of filing: November 6, 1972
3. Frequency of issue: Monthly
4. Location of known office of publication: 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017
5. Location of the headquarters of the publishers: 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher: Patricia Carbine, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Editor: Gloria Steinem, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Managing Editor: Suzanne Levine, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017
7. Owner: Ms. Magazine Corporation, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Stockholders: Gloria Steinem, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Patricia Carbine, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Katharine Graham, 1150 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Forsling Harris, 40 Central Park South, N.Y., N.Y.; The PST Group, Inc., 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Warner Communications, Inc., 909 Third Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10022
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state) None.
9. For optional completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 32.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626.

Patricia Carbine, Publisher

10. Not Applicable	
11. Extent and Nature of Circulation	Actual Number of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)	513,563
B. Paid Circulation	
1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	234,328
2. Mail Subscriptions	148,755
C. Total Paid Circulation	383,083
D. Free Distribution by mail carrier or other means	
1. Samples, complimentary and other free copies	650
2. Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold	123,972
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	507,705
F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing	5,858
G. TOTAL (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)	513,563
I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.	
Patricia Carbine, Publisher	

women's liberation credentials. These facts are all part of the public record. What has not been widely known up to this time are the earlier political roots of the Steinem/Felker collaboration. Felker was with Steinem at the Helsinki Youth Festival, editing the English language newspaper put out by the CIA-financed delegation. A New York designer, Sam Antupit was one participant in the delegation who worked with Felker there and did not know about the CIA financing. He remembered Felker as knowing everything that was going on and walking around with an air of great importance. A New York journalist reported hearing a close friend of Felker say that Felker, upon returning to this country, was given a special audience with President Kennedy in recognition of the work he had done for the government.

**THE PRESENT:
GLORIA STEINEM AND MS.**

Financing Ms.

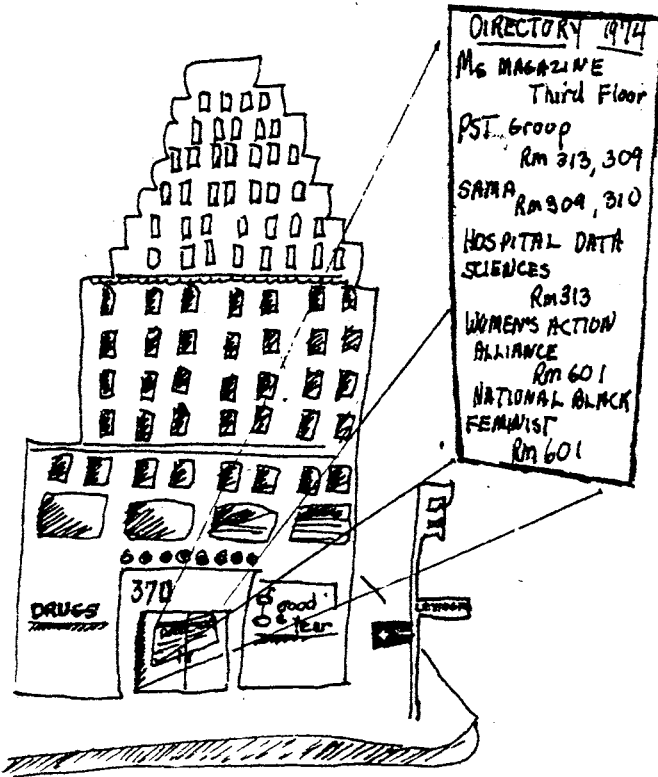
The CIA's big mistake was not supplanting itself with private funds fast enough.
— Gloria Steinem, *New York Times*
February 21, 1967

In a recent television appearance Pat Carbine, formerly editor of *McCall's* when that magazine named Gloria

Steinem "Woman of the Year" for 1972, and now publisher of *Ms.*, remarked that the women's movement was currently in "Phase Two." The radicals had a part to play in getting things started, she explained, but the moderates were now in control. To the extent that this is true it represents the decision of the American establishment—the people in a position to choose who gets access to the press and the airwaves, who gets hired to the token women's jobs, who gets funding for their projects. In the case of *Ms.* there are two major sources of financing that we know of in addition to the help which was provided by Clay Felker.

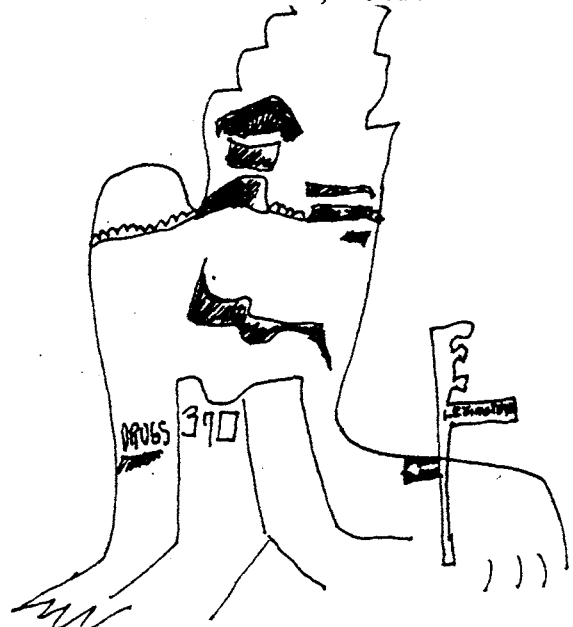
The first source was Katharine Graham, publisher-owner of the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*, who bought \$20,000 worth of stock before the first issue of *Ms.* was published. Graham was recently featured on *Ms.*'s cover as "the most powerful woman in America" (10/74). It may be more than coincidental that *Newsweek* was also the most enthusiastic mass circulation magazine promoting the Independent Research Service (see articles of 7/6/59, 8/10/59, 7/30/62 and 8/13/62) and later Gloria Steinem individually (see early article of 5/10/65 and cover story of 8/16/71).

The other major source of funds was Warner Communications, Inc., which purchased \$1 million worth of stock after the preview issue of *Ms.* appeared. They took only 25% of the stock, though putting up virtually all the money. The *Ms.* editors acknowledged this was a little strange: "We are especially impressed they took the unusual



I'm just a building....

* We have since learned that the Grahams' Washington Post Co. did not own *Newsweek* until March 20, 1961.



Or am I just a building?

position of becoming the major investor, but minority stockholder; thus providing all the money without demanding the decision vote in return." (*Ms. Reader*, p. 266).

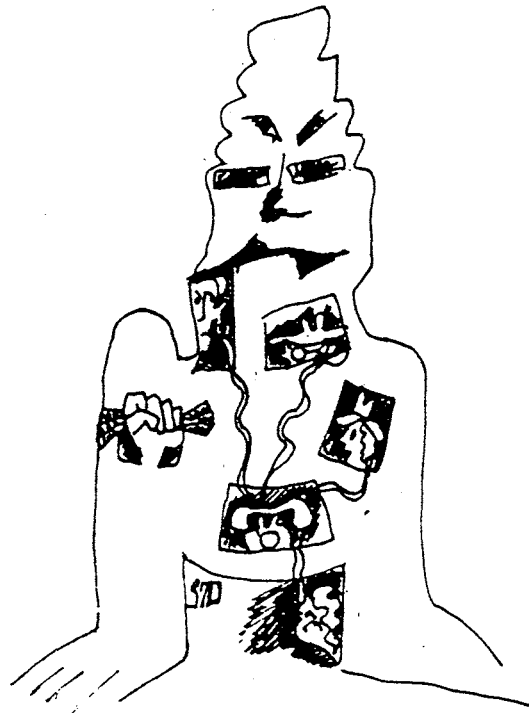
Warner's chief executive officer, Steven J. Ross, started off in the funeral business and then went on to National Kinney Services which eventually merged with Warner. Warner Communications is now the owner of Warner Brothers movies and records and has large holdings in cable television, publishing, building maintenance and construction, parking lots and other companies. What possible interest could this mammoth conglomerate have in women's liberation that would lead them to such unbusiness-like terms—relinquishing a controlling interest for \$1 million worth of stock? William Sarnoff, chairman of the Warner publishing group, was quoted in a *New York* magazine article of 6/26/72 as saying, "We have every confidence that the magazine will be financially successful, and we support the philosophy reflected in the editorial viewpoints."

Warner is also the owner of National Periodical Publications, which publishes Wonder Woman comic books. Warner bought into *Ms.* in May 1972. In July 1972 the first

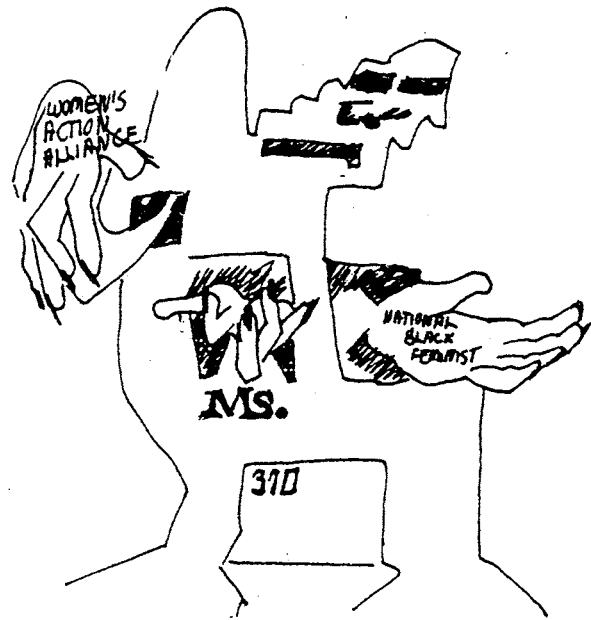
regular issue of *Ms.* appeared on the stands featuring a cover story on Wonder Woman as feminist heroine by a *Ms.* founder, Joanne Edgar. The story announced that Wonder Woman comic books, having been in a decline since the 1940's, would be reborn in 1973 with a new woman editor. The following January *Ms.* announced in a report to its readers that the magazine would be publishing a book on Wonder Woman: "It is the first *Ms.* book. (In fact, we hadn't planned to do one so soon; it just grew out of reader queries about how to find these comics of the 1940's, when Wonder Woman was in her Golden Age)."

This reveals how dishonest *Ms.* is with its readers. But it must also be seen as an area in which commercial interests and politics coincide. Wonder Woman, after all, was an army intelligence officer (*Ms.*, July 1972, p. 52) working "For America, the last citadel of democracy, and of equal rights for women." In her 1973 form she was to become more of a pacifist, a general line pushed by *Ms.* in talking about women's "cultural superiority." In both her old and new forms Wonder Woman's guiding motive is "Patriotism," i.e., protecting the interests of the American powers-that-be.

Wonder Woman also reflects the anti-people attitude of



Well, I just might be
harbouring
some
dedicated,
skillful,
industrious,....



Monied,
Literary,
Glamorous,
People with
Connections

the "liberal feminists" and matriarchists who look to mythical and supernatural heroines and "models" while ignoring or denigrating the real achievements and struggles of down-to-earth women. It leads to the "liberated woman," individualist line that denies the need for a movement, and implies that when women don't make it, it's their own fault.

Warner produced a television movie about Wonder Woman which was shown twice in 1974. In that movie Diana Prince, the Amazon Princess, was brought from her matriarchal Paradise Island to safeguard patriarchal civilization by rescuing an international network of (male)

Learning the true facts of Gloria Steinem's background is difficult despite many public biographies available. Most stories detail her childhood in the slums of Toledo, complete with rat bites and a fatherless home, then a rise out of poverty to Smith College and Phi Beta Kappa. One is left with the impression of a woman who made it to the top against tremendous odds without losing her basic identification with poor people. Contrast the following quotes:

From Gloria Steinem:

My family was the poorest on the block. My house had rats. My childhood was similar to that of Augie March. (*ESQUIRE*, 10/71)

We were poor-people fat, because we could only afford starches. (*NEW YORK POST*, 1/8/72)

From her mother, Ruth Steinem:

People write the darndest things about us in the papers. They say we were nomads and that we lived in a slum. None of it is true. . . . They say that Leo and I were divorced when Gloria was 11; what they don't say is that we remarried two years later. . . . A rat did bite her. One bit me, too. But we didn't have a rat-infested house. The building behind us was torn down, and I didn't know that rats rush out of falling buildings.

Mrs. Steinem was then asked how she thought all these misleading things got into print. "Oh! Gloria likes a good story, just the way I do," she said. (*NEW YORK TIMES*, 5/2/72)

Gloria Steinem has been a free-lance writer all her professional life. . . . *MS.* magazine is her first full-time, salaried job. —(*MS.* 6/73)

Miss Steinem was a full-time employe of the service until following the Helsinki festival in 1962. —*NEW YORK TIMES*, (2/21/67)

spies from a plot against their lives. (In the course of researching this article, we noticed a pattern of alliances of matriarchists with the ruling elite. Elizabeth Gould Davis, for example, author of the matriarchists' bible *The First Sex*, was the sister of ITT lobbyist Dita Beard who spent a long time in the hospital after the discovery of an internal memo she wrote detailing a payoff to the Nixon administration in return for dropping anti-trust charges against ITT. Davis herself was a Navy Intelligence officer for six years and later an "abstracter and bibliographer for the federal government in Washington." Which branch of the government is left unspecified in her biographies. See, for example, her letter to *Prime Time*, September 1974.)

Ms. characteristically ignores what it sees as the "ordinary woman," thus working against the development of a truly mass women's movement. This is a selling point that *Ms.* uses to attract advertisers. From a *Ms.* ad in the *New York Times* of 3/19/74: "... (a standard market survey) shows the *Ms.* audience of 1,400,000 as having the best educations, living in higher income households, holding more managerial/professional jobs than any other woman's magazine readers, and 54% of them are between 18 and 34."

Ms.'s advertising policies are important as an indicator of the magazine's financial and political backing, especially in view of the frequently articulated *Ms.* policy of being selective in which ads will be accepted. Because of this policy an ad in *Ms.* amounts to an endorsement. Generally speaking, "traditional" women's advertising (cosmetics, fashion, etc.) does not appear very often and blatantly sexist ads for any kind of product are turned away. However, public relations and job recruitment ads for large corporations are viewed more kindly. One of *Ms.*'s most regular advertisers is International Telephone and Telegraph. Also appearing with nonproduct advertising have been Ortho Pharmaceuticals, Exxon Oil, Chemical Bank, Bell Telephone, Singer Aerospace, Shearson-Hamill stockbrokers, Gulf and Western Oil and Merrill-Lynch stockbrokers.

Ms. runs a special "Human Development" section every month which consists of advertisements for careers with companies like these. In September 1973 a letter from Amy Swerdlow of Women Strike for Peace questioned what recruiting women for ITT had to do with human development. "Let's have a *Ms.* story on all ITT activities around the world. Then let the reader decide what talented women will find at ITT headquarters," she wrote. The *Ms.* editors replied that they could not be too selective about job ads in view of all the women who are unemployed or on welfare. This would seem to be a very thin explanation if one thinks about the likelihood of welfare mothers being hired for ITT careers. Anyway, *Ms.*'s advertising pitch makes clear that these are not the women who will be reading the magazine and its "Human Development" section.

Ms. has also had some help from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting which provided a grant for the *Ms.* television special "Woman Alive." The program was produced by KERA-TV (Dallas/Fort Worth). The filming of

"Woman Alive" illustrated the conflict over whether *Ms.* is a political or a commercial enterprise. For example, a *New York Times* article about the program (6/16/74) stated, "Anonymity for the *Ms.* staff (Steinem is named, but not identified with the magazine) was also encouraged by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, where it was feared that mention of *Ms.* in any way other than the final shared credit with KERA-TV would constitute an endorsement for a commercial product."

This conflict over whether *Ms.* is a commercial or a political venture has caused a lot of people confusion. It has led women to submit political information about themselves which they would not have sent a magazine publishing simply for profit. It has been used to explain *Ms.*'s lack of a mass readership. It has been used to explain their limited advertising pages—though *Ms.* does go out of its way to solicit advertising. It has led women writers to expect better treatment from *Ms.* than from other magazines, when in fact the treatment has often been worse (see quotes from *Village Voice* interview.)

In addition to these groups, there is another operation with a financial link to *Ms.* magazine. The annual U.S. Postal Service Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation of *Ms.* lists a further stockholder, the PST Group, Inc. We were able to find only sketchy information about this organization. PST stands for Phillips Stewart Turner Associates and, until this year, was listed in the Manhattan Yellow Pages under "Data Processing Services" and "Marketing Consultants." We found no listing of this group in standard references such as the Consultants and Consulting Organizations Directory, the Datamation Industry Directory, the Official Directory of Data Processing or Who's Who in Consulting. We did find one short *New York Times* article of 11/9/69 stating that Phillips Stewart Turner had introduced a program for translating the computer language BASIC into FORTRAN.

The PST offices until recently were located on the 3rd floor of 370 Lexington Avenue in New York City, down the corridor from the offices of *Ms.* (They are now on the 22nd floor.) Although its offices were at that time listed in the building's lobby directory under the name of the PST Group, Inc., upstairs the names on the doors were "Hospital Data Services" and "SAMA, Process Measurement Control Section." (Phone numbers are the same, ruling out the possibility that these are just new tenants.) SAMA, we have learned, stands for Scientific Apparatus Makers Association. It is a Washington-based organization, according to the 1973 Encyclopedia of Associations, of "Manufacturers and distributors of industrial, optical, nuclear recorder-controller instruments, scientific apparatus and laboratory equipment. Encourages research and develops product standards, compiles industry statistics. Conducts market research and sales promotion; carries out government relations activities."

We are wondering whether all this curious financing is connected to the lesson Gloria Steinem said she learned in 1967: "The CIA's big mistake was not supplanting itself with private funds fast enough." The *Ms.* editors should come forward with more information about their unusual stockholders.

Corporate Interests & Ms. Ideology

As a minimum interpretation, *Ms.* owes its existence to the highest ranks of corporate America. But one could still question whether financial support implies political influence. To answer that question would require a detailed political analysis of *Ms.* contents which is beyond the scope of this article. However, some lines of inquiry can be suggested. Why would *Ms.* do a whole issue (June '73) on women and money and never mention the effects, let alone the causes, of the economic crisis which has been devastating women's household budgets and employment chances—instead substituting such articles as "How the Small (Very Small) Investor Can Make the System Work for Her (For a Change)" or "People's Money Hang-ups"? Why is Clairol the enemy, but not also ITT?

Phase Two of the women's movement, as described by Pat Carbine and exemplified in *Ms.* magazine, seeks to cover up the historic connection between feminism and radicalism. In order to avoid the latter it must distort the former beyond all recognition. Why is it *Ms.* publishes no

For years the United States National Student Association has stood for "a free university in a free society." . . . Yet because of NSA's relationship to the CIA, its leaders have for 15 years undermined those principles. . . .

Those of us who worked for NSA during 1965-66, experienced an unusual sense of personal liberation. While actively involved in many of the insurgent campus and political movements of the day, we were also able to move freely through the highest echelons of established power. If those who occupied the command posts didn't always sympathize with our goals, they listened nonetheless and were sometimes affected. We felt like full citizens, able to move freely without compromising our principles. It gave us a heady feeling and a sense of power beyond our years.

The mobility and influence was as it should be for a national union of students: to learn that it had been bought with so terrible a compromise made me realize how impotent we really were.

— Michael Wood
RAMPARTS, March, 1967

Steinem and Sloan spoke to an over-flow crowd in the gym at the College of Marin. . . . What they said was actually not as important to me as how they said it and the role model they were. They didn't really tell me anything new, but they showed me something I've never seen before. . . . What we all did, it appears, was to SOAK UP POWER. Literally, like sponges, we saw, we drank the power in and we functioned; IMMEDIATELY with that power.

— Marin County WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER,
February, 1973

Ms. is compiling profiles of men who are supportive of women and the Women's Movement, and whose work, energy, philosophy, and lifestyles are helping to change American politics, arts, industry, business, technology, education, marriage, and child-rearing. If you know of such an activist man in your community, we'd like to hear from you. Write to: *Unsung Heroes*, *Ms. Magazine*, 370 Lexington Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017.

Ms. Classified, May, 1975

The foundation money which supports the Women's Action Alliance is particularly interesting in view of the lack of funding feminist groups with large grass roots membership have faced. The following information taken from *Do It Now*, the July/August 1975 newsletter of the National Organization for Women is a case in point:

"Lest you think it has been all dismal, let me cite a few hard facts for you. In 1973 our income was \$283,578. \$252,707 of this came from member dues (about 28,000 members at an average of 49.00 each). We received a little income from contributions (\$18,626) and some from other sources such as NOW publications, interest, etc. (\$15,245).

