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ABSTRACT

This quarterly, student published journal is a forum for student writing on contemporary rhetoric. The focus of this issue is the rhetoric of Women's Liberation. Women discuss major philosophical and political issues effecting women. The articles include: "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation;" "The Demands of Revolutionary Women at the Outset of the 1970's;" "A Study of the Images Produced Through the Use of the Male Pronoun as the Generic;" "Women's Liberation: A Rhetorical Problem;" "Germaine Greer: A Call to Women's Liberation;" "Women's Liberation, The Radical Lesbian, and Rhetorical Choices;" and "On Liberation and Ritual Rebirth: A Review of Jill Johnson's 'On a Clear Day You Can See Your Mother.' "The issue also contains a discussion of the non-logical approach to decision making as applicable to the dilemma of American draftees, through comparison with the major characters in three of Camus' novels; examination of the rhetoric of municipal self-determination as advanced by New York City Mayor John Lindsay; an analysis of "A Radiclib's Candidacy for the Senate--Earl Craig, Jr's Compaign for the Minnesota State Senate; and utilization of the dramatistic process in analysis of a speech by Edward R. Murrow. (Author/LG)

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A Rhetorical-Existential Approach to the Draft

B.A. Hixson

The opportunity to present my views in this journal has led me to question the nature of my task. I wish to suggest the importance of several existential notions for rhetoric. At the same time, I do not wish to detract from this importance by writing for an audience made up exclusively of readers from the field of rhetoric. The reasoning that leads me to see merit in the non-logical approach to decision-making has its roots in Albert Camus' theories of the absurd, intellectual suicide and lucidity. The dilemma of the young American faced with a draft notice serves as a model for application of Camus' theories due to the similarity of that dilemma to the major character's dilemma in three of Camus' novels: The Plague, The Fall and The Stranger. The role rhetoric plays in the working out of these dilemmas (the decision-making process) is one of providing tools for sorting out, explicating and applying the non-logical notions that prove so useful to the existentialist when faced with a decision.

Camus did not care to be labeled an existentialist, or any other brand of philosopher for that matter. But all of Camus' writings deal with the notion that it is possible to live and create even though man's condition seems absurd. In Camus' novels, he views political and social structures as absurd when they force people to do things that they do not wish to do. Camus felt all men had a sense of what was noble, just and desirable as well as what was base and non-humanitarian. For these reasons Camus contended that it was philosophically suicidal for

man to do the base or non-humanitarian thing. Man's lucidity is his realization that he can bring about changes in his condition that will make life acceptable as well as meaningful. For these reasons Camus is considered that special brand of philosopher called existentialist. He was concerned with man's existence, not how man could commit suicide.

Camus offers his interpretation of absurdity in his novel The Plague. Camus' tale is about a doctor who lives in a seaport town in Algeria with his wife. Shortly after the story begins the doctor notices that everywhere he goes he encounters dying rats. The doctor goes to great pains to convince the city officials to dispose of the dead rats and find the cause of their dying in order to stop the plague before it spreads to the human inhabitants of the large city. Camus devotes most of his novel to the reactions of the city officials first, to the increasing number of dying rats and, second, to the increasing number of humans who die. The city officials refuse to institute the appropriate measures prescribed by the doctor to stop the plague. Camus views this condition as absurd. The officials fear the reactions of the townspeople once they know the plague is in their midst, this is the reason they refuse to accept the presence of the plague by taking action against it. The consequence is a town full of plague quarantined from the rest of the world. The absurdity of the condition becomes apparent to the doctor. If the proper decision is made in time the plague can be stopped. The proper decision necessitates realization of the choices available and these choices demand action. Neither the realization nor the action takes place and the condition of the city's inhabitants becomes more absurd. They desire the freedoms they can no longer have and become passionately sentimental when loved ones become afflicted with the plague and are taken to the hospitals and a death that they all know is inevitable.

The absurd condition in the plague-filled city has other aspects. The city's leading priest lectures his followers concerning the reasons they ought to rejoice at the coming of the plague. The priest feels it is a clear command from God. God is pointing toward the road they are all privileged to take: the road to salvation and a life hereafter. The doctor realizes the absurdity of the sentimentalities thrust upon him, thus Camus views him as lucid. This lucidity brings about the doctor's decision to stay in the town and fight the plague. His lucidity is the realization that it is more important to relieve human suffering when it is possible rather than point to its excellence as the priest advocates. The doctor's decision means, among other things, that his consumptive wife must leave the plague ridden city and go to a sanitorium without him.

The doctor's dilemma serves as an illustration of the rhetorical value of a non-logical approach to the decision-making process. If one approaches the doctor's dilemma in the traditional rhe-

torical manner, one would be expected to utilize the rules of logic which have their roots in the disciplined Apollonian tradition so familiar to students of classical rhetoric. Hence, it does not seem logical for the doctor to send his wife to a sanitorium to be cured of tuberculosis (or to die of tuberculosis) without going there himself to comfort and assist her. Implicit in his non-logical choice to stay is the understanding that the doctor is staying in a city full of plague for which there is no serum and from which no one recovers. Camus is describing for us the non-logical nature of the Dionsian which is the diametric of the Apollonian. The Apollonian would flee the plague and go with his wife. The Dionysian is free of the conservative logic of the Apollonian and stays to fight the plague.

The Plague offers a parallel to the dilemma of the young American faced with a draft notice. Camus' character is a young jounalist who desires his wife who is in Paris. Once the city is quarantined he contemplates escaping in order to be with her. The draftee desires to escape the draft and often contemplates going to Canada to avoid it. The journalist's decision to stay and fight the plague is based upon the notion that he must relieve the absurd condition of human suffering that exists. The draftee's decision to stay would be based upon his desire to change the absurd condition of a political system that offers him too few choices when faced with a draft notice. If the journalist leaves the city he avoids making a decision which he recognizes as a humanitarian one. If the draftee goes to Canada, he avoids making a decision that will allow him to stay in his country and bring about changes that he thinks necessary. The recognition of the absurdity of the existing conditions and the humanitarian choices that are available comprise lucidity for both the journalist and the draftee. This lucidity dictates the journalist's decision to stay and fight the plague, and the draftee's decision to stay in his country and work for the changes in it that he sees as necessary. The student of rhetoric may ask what is important about a comparison between a hypothetical draftee and a character in a novel? What is important is the rhetorical question: Can something useful and meaningful come from comparing logical and non-logical approaches to decision-making?

To better understand the notion of intellectual suicide, I will point to another of Camus' works, The Fall. The entire novel is a first person narrative. The character is an ex-Parisian lawyer who has moved to Copenhagen. He has set up a third rate law practice in a dockside bar where hardened criminals are his only clients. The lawyer's entire life is a study via example of what Camus calls intellectual suicide. Camus portrays the lawyer as a man driven to raise himself above other men. Camus views this desire as suicidal because the lawyer is projecting an image of the self that is designed to gratify the self and not those he presents the image to. The lawyer has had many passionate affairs with women throughout his life. His purpose

has always been to gain their love, but never to return it:

> "I kept all my affections within reach to make use of them when I wanted. On my own admission, I could live happily only on condition that all the individuals on earth, or the greatest possible number, were turned toward me, eternally in suspense, devoid of independent life and ready to answer my call at any moment, doomed in short to sterility until the day I should deign to favor them. In short, for me to live happily it was essential for the creatures I chose not to live at all. They must receive their life, sporadically, only at my bidding."[1]

Other aspects of the lawyer's life are motivated by gratification of the self:

> "In the same way, I always enjoyed giving directions in the street, obliging with a light, lending a hand to heavy push-carts, pushing a stranded car, buying a paper from the Salvation Army lass or flowers from the old peddler, though I knew she stole them from the Montparnasse cemetery. I also liked--and this is harder to say--I liked to give alms. A very Christian friend of mine admitted that one's initial feeling on seeing a beggar approach one's house is unpleasant. Well, with me it was worse: I used to exult."[2]

The lawyer's motive for his actions is made clear. "Thus at least I took pleasure in life and in my own excellence."[3] Because the lawyer is able to think in a logical manner, he is able also to point to one crisis in his life which demanded a decision. While walking across a bridge in Paris one snowy evening, he saw a girl jump into the river the bridge spanned. He logically calculated his chances of finding the girl if he jumped in after her, as well as his chances of contracting pneumonia, and avoided making a decision by walking away. The lawyer's inability to make a decision lies in his inability to act upon non-logical Dionysian choices that put humanitarian interests before the self interest motive that he has arrived at logically. The notion that his example provides us with, that I feel is important for rhetoric, is that knowledge of the absurdity of the existing condition is not enough. We must find rhetorical means to apply the components of lucidity to the absurd condition in order to discover what choices are meaningful for the decision-making process. Camus' lawyer discovers the meaningful choices too late in life and cries out at the end of The Fall..."O young woman, throw yourself into the water again so that I may a second time have the chance of saving both of us."[4] What is the significance of the lawyer's realization that he should have made a decision? The significance lies in the hope that non-logical forms of decision-making will be considered by men seeking the meaningful choices available to them before they make decisions. When logical forms fail to be of assistance in the decision-making process, one should be free to act upon the lucid spontaneity that is Dionysian.

Implications of these notions can be seen for the draftee. Joining the service when one does not believe in the war being fought, or war generally, does not seem very logical. However, if one is motivated by self interest to stay out of jail or to avoid being ostracized, joining the service does seem logical. The Dionysian approach considers other alternatives. First, one may join the service, therefore allowing himself the right to stay within his country, and be substantially free in his mind via working to bring about the changes he sees as necessary in his country's political structure. Secondly, he may go to jail. Once again, he is able to stay within the country he wishes to change. His dissent against the absurd political structure which offers him too few choices, is contained in his decision to be counted as a dissenter who is showing the highest respect for his country by dissenting from within it.

Camus sees the lucid Dionysian as one who questions the condition of his life each time he is called upon to act. In Camus' The Stranger, a young man's mother dies while living in a home for the aged. In order to provide her with the care she needed in her old age, the son had sent her to the home and worked to support her as well as himself. The absurdity of the son's condition becomes apparent to him when his employer makes him feel guilty for taking time off to go the funeral which society expects him to go to. He is expected to sit all night with the coffin, to refrain from smoking or from drinking coffee during the vigil, to feel guilty for not being able to afford a private nurse for her, and is expected to shed tears during the burial. The son's lucidity is his realization of how absurd these ritualistic sentimentalities are. The son sees these sentimental gestures as a poor counterfeit for the feeling he had for and shared with his mother while she was alive.