In 1974 (remember—the worst recession in decades) our dues income *increased* to \$418,850—about 46,500 members at a \$9.00 average—and our contributions increased 478% to \$89,195. With other income of \$12,951, our total income in 1974 was 520,996—almost double 1973!

... So many NOW Members have helped support the Fund (the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund) during our long, frustrating search for the foundation money essential to establishing a litigation office that we want you to know that our hopes may be realized by the end of this year or the beginning of next. The Ford Foundation has taken the first steps toward providing NOW LDEF with a challenge grant for our Women's Advocacy Project. The grant depends on matching funds from NOW and elsewhere. This marks a real breakthrough in the foundation world, as it is the first time any foundation has been willing to support nationwide, feminist litigation. It is the culmination of years of effort by many people."

I asked the woman who was president of my NOW chapter what she had heard about the Women's Action Alliance before I went for my job interview there. She said some people in NOW were wondering why Gloria Steinem (a member of NOW) was raising all that money to start the Women's Action Alliance instead of for NOW. —a woman active in the *National Organization for Women*.

articles on forced childbearing and its economic function in society, for example, but does tell you how to bring up your kids with its "Stories for Free Children"? Why is more space devoted to "Etiquette for Humans" and "Populist Mechanics" than to a root analysis of women's unpaid and/or exploited labor which as Susan B. Anthony reminded us, has kept society's wheels turning for centuries? What is the political function of *Ms.*'s popular image as the magazine of the "liberated woman"? The very reason for the resurgence of the modern women's liberation movement, after all, was the realization that emancipation was a myth, that women were not liberated.

That this "liberated woman" approach is pushed by the American establishment is illustrated by the following example involving the government itself: a feminist writer and activist gave *Ms.* permission to reprint in an early issue a short article she had written sometime earlier. Her article appeared as part of a longer story on the same subject, but under separate copyright. About a year later she received a phone call from a man who identified himself as representing the U.S. Information Agency. The USIA was planning to publish the entire *Ms.* article as part of a booklet to be distributed "behind the Iron Curtain." At the last minute they had noticed her separate copyright and were now requesting reprint permission. The woman refused.

In the discussion that followed the USIA man revealed that the booklet would cover a number of topics related to American society, and that there would be only one other article on the subject of women's liberation—the *McCall's* article naming Gloria Steinem as Woman of the Year for 1971. The purpose of including these two articles, he said, was to show how liberated American women are. The woman, who continued to refuse reprint permission, reminded him that the point of the women's liberation movement is that American women are oppressed, not liberated.

Information Gathering

Looked at solely from an ideological point of view it might not seem to matter whether Gloria Steinem has continued her association with the CIA while editor of *Ms.* magazine. Both *Ms.* and the CIA could be viewed as beholden to the same power elite whether they were working separately or together. But on another level it is very important that this question be cleared up. A great deal of information flows into the *Ms.* offices constantly. The "Gazette," a regular feature of news of the women's movement, requests that readers send in stories about their own and other women's activities. Incidents have come to our attention of women who were asked to write overviews for *Ms.* on various aspects of the women's movement. These articles were submitted but were drastically cut or never published—although lots of issue space was filled up with reprints from books already having a mass distribution. *Ms.* has the names of individuals and groups mentioned in this data-rich material. The rest of us don't, with the result that

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The Women's Action Alliance – The Second Year
 A fund-raising newsletter

WE NEED YOU TO HELP US HELP WOMEN. We can't keep our information current and develop new materials without constant feedback. Send us the names of any women's GROUPS you belong to or know about, together with details on membership and the purpose of the group. This way we can refer women to groups which can help them. Also this will enable us to connect women working on similar projects. (If these groups have materials, please send samples.)

We are interested in any RESOURCE MATERIALS you know of which would be helpful to other women, including the results of national and local studies, useful publications, and service organizations starting feminist programs.

VOLUNTEER to act as a local resource person for the Alliance, and research your local area for women's services, projects, and an analysis of unmet needs. Write us and we'll send you suggested research guidelines.

Franklin A. Thomas, board member of the Women's Action Alliance and president of the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, made his career by preparing the case which led to the conviction in May, 1965, of three men on charges of trying to blow up the Statue of Liberty. Thomas, a little known U.S. Attorney at the time, was appointed Deputy Police Commissioner in New York City the following October. The Statue of Liberty case was a classic example of a violent action allegedly planned by radicals, but actually conceived and promoted by a police agent provocateur.

I know this is what happened with the Statue of Liberty case because Policeman Woods was the man who conceived the idea, pushed the brothers into it by making them feel guilty because they weren't militant enough, arranged for the dynamite, took a brother to pick it up, and then testified against them in court. The result was: They served three and a half years, and Woods is still free.

—James Forman

LIBERATION WILL COME FROM A BLACK THING
 11/23/67

we are left isolated and in the dark.

The Women's Action Alliance, a group which was founded by Gloria Steinem in 1971, is located in the same building as *Ms.* Despite its name, the WAA is not involved in action, but in information gathering. Although it described itself in a 1974 mailing as "impoverished," it had already received a \$20,000 grant from the Rockefeller Family Fund for the establishment of a "national clearinghouse information and referral service" on the women's movement. Contacts to be used for this project, according to the Foundation Grants Index for that year, included "access to key women leaders, information files assembled by outside sources and a close working relationship with the magazine *Ms.*" Other grants to the

"impoverished" Women's Action Alliance have included:

Carnegie Corporation: \$51,500
 Sachem Fund: \$23,000
 Carol Buttenweiser (Loeb) Foundation: \$5,000
 Arca Foundation: \$12,000
 Chase Manhattan Bank Foundation (Rockefeller): \$5,000

The National Black Feminist Organization shares an office with the Women's Action Alliance. Presumably Gloria Steinem has access to their files, too.* In addition

*We have subsequently learned that the National Black Feminist Organization moved out of the building in June, 1974.

she has had a finger in every pie, from domestic workers' organizing to stewardesses' conventions; from women's labor conferences to simultaneous work in the McGovern and Chisholm presidential campaigns (prompting Shirley Chisholm to finally insist that Steinem decide who she was working for).

It is necessary that people with access to this much information be trustworthy and that they actually be using the information to further the interests of the movement. Gloria Steinem has a history of gathering information for the Central Intelligence Agency. She has been dishonest in the past about this and is still covering it up. She has therefore not earned the trust her present position requires.

The CIA and Liberalism

'I used to think the CIA was some horrible fascist conspiracy,' a former 'witting' (complicit) student leader said last week. 'Then I discovered it was a little treasure-trove of liberalism, the one refuge for liberals during the McCarthy period.'

— *The New Republic*
3/4/67, p. 5

One of the things that most angered conservatives during the 1967 CIA exposures was the fact that most of the recipients of secret CIA funding were seemingly left-wing groups. Both the conservatives and the student quoted above failed to acknowledge that the CIA will use whatever works to accomplish its objective of preventing radical change; that anti-communist Socialist groups may work in some situations while assassinations are resorted to in others. It has been widely recognized that one major CIA strategy is to create or support parallel organizations which provide alternatives to radicalism and yet appear progressive enough to appease dissatisfied elements of the society. The counter-festivals at the Youth Festivals in Europe were examples of such parallel organizations.

John D. Rockefeller III, in his book *The Second American Revolution*, described the same policy of replacing the revolutionaries in order to reshape the politics of the "revolution" in another way. He said, "A humanistic revolution in the United States is not going to be 'won' by youth and the blacks. Their primary role has been to initiate it and to provide the pressure for its maintenance. The revolution will succeed only through growing involvement of the moderates . . . those who, for the most part, have 'made it' in this society, at whatever level of personal competence." (*New York Times*, 2/26/73)

If all this sounds suspiciously like Pat Carbine's "Phase Two" of the women's liberation movement, it is because the politics are identical. Gloria Steinem's progression from the Independent Research Service to *Ms.* magazine would be perfectly logical.

One of the ways *Ms.* has carried out this policy of replacing the original radicals is by either ignoring or rewriting the history of the women's liberation movement.

I . . . have learned with great pleasure that the new American feminism quotes *THE SECOND SEX* as its authority: in 1969 the paperback edition sold 750,000 copies.

— *Simone de Beauvoir*
ALL SAID AND DONE, 1972

Here (*in MS.*), for the first time, Simone de Beauvoir reveals a recent and very personal revolution . . . she discusses her conversion to feminism, her changed political philosophy, and her plans to join women at last.

— *MS. editors*
"The Radicalization of Simone de Beauvoir"
July 1972

The 'radicalization' of Simone de Beauvoir—indeed. Simone de Beauvoir has shed the most amazing radical light around the world! Now you *nouveaux de Beauvoirists* dare to call the mother of us all a "new feminist." . . . P.S. You could begin a female code of honor by always stating your sources. Like, from where did you copy that interview? (*SEVEN DAYS*, a socialist weekly from Great Britain, March 8, 1972).

— *Shulamith Firestone*, *Letter to the Editor MS.*, September 1972

It seems to me that the radicals were denied access to the media around the time that Gloria Steinem became a great star and *MS.* came onto the scene.

— *a woman journalist and feminist*

Ms. represents itself as the movement, as if nothing else had existed before it came along: "I think of us (*Ms.*) as a kind of connective tissue for women all across this country who felt isolated until we came along and let them know they were not alone. . . ." (Gloria Steinem, *New York Times Magazine*, 8/11/74).

When feminist pioneers cannot be ignored, *Ms.* tries to undercut their contributions. This is the explanation for the *Ms.* editors' bizarre statement in an introduction to an interview with Simone de Beauvoir that the author of *The Second Sex*, whose monumental exposure of male supremacy predated and laid the basis for the modern organized movement, was now about to "join women at last." The cover headline for this article was "New Feminist: Simone de Beauvoir." (*Ms.*, July, 1972)

Ms. has also published a "Guide to Consciousness-Raising" without mentioning or consulting the originators of consciousness-raising, and changing the definition of the term in the process. They now present themselves to women as the "experts" in consciousness-raising. There are numerous other examples of *Ms.* attempting to replace the

radicals and thus breaking the connection between women and the authentic movement.

The women's liberation movement started out radical and militant. For this it came under constant attack from the powers-that-be. The most frequent form of this attack was to say that this radicalism was alienating women, turning women off. In fact, radicalism turned women on and in the process created a mass movement. Direct attack was not working; an alternative had to be created.

An alternative to radical feminism now exists, and *Ms.* is its house organ. In the past few years we've had a chance to feel the effects of that situation, many of which are described elsewhere in this journal. Researching this article gave us a glimpse into the behind-the-scenes interest groups which have been responsible for those effects. The interest groups must be brought into the full light of day if the authentic women's liberation movement is to emerge from its current eclipse.

THE CIA AND WOMEN

We discovered that the CIA had involved itself in the international women's movement as early as 1962. At that time, it began contributing thousands of dollars a year to the Committee of Correspondence, a New York-based group consisting of 18 American women and 12 associates (see the *New York Times*, 2/16/67). The purpose of the group according to the Encyclopedia of American Associations was "to strengthen women's voluntary and professional organizations and to encourage women to exercise local, national and international leadership among women outside the United States."

Like the Independent Research Service, the Committee of Correspondence made a big point in its literature (available in the Library of Congress) of being "non-governmental and independent." It was in a position to spot and collect information on women leaders all over the world and held conferences in connection with the U.N.

Another example recently came to light when a NOW

member, Ann Roberts, working as a secretary for the Overseas Educational Fund of the League of Women Voters became suspicious of their activities and financing. During the course of her work, Roberts continuously saw OEF reports which contained large amounts of biographical data on women leaders in South America and Asia. She read an internal memorandum regarding money received by the OEF from the Asia Foundation, established by the CIA as a conduit in 1956. She also learned that OEF routinely forwarded the Biographical data it collected to the U.S. State Department, which along with the Agency for International Development (AID) provided the bulk of the budget for OEF.

"The OEF was involved in numerous community projects, including the establishment of day care centers, voter informationals, and other educational pursuits. During the course of my employment at OEF, and from what I have learned subsequently, it is clear to me that the Central

The Committee of Correspondence

The Committee of Correspondence is a non-governmental and independent organization of women in the United States who work with women throughout the world because of a common interest in:

- the growing role women are taking in the development of their nations,
- the strengthening of women's voluntary and professional organizations, and
- the encouragement of women to exercise local, national, and international leadership.

The Committee of Correspondence, founded in 1952, has eighteen members and twelve associate members. It is in communication with about 5500 women in 120 countries and territories. These "correspondents" represent fields of activity as varied as education, government, industry, law, press, radio, trade unions, rural groups, welfare, and women's and community organizations.

The Committee works through personal correspondence, printed materials, including periodic Bulletins, leadership training seminars held both in the United States and other countries, exchange of introductions, and travel by its members and staff.

*Photostat from
Conference of Women's International
Non-Governmental Organizations
published by the
Committee of Correspondence in 1962.*

Intelligence Agency provided funds to people to conduct investigations of feminist organizations in Latin America and Asia." (*Off Our Backs*, Feb. 1975)

The entire story is available in the Winter, 1975 issue of *CounterSpy*, published by the Organizing Committee for the Fifth Estate.

These are examples of CIA-funding of women's organizations in the U.S. CIA involvement in domestic affairs is clearly illegal under the National Security Act which established the CIA. Because this funding was for international work of the organizations, however, it falls into a grey area of questionable legality.

Many people are now concerned about the possibility of CIA involvement in purely domestic groups, and specifically about the activities of large numbers of "ex-agents" inside the country. Best known are E. Howard Hunt and other "ex-agents" caught in the Watergate break-in. But there are many others who are less well known. (Hunt was revealed by the *New York Times*, December 31, 1974 to have headed a secret domestic intelligence unit in the agency which dealt mainly with subsidizing and manipulating news and publishing organizations.)

A case in point is the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. An article on "The Politics of Police Reform" in the October, 1973 issue of *Ramparts* details all the ex-CIA and ex-NSA people who began working in high level positions for the LEAA around this time. Many were the same people whose names were disclosed in the 1967 CIA exposures. The LEAA is mainly concerned with providing training and technology for local police departments—an apt but disturbing area in which to find lots of "ex-agents" passing on their skills without subjecting the CIA to charges of domestic operations.

On May 29, 1974 LEAA Administrator Donald Santarelli gave a speech to the Symposium on Women in Policing. Among his announcements were: studies, negotiations and

DUAL STRATEGY

Employed and unemployed workers have taken to the streets in the past four months to fight against a wave of layoffs, wage cuts, forced overtime, speedup, and cutbacks in social services. . . .

This upsurge of activity has resulted in two types of responses from the city and state. One response has been to give lip service to the problems of the unemployed. Mayor Maynard Jackson suddenly declared an unemployed workers day and announced his endorsement of a shadowy "Unemployment Workers Association," which seems to have no members but has a well-paid staff. Although it doesn't do anything it earns the praise of the local media.

The other response has been brutal repression. "Unemployed Workers Day" was announced the day after a group of 60 jobless workers led by the Fightback committee was driven from the offices of State Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell by club-swinging state troopers.

— *THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT*, February 1975

Redstockings

No more sex arranged on the barter system, with women pretending interest, and men never sure whether they are loved for themselves or for the security few women can get any other way. (Married or not, for sexual reasons or social ones, most women still find it second nature to Uncle Tom.) No more men who are encouraged to spend a lifetime living with inferiors; with housekeepers, or dependent creatures who are still children. — *Gloria Steinem*, *TIME* essay, 8/31/70

And you mock us with dependence, too. Do not the majority of women in every town support themselves, and very many their husbands, too? What father of a family, at the loss of his wife, has ever been able to meet his responsibilities as woman has done? When the mother dies the house is made desolate, the children forsaken—scattered to the four winds of heaven—to the care of anyone who chooses to take them. Go to those aged widows who have reared large families of children, unaided and alone, who have kept them all together under one roof, watched and nursed them in health and sickness through all their infant years, clothed and educated them, and made them all respectable men and women, ask on whom they depended. We need not wait for one more generation to pass away, to find a race of women worthy to assert the humanity of women.
— *Elizabeth Cady Stanton in a letter to Gerrit Smith, 1885, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE*

court suits by the LEAA's Office of Civil Rights Compliance to increase employment opportunities for women in policing (or, in Santarelli's words, "It's off-the-pedestal, out-of-the-cage, and onto-the-police-beat time"); programs for dealing with "women offenders"; a \$238,000 grant to the Center for Women Policy Studies "to conduct a nationwide survey of innovative measures for the treatment of rape victims"; and a program called "Citizen's Initiative—Accent on Women" which would be "specifically aimed at utilizing this powerful force in our society" in the fight against crime.

One can be in favor of increasing the number of police-women and stopping rape without wanting to put our trust in this highly suspect agency for solving these problems in ways that will really be in our interest. The "Citizen's Initiative—Accent on Women" is particularly ominous in that it never specifies who are the criminals we are supposed to mobilize against-radicals, for example? Among the methods suggested by the LEAA are block-watchers committees to be organized by neighborhood. The women's movement doesn't need the police to organize it.

June 1975 brought out and out proof that activities such as those described above were part of a deliberate CIA strategy with regard to the women's liberation movement. The Rockefeller Commission's *Report* on domestic CIA activities includes a description of Operation Chaos, the CIA's program of domestic intelligence gathering and subversion. The women's liberation movement is included in the lists of groups and organizations targeted by Operation Chaos.

— *Barbara Leon*
for
Redstockings

CONCRETE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- August 1961 Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* appears in paperback.
- 1963 Publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*.
- November 1966 National Organization for Women formed.
- Fall, 1967 Independent Women's Liberation groups begin to form.
- September 1968 Women's Liberationists throw high heels, girdles, bras, other "instruments of female torture" into a "freedom trash can" at protest of Miss America Contest. By 1970 countless women can wear pants to school or work.
- November 1968 Shirley Chisholm, a board member of NOW, becomes the first black woman ever elected to Congress.
- December 1968 Successful NOW campaign to stop newspapers from segregating job ads by sex—Women's Liberation groups join NOW pickets.
- April 1970 New York State abortion reform law passed after tremendous Women's Liberation agitation, court suit, NOW lobbying. New York becomes "abortion mill" of nation.
- August 1970 House of Representatives approves Equal Rights Amendment—first time it had even been up for debate in 12 years.
- August 1970 Sex discrimination in public accommodations barred in New York City after sit-ins in all-male bars and restaurants. New York State follows a year later.
- August 1970 *Ladies Home Journal* publishes feminist supplement written by Women's Liberation activists reaching 6½ million women, following Women's Liberation protest and sit-in in March.
- Fall, 1970 Spate of aboveground books from the Women's Liberation movement—*Sexual Politics*, *The Black Woman*, *The Dialectic of Sex*, *Sisterhood is Powerful*, *Women's Liberation: Blueprint for the Future*, *Handbook of Women's Liberation*, *Woman Power: The Movement for Women's Liberation*, *Masculine/Feminine*.
- November 1971 Child care deductions allowed on income tax—one of the ten demands on NOW's Bill of Rights.
- November 1971 Supreme Court for the first time invalidates a state law on grounds of sex discrimination (case involving administering of estates).
- December 1971 Child care bill passes both houses of Congress (vetoed by President Nixon).
- March 1972 Equal Rights Amendment passes both houses of Congress. (state ratification still needed.)
- June 1972 Higher Education Act passes, prohibits sex discrimination in education programs receiving federal financial aid.
- ◀ July 1972 ◀ *Ms.* magazine begins regular publication—Vol. 1, No. 1. Gloria Steinem later says, "I think of us (*Ms.*) as a kind of connective tissue for women all across the country who felt isolated until we came along and let them know they were not alone." ▶
- August 1972 U.S. Civil Rights Commission authorized for first time to investigate cases of sex discrimination.
- January 1973 Supreme Court decision forbidding states from prohibiting first trimester abortions—follows New York State "model"—mentions menstrual extraction as one of the technological developments behind its decision.
- February 1974 New York State legislature removes requirement of corroboration in rape cases after Women's Liberation groups' 3 year long campaign to end unjust treatment of rape victims.
- October 1974 National bill outlaws sex discrimination in granting of credit.

* This page was allowed in to the Random House edition, but is also included here as an important historical timeline regarding *Ms.* magazine and the Women's Liberation Movement.

From A Finnish Notebook

Victoria Schultz

Early this year I produced a half hour program on the CIA for television in Finland. Although my main focus was on the CIA's domestic activities, I also wanted to discuss the role the CIA had played at the Helsinki Youth Festival in Finland in 1962.

People in Finland have long suspected that, in addition to having put on a display of American culture to counteract the impact of the Youth Festival, the U.S. government might also have engineered the violent incidents that took place during the festival. I wanted to outline the possible connections and how they might ultimately be linked to CIA activities.