Apollonian logic can bring about intellectual suicide, via avoidance of a decision, in the case of the hypothetical draftee and the characters described in Camus' novels. If the self interest motive is more logical than non-logical, then perhaps draftees would do well to consider the humanitarian motive of changing this absurd condition through the process that brings about lucidity. The role rhetoric plays in the acquision of lucidity is the process of sorting out absurdities in order to recognize valid choices. If Dionysian spontaneity assists the rhetor in this process then existential notions may indeed be important to us.

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1. Albert Camus, The Fall (New York, 1956), p. 68.
2. Ibid., p. 22.
3. Ibid., p. 2[illegible]
4. Ibid., p. 14[illegible].

The Case for a National City

Warren B. Lee

> "The political connection between the people of the city and the state has been used by the latter to our injury. Our burdens have increased, our substance eaten out, and our muncipal liberty destroyed. Why may not New York (city) disrupt the bonds that bind her to a corrupt and venal master?"[1]

That is the flavor of the rhetoric of New York City Mayor John Lindsay in his campaign for municipal self-determination. Self-determination of cities is not a recent phenomena on the scene. The Ancient Greeks used the city-state concept of government with some notable degree of success. The city-state concept has been proposed several times in recent history as a solution to the problems that modern cities face.

Lindsay's predecessors Mayors Fernando Wood in 1861 and more recently Jimmy Walker and Robert Wagner have all sought to relieve some of the problems brought about by the organizational structure presently in being. In 1959 the New York City council created a committee to study secession. And more recently in the 1969 mayoral election, candidate Norman Mailer's key campaign issue was statehood for New York City.[2]

In other areas of this country, evidences of the independence movement can be found. For example, the call for regional and metropolitan area governments in which the Minneapolis-St. Paul area was involved in with discussions this past year.

Critical municipal problems are not unique to New York City. For example, Newark is close to bankruptcy. Seattle has staggering unemployment. Cleveland's mayor and city council are at bitter odds.[3] Elsewhere throughout the country reports of curtailment of vital city services can be found.

In the midst of this chaos, the common contributing cause--organizational structure--has been looked at again and a new concept for resolution has been proposed by John Lindsay in his speech to the first conference of cities of NATO countries held recently in Indianapolis.

The concept--National Cities--would be created under a federally issued charter similar to the FDIC, TVA, or AMTRAK. It would be able to allow the cities to deal directly with the federal government on such matters as trade, finance, and social welfare. This concept would enable the cities to have independent authority on issues of local concern and urban development. Further, the cities would be free from restraints placed upon them by state legislatures and would function to formalize the federal government's responsibility to the cities. Lastly, with the addition of neighborhood governmental units, the criticized unresponsiveness and remoteness of present city government would be resolved.

The incident precipitating this latest round of rhetoric was the recent strike by the American Federation of State, County, and City Employees District Council 37, of which some of the members included thedrawbridge operators of New York City. The cause for the strike was the New York State Legislature's rejection of the union's pension plan which Mayor Lindsay and his city council had previously approved:

> "It is no longer reasonable to say that under our federal system, cities must continue only as supplicants to their states. Cities like Houston and Detroit and Philadelphia are each larger than 15 of the 50 states. And the budget of my own city is larger than the budget of New York state."[4]

At the core of the problem is Manhattan and Albany's feud coupled with Lindsey and Rockefeller's personal animosities. The dialogue contains items of Lindsay's insistence that Rockefeller and Albany are anti-city and regularly financially shortchange New York City. The substance of the charge can be verified by the comments of State Assembly Speaker Larry Duryea (a Long Island lobster wholesaler) who continually emphasizes the limitations on New York City.[5] Further ammunition for the hostilities comes from the facts that New York City contributes $2.8 billion to the state's $7.8 billion income yet receives only $1.8 billion in return. Lindsay had asked for

authority to raise $892 million for city revenues but was granted only $525 million.[6] Shift schedules for city patrolmen, rent control retention, and decentralization of city schools are all items controlled by Albany which only fuel the fires of hostilities.

The federal government is no less a villian in this dialogue. New York City paid over $12 billion in taxes to Uncle Sam yet it got back less than 13¢ on the dollar.[7] Lindsay has attempted to underscore the pragmatic, life-style implications:

> "Recently I toured the Brownsville section of my own city with a group of 12 other big-city mayors. Seeing the empty shells of abandoned buildings and the ruins of a once thriving community of 170,000 people, the mayor of Seattle, Wes Ulman, said to me: 'God, it looks like Dresden after World War II.'
> I could not help but think that if it were Dresden, it would have long since been re-built with substantial support from America. Indeed, I sometimes wonder if Brownsville had been discovered in Burma whether our national government would not have responded faster and with greater generosity than it has so far at home.
> America's $135 billion commitment to foreign-aid, including the Marshall Plan was not only an act of generosity. It also marked the end of American isolation.
> A commitment to a national cities policy would be no less significant--for it would signal the end of America's bias against its own cities."[8]

Self-determination for the cities has considerable validity. In the urban age, the nation's destiny and well-being of most of its citizens depend upon the quality of life and the economic health of its larger cities. Society continues to ask for an increase in services while the tax base that covers the cost of these services continues to shrink:

> "Looking outward to the suburbs we see the irrationality of present city boundaries as a tax base and service area. Looking inward we find that city government with a million citizens can be remote and unresponsive to their residents."[9]

While the problem of our big cities continue to mount, at a staggering rate, the quality of life continues to be eroded, the crime rate continues to climb, and the ecology continues to deteriorate almost to the irreversible point. Those persons and institutions in positions to do something about these surmountable problems choose to either ignore them completely or offer worn out or watered-down and ineffective solutions that cannot possibly cope with them.

The classical and recently revived solution for organizational

structure problems of cities was the city-state concept. But the inherent disadvantages of this concept make it unworkable. State government is basically a weak, unresponsive, ineffective, and the least creative level of American Federalism. Advocates of the city-state concept readily admit that the new state would have little clout in Congress.[10] Congressional ineffectiveness aside, the value of creating more states with their generally weak legislatures has questionable utility:

> "The charter for national cities would fill the unique need of great urban centers for that measure of independence, and stability so desperately lacking at the present time."[11]

National cities would deal directly with federal government agencies on matters that directly affect them. These cities would have authority to deal independently on matters affecting only themselves.

One large stumbling block to making cities independent under previously considered concepts was the requirement that state legislatures approve their independence. With a very large portion of the states' revenues coming from the cities, losing these same cities to the formulation of yet another state is not in the realm of possiblity. The national cities concept would be created by a federal charter much in the same manner that public corporations are created---for example, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, or the Postal Service:

> "This is not to suggest we can solve our urban problems by a mere change in structure...Obviously, a new structure is only a beginning. This is not to suggest either that the three tiered concept of American Federalism is not relevant to the issues of the '70's. It is and it should remain the basic pattern of American government."[12]

The National Cities concept is the step in the right direction to getting a handle on the cities' problems. It eliminates the shortcomings of the city-state concept that would preclude its coming into fact and the mechanisms that would preclude its effectiveness in fact. The concept meets the criticisms that city governments are remote and unresponsive. And lastly the concept provides for the resolution of trade, financial, and social welfare problems.

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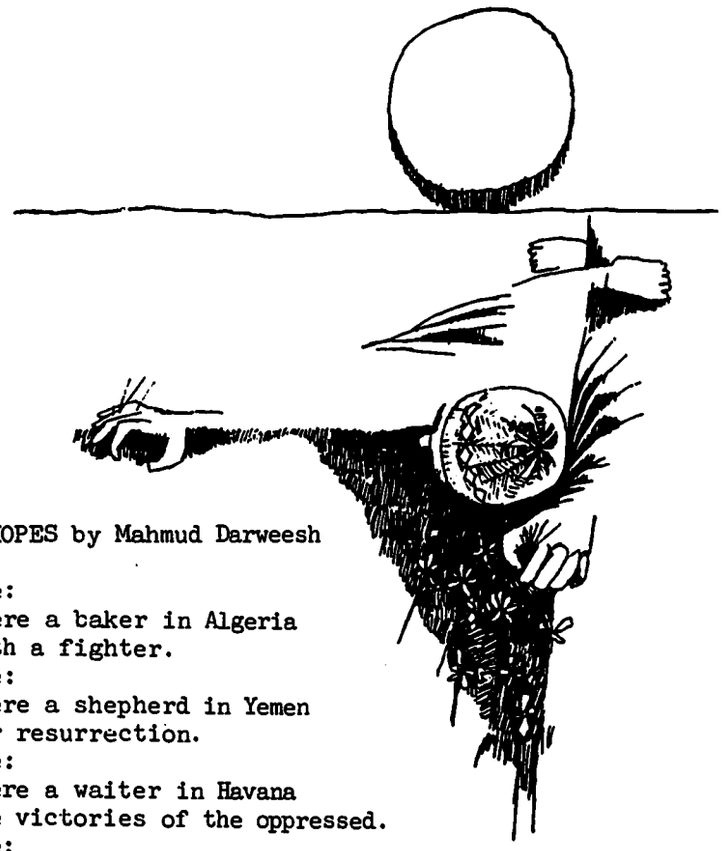
1. "Should New York City Be the 51st State?" Time, June 21, 1971, p. 14.
2. Ibid.
3. "Out in a Rowboat with Mayor Lindsay," Time, June 21, 1971, p. 13.
4. "Remarks by Mayor John Lindsay, Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 15, 1971, p. 13.

5. Time, p. 13.
6. "Up the Drawbridges," Newsweek, June 21, 1971, p. 47.
7. Time, p. 14.
8. "Remarks by Mayor John Lindsay," p. 13.
9. Ibid.
10. Time, p. 15.
11. "Remarks by Mayor John Lindsay," p. 13.
12. Ibid.



CONCERNING HOPES by Mahmud Darweesh

Don't tell me:
  I wish I were a baker in Algeria
  To sing with a fighter.
Don't tell me:
  I wish I were a shepherd in Yemen
  To sing for resurrection.
Don't tell me:
  I wish I were a waiter in Havana
  To sing the victories of the oppressed.
Don't tell me:
  I wish I were a young porter in Aswan
  To sing for the rocks.
My friend:
The Nile will never flow into the Volga,
Nor will the Congo or the Jordon flow into the Euphrates.
Each river has its own springs,
Its own counse and its own life.
Our land, my friend, is no barren land.
Each land gives birth in due time,
And each fighter will see the dawn.

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A Rhetoric of Accommodation: A Radiclib's Candidacy for the Senate

Marilyn M. Stelli

The early sit-ins, civil rights bus rides, anti-war marches, and hippies were ultimately to produce both national diviseness and resistence or militancy by the end of the 1960's. In 1968, the first evidence of a cultural poliarization emerged. During the 1968 Democratic convention, "establishment" Democrats were split 60-40% within the walls of the Convention Hall on the Vietnam plank. Outside the walls of the Convention Hall, radicals were pitted against the agents of the old-line "establishment" in a brutal struggle. By 1970, the "rhetoric of polarization" was common and radicals were persistently perceived as opposed to the "establishment." There seemed to be no ground between the radical political position and the politics of the establishment. Yet, theoretically it would seem possible for a radical politican to decide that he would seek membership within the established political system to ultimately reorder that established system. This analysis addresses the question: What happens to the radical politican who enters establishment politics in the hope of "reform" from within?

A partial anwer to this question emerged from the 1970 Senatorical Election in the State of Minnesota. Earl Craig, Jr., a radical, did enter establishment politics when he campaigned for the Minnesota senate seat against Hubert Humphrey in the primary. Craig's candidacy was significant because he did receive 20 per cent of the total vote in the September primary.

Craig is a radical but also an intellectual and a black man. To see an intellectual in the Minnesota political system was not new; but to see a black radical working within the system was indeed unusual for Minnesota. While unusual, Craig's entrance was not unexpected for in 1970 the public had become weary of such figures as "has-been Humphrey" representing old-time Pollyanish[2] ideas. With white liberals feeling comfortable with Craig and his blackness, the unique experience lay in store for those in the hinterlands who, in a state with less than 3 percent black, had seldom seen a black man. The fact that he was a soft-spoken, serious political candidate was startling to these audience at a time when they were not only bored by vexatious political messages on television but also alarmed by the daily media's reminders about Black Power. Craig did challenge these people to think. He presented arguments to support his approach to politics which were in opposition to the Humphrey approach. Craig's campaign against Humphrey was part of what one is likely to identify as a "movement"[3] but the focus of the study will be on Craig's campaign as defined by the campaign dates and election.

In Craig's campaign, there was a major shift in rhetoric halfway through the campaign. Duluth, Minnesota was where the DFL (Democratic Farm Labor) Convention was held and Duluth was the turning point in Craig's political rhetoric. Up to this time, all Craig's support had come from University of Minnesota campus groups, both radical student and faculty groups. After appearing before the DFL in Duluth, Craig received almost 21 percent of the delegate vote and was formally endorsed by the DFL to run against Humphrey in the primary. Although many at the convention felt that there was a disproportionate weight to the far left wing of the party, it was significant to observe later that the 20 percent delegate vote was indeed the same as his actual primary vote.

What became of Craig's ideologies when he chose to work within the system? Is there any hope of intergrating the New Left and the establishment? Is our present system designed to acccmodate these political differences? In order to answer these questions, we shall examine Craig's rhetoric before and after Duluth. Although this analysis focuses upon only two points of contrast--Craig's style and his stance on government priorities--it is this critic's belief that the conclusions reached based on these two items do reflect Craig's total position, but space does preclude us from examining all of these issues. From this perspective, the central analysis developed here is that as Craig's rhetorical base broadened in order to identify with more people, his rhetoric slid further down the continuum from radical to liberal. Correspondinly, his rhetoric changed and his strategies moved from totalistic to non-totalistic.[4] The line of polarity bent as Craig shed his "can't lose" strategy. Using this criterion,

then, it would not seem that the New Left is able to maintain its integrity and work within the system if Earl Craig is typical of the radical who enters establishment politics.

A Stylistic Change

We can note stylistic change by focusing upon the shift from non-professional to professional strategies. In several of Craig's speeches before Duluth, a non-professional style was seen. He stated that he would not ask for endorsement by any political party, but as Chairman of the Minnesota New Democratic Coalition, he did send letters asking Coalition members specifically whether a challenge should be made and whether Craig should be that candidate.[5] Craig's inclination was to run only if he felt that the people desired it. His request was also based on his conviction that, "a challenge to the old order, particularly as represented by Hubert Humphrey must be made."[6] By May 7, Craig inferred he would run. In a speech at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, Craig said he was "talking on my own behalf of my DFL candidancy."[7] The campaign was regarded, at this point, as a football game--Craig was the quarterback and success would be based upon small group efforts--writing, calling and personal contacts. Hence, the much publicized, mimeographed sheet, "How to Get Earl Craig Publicized, Free, or What to Do Until the Money Comes..." became an operating campaign strategy until Duluth.

In sharp contrast, after Duluth, the style had become more professional. With this professional style was a feeling of distance. The casual air was cooled by words such as "society," "leadership," and "programs." The explicit was shifting to the implied:

> "What we need are leaders who listen to people--all kinds of people. And having listened, then offer clear programs that fulfill as much of the society's needs as possible. This is the only way that leaders can bring people together and heal our society. This is the kind of leadership I intend to provide to the people of Minnesota."[8]

This clearly could have been stated by Humphrey. Here is the shift from the local to the almost universal--addressed to "all kinds of people," referring to "society's needs" and the leadership required. In a more formal tone, Earl Craig said he could fill the bill. Here is the healer or doctor with just the right medicine to "heal our society." Craig comes near the stereo-politican's shoes.

Government Priorities

Reordering of government priorities was the most consistent issue throughout Craig's campaign. In his May 9 Capital speech before Duluth, Craig mentioned Kent State and drew corollary

lines between blacks and Kent students:

> "There are no magic sanctuaries in America--not one's home, nor one's church, not even a college campus. Only a year ago, three of my black brothers were shot to death in Orangeburg, S.C. There was no national protest and no letters of regret from the President."[9]

Ending with a crescendo:

> "We are here today affirming life over death, telling the worshippers of power and money that 'there's no wealth but life' and that 'everything that lives is holy.'"

There is, in this rhetoric, a commitment to humanism and a commitment that is generally associated with the ideology of the New Left.[10] The perspective, intense man upset with the injustices in American priorities does not present concrete alternatives here, but priorities are clearly stated. A black man speaking before white audiences can only remind the public of the "have-not's" and of former mistaken values in priorities. Here the imagery is sacred--"sanctuaries," "church," "life," "death," and "holy."

As the campaign continued, his was not a question of <u>what</u> the priorities were, but a more intense feeling toward priorities than shown by Humphrey:

> "And because our government has chosen to continue the war, it has had to fight inflation with vetoes of vital domestic legislation, high unemployment, and high interest rates. <u>And it hasn't worked</u>. A society which forces its people to choose between a military-based economy and massive unemployment is an inhumane society."[11]

Here Craig reminds the public of distance with "government," "society," and "inhumane" at the top representing "military-based economy" looking down on "people," "vetoes of domestic legislation" representive of "massive unemployment" at the bottom of the scale. Craig then pushes on to a full national appeal when speaking of "frightening legislation":

> "I have heard <u>nothing</u> from my opponent about these fundamental attacks upon the Bill of Rights. We must challenge with all our might these laws that so severely restrict the liberties of all Americans."[12]

In pre-Duluth days, there was a somber tone in discussions of priorities, a genuine feeling intrinsic in the rhetoric. But after Duluth, we see a more watery version--a flag waving stratey of the politican--"challenge with all our might." Here is the shift from the highly idealistic philosophic approach to values down to the gut issues affecting the masses--domestic legislation, unemployment and even popular high interest rates. The base here is broad enough to encompass not only political rivals but the entire populus.

Conclusion

As the campaign progressed, the shift from totalistic to non-totalistic strategies becomes complete. As Craig became more involved in the system, a definite change was seen in his rhetoric --more vague and superficial than before Duluth. The rhetoric necessarily changed for Craig had become a DFL candidate and his strategies accommodated the system. The transition is not complete yet. Earl Craig is not giving simplistic answers nor is he the stereotype politican. But while he is urging a radical departure from what the country is doing now, he is at the same time sliding further down the liberal continuum. As Craig broadened his base, he may have lost sight of higher ideals while struggling with the immediate goal of becoming elected.

Accommodation is the key here and its is consistent in American party politics. There is little hope of incorporating the New Left into the traditional party politics if Earl Craig's shifting strategies are an example. While such a shift did not occur in the Berkeley city elections, the question still remains when dealing with political elections above the city level.

By the end of the campaign, Craig notes that "radicals were still trying to outradicalize each other."[13] Moreover, the "true" liberal seemed bent on changes that were only reshuffling present fundamental foundations. Perhaps, then, Craig's label of "radiclib"[14] is accurate--one who is not trusted by anyone.

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1. Leland M. Griffin, "Rhetorical Structure of the New Left Movement, Part I," QJS, L (April 1964).
2. L. Patrick Devlin, "Hubert Humphrey: The Teacher-Preacher," CSSJ, XXI (Summer 1970), 99.
3. Leland M. Griffin, "The Rhetoric of Historical Movement," QJS, XXXVIII (April 1952), 184-188.
4. Robert L. Scott and Donald K. Smith, "The Rhetoric of Confrontation," QJS, LV (February 1969).
5. Minneapolis Star, March 12, 1970, p. 3A.
6. Ibid., May 7, 1970, p. 25B.
7. Ibid., March 12, 1970, p. 3A.
8. Earl Craig, Press Release, "Earl Craig Speaks to the People of Minnesota," August 15, 1970.
9. Earl Craig, Press Release, May 9, 1970.
10. Theodore Roszak, The Making of the Counter Culture (NY: 1969), p. 57.
11. Earl Craig, Press Release, August 15, 1970.
12. Earl Craig, Press Release, August 15, 1970.
13. Ibid.
14. A self-imposed label adopted by Craig on November 5, 1970 at an address to the Society of Architects in Radisson Hotel.