I think the American press in 1962 grossly misrepresented the general feeling in Finland toward the festival. Perhaps the U.S. government made the same error—for instance, by imagining strong opposition where there was none.

In 1962 the political climate in Finland was such that only the left student groups fully supported the festival. The biggest student body took a neutral stand; it was neither for nor against it. However, the Finnish government endorsed the festival and helped in setting it up.

On the whole, people in Helsinki welcomed the festival. I suspect they saw it less as a political event than as a celebration that brought color to the otherwise dull summer in Helsinki. A great many people attended the public events it offered. For me and my friends the festival was an eye-opener as for the first time we were exposed to third world people and their struggles.

Parallel to the Youth Festival, a large group of Americans suddenly organized a counter-festival. Many people went to their events, too. They were appealing, and, of course, in 1962 attitudes toward the U.S. were far more sympathetic and friendly than they are now. I don't know if the counter-festival actually managed to turn anyone away from the original youth gathering, though. The counter-festival also published a daily newspaper, *Helsinki Youth News*. It was edited by Gloria Steinem and Clay Felker.

It seems clear to me now that in the summer of 1962 Helsinki was used as a battlefield of the cold war. The same

weapons of coercion were used there as were being used to influence events in many other European countries. The main goal was to make even mild forms of radical awareness and political activity completely benign, to dim the lights.

The research I did last winter on the CIA's involvement in the Helsinki Festival led me to believe that Gloria Steinem was indeed one of the leading cold warriors in Helsinki. Besides finding out from secondary sources about Steinem's CIA ties through her affiliation with the Independent Research Service, I spoke with several people whom she had actually told about her involvement. A Finnish journalist remembered meeting Steinem in New York several years ago. She bragged to him about how she had given CIA money to a Finnish student leader during the festival.

I fully expected Steinem to let me interview her for my CIA program, seeing how she had talked about her past after the *Ramparts* revelations.

On the morning of January 13, 1975, I called her. I told her what I was doing and asked for an interview. To my surprise she immediately started denying her connections with the CIA, although not the fact that she had worked for the Independent Research Service.

When I mentioned the various statements she had made after the *Ramparts* article in 1967, she remarked to the effect that, well, at the time she thought it was the CIA she had been connected with, but now she was no longer so sure.

We talked for over half an hour. According to my notes I got the impression that she was putting up a very clever struggle against my facts, tugging and pulling like an angry fish in a net. In the name of sisterhood I didn't want her to feel I was attacking or interrogating her. So, I let many of her very incoherent and illogical answers just pass. Finally I regretfully accepted her refusal to be interviewed.

During our conversation Steinem would pause and sigh. At one point I told her that CIA director William Colby had mentioned her in a speech he made last fall (*The Nation*, October 5, 1974) as someone who had joined forces with the CIA. She was quiet for a moment. Then she admitted hearing something about that from Dan Ellsberg, but having thought it was a joke. She seemed angry but not terribly upset by the news.

In order to throw me off her back Steinem suggested I talk to other people who were in Helsinki with her, such as Dennis Shaul, Al Lowenstein, and Tom Hayden. I got the feeling she mentioned them to point out that she hadn't

been the only one involved in the Helsinki counter-Festival.*

Once when she couldn't think of anything else, she appealed to my sense of sisterly solidarity. Exasperated by my insistence that she must have some knowledge of whether or not she did in fact get CIA money, she turned the conversation around and asked me, "What would you do in my situation?" I thought for a fast second and replied, "I'd find out everything I could and make it all public." She didn't seem too enthusiastic about my advice.

June 1975

* We have learned from Tom Hayden that contrary to Steinem's assertion, Hayden did *not* attend the Helsinki Festival nor any other World Youth Festival. This was corroborated by a person who did attend.

Dennis Shaul, on the other hand, was not only at the Helsinki Youth Festival, but became Independent's new director. (*New York Times*, 2/16/67)

In the same interview in the *New York Times* in which Steinem discusses her role in establishing CIA funding for the Independent Research Service (2/21/67), she reports that most of the students in Independent's program did not know of its CIA ties.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Inside the Company: A CIA Diary, Phillip Agee, 1975.

Report to the President by the Commission on CIA Activities Within the United States, 1975.

The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence by Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, 1974.

The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia by Alfred McCoy, 1972.

The Secret Team by Fletcher Prouty, 1973.

OSS by R. Harris Smith, 1972.

"NSA/CIA" by Sol Stern. In *Ramparts*, March 1967.

Counterspy, Winter 1975. Special issue on the CIA. Includes story on the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters.

Ramparts, October 1973. Several articles in this issue deal with the question of domestic intelligence and "ex-agents."

Majority Report, Volume V, Numbers 6-10 (July-September 1975). These issues have contained new information coming out after the Redstockings Press Release. For example, Issue 6 contains a document showing attempted government (U.S. Agency for International Development) manipulation of the women's movement mentioning *Ms.* and the Women's Action Alliance. The same issue also includes new information on the funding of *Ms.* and the Women's Action Alliance. Issue 7 features an excellent report on International Women's Year in Mexico City. Copies of each issue are available for 25¢ each or \$5.00 for a year subscription from *Majority Report*, 74 Grove Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

RADICAL CRITIQUE GROUND BREAKING ATTACK

The Second Sex
by Simone de Beauvoir
sourcebook of wlm

The Feminine Mystique
by Betty Friedan
sourcebook of wlm

WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

an idea whose time has come

women suffer from treatment as sex objects

TRIPLE JEOPARDY

(newspaper of Third World Women's Alliance, founded in 1970)

racism, imperialism, sexism

INVERTING THE RADICAL CRITIQUE & IDEA

The First Sex
by Elizabeth Gould Davis
Naval Intelligence officer

The Masculine Mystique
leading spokesmen:
Gloria Steinem
Central Intelligence Agency collaborator

Warren Farrell
reported government intelligence collaborator

MEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

reaction and backlash
Warren Farrell, leading organizer (above)

men suffer from treatment as success objects

TRIPLE OPPRESSION

(Task Force of National Black Feminist Organization, founded in 1973 with help of Gloria Steinem [above])

sexism, racism, anti-homosexuality

A reply from Ms.

The Redstockings press release (see above) makes us sad.

But we must not forget that the real culprits are the people in power who create such crazy suspicions and who profit by them.

We feel the CIA part of the affair is negative energy. The only accurate information is that Gloria Steinem worked for the Independent Research Service 14 and 16 years ago and that group received some funds that came directly through foundations — some from the CIA — and that this information Gloria herself made public in 1967.

We feel that the Redstockings conclusions and implications drawn from these dated facts are absurd.

It is consciousness raising to consider the 1950s parallel to

this kind of journalism, when people were accused of being Communists simply because they had attended Communist-supported events in the past. The parallel seems exact: popular paranoia that settled on communism in the fifties may now in the seventies settle on the CIA.

Fighting within the women's movement over such unfounded assertions as the Redstockings charges can only prevent all of us from spending time on the important outside struggles that are really necessary.

We welcome constructive editorial criticism of Ms. magazine and recognize anyone's right to extend it. We only wish the Redstockings' editorial comment could have been presented in a more valid context.

[Ed. note: This statement comes from "some of the editorial staff" of Ms. magazine, an "ad hoc" group which included Gloria Steinem, says spokesperson Joanne Edgar, editor of Ms. According to Edgar, Steinem worked for the Independent Research Service "from late in 1958 to 1960 and then again in 1962 at the Helsinki Festival." Edgar interpreted "valid context" to mean "a straight editorial discussion or criticism of the magazine . . . not tacked on to this absolutely crazy CIA junk.] □

statement from steinem

In May and July 1975 respectively, oob covered, then printed, a statement released by Redstockings, a New York feminist group, charging Gloria Steinem with a covert CIA affiliation, and Ms. magazine with the illegitimacy of its claim to speak to or for feminists. (See "redstockings assert steinem cia tie," May-June p. 7; and "redstockings challenge steinem and ms.," July pp.8-11.) Printed below are Steinem's response to redstockings and her covering letter to oob. For another perspective on the workings of Ms., see facing page, this issue.

cover letter

Dear Sisters of oob:

I'm sending the enclosed letter-to-the-editors to you and to the five other feminist newspapers that have requested it. The delay since your request to Joanna (Bigar) is the result of the many pressures that were--and still are--against replying to this surrealistic attack at all. I'm responding out of respect for the several groups in the feminist community that feel this issue must finally be put to rest.

As promised, I'm maintaining this letter as an exclusive to the feminist press; hence the copyright. I leave entirely to your good judgement whether that May 9th "Press Release" still has enough currency with your readers to justify publishing this, or just announcing that it's available if people want to send in to oob for it, or passing it around among any feminists who have expressed interest. (If you do decide to print it, please use it in full--and, of course, as a regular letter-to-the-editors.)

If the Establishment press asks me for it, I will now have to give them some quotes, but not the whole thing. Of course, even a few quotes may result in another round of "see-how-women-can't-get-along" stories, as when Friedan discussed it at press conferences. (Without well-known women willing to comment on its existence, the regular press hasn't generally felt its libelous content was worth covering.) The other classic possibility is the destructive "so-and-so-denies-CIA-links" headline, which transforms a little mud into a whole lot of it, since readers remember the "links" as much as the denial. If reporters do get in touch with you, I leave it up to you to decide what's best for us all.

(One of the farther-out events related to this was a statement in the LA Free Press--with no source, of course--that I had worked for some elaborately-named division of the CIA that I've never even heard of. It didn't seem fair to include that charge in my letter, since it wasn't made by the "Press Release" itself. If it has any currency among your readers, however, please add the first sentence of this paragraph as a footnote.)

I've tried not to let the anger I feel at this wasteful, hurtful episode color my reply. As people who have lived through revolutions tell us, from the Pankhursts through Che Guevara and Mme. Binh, a revolutionary is motivated not by hate, but by love. I hope the reconstituted "Redstockings" learn that, and I'll do my best to live by it, too.

In sisterhood,
gloria steinem

(The LA Free Press article that Steinem refers to, which was written by Joanna Cordova also of the Lesbian Tide, quoted a specific source, Don Freed, a long-time Kennedy assassination inquirer, as saying that Steinem had worked for the paramilitary and psychological warfare section of the CIA for Western Europe. Cordova pointed out that Freed did not offer any material to substantiate his charges. oob has also spoken with Freed, but has not mentioned him in its stories because he did not furnish any proof. However, he is not an anonymous source.)

As to the anonymity of Redstockings members in our article, mentioned in Steinem's response: an ad on pages 2-3 of their original release carried their names; when we reprinted their statement we intentionally omitted all advertising material, inadvertently making them look anonymous when in fact they had quite clearly identified themselves in bold print.)

oob

Dear Sisters of the Feminist Press:

I am writing about a tabloid-style "Press Release" that was distributed to the national and local media in New York City on May 9th, and then sent to the feminist press. It bears no clear attribution to the person or persons who wrote it, financed it, or are legally responsible for its content, but is identified only by "Redstockings," the name of a New York feminist group whose original ten or twelve members disbanded five years ago.

(At first glance, four editors of a future journal to be called Feminist Revolution appear to have reconstituted "Redstockings" and to be responsible for the whole "Release," but that announcement turns out to be a reprint of an advertisement from two years ago. One of the four has since defended the "Release" to feminist reporters and described its preparation--but still declined to say who its author or authors are.)

For those of you who haven't seen this 16-page "Release," it accuses various people, groups and publications--from Newsweek and the Village Voice to Ms. Magazine; from the National Black Feminist Organization to the late Elizabeth Gould Davis, and even Wonder Woman--of being parts of some supposed "CIA strategy" whose aim it is to supplant the "authentic activists" who "launched the movement." The writer(s) of the "Release" tell us that she/they did--with no acknowledgement to Kate Millet, the early feminists of SNCC, Robin Morgan, Betty Friedan, or others.) Considerable space in the "Release" is also devoted to attacking me personally, accusing me of lying about everything from my feminist convictions to the experience of my own childhood. Ironically, the text then appropriates the criticisms made by me and others--that the Women's Movement in general and Ms. Magazine in particular have not yet become radical enough. Not only do the "Release" writer(s) imply that this ordinary thought is original to this text, but she/they then attempt to support it with great factual inaccuracy and illogic.

in sum

In sum, the "Release" contains no new and accurate facts, draws wrong conclusions from facts that have long been public knowledge, and is self-serving. (The "Release" includes a full-page advertisement asking the reader to enclose \$3 for each copy of Feminist Revolution, a journal promising "a revival of...leadership," that will be available "soon." The ad also suggests an additional contribution to "Redstockings.") Indeed, the literally hundreds of other feminists whose work and integrity this "Release" maligns have apparently found it unworthy of a reply.

Probably, I shouldn't be replying either. In writing even this letter to the feminist press, I am going against all the good advice, plus my own past experience, that denying false and fantastic charges does absolutely nothing but spread false and fantastic charges. (I am not addressing this to the regular media, however, for those editors have had wide access to the "Release" for more than three months now, and have found it worth covering only briefly when well-known women commented to reporters on it. Thus any answer--even this one--increases the possibility of more of those destructive "see-how-women-can't-get-along-with-each-other" or "there's-a-rift-in-the-Women's-Movement" stories, even though large or representative groups are not doing the accusing.) I am replying here, within the feminist community, purely out of respect for the concern expressed by several of you that the mud-slinging of these accusations be washed away. Though this "Press Release" depends totally on the "where-there's-smoke-there's-fire" effect of elaborate accusations made in print, I trust the instincts of those of you who have said that, inside the feminist community at least, these insinuations should be met with facts.

So, although it seems bizarre to have to write this obvious sentence, let me state that I am not now nor have I ever been an employee of the Central Intelligence Agency. Indeed, the principal way that the "Release" writer(s) introduce the dreaded initials "CIA" at all is by purporting to "reveal" facts about my participation in two Communist-sponsored Youth Festivals, 16 and 13 years ago respectively--though the only accurate facts in the "Release"

about my Festival participation are available because I myself revealed them to the press of my own free will eight years ago, and they have been published many times since.

Because the "Release" uses these long-ago Festivals to cast suspicion on the current work of other feminists, however, I will repeat the facts one more time: I worked on two of the "World Festivals of Youth and Students for Peace and Freedom" (to give them their proper name), held 16 and 13 years ago in Vienna and Helsinki, at which some of the American participation was partially funded by Foundations that were in turn funded by the CIA; I was told about this indirect source of funding by the National Student Association people who were working on the Festivals, too; and I naively believed then that the ultimate money source didn't matter, since, in my own experience and observation, no control or orders came with it. (It's painfully clear with hindsight that even indirect, control-free funding was a mistake if it couldn't be publicized, but I didn't realize that then.) Thus while working with the Independent Research Service--the group that encouraged American Participation in the Festivals--I took no orders at all from the U.S. Government in any of its forms or agencies. For better or worse, I have always been my own person.

In fact, the Service encouraged a wide political variety of Americans to attend those two Youth Festivals, from many socialists to a few Republicans. And as far as I knew, each one of us would have acted in the same individualistic way if there had been not one penny of Government money involved.

(The "Releases" writer(s) even quote some of our freely-chosen and peaceful activities--cultural exhibits, jazz clubs and the like--but then go right on to wrongly insist that I was coached "on ways to disrupt the Festival." In fact, I felt then--and I think many others did, too--that it was peaceful, constructive and even radical to be trying to talk with our Third World counterparts, or distributing works by such authors as Camus and James Baldwin or carrying placards that said, "No Testing East or West", all at a time when politics were so Cold War oriented that even the representative youth and student groups of the host countries, Austria and Finland, would not recognize or attend these Communist-sponsored Festivals.)

In McCarthyite style and with no facts at all, however, the "Release" writer(s) insinuate heavily that I and others could now be part of some Grand Conspiracy to gather information on the Women's Movement. Therefore, I'll make one more basic statement (though this, too, should be unnecessary). I do not have connections, either direct or indirect, with the CIA (and that includes any function of "gathering information"), nor do I know of individuals or groups associated in any way with the Women's Movement, whether mentioned in this "Press Release" or not, that have such connections. In fact, I do not have, and don't know any person or groups associated with the Women's Movement who do have any relationship with the U.S. Government, federal, state or local, that everyone involved would not be happy to have published in both the New York Times and the feminist press.

bizarre

Does it seem as bizarre to read such denials as it does to write them? In a way, I hope it does. Because otherwise, we may be moving into a period of suspicion when such statements become a commonplace necessity; especially for women, since we seem more likely than men to be thought of as acting under someone else's control. Perhaps some of us have grown up on so many news reports of the U.S. Government's subversion of revolutionary movements, in this country and others, that almost any betrayal seems possible. If so, the writer(s) of this "Release," consciously or not, assist the ultimate subversion of immobilizing us through mistrust of each other.

continued on page 22

steinem *continued*

to someone who was an adult in the early 1950's, as I was, this "Release" does sound eerily like an attack by Joseph McCarthy. Both the "Release" and McCarthyite diatribes attempt to disqualify people and groups working for political change by simply declaring arbitrarily that they are connected to whatever the most fearful, disreputable label of the day may be. In McCarthy's case, and in a larger political arena, it was the "International Communist Conspiracy." In this case, within the Women's Movement, it's a "CIA Strategy."

This "Press Release," however, adds some trappings of a 1970's political "trashing"; mainly personal hostility and radical-chic language. The essence of the former, the breath-taking personal viciousness, is its use of my mother. Though neither she nor events described by her have anything at all to do with the political charges being made, her altogether understandable words are used to make it seem that I have lied about my childhood: that we were never poor; that our Toledo neighborhood and house did not have rats; that she and my father were divorced but got remarried.

If the writer(s) of this "Release" don't understand the socially enforced feelings of my mother and others that poverty and hard times are a personal fault to be repressed or concealed, then she/they understand nothing at all about class--particularly about people who have seen better days only to become poor. (She/they reprint the sadness of my mother's protest that yes, we were both bitten by rats--but they weren't our rats, since they came from next door. Even that doesn't seem to touch a human chord.)

And if the writer(s) don't understand that divorce is supposed by society to be a woman's great and personal failure (and therefore why my mother might choose to claim remarriage and ignore my father's marriage to another woman before he died), she/they don't deserve to be called feminist at all.

Every page of this meandering "Release" contains other distortions. To answer each one would be like trying to definitively shake hands with an octopus. But here are a few examples which seem representative.

who's who

Charge: That I had a supposed "ten-year association with the CIA." This accusation is based solely on the writer(s)' leap from the Festival in Vienna 16 years ago (obviously a very tenuous beginning) straight to my listing in the 1968-69 Who's Who, in which the Independent Research Service entry was followed by the phrase: "now mem. bd. dirs." Because this phrase isn't in later editions of Who's Who (and because the dates of being a director of the Service vary from "1959-60" to "1959-62" in different editions), the "Release" writer(s) allege that these variations were made as a "cover up" by me.

Fact: I have had no "ten-year association with the CIA." Since so much sinister speculation in the "Release" was lavished on inaccuracies in my Who's Who listings, however, I inquired of its publisher, the Marquis Company in Chicago, to find out how these entries are done. Though the "Release" states only that "Who's Who sends data sheets to the subjects to furnish their own material," these sheets may actually be filled out by someone on behalf of the subject (research assistant, literary agent, etc.) or, if they are never returned (even more likely in my case, since I frequently can't answer all my mail), they may be filled out by Marquis personnel on the basis of newspaper clippings, magazine articles and the like. As a result, neither Marquis nor I know which parts of what were filled out by whom.

On the dates of working for the Service, however, the 1973-74 Who's Who listing of "1959-60" turns out to be most accurate. In fact, I was co-director through the 1959 Vienna Festival; then director through the clean-up period until the Service essentially folded in 1960. (There

might have been a few letters after that--but no office. Even during the Festivals, however, it's important to remember that the Service was the usual irregular, disorganized "movement" office, with an emphasis on work and not detail or titles.) When the Service re-opened before the 1962 Festival, I was no longer the director, but worked sometimes, mostly as an unpaid volunteer, since I was by then working fulltime as a freelance writer.

bd. of dirs.

As for the "bd. dirs." listing in the 1968-69 Who's Who, I understood the Service to be an unincorporated association, and I don't believe it had a Board of Directors. Certainly, I never went to a meeting of one. More important, after completing work on the 1962 Helsinki Festival, my work for the Service was over.