Television and Corporate Control: The Rhetoric of Edward R. Murrow

Dan Lien

Edward R. Murrow was probably one of the most articulate, gifted commentators of all time in the electronic medium. His accounts of a Europe torn by war throughout those crucial decades before the mid-twentieth century described to the American public the agenices that continent was encountering. With the advent of television, Murrow, teaming up with Fred Friendly, proved to be a leading pioneer which many others followed during the formative years of the new medium. "See It Now," a weekly Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) public affairs program, was instrumental in exposing the vileous tactics of multiple lies and guilt by association which were used by the ignominious Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin. Murrow's gift for interviewing led to the widely acclaimed "Person to Person" show which appealed to a vast audience who found it easy to empathize with the guest celebrities. When "See It Now"was discontinued, the Murrow-Friendly partnership struck upon another revolutionary idea for television--"Small World"--in which Murrow held open conversations with political leaders simultaneously all over the world. Indeed, Murrow's credits as a pioneer in radio and television are unexcelled. And yet, Murrow didn't rest on the praise he received; rather, he continually found fault with the media that meant everything to him, and committed himself to a lifetime of improvement.

This analysis focuses upon a speech given by Murrow to his colleagues in the Radio and Television News Directors Associa-

tion. It is a short speech, barely thirty minutes, but it is a speech of both condemnation and vision, of apprehension and guilt as well as hope. Murrow felt that the commercial system of broadcasting was "potentially" the "best and freest yet devised," yet was concerned with what was happening to these media.[1] It was his intention to rekindle awareness in his fellow journalists of what he believed radio and television were doing "to our society, our culture, and our heritage."[2] Murrow attacked the three large networks for not responding to journalists' requests for more public affairs programming.[3] But not to be stopped short, he also called upon huge corporations to denote their sponsored time for the "free exchange of ideas."[4]

It is my intention to utilize the dramatistic process as defined by Kenneth Burke (the pollution-guilt-purification-redemption framework) to identify the fears Murrow held for his trade, the ambiguities those in power in network corporations had which resulted in public affairs subordination to "high rating" programs, and the solution Murrow felt was the only feasible method of extracting radio-television from their dilemma. This analysis is divided into two parts. In part one, the effort is to establish the viability of Murrow's allegations and the fallibility of his solution. In part two, the effort is to indicate how Murrow's statements align with the broadcast media today.

Television Potential

As previously indicated, Murrow was the first to cross many obstacles which confronted television in its early stages. It is because of the crediblity and respect fellow RTNDA members gave him that they listened with close attention when Murrow either applauded or condemned the media he was so involved with. This is one of the reasons they responded to Murrow's statmement with enthusiasm while the powerful of television's hierarchy gave disgruntled indignation.

Murrow believed that television, although potentially the most dynamic social influence in our society, was polluted with unjustifiably poor programming. The television quiz scandals had removed those programs from the screen by this time, but Murrow was addressing his remarks to the type of highly Nielson rated programs which found "canned laughter" responding to the crazy antics of a wild-eyed red-head. Further, Murrow supported Theodore Peterson's critical analysis of all media. Peterson stated:

> "1) that the mass media have wielded enormous power for their own benefit; 2) have been subservient to big business, and at times have let advertisers control editorial policy and statement; 3) have resisted

social change; 4) have given more attention to the superficial and the sensational in their coverage of human happenings than to the significant; 5) have endangered public morals; and 6) is controlled by one socio-economic class--the business class--which makes it difficult for the newcomer, therefore the free and open market place of ideas is endangered.[5]

Murrow was particularly concerned over the media's attention to the superficial, and outraged by television's subservience to advertisers who influenced, nay, controlled editorial policy:

> "If there are historians about fifty or a hundred years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes for one week of all three networks, they will there find recorded evidence of decadence, escapism, and insulation from the realities of the world."[6]

Despite television's belief that it "must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unplesant," Murrow was positive that the American public "is more reasonable, restrained and more mature than most of our industries' program planners believe."[7] As evidence, Murrow cited several "See It Now" programs which had been accepted as fair, such as those on the Egyptian-Israeli conflict, cigarette smoking and cancer, and radio-active fallout.

Murrow layed the blame for television's poor programming on large corporations which make up the bulk of television sponsorship. This big business domination of the media, Murrow further contended, cowed the networks into "welshing" on their promises to the Federal Communications Commission. No doubt Murrow spoke from embittered experience, as his "See It Now," because of its controversial nature, lost its sponsor, ALCOA, after the 1954-55 season, and was relegated to appearing only several times a year. Likewise, "Small World," no matter how much acclaim television critics gave it, was shelved after several seasons.[8] Murrow condemned the networks and big business for seeking vast audiences, admonishing that, "there is now law which says that dollars will be defeated with duty."[9]

Murrow felt that tighter FCC control of licensed stations would appear to many as government intervention and regulation of public media. His solution to the dilemma, therefore, was to approach the managers of huge corporations to obtain some "tithe time" in which networks might use to air more public affairs programs.

If corporations would concede to Murrow's proposal, he felt that television would acquire redeeming qualities set forth

in the social responsibility theory of the press. As promulgaged by the Hutchin's Commission in 1947, social responsibility of the media should fulfill society's five requirements:

> 1) a truthful, comprehensive account of the day's events in a manner which gives them meaning; 2) a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism; 3) the projection of a representative picture of constituent groups in the society; 4) the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society; 5) full access to the day's intelligence.[11]

Murrow noted that the sponsor of an hour's television program determined the sum total of the impact of that hour. Murrow's plan for purification, corporate "tithe time," becomes the crux of his statement, and this is where I feel he let his audience down. Throughout the address, Murrow defined the corporate businesses as only profit seeking enterprises, and thus serving to "insulate" the American public. But in his closing remarks, Murrow made an appeal to these corporate men to be socially responsible in creating a free and open market place for ideas. "I refuse to believe," Murrow stated, "that these big corporations want their 'corporate image' to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber,"[13] (apparently a popular commerical on the scene at that time).

Murrow's Rhetoric Applied Today

Almost a decade and a half has passed since Murrow made his stirring remarks in Chicago, and yet for the most part, those words are still applicable to the situation in radio and television today. The American public is even more responsive to ideas and news today than during Murrow's era. (Re: The government ban on all news reports during the initial Laos campaign early this year, and subsequent public furor.) Rivers and Schramm would appear to agree with Murrow that men have reason and wisdom enough to distinguish between right and wrong, good and bad. This, they feel, taking note of Milton's Aeropagitica, is sufficient reason for exposing to the public the many social, political and economic problems facing us today.[12]

Edward F. Morgan, former colleague of Murrow's, believed that the "headlong rush to bigness of audiences," by large business organizations that continue to control the medium, "has condoned program appeal that makes no contribution to our culture and perhaps even degrades it."[13] Charles A. Reich, in The Greening of America, agrees that part of America's "false consciousness" is attributable to corporate domination of the media.[14]

Where, then, is the industry to turn? How is it to overcome

its dilemma? Possibly if big business had acknowledged Murrow's plea for "tithe time" the viewing public would be better served. But to make such a demand seems pretentious. Murrow himself acknowledged the fallibility of his proposal when he said, "There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments, but I know of none."[15] Maybe if Murrow would have stopped, while outlining his proposal, at the FCC, a solution may have been more viable. But then, Edward Murrow never stopped at half-measures.

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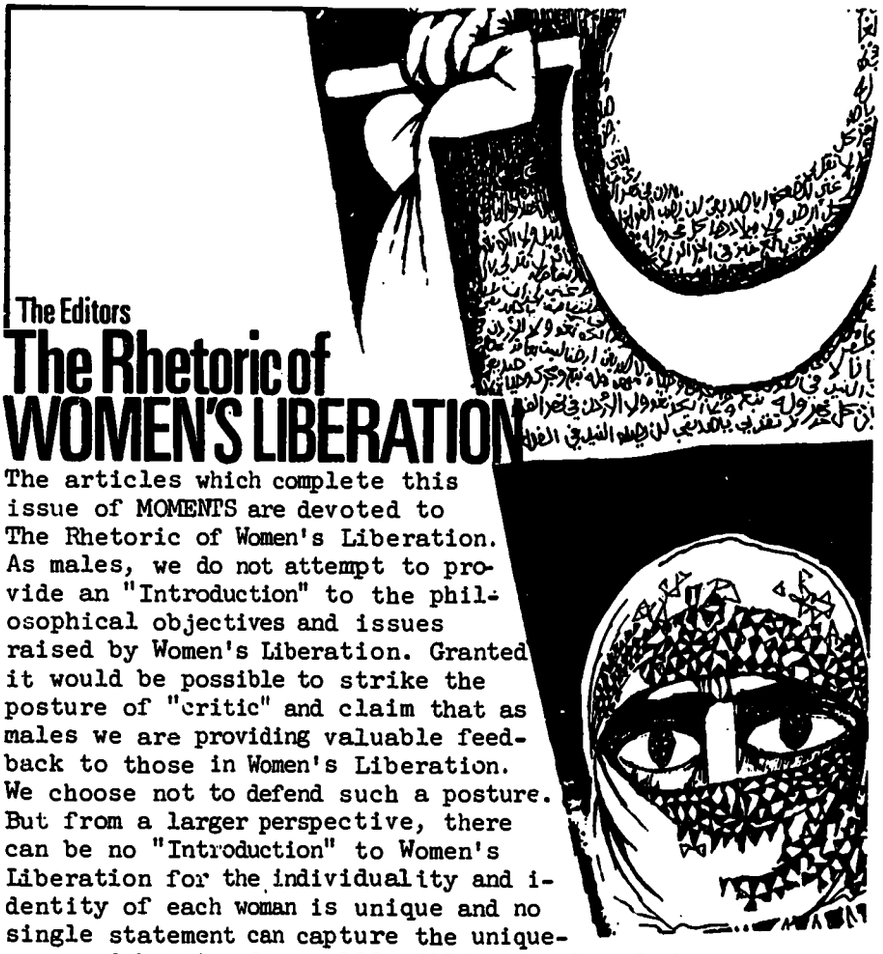
1. Edward R. Murrow, Reporter, November 13, 1958, pp. 31-36.
2. Ibid.
3. Variety, October 15, 1958, p. 23.
4. Murrow, op. cit.
5. Theodore B. Peterson, "The Social Responsibility of the Press," in Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's Four Theories of the Press, (Urbana, 1956).
6. Murrow.
7. Ibid.
8. Alexander Kendrick, Prime Time (Boston, 1969), pp. 422 and 424.
9. Murrow.
10. Ibid.
11. Emery, Ault, and Aggee, Introduction to Mass Communication, (NY, 1970), p. 37.
12. William L. Rivers and Wilbur Schramm, Responsibility in Mass Communications, (NY, 1969), p. 38.
13. J. Edward Gerald, The Social Responsiblity of the Press, (Minneapolis, 1968), p. 123.
14. Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (NY, 1970), p. 85 and subsequent pages.
15. Murrow.

THE GRADUATE STUDENT'S MOTHER GOOSE by Virginia Kidd

Shannon and Weaver
Source and receiver
How do your theories go
With messages and channel
        distortions and noise
And transmitters all in a row



The Editors

The Rhetoric of WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The articles which complete this issue of MOMENTS are devoted to The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation. As males, we do not attempt to provide an "Introduction" to the philosophical objectives and issues raised by Women's Liberation. Granted it would be possible to strike the posture of "critic" and claim that as males we are providing valuable feedback to those in Women's Liberation. We choose not to defend such a posture. But from a larger perspective, there can be no "Introduction" to Women's Liberation for the individuality and identity of each woman is unique and no single statement can capture the uniqueness and beauty of some 100 million people. Perhaps the best "Introduction" to Women's Liberation must come from the Women themselves. In the following articles, the Women do raise major philosophical and political issues that effect them and necessarily all men. What we have noted in typing and preparing the Women's articles (an excellent role for men to experience) is that each Woman's world-view and value system is unique. Men will understand Women when they can recognize this rich variety, individuality, and identity of Women. There can be no "easy" way to understand the demands of Women's Liberation. Only by understanding each woman can the goal be accomplished. The section begins, then, with the Demands of Revolutionary Women at the People's Convention. The Demands are included because they have not been available in print before and because they provide some indication of how some women felt at the inception of the 1970's. The articles which follow provide an "Introductory" context for understanding this collective statement of Demands.

The Demands of Revolutionary Women at the Outset of the 1970s

On September 5-7, 1970, The Black Panther Party hosted a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Because the Panther Party was reguarded as the "vanguard" of the revolution at the time, some 10,000 Black, Gay, Third-World, Welfare; and Street People attended the Convention. The function of the Convention was to provide the foundation for a new U.S. Constitution. Huey P. Newton captured the basis for the Convention: "We gather in the spirit of revolutionary love and friendship for all oppressed people of the world regardless of their race and doctrine of their oppressors. We gather to proclaim to the world that for 200 years we have suffered this long train of abuses and usurpations while holding to the hope that this would pass."

The Convention was divided into Workshops on such topics as "Self-Determination for National Minorities," "Self-Determination for Street People," "The Family and the Rights of Children," "Sexual Self-Determination," "Control and Use of the Military." Although several of these Workshop Reports are directly relevant to the Liberation of Women in this society, the statement released by the "Self-Determination for Women" Workshop provides an excellent summary of the demands of many women at the turn of the decade.

The demands are as follows:

1. We recognize women's right to be free. As women, our struggle is against a racist, fascist, capitalist society. Chauvinism and passivity are symptoms of a decaying society. We demand equal status in a socialist system.

2. We call for the end to the sexism which forces women into unrewarding jobs and the racism that insures that third world women will get the worst work at all.

3. We call for the guaranteed full non-exploitative employment and guaranteed annual income; sharing of all necessary work, non-creative tasks, and the maximum utilization of technology to eliminate these tasks.

4. Guaranteed paid maternity leave for all women.

5. Wereas women have been mis-educated, under-educated; equal education for all men and women, with an end to the tracking system for women, teaching knowledge of our history and our bodies, which has been denied us.

6. All women guaranteed technological and professional training, with compensatory programs in the beginning.

7. The family has been used as an economic tool or instrument...we will not relate to the private ownership of people under capitalism.

8. We encourage and support the growth of communal households and communal relationships, socialization of housework and child care, with the sharing of all work by men and women.

9. Women must have the right to decide if and when to have children. There is no such thing as an illegitimate child.

10. Free and safe birth control; abortion on demand; no forced sterilization, which is now used as genocide against third world sisters and against poor people.

11. It is our duty to defend all oppressed peoples. Women have the right to bear arms and women should be fully trained and educated in the art of self-defense of the people of the nation. We are dedicated to the salvation of all humanity.

A Study of the Images Produced Through the Use of the Male Pronoun as the Generic

Virginia Kidd

> "Language as a potent force in our society goes beyond being merely a communicative device. Language not only expresses ideas and concepts but it may actually shape them. Often the process is completely unconscious with the individual concerned unaware of the influence of the spoken or written expressions upon his thought processes. Language can thus become an instrument of both propaganda and indoctrination for a given idea."[1]

This paper is about pronouns. Pronouns, at first glance (and indeed they are seldom given a second glance), appear relatively insignificant. That they are frequently used is undeniable; that they are useful is demonstrated by this sentence; that they in and of themselvs represent, reinforce, and promulgate a particular line of thought which is, in fact, discriminatory is rarely considered. It is accepted without qualm that that paragon of power, the grammar school English teacher, can simply demand that male pronouns be used for the generic and that this will be done by all those who seek to avoid said instructor's wrath.

That rather arbitrary mandate has been under fire of late particularly from women's liberation groups who see such pronoun usage as a form of indirect conditioning. The use of the male pronoun, assert the liberation members, implies a male antecedent; the empathic process which occurs through reading allows identification strictly with the male. The process is

further indicted for deliberate violations of the generic rule when reference is made to an antecedent in an occupation employing a high proportion of female (i.e., teaching, nursing, secretarial work). Such violations strengthen the implication that the male pronoun refers to an antecedent which is indeed male, rather than female or male.[2]

Various proposals for replacing the masculine pronoun as the generic have been offered. California publishers of women's liberation journal Everywoman suggest turning to the Latin root "vir" (man) as the basis of the pansexual pronoun. Thus ve would replace he/she, vis would succeed her/his, and ver would supercede her/him. Dr. Milton Stern, director of the University Center for Adult Education in Detroit, suggests "jhe." Dr. Stern explaned:

> "This has particular value when we have as antecedent, for example, the word 'student'. Last year some 53% of the University Center for Adult Education enrollment were women, 47% men. How to identify 'student' neutrally?"[3]

In spite of the suggestions tendered for changing the pronoun system, little empirical exploration of the effects of that pronoun system has been undertaken. Such investigation was the objective of this study. Specifically, the following questions were examined: 1) Do people respond to generic pronouns as though the antecedents are neutral? 2) If forced to respond in terms of gender, do persons describe the antecedent as "male" and "female" in equal proportion? 3) If some pronoun usages evoke heavy male responses and some strong female responses, what consistancies can be uncovered in the nature of these usages?

The procedure for answering the questions posed by this study was a simple one. Eighteen sentences, all using the masculine pronoun in the generic sense, were presented to sixty-eight subjects, all students in various speech classes at the University of Minnesota. Subjects were asked four questions about each of the first nine sentences: what is the sex of the antecedent of the pronoun, what is the social status, what is the race, what is the financial position. For each of second nine sentences, subjects were requested to label each antecedent as rich or poor, black or white, female or male, strong or weak, and successful or unsuccessful. Order of the questions and order and position of the choices were varied for each sentence.

The first question posed by this study was, do people respond to the generic pronoun as neutral. The answer was an emphatic no. In the free question situation, where subjects had the option of responding with such answers (grammatically correct) as "either sex," "both sexes," "unknown," "neutral," etc., 40% re-

sponses were "male"; 31, "female"; and 174, some other respones. Chi square tests revealed such distribution to be significant beyond the .001 level.

The second question, if forced to choose, do persons consider the antecedent to be male as often as female, was also answered explicitly. "Male" was recorded 526 times as compared to "female," 53 times. This distribution was also affirmed beyond the .001 level. Breakdowns of the figures answering both questions one and two are indicated in Table I on pages 29 and 30.

The third question, which sought to calculate the nature of questions which evoked "other" or "female" responses was somewhat confounded by the absense of any strongly "female" answers. "Other" could be designated in terms of the four statements with "other" scores above 25 out of a possible 68. The highest number responding to an image as feminine was ten. The masculine image, in contrast, could be examined in terms of choices of 60 subjects or more. (See Table I on pages 29-30) The categorization of these sentences seems to coincide well with traditional stereotypes of male and female roles. Women are chosen only slightly and then in the position of the emotional child, the teacher, the consumer, the video viewer. Males are chosen heavily for the active positions and the administratively superior positions. The predominant statements in the "other" category seems to be sentences describing a person in the more abstract sense, in cases which seem to defy specific roles.

A final examination of the data was conducted in an attempt to determine the degree of certainty in the minds of subjects regarding sex of the antecedent as compared to the race, financial level or social status of the antecedent. In 88 cases, one of the three masking categories was responded to in terms of an inability to specify while the sex was clearly indentified as "male"; in three cases this occurred when the sex was labelled "female." In 25 cases all three masking agents were uncertain but the sex was denoted as "male."

Ascertaining the results of any empirical study is a fairly straightforward effort (albeit one does have to traffic a bit with numbers). Proscribing meaning to those results, however, is more complex. This study has indicated the following: That the use of the male pronoun as the generic is not generally interpreted as representative of a neutral antecedent; that in fact the antecedent is considered male; that this interpretation of the antecedent as male is stronger in cases where the societal stereotypes of the male role coincides with the pronoun is often strong enough to be indicated in cases where other traits of the antecedent are admittedly unknown.

The sum of these results seem eminently clear: use of the

masculine pronoun as the generic simply does not accomplish the purpose for which it is intended. The masculine pronoun does not suffice as a verbal indicator in situations where persons of either sex could be the antecedent. That being the case, its continued use for such a purpose seems unwarranted.

In addition, there is constantly underlying this study the lengual possibilities of this paper's opening quotation. It is altogether possible that pronouns serve as a completely unconscious form of concept shaping; that children, exposed continually to a language describing all accomplishments in masculine terminology grow to conceive of accomplishment in masculine images and to identify accordingly. It is also possible, of course, that pronouns are merely a concept reflection; that this society forges a strong image of the male as the active member of society, and pronouns in reflecting the image have little additional impact. In any case, the masculine pronoun, if not forming the image, certainly does nothing to contradict it and very likely reinforces it on an "out of awareness" level.