The writer(s) aren't into truth, however; she/they are into nit-picking detail--and even at that level, the dishonesty is stunning. My 1973-74 Who's Who listing is reprinted in its entirety as gospel, for instance, as part of the attempt to prove that in it, I reduced my years as director of the Service from three to one (though, of course, one year is more accurate). She/they just ignore the fact that the same listing has me in India on a fellowship for twelve years instead of two (which would mean I couldn't have worked for the Service at all); has my birth date wrong (it's 1934); has me still a writer for Show Magazine (which, as far as I know, didn't then exist) and an editor for Conde Nast (which I hadn't been in years); lists a 1957 book, *The Thousand Indias*, commissioned for publication in India (which, as a tourist guidebook, was at least a decade out of date and out of print by 1973); has the odd listing of "women's liberation" in the middle of organizational names (and out of time sequence at that), instead of the National Women's Political Caucus, the Women's Action Alliance, and other specifics I obviously would have listed had I written the entry myself--as the "Release" writer(s) insist that I did.

If she/they were better researchers, she/they might also have looked in the 1974 Who's Who of American Women, another Marquis directory, and found me listed as editor of "Miss Magazine."

'serious lie'

Charge: That it was "a serious lie" when I told the *New York Times* in 1967 that "I was never asked to report on other Americans or assess foreign nationals" at the Festivals. Why? Because the author(s) allege that an appendix on Festival organizers in a Service pamphlet, *Report on the Vienna Youth Festival*, was made up of "political dossiers" and (since mine was one of three names on the pamphlet) that this constituted "gathering information" on my part for the U.S. Government.

Fact: This "serious lie" is obviously unserious bullshit. No amount of insinuation--or the reprinting of parts of that appendix with names dramatically and unnecessarily blacked out--can transform the simple descriptions of Festival organizers from various countries into "political dossiers." The bios are impersonal, Festival-related: information of the sort publically available from newspaper clippings, Festival literature, and the like--many are only a couple of lines, and the longest is a paragraph hardly "political dossiers."

More important, this appendix was in a widely distributed pamphlet that is in public libraries to this day. If printing publications constitutes "gathering information" for the CIA, then this entire 16-page "Redstockings Press Release" constitutes a report to the CIA, too.

It's interesting to consider the use of this publicly available, 16-year-old appendix--because it is literally the only documentation offered by the "Release" in its attempt to prove that I and/or the many other people and groups mentioned might currently be "gathering information" for the Government. Since the documentation itself, to the degree that it is relevant at all, actually serves to disprove, not to prove, the charges, this tactic is stunning for its sheer chutzpah.

The conclusion that Ms. Magazine, the Women's Action Alliance and the National Black Feminist Organization might be gathering information are not only false and irresponsible, they are uninformed. People send Ms. material which they want to publish: literally, to make public. Indeed, the magazine's research files consist of newspaper clippings, issues of feminist newspapers, other material that has already been published, and so on. The same is true for the Women's Action Alliance: It collects information in order to make it public. Its non-sexist education kits, what-to-do-about-discrimination guides and the like are all made freely available to anyone trying to better the life situation of women, including groups and individuals that range from an entire NOW chapter to one lone woman trying to start a childcare center in her town. The "Release" writer(s) could also make use of the Alliance's referral service if she/they wished, thus relieving the feeling of being "left isolated and in the dark" of which she/they complain.

Finally, there is the National Black Feminist Organization. As a member of the Alliance board, I am proud that the NBFO found Alliance services helpful in getting started, as many other women's groups have done--but the NBFO doesn't use Alliance office space as the "Release" alleges (and hadn't for nearly a year before the "Release" was printed), and has always been completely autonomous anyway. Indeed, it seems racist in the extreme to assume that a Black women's organization must somehow be under the thumb of a racially integrated organization like the Alliance--and to have made this assumption without even attempting to interview or check with the Black women involved.

SS

Charge: That Warner Communications' investment of virtually all of the money necessary to start Ms. Magazine in return for only 25 percent of the stock--thus giving up any possibility of the corporate control usually demanded by money interests--constitutes "curious corporate financing."

Fact: This isn't "curious." It's an important victory for women: Warner was persuaded by us, with great difficulty, that Ms., on principle, had to be woman-controlled. (The only other source of funding for Ms. was Katharine Graham, who, as has been published several times in the pages of Ms., invested less than 2 percent of the total.) Though there are a few other very small stockholders who invested energy, not money, this still leaves the controlling majority of the stock for the "sweat equity" of the co-founders and staff who are actually doing the work.

In fact, Warner finally agreed to give up a controlling interest, in part because it was an important public relations gesture that would (and did) attract other new publications to Warner's door. Recently, for instance, Warner again agreed to a large investment in a publication it does not control: *Book Digest*.

And to put their Ms. investment of only \$1 million in real world proportion, remember this: Warner recently paid more than \$4 million for three seasons in the life of one Brazilian soccer player named Pele.

de beauroir

Charge: That Ms. tried to diminish an early radical, Simone de Beauvoir, by describing her as a "new feminist."

Fact: This example of distortion wouldn't be worth answering at all except for one thing: it duplicates the old-charges-already-answered formula that the "Release" also used on the Festivals.

In this case, the "Release" reprints from Ms. itself a letter to the editor complaining about the "new feminist" description--but doesn't reprint the editorial reply that followed it. Thus, the "Release" reader never finds out that the phrase "new feminist" came from de Beauvoir's own assessment of her personal change since writing *The Second Sex*. ("Today, I've changed my mind," explained de Beauvoir. "I have become truly a feminist.") What kind of journalism is it to reprint the question without the answer?

continued on next page

steinem *continued*

vv

Charge: That Clay Felker delayed or killed a Village Voice story supposedly critical of Ms. (This is mentioned as part of Felker's supposedly total responsibility for having "launched" my "career," but that charge is too clearly anti-feminist to answer.)
Fact: Robin Reissig, the author of that Village Voice article on Ms., states: "Felker has not in any way tried to kill the story or get it held, and the suggestion that he has is untrue."

ms

These refutations could go on and on, but there is just one more area of personal concern that seems worth mentioning. That is Ms. Magazine--both its welfare as an experimental publication, and the morale of the many people who work there.

It is very, very tough to keep any magazine going in an economy that has imposed ten years of publishing cost increases in ten months. It is even tougher to try to do it in a new way, refusing sexist advertising (for which even the "Release" writer(s) give us some credit), humanizing hierarchical lines, and creating projects that are aimed at social change, not just profits. In addition, it is very difficult to create a forum for diverse views that are both as populist and revolutionary as feminism is and must be.

To do any of this requires an incredible amount of effort from the people who work at Ms.--whom this "Release" maligns and batters. (Part of the battering is the "Release" assumption that I am the only person who works there--though like many other editors, I see only a fraction of the stories and articles before they are printed.) Keeping a new and experimental publication going also requires time-consuming change of both form and content, and a lot of constructive criticism from the readers it serves.

Ironically, this "Press Release," to the degree that it has any measurable impact in the feminist community, may make that constructive criticism much more difficult to get. It's as if, for instance, a new cook had been falsely and viciously accused of putting arsenic in her cooking. Would honorable people then be able to criticize the taste of the food at all? Probably not--or only after a lot of cautious explaining. So the result of a cruel attack is often an artificial unity that keeps most people from criticizing constructively. On the other hand, a few people always desert under attack, or artificially agree with the attacker, if only out of fear that, if they don't, they may be attacked, too. That result is destructive and sad.

as one person

So, as one person on the staff, I would like to ask that the feminist community continue to read the varied contents of the magazine exactly as they are, without trying to give any of them a label of "liberal" or "radical" in the eyes of the "Release" writer(s). The best measure of worth is not gross labels, after all, but the truly feminist standard of how each thing we read or experience or learn is relevant to our own individual lives. Ms. can only be as open and flexible as its individual readers and contributors are.

Finally, I'm sorry for the valuable time that's been spent by those of you who read the "Release" and/or are now reading this reply. I'm sorry for the time I've spent writing this letter; and yes, even for the time and energy spent by whoever created this diversionary "Release."

Perhaps the only healthy solution would be to take all the pages on which both have been written--and make them back into a tree.

In sisterhood,
 Gloria Steinem

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ethel *continued*

Beginning in the summer of 1951, when Ethel and Julie were both located in the same prison, they decided to begin regular visits with the boys. They could all be together as a family. On August 1, 1951, Manny Bloch brought Michael and Robby to Sing Sing to see their parents for the first time in a year. The visits were both joyous and painful. Ethel wrote about her reactions:

At first, remembering each moment of it brought only delight. But last night Michael's mischievously smiling face became twisted with grief in my mind's eye and Robby's sweetly appealing little face grew sad and bewildered. (*Death House Letters*, p.63).

Later she added, "Seeing the children has opened wide a floodgate; I am one vessel of pain. It feels as though every last inch of me beats with hurt." (*Death House Letters*, p.64).

Speculation about Ethel appeared frequently in the press and in statements of government officials. While her strength suggested an unnatural and dangerous woman, she was also a mother and wife. This conflict appears in a letter from President Eisenhower to his son:

To address myself...to the Rosenberg case for a minute, I must say that it goes against the grain to avoid interfering in the case where a woman is to receive capital punishment. Over against this, however, must be placed on or two facts that have greater significance. The first of these is that in this instance it is the woman who is the strong and recalcitrant character, the man is the weak one. She has obviously been the leader in everything they did in the spy ring. The second thing is that if there would be any commuting of the woman's sentence without the man's then from here on the Soviets would simply recruit their spies from among women." (quoted in Schneir, p.242).

options

Nevertheless, the government offered Ethel a number of options to force an admission of guilt; Ethel wrote:

It is being casually bruited about that I am to be spared by commutation of the death sentence out of humanitarian considerations of me as woman and mother, while my husband is to be electrocuted. Further, it is hopefully confided, in such an event my "spy secrets" would not die with me...So now my life is to be bargained off against my husband's! I need only grasp the line chivalrously held out to me and leave him to drown without a backward glance! How diabolical! A cold fury possesses me and I could retch with horror and revulsion. (*Death House Letters*, p. 130).

Ethel Rosenberg's years in prison stand in marked contrast to those preceding them. At her arrest, she was deeply involved in a life which almost entirely separated her from the outside world of work and politics, a life which was perhaps beginning to trouble her. With her arrest, Ethel was thrust back into a world of war and political repression and was forced to take a political stand. In the face of government intimidation, she maintained her innocence and refused to involve others in the frame-up. In the pain and isolation of prison, where she was denied most normal human closeness and communication, she nevertheless continued to work to make life as decent as possible for her children. She was also forced to use her dormant skills as a writer to communicate politically with people outside of jail, as she had once done face to face.

It is painful and ironic that such trying and destructive circumstances were moving Ethel to a possible synthesis of the conflicting strands

of her identity as a woman. In the letter Ethel wrote from Julie and herself to their sons on the day of the execution, she tried to pass on to them why she and Julie made a political decision that ended their lives and took them from their children.

letter

Only this morning it looked like we might be together again after all. Now that this cannot be, I want so much for you to know all I have come to know. Unfortunately, I may write only a few simple words; the rest of your own lives must teach you, even as mine has taught me.

At first, of course, you will grieve bitterly for us, but you will not grieve alone. That is our consolation and it must eventually be yours.

Eventually, too, you must come to believe that life is worth the living. Be comforted that even now, with the end of ours slowly approaching, that we know this with a conviction that defeats the executioner!

Your lives must teach you, too, that good cannot really flourish in the midst of evil; that freedom and all things that go to make up a truly satisfying and worthwhile life, must sometimes be purchased very dearly. Be comforted, then, that we were serene and understood with the deepest kind of understanding, that civilization had not as yet progressed to the point when life did not have to be lost for the sake of life; and that we were comforted in the sure knowledge that others would carry on after us.

We wish we might have had the tremendous joy and gratification of living our lives out with you. Your Daddy who is with me in the last momentous hours, sends his heart and all the love that is in it for his dearest boys. Always remember that we were innocent and could not wrong our conscience.

We press you close and kiss you with all our strength.
 (The Testament of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, p. 187)

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were electrocuted just before sundown, so as not to desecrate their Sabbath. Just before sitting in the electric chair, Ethel hugged and kissed her matron goodbye.

notes

We particularly want to thank Virginia Gardner, author of *The Rosenberg Story*; her contacts, research, and personal encouragement were crucial to us. We also want to thank Robby and Michael Meeropol for permission to quote Ethel's letters from *Death House Letters* and *The Testament of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg*.

We recommend to readers interested in learning more about the Rosenberg case these books:

- We Are Your Sons* by Robby and Michael Meeropol, Houghton-Mifflin, 1975
- Invitation to an Inquest: A New Look at the Rosenberg-Sobell Case*, Walter and Miriam Schneir, Delta, 1965.
- The Rosenberg Story*, Virginia Gardner, Masses and Mainstream, 1954
- The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*, John Wexley, Cameron and Kahn, 1954
- On Doing Time*, Morton Sobell, Scribners, 1954
- Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg*, Jero Publishing, 1953
- Testament of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg*, Cameron and Kahn, 1954

by ellie meeropol and
 beth schneider

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LETTERS OF SUPPORT

June 10, 1975

Dear Redstockings:

Because the *Berkeley Barb* gave front page coverage to your press release, someone dug it up and showed it to me before I read the *Barb* piece. Because of your note to see the page I was on, I read it backwards, filled with more and more waves of sickening horror and growing conviction that I would never know from this incredible trash what any kind of truth was. I feel that use of my pain in 1969 to sell your magazine without my permission in 1975, with virtually no contact since 1970, renders everything despicable in itself. And I want you to get my letter the hell out of that journal because I don't want to be a part of it.

This is particularly hard for me to say because, as you know, I believed in all you did years ago and if there's anything I've stood for it's giving due credit. But what you've done is twisted all I've stood for. In fact, for the life of me, I don't understand what the juxtaposition of Gloria Steinem's quote and my letter is supposed to say. Though I certainly know it was a style I used in my newsletter. Are you saying I'm a man-junkie, or is she saying I'm a man-junkie, or is she saying people like me are men-junkies? I don't even know that what you quote from her is un-sympathetic.

I've only met Gloria Steinem a couple of times for a few seconds, but what I felt from her was that she was authentic. She and the MS. staff have been extraordinarily and unnecessarily good to us. I have many of the same quarrels with their editorial policies, but I don't think you had to resort to camp Hearst style to make those points, or to self-pitying use of the Watergate situation to sell your journal. If that's what you have to do to get you and me published, I'd rather not be. It just makes me feel ripped-off, betrayed, and rootless, which I don't need in the midst of a convalescence from a very heavy physical setback.

cc: Gloria Steinem
Lynn O'Connor
Dr. Westphal

The End.
Laura X
Berkeley, Calif.

June 27, 1975

Dear Gloria:

When I typed Laura's letter to Redstockings, a copy of which I sent to you, there was a line I missed and did not type in, so that it read all wrong.

In the first paragraph, the second to last sentence should say, "I feel that use of my pain in 1969 to sell your magazine without my permission in 1975, with virtually no contact since 1970, renders everything terribly suspect, if not despicable in itself." The underlined words are what I left out.

Sincerely,
Louisa Moe
Berkeley, Calif.

15 July 1975
Iris Murdock born 1919

To Whom It May Concern:

The ghost of Redstockings, a name out of the past of our movement (1970-71), a name out of my own past, comes back to haunt us. However the ghost refuses to identify herself. Which Redstockings revived to write the paper calling Gloria Steinem into question? And after the author(s) identify themselves the next question is why and the question after that, why now?

Whose interests does it serve to use the international male media to publicly discredit Gloria Steinem? Whose interests does it serve to have women squaring off and firing bombastic twaddle at each other? Whose interests does it serve to make Gloria Steinem dysfunctional? Whose interests does it serve to have the women's movement divided? Whose interests does it serve to have us focus on one woman within our midst rather than looking outside to the oppressor of women, other people our natural resources—the multi-national corporation?

As an old second-string Redstocking I resent the name of that retired organization being used this way and I resent the author(s) not clearly identifying themselves early on in the mud-slinging.

As a feminist I resent this entire irresponsible proceeding which sets

women against each other and sets up Gloria as the focus for such manipulated division. I thought most women in our movement were beyond such obvious, disgusting tactics. It is both embarrassing and infuriating to discover this is not the case.

As a friend I abhor this underhanded attack upon a woman I don't always agree with but a woman I always respect, trust and love. And as a friend I refuse to be sucked into the insidious position of answering questions about this woman as though she were already on trial.

If feminists are suddenly alerted to the fact that there may be agents within our midst I remind you that Charlotte Bunch and myself addressed ourselves to this subject in 1972 along with women from New York City, Boston, Chicago and Washington, D.C. Witch hunts are the worst way to handle this problem. Until our movement can develop a responsible way to investigate ourselves such name calling only fuels hysteria. Mistrust spreads like an oil slick upon the waters and eventually kills all life for lack of air. As a movement we cannot allow ourselves to fall prey to suffocating bad faith, name calling and taking up sides like children in a snowball fight. This is no snowball fight therefore I suggest we see this for what it is: an attempt to divert the women's movement and weaken what is developing into the strongest political force in the United States capable of questioning the existing government and the collapsing economic structure.

Yours,
Rita Mae Brown

23 June 1975

Dear Gloria:

I have only now got round to reading the Redstockings' "Press Release" and wanted to write you about it. I must say that I was shocked and appalled at the viciousness of the attack, the smears, implications, and cleverly arranged half- and non-truths—all about a piece of "hot news" which, as I remember, you yourself broke to the press as early as 1967. The cruelty, ignorance, and arrogance evident in the press release are simply stunning.

I'm especially depressed since it was (ostensibly) put out by Redstockings—or rather women claiming they represent Redstockings. That early group made contributions of enormous value to this wave of feminism, and it is tragic that the name is being "resurrected" and used in such a degrading fashion. It drags in the dust the image of the group, for such an attack is, ultimately, self-demeaning. How tragic.

Only one of the many ironies involved struck me upon reading that the women who put out the press release were claiming to be the same people who "brought you" the first Miss America Pageant Protest. As the idealistic albeit masochistic organizer of that demonstration, this new "fact" rather surprised me, because, although Carol Hamisch (sic) and Kathy Sarachilde (sic) were indeed present at early meetings about the protest, and were in Atlantic City on the day itself, they both fought vociferously against the protest taking place—claiming that "we" (the women's movement, I surmised) weren't "ready yet" for women all over to be alerted to "our" existence. This logic eluded many of us, who went ahead with the protest, and even after its success as the first mass demonstration of this feminist wave, Carol and Kathy were still decrying its having taken place, in a number of articles, including one scathing "critique." It is most illuminating that such women now take credit for an event they tried, at the time, to prevent. Similarly, I find it very distasteful that they use the names of former Redstocking women who wrote feminist classics (such as "The Politics of Housework" by Pat Mainardi) to imply that they have the backing of such women in their current anti-woman attack-strategy. The reality, as I understand it from Pat herself, is that she disassociated herself from their eternally forthcoming journal project almost two years ago and has had nothing to do with them since. Such name dropping does not amuse those whose names are dropped in the hope that specific inferences will be drawn from that. And such ethics are unworthy of the name Redstocking.

One is faced with the question, why? Publicity? How cheap. Pseudo-militance to be gained by the old game of targeting another woman? How pathetic, and what a ghastly waste of creative energy. Envy? Fear? Bitterness, perhaps, at the movement having grown beyond their proprietary influence? How embarrassing.

In any event, I send you my affectionate support, and my sympathy—because I know that the unjust accusations always hurt the most. You have surely won your "feminist credentials" twice over, by dedication and tirelessness and bloody hard work—not to speak of the slings and arrows. I have not always agreed with every jot of your politics, nor you mine, but that is irrelevant beside my commitment to you in your commitment to women. Survive. You are needed and loved.

In sisterhood,
Robin Morgan
Manhattan

CAROLINE BIRD
31 SUNRISE LANE
POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y. 12603
914 - 471 - 4365

set 8/2
Century
17 pieces

July 18, 1975

Flush right

I object to being quoted out of context in such a way as to suggest opposition to Gloria Steinem.

Do the writers of this press release actually think that Gloria ever took orders from the C.I.A.? I can't imagine anyone making Gloria say anything that she didn't believe.

Ms. Magazine has enlightened millions of women, but most women think it's just a little too radical, not too conservative.

Women need media spokeswomen like Gloria who can speak to their condition and make their case with the public. They do not need a so-called "radical" group attempting to use the women's movement as a front for their own "revolution".

Caroline Bird
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

SAT
Flush right

6-1/2

Redstockings

of the
Women's Liberation Movement
Post Office Box 413
New Paltz, New York 12561

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL:

914-255-6481

September 20, 1975

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REDSTOCKINGS RESPONDS TO GLORIA STEINEM'S REPLY

Gloria Steinem's response to the Redstockings press release of May 9 on her association with the CIA is totally unsatisfactory. She evades the issues primarily by attempting to discredit Redstockings, the group that raised the questions initially. Further, she meets the well-documented facts put forth in the press release with mere assertions and false or superficial explanations.

Steinem sets the stage for these "explanations" by characterizing Redstockings and the press release as mysterious and anonymous. Redstockings obviously was taking responsibility for the press release since it was copyrighted by Redstockings, Inc.

"ANONYMOUS" ???



Photo taken at the 1975 Redstockings Press Conference on Gloria Steinem and the CIA. It appeared in the May 17, 1975 issue of MAJORITY REPORT.

A phone number was prominently displayed on the front page after the words, "For further information call." It was explained that the article was part of a forthcoming journal called FEMINIST REVOLUTION and its four editors were listed along with identifying contributions to the women's liberation movement. Anyone who wanted to check out this historical data could look it up in commercial anthologies and history books on women's liberation. The press release itself was first presented at a news conference called by Redstockings at the Women in Media portion of the (MORE) convention where a number of us, including the editors, personally presented our case. Anonymous?

Not only are we mysterious and of questionable "legitimacy" but Steinem compares the press release to a "McCarthyite diatribe." It's strange for Steinem to accuse

Redstockings of McCarthyism when the pamphlet we reproduced with her name on it as director contains a Red smear of 82 individuals, many of whom by her own "information" were not even communists, not to mention her Red smear of an entire festival.

No amount of psychologizing on her part can make the Red-baiting of the liberation movements of oppressed people and the exposure of the CIA connections of the rich and powerful politically the same thing. In fact, her reduction of the politics of the United States to paranoia is an insult to the American people whether she is alluding to McCarthyism or to the long needed reaction against McCarthyism—the present growing awareness about the CIA.

Steinem attempts to discredit Redstockings in several other ways. For example, she questions our financing of the press release, which amounted to a grand total of a few hundred dollars. She accuses us of attacking her personally when in fact our critique was political as anyone can see from the press release. She accuses us of assisting in "the ultimate subversion" of the movement through sowing mistrust with our concern about government subversion, a way of belittling the issue of subversion and the possibility of government interference. She actually makes a mockery of the women's liberation movement's concern about the CIA, referring in her statement to "the dread initials, 'CIA.'" And this after the Rockefeller Commission's Report on domestic CIA activity listed "the women's liberation movement" as a target of what the CIA termed "Operation Chaos."

These attempts to discredit the source of the critique are bad enough, but the real shocker comes when Steinem tries to appear to deal with her history with the CIA. The way she continues to interpret and falsify her past makes us even more concerned about what her present CIA sympathies and connections might be. She continues to make statements flatly contradicted by evidence available on the public record.

SEPTEMBER 1961 PAMPHLET — "ESSENTIALLY FOLDED IN 1960" ???

For example, it is astounding that Steinem continues to assert that her period as director of the Independent Research Service ended in 1960 in the face of several photostated documents in the press release showing her statement false. It is belied in an Independent Research Service publication reproduced in our press release listing her as director in September, 1961. This is a first hand source. Whether one's listing in WHO'S WHO also constitutes a first hand source has apparently become a twilight area where almost all but allegedly not all listings are written/approved by the subjects themselves. But the 1968-69 WHO'S WHO listing shows her as director from 1959 to 1962 as well as "now on the board of directors in Washington." And the 1967 NEW YORK TIMES interview reproduced in the press release asserts that her period of employment with Independent lasted from 1959-62.

She also says the "Service essentially folded" in 1960 and "reopened before the 1962" festival. This would also be false given the date on the brochure (September 1961). The fact that this brochure was expanded from a previous printing to include the 13 pages of dossiers is hardly the activity of a "folded" organization.

Nowhere does Steinem actually deny that she was on the board of directors of the Independent Research Service as late as 1968-69. She expresses doubt that there was a board of directors and then qualifies that by saying she "never went to a meeting of one." She refers to this McCarthyite CIA front as "the usual, irregular, disorganized 'movement' office, with an emphasis on work and not details and titles" and uses this play on movement rhetoric as an excuse for not remembering clearly

FEBRUARY 18, 1967



The Washington Post

1967 - WASHINGTON OFFICE

1967 Front page WASHINGTON POST photograph of the office Steinem said didn't exist of the organization she said had "essentially folded" in 1960. This photo appeared one year before she is listed in the 1968-69 WHO'S WHO as "now mem. bd. dirs., Washington."

These are the office markers of two organizations with headquarters here which received aid from the Central Intelligence Agency. Top photo was made at 1221 Connecticut ave. nw. and bottom picture at 1607 New Hampshire ave. nw.

the details of an organization *she founded* and which had a budget in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. We don't buy it.

Nor do we buy her failure to remember how her 1968 WHO'S WHO entry got filled out, the WHO'S WHO that went to press just before the exposure in RAMPARTS of the CIA funding of the Independent Research Service. We have talked to women who have appeared in Marquis' WHO'S WHO who showed us copies they had saved of forms they had filled out for the book and which had been sent back to them by the publishing company for corrections and which requested a signature at the bottom.

Steinem suggests that WHO'S WHO got erroneous information about her from newspaper clippings. But what newspapers talked about her as a member of Independent's board of directors? She says her book THE THOUSAND INDIAS which we questioned because we could not find it listed anywhere but WHO'S WHO was a "tourist guide-book...commissioned for publication in India." In answer to our question about the book, she calls its listing another WHO'S WHO mistake because it was "out of date and out of print." But how could WHO'S WHO have known about such a "book" it lists as published in 1957 unless she told them about it herself.

Similarly we find it hard to believe that the rather long phrase "now mem. bd. dirs., Washington;" could be a misprint like getting one digit of a date wrong or even the "Miss Magazine" thing.

"SIMPLE DESCRIPTIONS" OR REDBAITING?

Steinem claims that all the information about individuals in one of the pamphlets—the one with the 82 political dossiers which appeared with her name on it as director in 1961—was "of the sort publically available from newspaper clippings, festival literature, and the like." The pamphlet itself tells a different story: The

information was "compiled from festival documents and *careful research by those who have observed the organizers in action*" (italics ours).

Steinem also tries to minimize the importance of the political dossiers her group published in the appendix to the 1961 brochure. She states, for example, that "this appendix was in a widely distributed pamphlet that is in public libraries to this day." Of the major U.S. libraries we checked, this particular pamphlet containing the dossiers was only in one—Harvard—and then it was not in the main stacks but in the Radcliffe Library. This pamphlet was not listed in the Library of Congress Catalogue (1957-67) nor in the New York Public Library. This is hardly what we would call a "widely distributed" pamphlet.

Steinem further tries to dismiss these political dossiers by saying they were "simple descriptions" and "impersonal." A simple reading shows they were much more and the pamphlet itself states they were intended to prove "a far greater communist control of the event than the sponsors wish to admit." Since Steinem "was an adult in the 1950's" she should know that identifying people by their communist affiliations or alleged affiliations is true McCarthyism.

Accompanying the Steinem statement were letters from four supporters. Their main thrust, like much of the statement itself, was to attempt to further discredit Redstockings. Robin Morgan carries this tactic to absurd lengths, rewriting women's liberation movement history on the way. In her letter she not only claims credit for the first Miss America Protest for herself but says Carol Hanisch and Kathie Sarachild "fought vociferously against the protest taking place." This is nothing but an outright, bold-faced lie. Although Morgan did a good deal of organizing for the protest, the original idea had been put forth by Hanisch and the initial plans made in a small group of New York Radical Women before Morgan appeared on the scene as a leader of a faction which was indeed fought by Hanisch and Sarachild. Check out "A Critique of the Miss America Protest" by Carol Hanisch in NOTES FROM THE SECOND YEAR (Firestone & Koedt), VOICES FROM WOMEN'S LIBERATION (Tanner), REBIRTH OF FEMINISM (HOLE & LEVINE) or various other women's liberation books. This is the "scathing 'critique'" referred to in Morgan's letter and it describes the anti-woman activities of which she was a leader.

Morgan and Laura X, like so many of Steinem's apologists, further claim Redstockings put out the press release to publicize our journal. The point they "miss" is that the Steinem article is actually a part of the journal but was released in advance because of the pressing information it contained. Laura X, in a letter to Redstockings that accompanied the Steinem statement, also implies that we did not have permission to use her article in the journal. In fact we had written permission from her for this uncopyrighted leaflet. Redstockings' letter of reply to her, made in June is attached. (*Not included here.*)

We find nothing in the Steinem statement or support letters to lead us to change our position. In fact we find much in it that contradicts the public record. Much of that public record is assembled in the Redstockings press release which we urge people to compare with Steinem's statement. When Steinem stops falsifying the past it will be easier to believe what she says about the present.

Redstockings

of the
Women's Liberation Movement
Post Office Box 413
New Paltz, New York 12561

PRESS RELEASE

News Conference Statement
Wednesday, March 21, 1979
Washington Square Methodist
Church, New York City

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL:
(212) 777-9241 or (212) 568-1834

FEMINIST REVOLUTION CENSORED

AFTER GLORIA STEINEM AND OTHERS THREATEN SUIT

In February, 1979, Random House published Redstockings' *Feminist Revolution*, *An Abridged Edition with Additional Writings*, a collection of articles by early women's liberation activists summing up the experience of the first ten years of the Women's Liberation Movement and drawing lessons for the future. Much of this material had been previously published under the title *Feminist Revolution*. We have called this press conference to announce that following threats of libel suits and objections by an array of powerful individuals and groups, Random House removed from our book extensive material detailing and criticizing Gloria Steinem's history of association with the CIA.

Though most of the original collection—spanning a wide spectrum of issues in the Women's Liberation Movement—remains in the Random House edition, and even much of the material critiquing the politics of *Ms.* magazine and its editor, Gloria Steinem, we are gravely concerned about the elimination of the material on Steinem's relation to the CIA and the Establishment backing of her position of power in the Women's Liberation Movement.

The word "abridged" on the cover is a euphemism for "censored." In the Bill of Rights, however, it is no euphemism. "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," reads the First Amendment. And our freedom of the press has been abridged—if not by the government, then by the power elite.

Redstockings first released the bulk of the deleted material as a sixteen-page Press Release at the (MORE) women in media conference on May 9, 1975. It detailed information we had found showing that Gloria Steinem had a ten-year association with the CIA stretching from 1959 to 1969 which she had been misrepresenting, and conveyed our concern, as early movement activists, that *Ms.* magazine and the Women's Action Alliance, another organization Steinem was instrumental in founding, were hurting the Women's Liberation Movement.

The material in the Press Release, including the long article "Gloria Steinem & the CIA," as we explained, would be part of a forthcoming theoretical journal we were publishing called *Feminist Revolution*, analyzing the Women's Liberation Move-

ment's successes and mistakes and proposing a renewed offensive. (An interview on "Ms. Politics and Editing"—with one line censored—and some other scattered material from the Press Release remain in the Random House edition, but the main article, "Gloria Steinem & the CIA," has been deleted.)

After several months of pressure by the feminist movement (described in some of the newspaper accounts at the time—see our chronological bibliography), Steinem issued a response to Redstockings.

This response, for the reasons we stated in the analysis of it we wrote shortly afterwards, was not only inadequate but provided further evidence of cover-up. She and her allies failed to intimidate us with complaints that we were engaged in personal, "unsisterly" attacks, and we went ahead in the fall and published *Feminist Revolution*, now grown to a 200-page work, with the material in it with some additions and a few corrections. The additions included a new article, "From a Finnish Notebook," by Victoria Schultz, a Finnish journalist working here who was active in Women's Liberation in the late 60's. The book further clarified many of the points in the Press Release and tied them in with the Women's Liberation Movement as a whole.

Random House purchased *Feminist Revolution* early in 1976, shortly after it was published by Redstockings, with an intent to republish it in full. Lawyers for the publishing house saw nothing libelous in the original material. The one point they raised a question about in the articles on Gloria Steinem was quickly substantiated to their satisfaction. The publisher even arranged to buy from Redstockings the original type in which the book was set. A three-month production schedule was planned. After we had passed the libel reading and signed the contract, we were reasonably confident that the book would soon be published as it was.

Unknown to us, on March 15, 1976, the day the contract was signed, Steinem made a visit to Robert Bernstein, president of Random House. Shortly thereafter, communications began to arrive from attorneys and

representatives of other individuals and organizations whose political histories and corporate connections are also discussed in the material on Gloria Steinem, serving notice in various ways that they regard the material about them in *Feminist Revolution* as false and defamatory. Among them were *Ms.* magazine, Clay Felker, the Women's Action Alliance, Franklin Thomas, the League of Women Voters Overseas Education Fund, Warner Communications, and Katharine Graham. (For background on these individuals and organizations, see a separate sheet we are providing entitled "Cast of Characters." We also have copies of the correspondence between the attorneys available for examination by those who are interested.)

After months of correspondence in which Random House counsel asked those objecting to be specific, attorneys for Random House and Gloria Steinem met and Steinem's attorney objected to almost every paragraph in the article "Gloria Steinem & the CIA" and numerous other paragraphs scattered through the book. We were presented with a total of 114 charges of libel, falsehood, and error ranging from the title of the article "Gloria Steinem & the CIA" itself to the suggested readings at the end.

Random House asked us to answer every point—even the most absurd and obvious. This alarmed us because we had expected that Random House editors would make some effort to defend the material which they had purchased and which had passed their libel reading, and we were expecting to work together with the publisher to patch up any poor or vulnerable wordings in the face of this assault in order to publish as much of the material as possible. Nonetheless we answered every point, supplying substantiation and offering to change wordings where necessary, expecting guidance from Random House. Random House's response was that the republication of an entire section of the book entitled *Agents, Opportunists, & Fools* and containing five articles would, in its present form, pose "unacceptable legal risks."

No wording changes were suggested by Random House. Apparently the facts and our way of presenting them were not the issue. The purpose of the censorship was to stop our information and views from getting out in any form. In the end, only one brief

mention of Gloria Steinem's CIA association was allowed in the book (Ellen Willis, "The Conservatism of *Ms.*"). Other peculiar deletions were insisted on as well. For example, a single line was removed from an analogy between *Ms.* magazine and the Teamsters Union: "They (*Ms.*) moved in on the women's movement as the Teamsters moved in on the farmworkers union." This was from an article "*Ms.* Politics and Editing" which except for this one line is still in the book. (For full details see the "Fact Sheet" we have available.

●

Random House's aboutface, discouraging inquiries about other publishers (no large publisher would buy a libel suit, was what one agent said), even Random House's reputation as a citadel of the first amendment, alerted us in a startling way to the limits of freedom of the press in mass media publishing. It has also deepened our appreciation—once again—for the role of the movement—controlled underground press.

We have also been awakened to the use of libel suits to curb freedom of the press. Few people realize that the landmark trial of John Peter Zenger before the Revolutionary War was a libel case. The importance of this case for American history was that Zenger's victory limited the arbitrary power of a political figure to control what the media wrote about him. Truth was ruled a defense against libel, and so it has been, theoretically, ever since.

But because in libel cases both sides have to pay their own court costs, win or lose, defending the truth can be a very costly proposition. And of course, if you're rich and powerful enough that a threat is enough to ward off your adversary, the issue of truth will never even reach the courts to see the light of day. Nevertheless, there are available truths about Steinem and the CIA-funded operation she directed that no amount of libel charges can suppress.

State of the Women's Liberation Movement—Moving Backwards

When we reorganized Redstockings in 1973, we warned that the liberal Establish-

ment takeover of women's liberation and its dilution of feminism was endangering the Women's Liberation Movement and women's gains, and if it continued, feminism would go under once again. We documented this process—epitomized by Gloria Steinem, *Ms.*, and the Women's Action Alliance—in *Feminist Revolution*.

The Women's Liberation Movement was treading water—slowing down; it is now moving backwards.

The women of the power elite who have taken over the movement blame the right wing for the setbacks for women, not their own leadership. The liberal Establishment is raising the spectre of the right danger in order to scare us out of making radical demands (and to deflect our view from the real power in this country). In fact, the pseudo-radicalism with which these women are diluting the feminist thrust is fomenting and abetting the right wing and turning women away from the movement.

By contracting with Random House to bring out our book, we tried to make these facts as well as the other material in the book widely available. Gloria Steinem has managed to stop this at least temporarily.

We demand the right to battle these issues out in public—not in courts, not underground. The freedom to publish means nothing if it does not mean the freedom to publish widely.

In order to prevent the threats from stopping the rest of the material in *Feminist Revolution* from receiving the wider distribution that Random House provides, we bowed to the abridgement. Even abridged, *Feminist Revolution* contains some of the positive analysis and theory the movement needs to revive and move forward. Its articles continue the tradition of analysis, criticism and debate that women need to understand our lives and change them. The destruction of this tradition in the movement—whether by phony appeals to sisterhood or by open censorship—has been the worst part of the deadly pall that Gloria Steinem and *Ms.*'s politics have cast over the Women's Liberation Movement. We think the compromise was worth making to bring the real Women's Liberation Movement to the people again.

That we compromised and allowed an

abridged edition to come out does not mean that the information and analysis about Gloria Steinem's CIA history and the role she is playing in the Women's Liberation Movement that we released May 9, 1975 we regard as any less pressing in its importance.

We have collected certain facts, all of them available from the public record. And the issues that flow from these facts remain, as do the facts which are still available to us.

We ask the help of all who believe in the right of this information to be widely and fully available and, though perhaps not agreeing with our interpretation of its significance, support the right to publish this interpretation.

The censored articles will be available from us and we hope from more and more people. We urge you to copy them, distribute them yourselves and begin thinking about their significance for the Women's Liberation Movement.

If Steinem were interested in debate within the Women's Liberation Movement, in free and open debate within a democracy, if she were interested in curing the paranoia about the CIA she claims is wreaking havoc in the movement, she would answer the points we raise with arguments and facts, not with libel suits backed up by the enormous financial resources she has at her disposal (or, at least, the enormous financial network that has come to her defense.)

Her actions show she is not interested in open debate. She is interested in controlling the women's movement and her position in it—and not by arguments and influence (not by intellectual influence, anyway) but by raw and naked power.

We will be carrying on the fight—to say the truth, to publish information and opinion—as we said before, the freedom to publish means nothing if it does not mean the freedom to publish widely—the fight against the kind of women's movement Steinem represents and for a women's liberation movement independent of male and corporate control.

SOME MATERIAL MADE AVAILABLE AT THE NEWS CONFERENCE:

- * Copies of the articles removed from FEMINIST REVOLUTION
- * Copies of Random House correspondence, including the original Random House libel reading and letters from attorneys representing the complaining parties
- * Folder of further news on the CIA and Steinem
- * Folder of some recent examples in addition to Steinem's of libel charges being used to curb freedom of the press

FACT SHEET

DELETIONS MADE BY RANDOM HOUSE AFTER THREATS OF LIBEL SUITS

- "Gloria Steinem and the CIA" removed
- "From a Finnish Notebook" removed
- "Ms. Politics and Editing": After Redstockings stood its ground against the removal of the following four lines about Ms. :

"They're the Teamsters of the women's movement. They've moved in on the women's movement the way the Teamsters moved in on the Farmworkers Union. They don't break hard ground themselves. They only go where people have been."
- one line was removed and two sentences were qualified (see p. 168 - page numbers refer to 1978 edition of *Feminist Revolution*). Although this article was part of the original Redstockings Press Release of May 9, 1975 we were not allowed to say so in the book (letter of 3/3/77). In fact, in the one reference to Gloria Steinem's association with the CIA still remaining in the book in Ellen Willis's "The Conservatism of Ms." (p. 171) we were not even allowed a footnote saying "The 16 page Redstockings Press Release of May 9, 1975". Despite Random House's previous approval by libel lawyers the Press Release had suddenly become "so clearly defamatory that we (Random House) will not play any part in advertising its availability" (letter of 3/3/77).
- Title of book's Section 6: "Agents, Opportunists and Fools" was prohibited as was the same title given to an article of The Third World Women's Alliance. Title of Section 6 is now "The Liberal Takeover of Women's Liberation"; title of article now, "Tactics and Tools". (p. 176).
- The box on "Inverting the Radical Critique" (p. 175) which accompanied the article "Gloria Steinem and the CIA" in the original *Feminist Revolution* was allowed to remain with the following changes:
 - Where Gloria Steinem is mentioned, the reference to her as a CIA collaborator is deleted.
 - Where Warren Farrell is mentioned, the reference to him as a reported government intelligence collaborator is deleted.
 - Where the National Black Feminist Organization is mentioned, the reference to Steinem as having helped found the organization is deleted.
- An optimistic note: Jason Epstein's first letter called for the elimination of all of Part 6. After months of negotiation, the main body of three of the original articles in the section remained. Two articles criticize Ms.. Of this material, two pieces had appeared in the May 9, 1975 Press Release, as well as the original publication of *Feminist Revolution* - the interview, "Ms. Politics and Editing" already discussed and the quotations contrasting Gloria Steinem's views on women with radical feminists views on women (pp. 172-173). Also unaltered was Ellen Willis's "The Conservatism of Ms." which appeared in the original publication of *FEMINIST REVOLUTION* but not in the May 9, 1975 Press Release.
- The roundabout, Aesopian language on page 2 (the copyright page of the book) related to how and why the book was changed is, to say the least, not our choice. The last sentence of the statement reads "Several articles were changed or omitted for legal reasons." At minimum we wanted it to read "Several articles were changed or omitted by the publisher for legal reasons". We tried to substitute the phrase "because of libel suits" for the mysterious "legal reasons." In fact, in a meeting with Random House editor-in-chief Jason Epstein (11/24/76) we thought it had been agreed to include an introduction with a list of the parties objecting to publication of the material, "the wording to be worked out." This is how it was worked out.