In view of the lack of clarity in the use of the male pronoun as the generic and the possibility of thought indoctrination which accompanies such usage, it would be the final concluding hope of this paper that such use of the masculine pronoun for the generic be dropped from the grammatical structure of the English language.[4]

1. Simon Podair, Phylon (1956), No. 4.
2. Such usage is illustrated in the following example: "Somebody had to handle all of the paper we were moving around. The people who handle paper for a living are usually called clerks. Now a clerk does not build any new Fords, Chevrolets, or Plymouths. She does not produce any corn, or hogs, or potatoes....but she does move a lot of paper." The same source describes the problems of the "typical white-collar manager in American industry": "Every week there came to his desk between 15 and 20 big brown envelopes." (Emphasis mine.) From: Ernest G. Bormann, William Howell, Ralph Nichols, and George Shapiro, Interpersonal Communication in the Modern Organization (Englewood, 1969), pp. 10-11.
3. "What? No Degree for Women's Lib?" College Management, V (December 1970), p. 17.
4. Pending selection of an adequate substitute for the male generic, a possible substitute would be the use of both pronouns varying the order in terms of first placement (i.e., she/he, him/her, etc.).

TABLE I

A. Questions used in the pronoun study with responses:

1. The photographer must learn to relate light intensities to the gray scale tones that will be produced by silver deposits on his finished print. M:65 F:0 Other:3

2. In most discussion the participants acknowledge the purpose of the interchange and talk about topics openly. A superior may call a subordinate into his office for a brief talk about scheduling the subordinate's vacation. M:66 F:0 Other: 2

3. The potentialities of man are infintely varied and exciting. M:31 F:6 Other:33

4. Mr. Fromm's book has a great deal to offer both to the philosopher and to the psychologist and can be read with profit by the layman. M:29 F:6 Other:33

5. Men who feel they are men, who feel they are appreciated, and who have an opportunity to participate and influence, are more effective executives and more effective workers in any kind of organization. M:62 F:0 Other:

6. If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. M:40 F:2 Other:26

7. Before the teacher has even met his students his expectations of bright, mediocre, or dull individuals are set. M:39 F:9 Other:20

8. A person may have the feeling that he dominates other people out of concern for what he thinks would be best for them or because of his strong sense of duty. M:44 F:6 Other:18

9. Scorpio the scorpian--the 8th sign of the zodiac--intensely emotional, shy, afraid of his own passions, intellectual and scientific, rather an enigma even to himself, scorpio endures. M:31 F:7 Other:30

B. Responses to forced-choice questions:

1. Certainly education, technical training and the finest of Stanislavskian theories have yet to produce the same effect as an actor walking out on the stage with a curious chemistry of his own that fastens every eye in the audience on him. M:63 F:2 Other:3

2. One responsibility of a senator is to represent his constituents as fairly as possible. M:67 F:0 Other:5

3. It should be the function of television to exhibit the image of man as he can and should be, for man is a growing creature and his birthright is development. M:55 F:8 Other:5

4. Buyer agrees with American Oil Company that all purchases charged under any American Oil Credit Card or at his request is indebtedness of buyer. M:59 F:8 Other:1

5. Reason, man's blessing, is also his curse. M:57 F:8 Other:5

6. A painter may or may not acknowledge the laws of perspective. He accepts such limitations if they further the kinds of reality he is trying to achieve. M:59 F:7 Other:2

7. Men ask questions about nature. The more men learn about nature, the better they can protect themselves. M:54 F:7 Other:7

8. How can we help a child to know his feelings? We can do so by providing a mirror to his emotions. M:50 F:10 Other:8

9. Registrar
The University of California at Davis
Davis, California 98203

Dear Sir:

M:62 F:5 Other:1

WAITING FOR THE RETURN by Mahmud Darweesh

The huts of my beloved on the sand--
I am staying awake with the rain.
I am the son of Ulysses who waited for the mail from the North:
A sailor called him, yet he didn't go.
He anchored the boats
And took to the highest mountain.

Rock! on which my father prayed,
Shelter revolutionaries.
I will not seel you for precious pearls,
Nor will I ever leave.

The voices of my beloved stride over the wind,
And overrun castles.
Wait for us, Mother, at the door,
We are coming back.
The time is ours;
The wind blows as the sailor wills,
And the ship overpowers the tide.
What will you cook for us, Mother?
We are coming back.
They've looted the oil jars
And the flour sacks, too?
Then bring us the corn of our fields.
We are hungry.

Women's Liberation: A Rhetorical Problem

Marlene M. Fine

What are little boys made of?
Snakes and snails and puppy dog's tails.
That's what little boys are made of.

What are little girls made of?
Sugar and spice and everything nice.
That's what little girls are made of.

Traditional nursery rhyme

"Right on, Sister!" cries the young woman listening to Germaine Greer or Betty Friedan or any one of numerous other militant feminists speaking out in the continuing struggle for the emancipation and liberation of women. Liberation movements have gained increasing prominence and power in the past decade; blacks, Chicanos, women, even men, have begun to assert their independence from the traditions of society and to demand their rights as free individuals. Women's Liberation, in particular, has grown more powerful in recent years; women's rights are now guaranteed by Constitutional Amendment; abortion and divorce laws are being liberalized throughout the United States, recent court decisions have forced many industries to hire and promote more women. But in spite of these and other progressive measures, how successful has the Women's Liberation movement been in changing the basic attitudes of the majority of American women?

The purpose of this paper is not to describe or evaluate at-

titudes; it is merely to posit a theory or hypothesis of why the rhetoric of Women's Liberation is destined to fail to appeal to the average American woman. It is important to note that the perspective is not that of the radical or militant woman nor is it that of the movement-oriented woman who has experienced some strong motivational condition within her environment which makes her susceptible to the persuasive appeals of the movement, e.g., a young divorcee with a child who is struggling to support her family, or a bright, young graduate student who loses a job to a less intelligent, but male, colleague. The perspective is that of the ordinary woman who lives under the general oppressed conditions imposed upon her by our male dominated society.

The key to the movement's failure lies within the rhetorical problem faced by the feminists. Betty Friedan says that:

> "...the core of the problem for women today is not sexual but a problem of identity--a stunting or evasion of growth that is perpetuated by the feminine mystique."[1]

Therefore, the voices of Women's Liberation must create a new identity for women, a new mystique which will destroy the old image of the ideal woman. It is precisely the existence of the current feminine mystique, however, that presents an ironic impediment to the success of those voices. The feminine mystique is a product of the special situational and environmental characteristics of women and their lives. These characteristics create a frame of reference within which women view the world. One's view of the world, however, is very much limited by the glasses he/she wears. Therefore, women see their environment and interpret its changes and movements exactly as that same environment had taught them to see and interpret.

Kenneth Boulding writes about man's/woman's "image," I.A. Richards calls it metaphor, and Kenneth Burke refers to it as "trained incapacity." Whichever terminology one chooses to use, the implication is clear: Man's/woman's biological, physiological, and psychological environment creates his/her world-view, and that world-view determines how he/she will react to his/her environment. Kenneth Burke writes:

> "Namely: we can say that people interpret natural sequences in terms of cause and effect not because of something in the natural scene requiring this interpretation, but <u>because they are the sort of agents that see things in terms of necessary relations</u>.[2]

Causality cannot be seen; therefore, to arrive at the concept of causality we must assume that it is a predetermined part of the way in which a particular individual sees the world. In much the same way, the feminine mystique is not a given object, rather it is an appearance, or a creation of the way in which certain members of society view the world. In defining the qualities that an object, any object, must meet, Burke provides the

answer to the creation and definition of the feminine mystique, "They [the qualities] are conditions that the object must meet; and being mental conditions, they reside in the agent rather than in the object."[3] Women, as objects, are a creation of men, and/or society, as agents. Simone de Beauvoir says that woman is "the character she represents, but is not."[4] And it is woman's environment that creates this character:

> "Her condition has remained the same through superficial changes, and it is this condition that determines what is called the 'character' of woman: she 'revels in immanence,' she is contrary, she is prudent and petty, she has no sense of fact or accuracy, she lacks morality, she is contemptibly utilitarian, she is false, theatrical, self-seeking, and so on. There is an element of truth in all this. But we must only note that the varieties of behavior reported are not dictated to woman by her hormones nor predetermined in the structure of the female brain: they are shaped as in a mold by her situation."[5]

Bernard Brock posits a theory that a particular interpretive metaphor[6] will continue for as long as the metaphor satisfactorily explains physical events in the "real" world. For example, the military metaphor of the hawk remained viable in explaining the war in Vietnam until the Tet Offensive in early 1968. With news of the slaughter of such large numbers of American soldiers, Americans back home began to realize that we were not "winning" the war militarily, and the military metaphor began to break down. So it would be with the feminine mystique if some event in the "real" or physical world were to prove it inadequate. But look again at that particular metaphor. The feminine mystique goes beyond creating an "image" of women; as Mlle de Beauvoir said, the image shapes the actual characteristics of women; she is contrary, prudent, and petty. Granted, the military interpretation of the conflict in Vietnam did create a full scale war, but an outside force, the Vietcong, was able to destroy the metaphor. For women, there is no outside force. Men have created an image of women that has become embodied in each individual woman. Men created the mystique; women perpetuate it.

Women, then, are prisoners of their images. This is precisely the point of view of the advocates of women's liberation, and it is to this point of view that the feminists wish to persuade all women. But they are caught in a trap--for the rhetoric of the feminine mystique, fails to undercut the mystiques all-embracing power. If a woman has become her image, if she is "false, theatrical, self-seeking," then she will see women's liberation as a threat to her existence, as allegedly unfulfilled as that existence may be. If women seek marriage and motherhood as escapes from the demands and responsibilities of the outside world because they believe that they are not capable

of handling such responsibilities; then how can the "voices" of women's liberation be successful? As long as children are brought up to believe that little girls are made of "sugar and spice and everything nice," women's liberation does not have a chance. The voices that must be heard and changed must be other voices--the voices that created the feminine mystique.

This is not to say that women will not one day--hopefully soon--be liberated. As the song says, "The times they are a'changing." There is a new generation of women and men that are taking over the world, a generation that will probably create their own mystiques. "Trained incapacity" is probably a condition of every generation, and perhaps it is not only futile but also unnecessary to persuade the current generation of housewives that women's liberation is the answer to what Betty Friedan calls "the problem that has no name." Assuming, of course, that it is the answer!

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1. The Feminine Mystique (New York, 1963), p. 69.
2. A Grammar of Motives (Berkeley, 1969), p. 187.
3. Ibid., p. 189.
4. The Second Sex (New York, 1961), p. 502.
5. Ibid., p. 562.
6. Interpretative metaphor is another term for image or world view. For a more detailed analysis, see: Brock's lectures, Speech 5-602, "Contemporary Political Persuasion," University of Minnesota, Fall 1970.

"POETRY" by Virginia Kidd

Infinitely separated
By walls of words,
How can we touch?
Entangled in cobwebs
Spun of sound,
How can we escape?
You and I, reaching acorss
Vacant courtyards
Of silence,
Can we climb into
One another's meaning,
Engage together
In some invisible unity,
Open shuttered perameters
Of understanding?
Can we conquer nets of symbols?

With all this skin on our fingertips,
How can we feel?

Germaine Greer: A Call to Joyous Liberation

Patricia McCullough

> "The struggle which is not joyous is the wrong struggle. The joy of the struggle is not hedonism and hilarity, but the sense of purpose, achievement and dignity which is the reflouring of etiolated energy... The way is unknown just as the sex of the uncastrated female is unknown. However as far as we can see, it is not far enough to discern the contours of what is ultimately desirable. To be free to start out, and to find companions for the journey is as far as we need to see from where we stand. The first exercise of the free woman is to devise her own mode of revolt, a mode which will reflect her own independence and originality."[1]

The latest voice on the best seller lists in the feminist movement has a radically different and, to many, a much more insightful message to speak about the liberation of women. Germaine Greer, an attractive and spirited Australian-born college professor, has appeared on every major talk show and made the cover of several national magazines since her book The Female Eunuch replaced Sexual Politics on the best seller lists. She has charmed her readers and listeners, male and female alike, and is billed as the feminist that even men like. What I would like to discuss in this article are those features of Greer's message that make her a unique and, in my opinion, a crucial voice for the woman's movement.

The first sentence of the above quotation--"the struggle which

is not joyous is the wrong struggle"--already separates Greer, at least rhetorically, from the host of bitter, angry feminists who wage constant battles to ascend to the top in the power struggle. She does not believe women will achieve their personness by planned disciplined struggles, for woman has been shackled for too long by "tireless self-discipline." She does not condemn, but neither does she believe in the necessity for planned revolution. She is aware that many of her sisters will not agree with her:

> "The most telling criticisms will come from my sisters of the left, the Maoists, the Trots, the I.S., and the S.D.S., because of my fantasy that it might be possible to leap the steps of revolutions and arrive somehow at liberty and communism without strategy or revolutionary discipline."[2]

Greer supports her fantasy of "leaping the steps of revolution" when she presents her central thesis that each woman must come to know herself. She must learn the history and conditioning that has enslaved her, that has deformed her, and made her into an eunuch. She must have the courage to begin to shed the myths that have kept her out of touch with herself. As she begins to understand and feel who she is, she will begin to live a liberated life. In Greer's analysis, a revolution without personal liberation only becomes another form of oppression and slavery. A revolutionary elite can call and lead women to militant action, but this will not necessarily do anything for the discovery of self. After the battle is fought, the consequences of militancy continue and there are no liberated women to live out new life styles. Another acceptable form of life will be defined by the elite, and woman will once again be robbed of the possibility of discovering and living out of her personness. Each liberated woman must decide her own mode of revolt, consistent with who she is. Her revolt is based on her own self--regulating principles, not on the dictates of another group outside herself. Of course, Greer points out that the road to personal liberation is not an easy road to take:

> "It takes a great deal of courage and independence to decide to design your own image instead of the one that society rewards, but it gets easier as you go along. Of course, a woman who decides to go her own way will find that her conditioning is ineradicable... A woman who decided to become a lover without conditions might discover that her relationships broke up relatively easily because of her degree of resistance to efforts to "tame" her, and the opinion of her friends will usually be on the side of the man who was prepared to do the decent thing, who was in love with her, etcetera. Her promiscuity, resulting from her constant sexual desire, tenderness and interest in people, will not usually be differentiated from compulsive promiscuity or inability to

say no, although it is fundamentally different. Her love may often be devalued by the people from whom she feels most tenderness, and her self-esteem might have much direct attack. Such pressures can never be utterly without effect. Even if a woman does not inhibit her behavior because of them, she will find herself reacting in some other way, being outrageious when she only meant to be spontaneous, and so forth. She may limit herself to writing defenses of promiscuity, or even books about women."[3]

Greer rejects the power struggle, the battle for equality for several reasons. First, she points out that men themselves are not free:

"The first significant discovery we shall make as we racket along our female road to freedom is that men are not free, and they will seek to make this an argument why nobody should be free. We can only reply that slaves enslave their masters, and by securing our own manumission we may show men the way that they could follow when they jumped off their own treadmill."[4]

She also points out that the concept of liberation can hardly be equated with demands for equal opportunities. Because men's opportunities are the opportunities for the enslaved also, the whole range of opportunities must be utterly changed.

Finally, Greer points out the deadliness of the battle of the sexes:

"Misery is not borne without resentment. It is commonly admitted that there is a battle waging between the sexes but like most other facts which we dare not directly contemplate it is most commonly referred to facetiously. The battle is universal and deadly serious, unlike the isolated skurmishes of the women's liberation movements with the male establishment. Whether it is waged at home or abroad it is always infighting without rules or conventions and its conclusion is death."[5]

She rejects other feminists' strategies of waging battle against man, defined as the enemy, for she feels that this is not the way to become free:

"...it seeks to characterize men as the enemy and either to compete with or confront or attack them. Insofar as such movement demand of men, or force men, to grant their liberty, they perpetuate the established estrangement of the sexes and their own dependency."[6]

Moreover:

"A feminist elite might seek to lead uncomprehending women in another arbitrary direction, training them as a task force in a battle that might, that ought never, to eventuate. If there is a pitched battle women will lose, be-

cause the best man never wins; the consequences of militancy do not disappear when the need to militancy is over. Freedom is fragile and must be protected. To sacrifice it, even as a temporary measure, is to betray it."[7]

The existing definitions of relationships between men and women are relationships of "powerful and powerless, masterful and mastered, sexual and neutral..." The master needs someone to master; the slave needs a master. This kind of relationship which prevails destroys all possibility for love:

"Every wife who slaves to keep herself pretty, to cook her husband's favorite meals, to build up his pride and confidence in himself at the expense of his sense of reality encourages him to reject the consensus of opinion and find reassurance only in her arms is binding her mate to her with hoops of steel that will strangle them both. Every time a woman makes herself laugh at her husband's often-told jokes, she betrays him. The man who looks at his woman and says, 'What would I do without you?' is already destroyed. His woman's victory is complete, but it is Pyrrhic. Both of them have sacrificed so much of what initially made them lovable to promote the symbiosis of mutual dependence that they scarcely make up one human being between them."[8]

The battle of the sexes which is the subtle and deadly living out of the rage of repressing our personness will be eliminated when we begin to liberate ourselves at the personal level. Sex will become, "...a form of communication between potent, gentle, tender people, which cannot be accomplished by denial of heterosexual contact."[9]

The question that needs to be asked, then, is "What is the individual woman to do to achieve her personal liberation?" Greer answers:

"We need not challenge anyone to open battle, for the most effective method is simply to withdraw our cooperation in building up a system which oppresses us, the valid withdrawal of our labor. We may also agitate hither and thither, picket segregated bars and beauty competitions, serve on committees, invade the media, do, in short, what we want but we must also refuse, not only to do somethings, but to want to do them."[10]

She encourages women to "walk out" when they realize that they are in relationships and structures that force them to be dependent and exclusive. That women have already taken on "responsibilities" in these structures and relationships is no reason for them to remain. Women must realize that their primary responsiblity is to themselves, and until they can respond to this they cannot be independent, healthily functioning persons capable of loving and being loved.

Women can learn from one another. Experience is too costly a teacher for everyone. Women need one another; the concept of "sisterhood" is vital:

> "We cannot all marry in order to investigate the situation. The older sisters must teach us what they found out. At all times we must learn from each other's experience and not judge hastily or snobbishly, or according to masculine criteria. We must fight against the tendency to form a feminist elite or a masculine-type hierarchy of authority in our own political structures and struggle to maintain cooperation and the matriarchal principle of fraternity."[11]

Women cannot wait for the political revolutions and the building of a new structure. There is no way to describe what the new sexual regime should be like. Women must shape their new life forms by experimentation, and by sharing the experience with one another:

> "The time has come when some women are ready to listen, and their number is growing; it is time also for there women to speak, however uncertainly, however haltingly, and for the world to listen."[12]

To summarize, Greer presents a new dimension to the woman's movement by placing the process of liberation within the person, by calling women to a struggle that is inherently joy-filled because it is the process of becoming a person, and by calling all of us to give up the eternal battle our society has forced us to wage. She calls us to a new kind of revolution--a revolution that "is the festival of the oppressed..."

> "For a long time there may be no perceptible reward for women other than their new sense of purpose and integrity. Joy does not mean riotous glee, but it does mean the purposive employment of energy in a self-chosen enterprise. It does mean pride and confidence. It does mean communication and cooperation with others based on delight in their company and your own. To be emancipated from helplessness and need and walk freely upon the earth that is your birthright. To refuse hobbles and deformity and take possession of your body and glory in its power, accepting its own laws of loveliness. To have something to desire, something to make, something to achieve, and at last something genuine to give."[13]

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1. Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch (NY, 1971), p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Ibid., pp. 142-143.
4. Ibid., pp. 328-329.
5. Ibid., p. 281.

6. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
7. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
8. Ibid., p. 157.
9. Ibid., p. 8.
10. Ibid., p. 327.
11. Ibid., p. 327.
12. Ibid., p. 328.
13. Ibid., p. 328.