NEW ARTICLES AND POEMS

- Preface, pp. 10-11
- "Voice of the Future", p. 77
- "Mother Work - Mother Love", pp. 115-116
- "Letter to a Lover When She Left Him", p. 125-127
- "On Aggression", p. 127
- "The Male Supremacist Attack on Monogomy", pp. 128-129
- "The First Self-Help Clinic", pp. 136-140
- "On the National Black Feminist Organization", p. 174
- Appendix
 - "A Program for Feminist Consciousness-Raising", pp. 202-203
 - "The Personal is Political", pp. 204-205
 - "Principles", p. 205
- Index, pp. 210-224

ADDITIONS TO ORIGINAL ARTICLES

- "The Power of History"
 - Scattered new material added to the text (including footnotes), pp. 17, 20, 21, 22, 25-27, 31, 34-37
 - Sidebar: Resisting An Historical Approach, p. 33
 - Boxes: pp. 15, 32
- "The Redstockings Position on Names"
 - New box, lower left corner, p. 55
- "New Ways of Keeping Women Out of Paid Labor"
 - Updated material (footnote), p. 92
 - New box: p. 99
- "The Liberal Takeover of Women's Liberation"
 - Updated material (footnote on CIA/FBI involvement in WLM), p. 164
- "The Pseudo-left/Lesbian Alliance Against Feminism"
 - Scattered new material added to the text, pp. 192, 195
 - Postscript 1976: Is Engels a Revisionist?: pp. 196-199

DELETIONS & DILUTIONS BY AUTHORS, SOMETIMES BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS SURROUNDING RANDOM HOUSE'S FIRST LIBEL READING

- Names changed in "The Housework Poster Rip-off" article because the necessary documentation to avoid the possibility of legal action could not be gathered together by press time (1976).
- "Exposing the Population Controllers" was withdrawn by the author, the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center. Although the Center substantiated every point in the article to Random House's satisfaction (see Abelman libel reading), they could not come to an agreement with Random House over control of how any potential suit would be settled.
- "The Era of Tokenism and the Role Model Trap". Author first gave permission. After we sent letter saying Random House legal department needed substantiation for certain points (see Abelman libel reading), she withdrew - said worried that material was "dated" and "not meant for a wide audience" (originally appeared in *Radcliffe Quarterly*).
- "The Wall of Respect for Women". The author felt *Feminist Revolution* was anti-left.
- "The Common Woman Poems". The author felt that criticism of lesbian feminists okay for within the movement but not for mass distribution publisher.
- "Sex and Women's Liberation". Names removed at request of the author.
- "Thoughts on Consciousness Raising". More general wording substituted for more specific at the request of the author.

Summary: Three articles diluted; four, withdrawn (two for reasons tangentially related to libel issues).

EVENTS SURROUNDING THE DELETION FROM FEMINIST REVOLUTION OF THE ARTICLES
"GLORIA STEINEM AND THE CIA" AND "FROM A FINNISH NOTEBOOK"

CAST OF CHARACTERS (PARTIAL)

The parties objecting (in a blitz of correspondence, phone calls, and at least one personal meeting and other communication with our publisher*) to publication of material in the articles were:

Gloria Steinem - Editor of *Ms.* magazine, a founding director of the *Ms.* Corporation, *Ms.* Foundation, and the Women's Action Alliance, and former witting director of a CIA-funded student movement organization, the Independent Research Service, as well as organizer of newspapers it financed.

Clay Felker - currently editor of *Esquire* magazine, founder and publisher of *New York* magazine when it launched the preview issue of *Ms.* magazine, publisher of the *Village Voice* from 1974-78 (when it killed an article critical of *Ms.* magazine and printed the suppressed report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence that led to the firing of CBS reporter, Daniel Schor and the death of the Committee), and an editor of one of the CIA-funded Independent Research Service newspapers when Gloria Steinem was co-director.

Ms. Magazine Corporation - produces *Ms.* magazine, books and television shows. (See *Feminist Revolution* for an analysis of *Ms.* magazine's politics.) Patricia Carbine and Joanne Edgar are listed with Gloria Steinem in the correspondence as recipients of copies of letters sent to Random House by the attorney for Steinem and *Ms.* Magazine Corporation. Patricia Carbine is publisher of *Ms.*. Joanne Edgar, one of *Ms.*'s editors, is a long-time associate of Steinem and fielded phone calls from reporters to Steinem after Redstockings' May 1975 Press Release. Edgar was also the author of the "Wonder Woman" article in *Ms.* which was discussed in the deleted article.

Warner Communications - Conglomerate corporation, one of the *Fortune* 500 largest companies in America, with holdings in movies, records, cable television, publishing, building maintenance and construction, parking lots and other companies. Major investor (\$1,000,000) in *Ms.* magazine.

Women's Action Alliance - Information and referral network with an annual income of more than \$1,000,000. In one six month period (the first six months of 1975) 80% of the budget came from such giant foundations and corporations as the Rockefeller

* We have been unable to ascertain how Warner Communications contacted Random House because there is no letter on record. They are listed to us in a memo from Random House as "a party to be dealt with." All we were told when we asked was that Warner Communications and the Women's Action Alliance have the same law firms.

Family Fund, Chase Manhattan Bank, Ford Foundation, ITT, Bankers Trust, Mobil Oil and the Rubenstein Foundation while 8% came from individual contributions. (So difficult has the WAA apparently found it getting support from women that it received a \$50,000 grant from the Ford Foundation for 1977-78 "for funding a development project to expand support beyond foundation grants."). Grants in 1976 included \$50,000 from the Ford Foundation and \$20,000 from the Rockefeller Family Fund for the "National Women's Agenda", a submersion of the Equal Rights Amendment, specifically, in a clutter of indiscriminate demands, but the general effect is the diluting and defusing of all feminist consciousness.

Franklin Thomas - Recently appointed head of the Ford Foundation, board member of the Women's Action Alliance, former Deputy Police Commissioner in New York City, at various times on the boards of CBS, Citicorp, First National City Bank, New York Life Insurance Company, and Allied Stores, founder and former President of the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation.

League of Women Voters Overseas Education Fund - Program for women identified as leaders overseas with U.S. Agency for International Development grants of \$2,680,500 in one recent year (1976) and additional funding from the State Department and private foundations. 62% of its average annual budget comes from government sources. An opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment for over forty years, until 1972 when Congress had already passed it.

Katharine Graham - Publisher/owner of *Newsweek* and *The Washington Post* and a stockholder of *Ms.*

Following are the letterheads on the correspondence, some of which are among the most powerful law firms of the Eastern Establishment:

Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst (Gloria Steinem and *Ms.* magazine)

Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison (Warner Communications, Women's Action Alliance)

Hall, McNicol, Marett & Hamilton (Clay Felker)

James McClendon, Jr. (Franklin Thomas)

League of Women Voters Overseas Education Fund - Mrs. William Christopherson

REDSTOCKINGS of the WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Work of CIA With Youths At Festivals Is Defended

By Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Staff Writer

Gloria Steinem, a New York free-lance writer, acknowledged in an interview yesterday that she worked closely with the Central Intelligence Agency to organize groups of American young people to attend World Youth Festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962.

She strongly defended her actions and had great praise for the CIA agents with whom she collaborated. "I found them liberal and farsighted and open to an exchange of ideas," she said.

"I never felt I was being dictated to at all."

Miss Steinem was director of the Independent Research Service, a group that sponsored the trips of several hundred young Americans to Vienna and Helsinki. Its activities have been financed by a number of foundations, including the Independence Foundation of Boston, already cited by the National Student Association as a conduit of CIA funds.

First Admission

This was the first admission by anyone connected with the Research Service that it had collaborated with the CIA.

Miss Steinem said yesterday that she had worked extensively with CIA agents in this country and at the two Youth Festivals.



Robert Kaiser

Gloria Steinem had praise for the CIA while recounting her collaboration with them in organizing student groups to attend international meetings. She is wearing a chinchilla ringed gown in this picture at a supper party for the Shakespeare Festival Committee in New York last June.

United Press International



She said the budget for Research Service activities at the Helsinki Festival was more than \$100,000. She declined to say how much of that was CIA money.

Several hundred young Americans went to Helsinki with Research Service aid to offer an alternative to the Communist line of the Festival.

The Research Service also helped pay for a daily newspaper put out in three languages during the Festival by a largely American staff but under the ultimate control of a Finnish editor.

All Controlled by Reds

There have been eight World Youth Festivals since World War II. The first six were held behind the Iron Curtain. They have all been controlled by Communists.

Miss Steinem said yesterday that "almost none" of the people who went to Vienna or Helsinki with the Research Service knew that the CIA was helping to pay for their trip.

She also said that no member of either Research Service delegation had passed information to the CIA. "We only planned the best ways to operate," she said. "They wanted to do what we wanted to do—present a healthy, diverse view of the United States."

She said the Research Service was started without CIA funds, but that the Agency approached her soon after the organization was set up and offered to help.

"The CIA was the only one with enough guts and foresight to see that youth and student affairs were important," she said.

She first decided that youth politics was important during a two-year visit to India after graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Smith College in 1956.

At the Helsinki Festival in 1962, Miss Steinem was co-director of the Research Service, with Dennis Shaul, a former president of the National Student Association.

Shaul, now a lawyer in Akron, Ohio, told The Washington Post yesterday that he knew CIA money was helping to finance the Research Service.

"There was always legitimate money involved, too," Shaul said. "To this day I don't know how much CIA money there was."

Shaul said of the Research Service delegation that his only job was "to bring together a group of young people who were representative of America."

"We had Minnesota school teachers who were farther right than Bill Buckley," Shaul said, "as well as members of Students for a Demo-

cratic Society. Nobody told them what to say."

Shaul also insisted that no Research Service reports had been given to the CIA. He said only a very few of the people involved in the Research Service knew anything about the CIA connection.

"I am not at all apologetic or ashamed of what I did," Shaul said. "The Helsinki Festival was a disaster from their (the Communist world's) point of view, and I think we can take a good deal of credit for that."

The Research Service now maintains an office in Washington at 1221 Connecticut ave., nw.

The current director is Eugene A. Theroux, a law student who was associate director of Young Citizens for Johnson in 1964.

Theroux said yesterday: "There is a possibility of a congressional inquiry on this matter and I am therefore going to withhold further comment."

Since Theroux took over, two World Youth Festivals have been canceled. One was to have been held in Algeria in July, 1965. It was canceled when President Ahmed Ben Bella was overthrown. A second Festival scheduled for Accra, Ghana, in the summer of 1966 was called off after the ouster of President Kwame Nkrumah.

Random Action

Whatever Happened to 'Feminist Revolution'?

By Nancy Borman

At Random House on March 15, 1976, *Feminist Revolution* was just another women's book in production. It consisted of a multifaceted analysis of the women's liberation movement edited by members of Redstockings, an early radical feminist group. A self-published edition released the previous fall had stirred up controversy with its indictment of liberals, lesbian pseudo-leftists, and foundation grant feminists. But 5000 copies had sold out.

Part of the book—some say the most interesting part—was titled "Agents, Opportunists and Fools." It attempted to link the CIA and the corporate establishment to several individuals and institutions connected with *Ms.* magazine, hardly frightening material for the publishers, through a subsidiary, Knopf, of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*. *Feminist Revolution* had passed an initial libel reading by Random House's legal department on March 2, and a contract was signed in the office that March morning. Twenty thousand copies of the book were scheduled to hit the stores in June.

That afternoon, an unannounced visitor appeared in the citadel of the free press. A presumably angry Gloria Steinem asked to see Random House president Robert Bernstein. She was there to hand-deliver a letter from her attorney threatening to sue for libel unless the chapter on the CIA was removed from the book.

No one knows what Steinem and Bernstein said in their private meeting, and it may have been just coincidence that, within weeks, Random House was blitzed with similar threats from other people and groups mentioned in the CIA chapter: Clay Felker, Women's Action Alliance, Warner Communications, Franklin Thomas, the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, and Katharine Graham. But, in any case, publication of *Feminist Revolution* was delayed nearly three years; the printing run was cut to 12,500, despite 13,000 advance orders; and when the book was finally released last month, the chapter on Gloria Steinem and the CIA had been deleted in its entirety. Somehow, the word "abridged" on the cover fails to answer the question: What happened?

On March 21, of this year, six weeks after *Feminist Revolution* was finally published, five members of Redstockings held a press conference to argue that their book would be better described as "censored." Kathie Sarahild, Colette Price, Carol Hanisch, Sherry Lipsky, and Jane Barry said that at first they had been astonished that Random House caved in to pressure to ax the chapter.

But they also laid the blame on Steinem and her associates for using "libel" claims to stifle debate within the women's movement and to suppress embarrassing information about themselves. Price pointed out that the Zenger trial, which launched the American tradition of freedom of the press, was a libel case.

The near-total blackout on the Steinem/Random House censorship story is reminiscent of the level of enthusiasm Redstockings encountered when they first tried to get coverage for the story of Steinem and the CIA.

Their 16-page tabloid "press release" charging that Steinem had covered up a 10-year association with the CIA and that *Ms.* magazine, which she had founded, was endangering the women's liberation movement struck the 1975 MORE conference like a new war coming over the wire. The hotel was abuzz and people snatched up the releases, but when it came to actually writing the story, nearly everyone bowed out. One reporter criticized the women for not obtaining Steinem's side of the story before publishing the release. Others skimmed the material and dismissed it as old news, which was partially true. Still others thought it was McCarthyistic, both in tone and casual conclusions.



Gloria Steinem: The chapter on her CIA connections was cut.



Redstocking Kathy Sarahild, one of the book's editors.

In 1967 both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* had carried interviews with Steinem in the wake of *Ramparts'* expose of CIA funding of the National Student Association and other organizations. Steinem was the founder and director of one of those groups, Independent Research Service, for which she had solicited and obtained CIA money to carry out covert operations at Communist youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962. Unlike most of the other principals in the scandal, who had repudiated their past work with the agency and turned over information to the press, Steinem defended her secret deal with the CIA, calling the undermining of the youth festivals "the CIA's finest hour."

Random House first learned of *Feminist Revolution* in January 1976, when Betty Friedman mentioned it to her editor James Silbermann, also Random House vice-president, publisher, and editor-in-chief. Random House eagerly bought the manuscript, offering the authors a \$12,000 advance and a June publication date, pending the outcome of a libel reading by an outside law firm, Weil, Gotshal & Manges. Of the lawyers' few objections, the only one that involved the chapters on the CIA was Redstockings' charge that a particular police agent had conceived of and pushed black community activists into a conspiracy to bomb the Statue of Liberty. Redstockings submitted further documentation on each point and no further issue was taken with any part of the book before the contract was signed on March 15. An editorial fact sheet was drawn up for the company's sales conference confirming the June 1976 pub date, and on March 18 the authors were paid half of their advance.

Meanwhile, some time between March 9 and 11, Random House editor Christine Steinmetz had sent out routine requests for permission to reprint a number of documents used in *Feminist Revolution*, including a classified ad which had appeared in *Ms.* soliciting data on men who support the women's movement, and a form letter from the Women's Action Alliance, a group founded by Gloria Steinem, asking women to send in detailed information on feminist projects. Rather than clear the way for Random House to include the two minor documents in the Steinem/CIA chapter, the requests apparently served to tip off Steinem and her circle that the Redstockings material was about to receive mass distribution. Had Random House

BOOKS

not sent the letters, Steinem might not have popped up in Bernstein's office on March 15.

Now, Robert Bernstein is not the kind of publisher easily persuaded to suppress revelations about CIA activities. He has a reputation in the publishing community as the white knight of the First Amendment. Among his extracurricular activities have been: chairing the newly formed U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee which monitors human rights on both sides of the Iron Curtain, including the "freedom to write"; heading up the American Board of the Index on Censorship; and membership on the boards of Amnesty International, the Fund for Freedom of Expression, the International League for Human Rights, and Writers and Scholars International. He's also been chairman of the Association of American Publishers Committee on International Freedom To Publish, and the recipient of the New York Civil Liberties Union's Florida Lasker Award for having "dedicated his personal and public life to the rights of man and woman everywhere to speak and publish freely without censorship or fear of reprisal." In short, with Bernstein at the helm, one wouldn't expect Random House editors to be trigger-happy with their blue pencils.

At least before all those letters.

Without anyone saying how they had heard about the book, or specifically what they felt should be changed, a flurry of letters arrived at Random House from some of the city's most powerful law firms on behalf of several people and groups involved in the Steinem/CIA chapter:

- Women's Action Alliance, a tax-exempt information-gathering organization founded by Gloria Steinem in 1971. WAA's attorney, Jeanne Drewson, of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison, said in her letter that permission to reprint a WAA form letter was denied, "to preserve any rights of the Alliance or persons associated with the Alliance to pursue their legal remedies for defamation and libel arising out of the publication of *Feminist Revolution*." Although Drewson was pressed for specifics by Random House general counsel Gerald Hollingsworth, there seems to be no record of any further details.
- Clay Felker, then publisher of *New York*

magazine. Felker, too, had attended the World Youth Festival in Helsinki and had edited the Independent Research Service's *Helsinki Youth News*, a CIA-funded daily newspaper. Felker claimed that he did not know about CIA funding of the newspaper at the time, but as he told the *Daily News*, in 1975: "It was my understanding that this was an anti-Communist effort. I was an anti-Communist then and I remain an anti-Communist today." Felker's attorney, E. Douglas Hamilton of Hall, McNicol, Marett and Hamilton, wrote to Hollingsworth, warning that "the essence of the charge in the article is that Mr. Felker and his magazine [*New York*] were working for the CIA," and that this is "false and libelous." He says now he dropped the correspondence because he only meant to convey that the material about Felker was "exaggerated."

- *Ms.* magazine, founded by Steinem and others. *Ms.* was criticized in the Steinem/CIA chapter for having "substituted itself" for the "original, authentic activists" of the women's liberation movement, and for pushing an alternative to radicalism. Nancy Wechsler of Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst represented both *Ms.* and Steinem in their dealings with Random House.

- Warner Communications, which invested \$1 million in *Ms.* (virtually 100 per cent of the capital although they took only 25 per cent of the stock). Redstockings cited the Warner deal as an example of the "curious financing" of *Ms.* Warner was also represented by Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison.

- Franklin Thomas, a board member of Women's Action Alliance (and recently named president of the Ford Foundation). Redstockings pointed out that he was the same Franklin Thomas who participated in the prosecution of the notorious Statue of Liberty bombing conspiracy case in 1965 that sent three black activists to prison. Thomas, who is also black, now says that if Redstockings had clarified that he had had nothing to do with the investigation of the case, he would not have authorized the threat of suit. He also says he doesn't remember how he learned about the book, but as Steinem's frequent social escort, it would not have been difficult for him to find out.

- The Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, which conducts international seminars for women in Asia and

Continued on next page

Latin America. OEF was identified in a 1975 article in *Counterspy* as allegedly helping the CIA obtain dossiers on individuals and women's groups in those regions. They issued a denial at the time. Redstockings used information from the *Counterspy* story to show the CIA's interest in the international women's movement, without reporting in the book OEF's denial. Hollingsworth talked to Marilyn Richards in the OEF office in Washington, D.C., to try to pin down what parts of the book the fund considered libelous. According to the correspondence files released to Redstockings by Steinmetz, no libel specifics were ever made.

Katharine Graham, publisher of *The Washington Post and Newsweek*, described on a cover of *Ms.* in 1974 as "the most powerful woman in America." *Feminist Revolution* brought up the \$20,000 she had initially invested in *Ms.* to support their contention that Steinem was installed as a spokesperson of the women's movement by the "rich and powerful." Graham sent off a note to Bernstein, which was characterized by a Random House spokesman as "personal." Although neither Bernstein nor Graham would disclose the actual contents of the message, a Random House staffer who claims to have seen the letter says that Graham objected to references to herself in the chapter but did not threaten legal action. The tone of the note was described as "breezy."

According to Redstockings, the only objection Hollingsworth asked them to deal with was Thomas's because it was the only objection that cited specific language in the book. Barbara Leon of Redstockings replied to Thomas's attorney, offering to substitute a detailed quote from *The New York Times* reporting that "in helping prepare the case . . . Mr. Thomas presented nearly 50 witnesses before a grand jury to build an involved case of conspiracy and obtain indictments." Leon also offered to use another *Times* story that cited the Statue of Liberty case as a prime example of Thomas's "thor-

ough approach" which led to his appointment as deputy police commissioner. That ended the correspondence.

Kathie Sarachild says that initially it looked as if Random House was backing them up: "The Random House attorney was writing strong letters back to the people who were threatening to sue." So when, in a letter dated June 2, Steinem's attorney suggested a meeting to go over the section being questioned, the authors did not feel it was a priority to get their own attorney.

"That was a mistake," Sarachild now admits.

Random House lawyers discussed the objections with Steinem's attorney Nancy Wechsler, with no one sitting in for the authors, on July 19, 28, and 29.

On July 29, Steinmetz told Redstockings that Hollingsworth had recommended eliminating the Gloria Steinem section from the book. Soon after, Redstockings received a copy of Hollingsworth's notes on his meeting with Wechsler. His memorandum listed 114 items which Wechsler had told him she considered libelous, covering nearly every paragraph in the chapter. Most of them claimed defamation through "innuendo," not through direct falsehood. Random House asked the authors to respond.

At the March 21 press conference Redstockings distributed copies of their 18-page answer to all the objections, which they had submitted to Random House on September 15, 1976. Reading both Wechsler's laundry list and the blow-for-blow rebuttal is enlightening. If Random House censored a book chapter based on Wechsler's arguments, some of us are going to have to be awfully careful what we say in print from now on.

Attempting to demonstrate that somebody contradicted herself is apparently a no-no—Wechsler protested that "Appendix II on page 154 coupled with the *New York Times* quotation attributed to GS are libelous of GS in that they imply that she lied."

"Appendix II" consists of a reprint from a

1961 publication of the Independent Research Service which gives no author but list Gloria Steinem as "director." The material is a list of participants in the Vienna Youth Festival, including one American, emphasizing their Communist affiliations. An introductory paragraph by the IRS explains that the bios show that there was "a far greater communist control of this event than the sponsors wish to admit." This statement was juxtaposed by Redstockings with the following quote from a February 21, 1967, *New York Times* interview with Steinem: "I was never asked to report on Americans or assess foreign nationals I had met." While it seems to me the quote cannot be taken as an absolute denial by Steinem that she ever produced "reports" or "assessments" while funded by the CIA, and might mean simply that she was never asked to, Redstockings seemed to infer that in making such a statement Steinem was covering up what appeared to be her role in producing what seemed to be political dossiers.

Altruism on the part of a giant media corporation cannot be termed "curious"—Wechsler said it was libelous to say that *Ms.* was set up with "curious corporate financing." The Steinem/CIA chapter mentioned that Warner Communications put up \$1 million to capitalize *Ms.* virtually 100 per cent, but took only 25 per cent of the stock in exchange.

"Rich and powerful" is apparently a character slur—Wechsler's objection number 16 challenged the statement that Gloria Steinem was "installed by the rich and powerful." Redstockings said they were referring to Warner Communications, Clay Felker, and Katharine Graham.

Calling a government agency counterrevolutionary libels everyone who was ever connected to it—objection number 29 stated that the sentence "Women need a revolution and the CIA's job is to prevent revolution" was libelous of *Ms.* and Gloria Steinem.

Comparing the U.S. government's rationalization of Negro segregation in 1959 with

Ms. magazine's analysis of women's position in 1975 is hitting below the belt—objection number 41 was that excerpting Independent Research Service's whitewash of segregation from a pamphlet written for distribution to foreign youth implied that Gloria Steinem was a "CIA tool."

He who pays the piper does not, in fact, call the tune—Wechsler's objection number 52 was that it is libelous to "imply that *Ms.* allows itself to be used to promote Wonder Woman for Warner Communications." She said there is "no tie-in between Wonder Woman and Warner." Redstockings said the tie-in was that, through its subsidiary, DC Comics, Inc., Warner owns the Wonder Woman name.

Although Wechsler had not provided any documents to support her allegations of falsity or libel via "innuendo," Redstockings thereafter produced 31 documents, including letters, newspaper clippings, government publications, and directory listings which they believe should have led Random House to conclude that the section, as corrected, would not have led to a serious lawsuit.

Early in October 1976, Silberman left Random House to take a job at Summit Books and a week later, Steinmetz joined him. On October 27, Redstockings' agent Jay Acton received a letter from Jason Epstein, who replaced Silberman as Random House's editor-in-chief, saying that Hollingsworth had reviewed their answers to Wechsler and that it was his opinion that "republication in its present form of Part 6 [Steinem and the CIA and three other chapters] . . . would pose unacceptable legal risks." He said that in his editorial judgment it was not feasible to "cure the legal problems simply by editing the material on a line-by-line basis."

Why did Redstockings put up with this? Surely at this point they should have contemplated pulling out and doing another self-published edition of their book? Sarachild says they compromised in order to gain access to a mass media. "Half of *Feminist Revo-*

lution is about how radicals got cut off from the mass media."

Sarachild says Redstockings plans to make the missing material available as a pamphlet, or as a book, "if some publisher wants to one-up Random House." Aren't they afraid Steinem will sue them if they publish the missing chapter? They say they were ready for the possibility back in 1975 but that no suit was brought.

What about the charge made by some quarters of the women's movement that this whole Steinem/CIA thing is too personal, that Redstockings is picking on Steinem, perhaps jealous of her?

"You know," says Sarachild, "sometimes a single individual comes to represent so much of what is wrong—and also has undue power to misinfluence things because of their connections to the power structure." She points out that Steinem's Women's Action Alliance not only gets help from the Carnegie Foundation, but has also received support from Mobil Oil, and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations.

I tried to reach Gloria Steinem to get her side of all this, but she was in meetings, out of the office, out to lunch, on her way to Washington, out making ad presentations, and on the other phone whenever I called. Steinem would not return my calls and limited herself to written statements to the *Voice* editors.

I called Random House and asked for Claudia Stern, the publicist whose name is on the *Feminist Revolution* press release, to find out how the publishers are explaining the incident. Stern said she did not know what had happened to the missing chapter because she had only been there four months.

Stern put me in contact with Charlotte Mayerson, who took Steinmetz's place as editor for the book. Mayerson said that when she came in on the book "it was already in galleys or boards or something." She didn't really remember when that was but said it was after 1976.

Mayerson said she didn't remember why the chapter was cut. Had she read it? She said she might have but she didn't remember.

I asked if there were any records or files around so that someone could check if the chapter had been deleted for editorial or legal reasons. Mayerson replied that it would take two days for her to go through the files on the book and a long time to answer my question. "And frankly," she said, "I don't feel like it."

I called Gerald Hollingsworth in the legal department and told him that Stern and Mayerson could not remember what had happened to the chapter on Gloria Steinem and the CIA; could he tell me if there were any legal problems with the chapter? He asked if I had seen the notice on the title page that some article had been deleted for legal reasons. He said he really couldn't say whether the material I was asking about had been taken out for editorial or legal reasons.

Then there had been legal reasons? Yes. Had anybody threatened to sue for libel? Hollingsworth said he stands "behind the statement in the front of the book."

Has there been any correspondence in anticipation of lawsuits?

"I stand behind the statement in the front of the book."

That statement, on the copyright page, reads: "Much of this book was originally published by Redstockings late in 1975 under the title, *Feminist Revolution*. A number of articles in this version have been expanded or deleted at the request of the authors. Several articles were changed or omitted for legal reasons." Redstockings says they tried to get the phrase "by the publisher" inserted in the last sentence, but that Random House refused.

Hollingsworth was less than open, but the message was clear. You don't need an injunction for "national security" reasons to get something deleted from a book these days. All it takes is some indignant letters from the unradical chic. But if you don't like holes in the books you buy, don't complain to the Helsinki Watch Committee or to Amnesty International or to the NYCLU or even to the Index on Censorship. Instead, write to Redstockings and ask them to send you the missing pages.

LETTERS

May 28, 1979, *Village Voice*, page 4:

Disappearing Ink

Dear Editor:

Eliot Fremont-Smith reports in his review of Redstockings' *Feminist Revolution* ["Random Harvest," *Voice*, May 21] that "the editor has chosen not to tell in the book the story of its publication." In fact, we fought for months to tell the story of the deletion of the articles about Gloria Steinem and the CIA, submitting draft after draft to the Random House legal department. As we put it, in a fact sheet we distributed at our March 21 press conference "... in a meeting with Random House editor-in-chief Jason Epstein (11/24/76) we thought it had been agreed to include an introduction with a list of the parties objecting to the material, 'the wording to be worked out.'" The obscure language now on the copyright page about how and why the book was changed is how it was "worked out."

Fremont-Smith criticizes Redstockings for being naive about how publishers work, but his instant assumption that the absence of an explanation was our doing or our desire shows a little naive on his part.

—Kathie Sarahchild
New York City

Eliot Fremont-Smith replies: 11/24/76 was two-and-a-half years ago. What I missed was an introduction dated, as is customary, as close to publication as possible. I find it very hard to believe that Random House refused outright to allow an updated introduction (and Random, of course, says this was not the case)—and even harder to understand why, if there were such refusal, Redstockings didn't immediately withdraw the book and take it to another publisher.

June 4, 1979, *Village Voice*, pages 4, 6:

III Refute

Dear Editor:

Gloria Steinem represents the best that the women's movement has produced in helping to focus on the needs of American women and in encouraging the country to direct itself to their problems.

As a feminist and humanist she has brought love, compassion, intelligence, and selflessness to the cause of all people.

The Nancy Borman article in the *Voice* ["Random Action," May 21] perpetrates an oft-repeated, false, and harmful story by the remnants of Redstockings for questionable motives alleging past CIA connections despite a detailed and

rational denial by Gloria about something which happened 20 years ago.

Gloria has denied that she had a "10-year connection with the CIA" and that she ever solicited funds from the CIA for the student group with which she was associated. To imply that she continues to be influenced by that power structure in view of her consistent criticism of it is preposterous.

Random House, obviously upon advice of counsel, eliminated the Steinem-CIA chapter from the book because they believed it to be unsubstantiated and libelous.

This McCarthyite attack upon one of the most loved in the women's movement hurts us all. I call upon all people reading this to repudiate it.

—Bella S. Abzug
New York City

Trashing Censorship

Dear Editor:

In 1975, when I read the Redstockings press release cited in Nancy Borman's article ["Random Action," *Voice*, May 21], I felt its focus on Gloria Steinem was excessive. Much concern exists over interest-conflicts in the press, but very few of its individual members have been taken to task.

However, the "trashing" was scarcely analogous to what happens to women—most women—who are denied the public forum they want and need to defend themselves. Meanwhile, women are literally murdered daily by doctors and other professionals whose own protected and magical credibility is noted in their being unable to speak and listen to women's needs.

Censorship is a private and public reality we must oppose. Redstockings' much-criticized work raised my consciousness to the fact that combating censorship means examining who decides what information is given to women—and how, and why.

The Chapter Attacked Her

—Susan Sands
Bleecker Street

Dear Editor:

Nancy Borman's article "Random Action" [*Voice*, May 21] alleges that Random House deleted a chapter from the recently published *Feminist Revolution* because of libel threats from Gloria Steinem and other individuals and groups. Borman suggests that the material was not actually libelous but that Random House caved in to pressure, and that this is a bad sign for freedom of the press in book publishing.

I am no expert in libel laws nor do I have any quarrel with Borman's general criticism of the publishing industry. I did see the chapter in question when it was published four years ago. It was a personal, scurrilous attack on Gloria Steinem, condemning for a piece of her history then 15 years old, which she had since made public and repudiated. The book is certainly better without this chapter, and Random House's decision would seem defensible on editorial grounds alone.

The Borman piece also includes insinuations against Gloria Steinem which are unfair and untrue. Gloria Steinem's dedi-

cation to the feminist cause, her personal sacrifices, and her genuine concern for other women and for the future of women are second to no one I have known. It makes no sense for feminists to vilify her, and I am sorry to see the destructive attacks carried into the pages of *The Voice*.

—Jane Alpert
West 12th Street

Liberty, Equality, Sorority

Dear Editor:

Nancy Borman's courageous expose of the censorship of the Redstockings' book, *Feminist Revolution*, was a welcome breath of fresh air, and *The Voice* is to be commended for publishing it ["Random Action," *Voice*, May 21]. Did Steinem's lawyers try to suppress it, too? Apparently Steinem's devotion to the cause does not include a devotion to free speech or even honesty. Ruthlessness in the name of sisterhood is hypocritical and destructive; it's time we had an alternative feminist voice saying we're not going to let them get away with it this time.

—Sharon Presley
National Coordinator
Association of Libertarian Feminists
Union Square West

Pejorative Report

Dear Editor:

We are feminists active in different areas of the women's movement who sometimes disagree with one another about the refinements of feminism—a struggle to which each of us has been committed for many years. But we are in agreement about the following points:

(1) We were shocked and repelled that the *Village Voice* gave space ["Random Action," May 21] to Nancy Borman's smear of Gloria Steinem—first, because the accusations by the self-styled Redstockings are untrue, unfair, and such old news that keeping them alive smacks of vendetta, and second, because Borman is not an objective journalist. Her tabloid, *Majority Report*, has published repeated, flagrant, one-sided "reporting" on this matter, and malicious attacks on Steinem as well as other feminists and feminist organizations. Suffice it to say that Steinem wrote a lengthy and detailed response to the so-called Redstockings' "charges" way back in 1975, which was published widely in the feminist media—and footnoted with hostile editorializing only in *Majority Report*.

(2) We all felt the loss of the original Redstockings, since that group contributed importantly to the development of theory (the "pro-woman line") early in this feminist wave. What a travesty that the name of "Redstockings" is being used now in such a vicious and opportunistic anti-woman fashion by a few people who claim sole title to feminism. Some of us who are signing this letter have, in fact, been active in the women's movement as long as or longer than the

original Redstockings, let alone this group—but more important, all of us happen to believe that the worldwide women's movement is not the property of any person, group, or central-committee mentality.

(3) We believe this should not even require saying, but let it be said. Gloria Steinem has earned her feminist "credentials" many times over. She has a reputation for founding groups, not destroying them, for building bridges, not widening divisions. She has been there for women when crowds were gathered—and when no one was watching. To detail her feminist commitment and achievements would take far more space even than the *Voice* allotted to her defamation—but to defend her further here would be an absurdity, dignifying her accusers. She should not have to re-defend herself periodically from guilt-by-association charges of a few people whose hope of attention seems bitterly centered on this ridiculous issue. Nor should we.

(4) We know that the true challenges are everywhere, especially now—from the endangering of women's basic freedoms in Iran to the anti-woman backlash well-organized by the ultra-right in the U.S., from clitoridectomy abroad to DES at home, from battery, rape, and pornography to denial of black feminist rage, of lesbian love, of all our economic and reproductive rights—denial of our authentic existence. At such a time, we resent the siphoning off of our energies by Sarachild, Borman, et al. Perhaps they have nothing better to do than incite diversionary battles among women. But the feminist movement—and that includes Gloria Steinem—is busy with more important tasks, such as building a global and real feminist revolution.

- Michele Wallace
Letya Cotin Pogrebin
Robin Morgan
Vivian Gornick
Andrea Dworkin
Phyllis Chesler
Charlotte Bunch
Susan Brownmiller
New York City

Nancy Borman replies: (1) The "imposters" you describe are none other than key individuals from the original Redstockings, which is how I always knew them. (2) What I wrote was the story of how material about Steinem came to be omitted from a book published by Random House. It was not a "smear" of Steinem linking her to the CIA. (3) To accept Steinem's "denials," one must wash one's brain of all memory of the February 21, 1967, New York Times, which reported that "Steinem said she had talked to some former officers of the National Student Association, who told her CIA money might be available . . .", and that she said, "The CIA's big mistake was not supplanting itself with private funds fast enough." You'd also have to forget she told The Washington Post three days earlier that she had worked "extensively" with CIA agents at the Helsinki Youth Festival in 1962; she also told the Post, "The CIA was the only one with enough guts and foresight to see that youth and student affairs were important." (4) My excuse for not being objective is that I'm a feminist propagandist. What's yours? None of you

Steinem apologists mention your various entanglements with Ms. magazine, where two of you are editors, others are contributors, and lots of luck with your new column, *Bella*. (5) Can it be that the women's movement establishment has created a new double standard, namely, condoning censorship of material embarrassing to one's patron (marion?) while upholding a rule of no-holds-barred when trashing one's critics?

June 11, 1979, *Village Voice*, page 6:

Counterattack

Dear Editor:

There is only one reason why Nancy Borman's attack on Gloria Steinem was given space in *The Voice* ["Random Action," May 21]; and it is not the upholding of freedom of expression or public debate of feminist issues. It is the salacious voyeurism of antifeminist editors, and of readers who can be catered to by the same: the glee that has always attended images of women attacking each other. What *The Voice*, like the rest of the male-controlled media, significantly fails to depict are the international, grassroots activities of women working together collectively on issues that affect us all: enforced heterosexuality and involuntary motherhood, cultural misogyny, racism, sexual harassment in the workplace, child molestation, welfare motherhood, lesbian rights, sterilization abuse, clitoridectomy and other genital mutilations, female poverty and illiteracy, the terrorist propaganda of pornography. When *The Voice* gives weekly, detailed, and truthful coverage to the work of women addressing these issues and others which affect a majority of the human species, we can perhaps then begin to take seriously its coverage of political differences within the women's movement.

—Adrienne Rich
West End Avenue

From an article by Nat Hentoff, "Where Have All the Radicals Gone?" (*Village Voice*, June 18, 1979, pages 24-25):

There's another movement from way back in the '60s that also makes *They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee* reverberate strongly, if sometimes discordantly. Toward the end of the book, Ann Popkin points out that the male radical left then was not much different from men elsewhere in the society in its colonizing attitude toward women. Said Stokely Carmichael, while a dominating force in SNCC: "The only position for women in SNCC is prone."

After a lucid, probing history of women's liberation from the late '60s on, Popkin cites what has been most fundamentally learned: "Any relationship, even a one-to-one encounter, between a woman and a man is me-

diated and shaped by the fact that men as a group have more power than women as a group. We were talking about power, not just discrimination. . . . Personal life does not merely reflect politics; it is politics."

Not that this knowledge is the exclusive preserve of women. An elderly black man I know once told me, "As soon as I get up in the morning, *everything* is politics." But a lot of women didn't really see that until the feminist surge that began in the '60s. This movement too, however, has developed certain oligarchic tendencies which try to stifle internal criticism. Rigidity is hardly synonymous with continuing vitality.

Witness the artillery barrage by some of the generals of the women's movement in the June 4 *Voice* letters column against Nancy Borman's article on Random House's censorship of a chapter in the Redstockings' *Feminist Revolution*. In her answer, Nancy Borman utterly flattered her attackers. I would add only that it is especially dismaying to see Bella Abzug—who has always been unyieldingly for free speech—condoning censorship. As Bella used to know, if Redstockings can be muzzled so, one day, may she, even she.

Aside from this lapse into attempted thought-control, some sections of the women's movement have been criticized, from the '60s on, for being insufficiently diversified. A class tilt. But the same was true, as several of the writers in *They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee* underline, of practically all the New Left groups. And that's perhaps the key reason this once rolling river of transformation largely dried up.

June 25, 1979, *Village Voice*, page 6:

Paranoid Tirade

Dear Editor:

Adrienne Rich's paranoid letter [*Voice*, June 11] cannot go unanswered. Whatever she thinks of Nancy Borman's interpretation of the Redstockings-Random House debacle, the article was hardly the product of "the salacious voyeurism of antifeminist editors." Rich may think she's doing Gloria Steinem a favor by making such charges. But behind her tirade lurks a truly insulting view, not only of *The Voice*, but of feminism—that the movement is so weak that it cannot bear the burden of division or the open discussion of same.

—Elliot Fremont-Smith
University Place

Is Gloria Steinem a Booker T. Washington?

People have criticized Redstockings for directing our fire against a single individual, as we've done in a sense with the article about Gloria Steinem. But sometimes a single individual comes to represent so much of what is wrong—and also has undue power to mis-influence things—because of connections to the power structure.

What the black leader W.E.B. DuBois did in his famous article on Booker T. Washington was very similar to what we did with Gloria Steinem. This was the article in 1903 in the book *Souls of Black Folk* in which DuBois opened fire on the leadership of Washington and his compromise with segregation. His compromise was that black people in the South should give up fighting for the right to vote and put up with segregation for a chance at what he termed economic development. Washington had enormous financial backing from Andrew Carnegie and others in the power structure, North and South.

Like us, DuBois was criticized for making a personal attack. He had to deal with the jealousy charge and the divisiveness charge.

Saying that we should have left the article "Gloria Steinem and the CIA" out of *Feminist Revolution* was like saying that DuBois should have left "On Booker T. Washington and Others" out of *Souls of Black Folk*.

The amazing thing to us is how similar some of the political criticisms DuBois makes of Washington are to those we make of Gloria Steinem. Steinem and *Ms.* represent the position, as we show in one of the censored articles, that women's own behavior or conditioning or lack of proper education—our "lowered sights"—is the prime cause of women's low position and failure to rise, rather than prejudice and discrimination. In other words, that women's behavior is or has become as much a cause of the prejudice against women as the result.

DuBois' criticism of Washington's position was virtually the same "...The distinct impression left by Mr. Washington's propaganda is...that the prime cause of the Negro's failure to rise more quickly is his wrong education in the past." DuBois drives home the point "relentless color prejudice is more often a cause than a result of the Negro's degradation."

Booker T. Washington's proscription for economic improvement (development) and solutions for the Southern Negro at the expense of political rights is also similar to Steinem's emphasis on the importance of "economic issues," such as general full employment, rather than feminist political demands such as the Equal Rights Amendment.

There are other parallels between DuBois's Booker T. Washington essay and the censored article on Steinem. DuBois talks about the sudden rise of Washington, as we do that of Steinem; DuBois describes Washington as a leader whom "the American Negroes received by outer pressure...whom they had not recognized before." He tells of some black American's fear about "the sight of scattered counsels, of internal disagreement." He alludes to the problem of "being thought captious or envious," warning that "the hushing of the criticism of honest opponents is a dangerous thing. It leads some of the best of the critics to unfortunate silence and paralysis of effort...."

It's true that DuBois does not explicitly go into Washington's financing by Andrew Carnegie in this particular essay. We do go into the corporate financing of such organizations founded by Steinem as the Women's Action Alliance and *Ms. Magazine*, the help she and *Ms.* received from Clay Felker and the secret funding of some of her previous work by the Central Intelligence Agency, revealed by the *Ramparts* expose. We talk of the financial dependence of the Women's Action Alliance, an organization she founded, on such corporations as Mobil, Rockefeller and Ford Foundation.

DuBois's article on Booker T. Washington became the most famous one in his book (*Souls of Black Folk*)—and we're not suggesting that the now censored article "Gloria Steinem and the C.I.A." is the most important in *Feminist Revolution*. Almost all the articles in the book take up many of the same themes from different angles. And there is much general theory, mistakes the movement has made and so forth. But important examples of much of the theory in the book has been censored—the main example of corporate and government support for certain theories about women and black people.

FORBIDDEN SUBJECTS

Gloria Steinem & the CIA

With this article *Heights and Valley News* is continuing its series on the censorship of the Redstockings anthology *Feminist Revolution*, published in February by Random House in an "abridged" edition. The book is a collection of articles by some of the movement's earliest activists examining the development, co-optation, and current state of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Two articles detailing and criticizing Gloria Steinem's past association with the CIA, published in the original 1975 Redstockings edition of this book, were axed following complaints and threats of libel suits from an array of well-heeled, well-connected (and mostly inter-connected) individuals, corporations, and foundation-grant-funded women's organizations described in the May issue of *Heights and Valley*.

CTU and Voice threatened

As part of this story, we began publishing one of the censored articles, "Gloria Steinem and the CIA," in installment form. Since then, events have escalated.

Both the *Village Voice* and *Heights and Valley News*, two of the New York City newspapers that have broken the near total media blackout on this information, have been subjected to written threats of libel suits in an effort to stop publication of articles they were planning on the Redstockings case. Shortly after *Heights and Valley's* first article in this series appeared, the *Village Voice*, in its May 21st issue, finally went ahead—after weeks of delay—with the extensive article it had planned, "Random Action" by Nancy Borman, in the face of the threatening letters it had been receiving from Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, the law firm of Gloria Steinem and Ms., and from Steinem herself.

By the time the *Voice* article came out, each of the thirty-three members of the Columbia Tenants Union's Board of Directors had also received letters from Steinem's attorney threatening action and personal liability if *Heights and Valley* went ahead with its plans to publish another article in this series.

The charge of libel has long been a tactic of folks with political and economic clout for curbing freedom of the press. Few people remember that the John Peter Zenger trial, which launched America's tradition of freedom of the press, was a libel case. In this story of developments in the women's rights movement and an attack on press rights and the free flow of information, *Heights and Valley* saw many lessons for the tenants' rights movement as well. We refuse to become involved in the suppression of this information, history, and a valuable chance to analyze this experience.

Women's rights and tenants' rights

The article "Gloria Steinem & the CIA" emerged in the course of researching the causes of the dissolution and destruction of the original new left grass roots women's liberation groups that launched the movement and the growing setbacks in the gains made for women in the earliest, most militant years of the movement.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the period of the jet set takeover of the Women's Liberation Movement has *not* been one of increasing success for the movement. 1972, the year Gloria Steinem was made McCall's Woman of the Year and *Ms.* began, was the last year of major gains for women in birth control (abortion) rights and the Equal Rights Amendment. The period since then has been characterized by an erosion of those gains, and a continuing decline in other key areas such as child care programs and women's pay in comparison to men's.

Both women's rights and tenants' rights have faced shrinkage (whether "planned" or not) in recent years, falling victim to the Establishment's austerity measures of the 1970's. Along with this we have been seeing the shrinkage and elimination of the non-compliant grass roots organizations in all movements which are not dependent on government and corporate handouts.

Because this is a series and the material has been broken up, it is important to make clear that Redstockings has never come up with any evidence establishing that *Ms.* magazine or the Women's Action Alliance were linked with the CIA, nor with any evidence that Gloria Steinem has been so linked since 1968-69.

Steinem's response

Redstockings raised its questions on the basis of past facts and Steinem's way of dealing with those facts. Steinem's 1975 response—which included a denial of any present connections with the CIA—failed to lay these questions to rest.

What Redstockings initially found disturbing was that Steinem had never repudiated her work with the CIA and that there seemed to be extensive efforts to cover up the earlier record.

Steinem's 1975 statement—rather than an amplification of what had been previously available on the record—was a contraction of it. Her only criticism of her past work and the policies of the CIA was a variant of the alarming remark she made to the *New York Times* on Feb. 21, 1967 that "The CIA's big mistake was not supplanting itself with private funds fast enough." In 1975, to "The Sisters of the Feminist Press," she had said, "I naively believed then that the ultimate money

HEIGHTS AND VALLEY NEWS: A monthly newspaper serving over 50,000 readers on the West Side north of 72nd Street. Distributed free under doors and in stores and building lobbies. Published by the Columbia Tenants Union.

FORBIDDEN

FEMINIST REVOLUTION
Redstockings, eds.
From the group of women who gave the women's liberation movement its original impetus and leadership—*a book for the next generation of the feminist program. Thousands of privately printed copies have been sold nationally and internationally virtually by word of mouth.*

These were the women who coined such slogans as "Women of the World Unite!" and "Sisterhood is Powerful," who organized the Miss America protest, originated the program of consciousness-raising, and pushed for abortion rights, sharing of housework, child-care centers, and job equality. In this book they are summarizing the accomplishments of the past eight years, analyzing what has gone wrong, and targeting obstacles to the movement, both within and without.

September 0-394-40821-7
history/women's paper: 73240-5
studies LC: 76-16456
224 pages CIP
8 1/2 x 11
30 photos & drawings

RANDOM HOUSE CATALOGUE, 1976

source didn't matter . . . It's painfully clear with hindsight that even indirect, controlfree funding was a mistake if it couldn't be publicized. . ."

This regret itself was very misleading. A major precept for the operations of the student group she directed—as its name Independent Research Service pointed up—was presenting itself as privately funded, in counterpoint to the Communist-sponsored youth festivals whose financing and control it was attacking.

The subversive public record

The mounting efforts to suppress the material Redstockings has put together—all, as you will see, from the public record—with threats of legal action have raised and enlarged all the old questions.

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"IN MY EXPERIENCE THE AGENCY WAS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM ITS IMAGE; IT WAS LIBERAL, NON-VIOLENT AND HONORABLE. I FOUND THE CIA MY BEST JOURNALISTIC TRAINING BECAUSE THE ONE INSTRUCTION ONE RECEIVES FROM THEM IS TO BE ACCURATE, WHEREAS PUBLICATIONS TELL YOU TO FIND AN ANGLE."

— Gloria Steinem,
The Washington Post (12/3/67)

=====

We feel that we must respond to the latest in a series of attempts to suppress inquiry into the details and nature of Gloria Steinem's association with the Central Intelligence Agency. We are alarmed that the most visible commentary on these events has come from several well-known figures in the feminist movement who not only condone but endorse this suppression. Because feminism's appeal and impact spring from a fundamental intellectual honesty, it is particularly distressing that the suppression of dissent may be seen as some kind of official feminist position.

In 1975, after Redstockings researched Gloria Steinem's affiliations and raised questions about her political past, Steinem published a "Statement" in connection with her activities on behalf of the Independent Research Service, a CIA-funded group. Many feminists found this document neither entirely credible nor to the point, and they have persisted in seeking more enlightening answers.

Because of the consciously counterrevolutionary role the CIA has played at home and abroad over the years, it makes sense to expect a participant in the women's movement—especially one who has come to symbolize it—to fully discuss her past relationship to the CIA. We are still waiting to hear Steinem's opinion of the Agency; the last one she gave characterized the CIA as "liberal" and "farsighted" (*The New York Times*, February 21, 1967).

The events that prompted us to send out this letter include:

1) Gloria Steinem, Clay Felker (most recently publisher of *Esquire*), and Ford Foundation president Franklin Thomas were among those who threatened to sue for libel if Random House allowed the CIA chapters to be published in the Random edition of Redstockings' *Feminist Revolution*. At the same time, *Newsweek/Washington Post* publisher Katharine Graham and Warner Communications—a major *Ms.* stockholder—also complained. The offending chapters were deleted. Thus, Steinem and her powerful supporters successfully used the threat of litigation to exercise prior restraint over publication.

2) When Steinem learned that the *Village Voice* had assigned journalist Nancy Borman to prepare an article on the censorship of *Feminist Revolution*, her attorneys, Greenbaum, Wolff & Ernst, threatened suit against the *Voice* if any mention of Steinem's CIA association appeared in the article. After some delay to allow the *Voice's* legal counsel to review the material, the *Voice* published the article (May 21, 1979), and in subsequent issues several letter-writers responded with attacks on Borman and the *Voice*.

3) In May 1979, when *Heights & Valley News*, a New York City neighborhood paper published by the Columbia Tenants Union, began a series on the material deleted from *Feminist Revolution*, Steinem's attorneys again threatened suit. But instead of threatening the Columbia Tenants Union corporation—as they had the Random House and Village Voice corporations—they sent a letter to each of CTU's 32 board members. Board members cannot be individually sued for a corporation's acts, except in a few instances not relevant here (many non-lawyers may not know this); but Steinem's attorneys stated in their letter to the board members that publication of the material "could subject [them] to individual liability." *Heights & Valley News* stood up to this attempt at intimidation and is continuing the series.

All this legal harassment was in response not to any actual instance of false, malicious defamation, but to the potential raising of embarrassing questions about some feminists' relations with the power elite.

We think that Steinem and her associates have not made a convincing case for cutting off discussion. At question is not just the right to debate one woman's past associations, although this is often important. There is an urgent need for wide-ranging debate in the feminist movement on such questions as:

— Do feminists think there are special topics on which it is defensible to stifle discussion? Why do we put up with bad-faith appeals to "sisterhood"?

— How far should feminists go in making compromises? Which kinds of compromises help us reach our goals? Which hurt?

— Is there a conflict-of-interest problem that our movement needs to solve—as other movements have tried to solve it—when movement representatives accept positions on the government or corporate side of the bargaining table?

— Are "right-wingers" the only reason for the growing number of setbacks for women? Or is the feminist movement failing to discuss its own serious mistakes?

— Does dependence on government and corporate funding and foundation grants increase or decrease the effectiveness of feminist groups? Does it distort their politics and activities?

— What is to be done about government and corporate spying and intervention in the feminist movement?

These questions are not personal but political. They are at the heart of our survival as a movement. We will not be silenced.

Gilda Abramowitz, New York City
Dee Alpert, NYC
R. L. Annchild, NYC
Marion Banzhaf, Washington, DC
Bea Baron, Bronx, NY
Jane Barry, Philadelphia
Pat Barry, Philadelphia
Rosalynd Baxandall, NYC
Frances M. Beal, Brooklyn, NY
Harriet Bernstein, Philadelphia
Louise Billotte, San Francisco
Nancy Borman, NYC
Gayle M. Brauner, LaGrande, Ore.
Lynne Carlo, NYC
Eileen Casey, Brooklyn
Susan P. Chizeck, Princeton, NJ
Cindy Cisler, NYC
Heather Cottin, Bayville, NY
Coca Crystal, NYC
Agnes Cunningham, NYC
Ann C. Davidson, Philadelphia
Charlotte Dennett, NYC
Carole DeSaram, NYC
Hodee W. Edwards, Oakland, Calif.
Dorothy Engleman, NYC
Nancy S. Erickson, Brooklyn

Lisa Forman, Warrington, Pa.
Harriet Fraad, New Haven, Conn.
Carol Giardina Freeman, Jacksonville, Fla.
Elizabeth Griggs, NYC
Sara Grusky, Washington, DC
Stephanie Haftel, Rochester, NY
Carol Hanisch, New Paltz, NY
Carole Heath, Rochester
Judith Lewis Herman, Cambridge, Mass.
Nellie Hester, NYC
Jan Hillegas, Jackson, Miss.
Susan-Leigh Jeanchild, West Palm Beach, Fla.
Patricia Korbet, NYC
Janet Kruzik, Jackson Heights, NY
Lavonne Lela, Rochester
Barbara Leon, Gardiner, NY
Sherry Lipsky, Philadelphia
Pamela Lloyd, NYC
Rita Loughlin, NYC
Kathleen Maynard, Gainesville, Fla.
Charlotte J. McEwen, Ottawa
Aurora Levins Morales, Berkeley, Calif.
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Amina Muñoz, NYC
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Jean Yanarella, Beacon, NY
Merle S. Goldberg, Venice, Calif.

Copies of the two articles reviewing Steinem's CIA associations, which were in the original edition of *Feminist Revolution*, are available for \$2 from Redstockings, P.O. Box 1284, New York, NY 10009. Redstockings' information packet on the censorship of the book's Random edition is \$2. Copies of the Sept. 6, 1975, *Majority Report*, containing Steinem's state-

ment and annotations to it, are \$3.75 each from *Majority Report*, 49 Perry St., New York, NY 10014. Copies of the *Voice* article and letters of response are \$.50, cash or stamps, from the Statement Group, c/o Redstockings.

"I FOUND THE CIA TO BE MY BEST JOURNALISTIC TRAINING GROUND...."

—Gloria Steinem, 1967

UPDATE: Gloria Steinem The CIA and Other Connections

CENSORSHIP: THE REDSTOCKINGS EXPERIENCE

The following excerpts are from a presentation by Kathie Sarachild to a hearing on censorship at the American Writer's Congress in New York City in October, 1981. Her testimony recounted Redstocking's experience with the censorship of material about Gloria Steinem's connections with the CIA from the Random House edition of FEMINIST REVOLUTION.

by Kathie Sarachild

... We have been awakened to the use of libel suits to curb freedom of the press. Although newspapers here frequently report libel charges in the Soviet Union as routine acts of political suppression, libel cases in the United States are treated as personal, not political, issues. Few people realize and remember that the landmark trial of John Peter Zenger before the Revolutionary War was a libel case. It was on the issue of libel, not sedition, that the case broke such ground for freedom of the press. The jury ruled truth to be a defense against libel, and so it has been, theoretically, ever since.

But because in libel cases both sides have to pay their own court costs, win or lose, defending the truth can be a very costly proposition. And of course, if you're rich and powerful enough that a threat is enough to ward off your adversary, the issue of truth will never even reach the courts to see the light of day.

... Much of the information [about Steinem and the CIA] is on the public record in newspaper articles that appeared in the 1967 opening when Gloria Steinem made comments like this one which appeared in THE WASHINGTON POST, Dec. 3, 1967: "IN MY EXPERIENCE, THE AGENCY WAS COMPLETELY DIFFERENT FROM ITS IMAGE. IT WAS LIBERAL, NON-VIOLENT AND HONORABLE. I FOUND THE C.I.A. MY BEST JOURNALISTIC TRAINING GROUND BECAUSE THE ONE INSTRUCTION ONE RECEIVES FROM THEM IS TO BE ACCURATE, WHEREAS PUBLICATIONS TELL YOU TO FIND AN ANGLE." (Audience laughed.)

... Although Redstockings sent out hundreds of announcements of this press conference [the March 23, 1979 press conference about the censorship — Eds.], none of the daily newspapers or national magazines covered it. It was, however, a major censorship scandal fit to print in the NEW YORK TIMES a short while before when Little Brown insisted on the deletion of a few lines about Lillian Hellman from a book by Diana Trilling and Trilling left for another publisher. This kind of thing, of course, tends to make you think the censorship problem in America is fairly minor.

The SOHO NEWS and VILLAGE VOICE did cover the conference, however. The SOHO NEWS alone came out with a little piece right away—using the term "blue pencil" rather than censorship. The more ambitious VOICE article that Nancy Borman was putting together dragged on and on and then even longer as Steinem and her attorney Nancy Wechsler, wife of James Wechsler, began sending letters to the VOICE threatening legal action. Meanwhile, a small community newspaper on the Upper West Side, HEIGHTS & VALLEY NEWS, published by the Columbia Tenants Union, had begun reprinting the article about Gloria Steinem as part of a series on censorship. No sooner had the first installment appeared than Steinem's attorney sent letters to all 21 members of the Columbia Tenants Union Board of Directors threatening each with individual liability if HEIGHTS & VALLEY went on with the series. By then Redstockings had found a wonderful First Amendment lawyer to help out—Ephraim London, whose landmark case before the Supreme Court in the '50s had done so much to end censorship in the movies. This helped a lot to calm the nerves of the Tenant Union's Board of Directors, many of whom were already bogged down in eviction cases, unemployment cases and what not and for whom a libel case might have been more than they could bear.

Shortly after this, the VOICE article came out, detailing some of the major information about Steinem's CIA involvement, though no reporting news of her libel threats against the VOICE. Steinem never sued the VOICE, nor did she sue HEIGHTS & VALLEY NEWS when it came out with its next installment. A statement at that time by 78 feminists reporting and protesting the censorship of FEMINIST REVOLUTION and the censorship attempts on Nancy Borman's VOICE article and HEIGHTS & VALLEY NEWS received no coverage in the major media.

To the best of my knowledge, the only allusion to these events that ever appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES came months later and was a very indirect and unreporting one at that. It was in an article by Gail Sheehy, longtime friend of protagonist Clay Felker. In the middle of musing on what she found were Steinem's awesome leadership capacities, Sheehy wrote, "Redstockings, a radical feminist group...has for the past five years been peddling charges that back in the '50's she worked for the Central Intelligence Agency. Miss Steinem denies it categorically." Sheehy then goes on to describe Redstockings virtually as a gang of four "tormentors" whose names "no one would recognize." (Audience laughed.) Redstockings' letter to the TIMES protesting this high but not evenhanded rubbish was never printed. When the PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS published the same Sheehy article soon after, a somewhat similar letter-to-the-editor by local Redstockings Jane Barry and Sherry Lipsky was printed. Censored from the letter, however, was the paragraph substantiating the CIA charges.

Gloria Steinem's association with the CIA is apparently a forbidden subject. What we originally saw as an issue of cover-up we have learned to see—through bitter, concrete and personal experience—as an issue of censorship that seems to have disturbing ramifications for the conditions of free speech and press in this country.

Steinem's role in the '50s and '60s as the director of a CIA-funded student movement organization and a CIA-funded journalist was revealed as a result of the RAMPARTS exposures of 1967, the kind of exposures that may soon be illegal as a result of the bill that would make the identification of CIA agents and operatives a crime on the false use of a national security pretext. This, of course, would be censorship directly by the government rather than censorship by the use of private, well-heeled libel threats and media blackouts.

But the increasing repression, I believe, is to a large extent due to increasing resistance to oppression in this country and, for this reason, I feel optimistic and not pessimistic.

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