THE GRADUATE STUDENT'S MOTHER GOOSE by Virginia Kidd

Pamela Benter
In her own meaning center
Sat spooning in roles and forms
A tactile communicator
Sat down to persuade her
And screwed up her understood norms

Women's Liberation, The Radical Lesbian and Rhetorical Choices

Joan Locke

One of the most popular verbal devices used to minimize the demands of Women's Liberation is the assertion: "Women's Liberation is a Lesbian Plot." Rhetorically, the assertion is designed to halt the growing size and efforts of the movement by implying that any woman joining the movement has lost her "womanhood," is really more of a man than a woman, unconsciously is a man-hater, or simply and bluntly put, "a pervert." Rather than deal with the issues raised by Women's Liberation, the label lesbian plot provides the rationale for denying women in the movement their rights as citizens, taxpayers, and as human beings.

Yet the assertion is not without some substance. Many Lesbians do believe that their Liberation as human beings may be best realized through Women's Liberation. Daughters of Bilitis--one of the oldest Lesbian organizations in the nation--recently shifted its attention from "sexual preference" to "sex" itself.[1] Moreover, Kate Millett, author of Sexual Politics and a vocal spokeswoman for the movement, stated that she was bi-sexual.[2] Time Magazine responded by stating, "The disclosure is bound to discredit her as a spokeswoman for her cause, cast further doubt on her theories, and reinforce the views of those skeptics who routinely dismiss all liberationists as lesbians."[3] Responding to Time several prominent leaders of Women's Liberation declared a common bond with "the struggle of homosexuals to attain their liberation in a sexist society." In the prepared statement, the Women argued:

"Lesbian is a label used as a psychic weapon to keep women locked into their male-defined 'feminine role.' The essence of that role is that a woman is defined in terms of her relationship to men. A woman is called a lesbian when she functions autonomously. Woman's autonomy is what Women's Liberation is all about."[4]

In addition, Robin Morgan's extremely popular book, Sisterhood is Powerful, includes sections related to the demands of Radical Lesbians.[5]

Yet, many women in the movement initially feared any association with Lesbians. Martha Shelly, a popular spokeswoman for Lesbians, recalls:

"When members of the Women's Liberation Movement picketed the 1968 Miss America pageant, the most terrible epithet heaped on our straight sisters was 'Lesbian.' The sisters faced hostile audiences who called them 'commies' and 'tramps,' but some broke into tears when they were called Lesbians. When a woman showed up at a feminist meeting and announced she was a Lesbian, many women avoided her. Others told her to keep her mouth shut, for fear she would endanger the cause. They felt that men could be persuaded to accept some measure of equality for women--as long as these women would parade their devotion to heterosexuality and motherhood."[6]

Although women inside the movement initially reacted negatively to Lesbians, there is now a growing recognition that the demands of Radical Lesbians are consistent with the major goal of Women's Liberation--to obtain freedom from oppression by men.

Despite the stigma attached to Lesbianism, Martha Shelly's "Notes of a Radical Lesbian" is now considered a significant and enduring statement to many members of Women's Liberation. "Notes" is symbolically signficant because if Gay Women are Liberated, then all Women are Liberated. Gay Women are dually repressed by way of the fact that they are Women and also Gay. If the most oppressed are liberated, the less oppressed ought properly have high expectations. Moreover, "Notes" is also politically significant because it confronts us with the fact that lesbians "are not afraid of being abondanded by men, are less reluctant to express hostility toward the male class--the oppressors of women."[7] It seems that Gay Women see Lesbians as a life-style with males being the source of trouble, not the cause of Lesbianism. Finally, "Notes" is an enduring statement for the movement because it is viewed as a humanistic assertion which would expand the capacity for more people to love more people. As Shelly puts it herself: "People will be able to love each other regardless of skin color, ethnic origin, occupation, or type of genitals."[8]

Purpose and Method

Because of the importance of Shelly's "Notes of a Radical Lesbian" within the movement, I sought to determine the effect of "Notes" upon women outside of the movement. I was particularly interested in determining the effect of "Notes" upon the image of the woman, perception of institutional norms, oppression against women, and its impact on Women's Liberation.

In this particular study, I was primarily interested in the immediate response of non-movement women who read "Notes" for the first time. I would grant that women--as with any other group of people--are most likely to form attitudes after months of consideration and after multiple social interactions. Moreover, a study of such long-term attitudes toward Lesbians would be extremely interesting and is badly needed. However, I was primarily interested in what women personally felt immediately after reading "Notes." A philosophical tenet of Women's Liberation guides my decision to examine only the immediate and personal feelings of women. Women's Liberation suggests that the feelings of women are important of and by themselves without intermediate translations or intervening effective factors being considered. By focusing upon the immediate responses of women, then, I sought to determine what women felt personally and immediately after reading "Notes."

In order to determine the effect of "Notes" itself was, it was necessary to know the feelings of women before they read "Notes." Moreover, it was necessary to know the feelings of women after they read "Notes." Any shift of feelings would be attributed to "Notes." In the language of the experimental psychologist, then, I had to set up a "One Group Pretest-Posttest Experimental Design." Essentially, such a design requires that one administer an attitude test to people immediately before reading the statement and immediately after reading the statement. Any difference in attitude is assumed to be due to the statement read.

The women examined in this experiment were working, middle-class women between the ages of 20 and 25 with moderate incomes. None of the women were members of a Women's Rights or Women's Liberation group. Ten women, in all, were used for this study. Because this was an exploratory study, final conclusions regarding the effectiveness of "Notes" can only be determined if the number of women tested were tremendously increased. However, the study does begin to suggest the kinds of reactions a researcher might expect.

In order to measure the women's attitudes and their shift of attitude, I employed a semantic differential.[9] The semantic differential is essentially a very simple measuring device.

People taking the test react to a concept, such as Women's Liberation, on three different scales. People are asked to evaluate the concept ("goodness" or "badness"), the saliency of the concept ("important" and "unimportant"), and the potency of the concept ("strong" and "weak"). People are asked to place an "x" on the continuum between each of the polar terms on each of these three scales between plus 3 and minus 3.[10] Thus, in this study, women were asked, for example, to react to "Women's Liberation" as either "good" (plus 3 as the highest rating) or "bad" (minus 3 as the lowest rating) or somewhere inbetween. In all, women reacted to four concepts: Woman's Image; Institutional Norms; Oppression; and Women's Liberation. Women evaluated and identified the saliency and potency of each of these four concepts.

Results

Woman's Image

Before reading "Notes," the women believed that woman's image was moderately favorable. The woman's image was moderately good, highly relevant to them, but they were undecided or apathetic as to the strength of the image. After reading "Notes," the woman's image shifted negatively signficantly. The woman's image was evaluated as strongly negative, the image continued to be relevant but much less relevant to them, and the potency of the woman's image declined. For these women, if the image of the woman is associated with lesbians, the image of the woman becomes less valued, relevant and potent for them. Table I summarizes the data relevant to these conclusions.

Table I: The Woman's Image

	Pretest	Posttest	Significant
Evaluative	.5	-2.0	*
Saliency	2.3	1.7	*
Potency	0.0	-.6	*

Institutional Norms

Before reading "Notes," the women believed that institutional norms were moderately desirable. The women evaluated the institutional norms as moderately good, relevant to them, and as moderately potent. After reading "Notes," reactions toward institutional norms were signficantly different. Essentially, women saw the institutional norms as less favorable but as equally relevant, and more potent. Table II summarizes the data

relevant to these conclusions.

Table II: Institutional Norms

	Pretest	Posttest	Significant
Evaluative	.3	-.9	*
Saliency	1.5	1.3	
Potency	.6	.9	

Oppression

Before reading "Notes," the women believed that oppression was an unfavorable concept that was relevant to them and potent. After reading "Notes," the attitude was much the same. Women found oppression a negative force that is relevant to them and a powerful force within their lives. Table III summarizes the data relevant to these considerations.

Table III: Oppression

	Pretest	Posttest	Significant
Evaluative	-1.5	-1.6	
Saliency	1.5	1.9	
Potency	1.2	1.3	

Women's Liberation

Before reading "Notes," women were favorably impressed with Women's Liberation although they did not see it as a powerful force. Women evaluated the movement as a positive concept, strongly relevant to them, but did not see it as a potent force. After reading "Notes," they continued to see Women's Liberation as a positive concept which was still relevant to them, but they saw Women's Liberation gaining potency when associated with Lesbians. Table IV summarizes the data relevant to these considerations.

Table IV: Women's Liberation

	Pretest	Posttest	Significant
Evaluative	1.3	1.2	
Saliency	1.6	1.5	
Potency	.3	.9	*

Discussion

The attitudes of women outside Women's Liberation do change when Women's Liberation is associated with Lesbianism. The woman's image is damaged but the image does become much more relevant to them. Institutional norms lose their positive associations although they remain relevant and potent. Oppression continues to be viewed with disgust and as a relevant and potent issue. Women's Liberation retains its favored image and relevancy and gains potency to the extent it is associated with Lesbians. Overall, then, it would seem that to associate Lesbians with women may demean the woman's image but also the woman becomes much more aware of the role played by institutional norms in this self-assessment and that oppression may be more effectively dealt with if Women's Liberation is associated with Lesbians.

Conclusion

This data requires that we examine the results in a social context as well as in an experimental framework. Several social stances might be taken in examining the results. First, one might ask if the Women's Liberation-Lesbian association is helpful if the movement is to gain acceptance (the effects standard) and if the association helps to create a power base for a reversal of the hierarchy (the political standard). The answer is probably "no" and if one accepts these two standards as the basis for a judgment, lesbians ought not be associated with Women's Liberation. Second, one might ask if the association reflects the life-style of some women (the cultural reality standard) and if it is consistent with the philosphy of Women's Liberation (a metaphysical standard). The answer is "yes" and one ought to associate Women's Liberation and the demands of Lesbians. Ultimately, the issue is an ethical question. Ethically, women should relate to Gay Women. Women's Liberation recognizes Gay Women as part of the movement. The common goal of all Women is to overcome oppression by men. If Gay Women are liberated, all women are liberated.

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1. See the November, 1970 issue of Sisters (San Francisco, 1970) for a fuller explanation of this shift.
2. "Women's Lib: A Second Look," Time (December 14, 1970), p. 50.
3. Ibid.
4. Time, (December 28, 1970), p. 22.
5. Sisterhood is Powerful, edited by Robin Morgan (New York, 1970), pp. 306-311.
6. Ibid., p. 306.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 311.

9. The distinction often made, when attacking the semantic differential, is that the semantic differential measures only the meanings assigned to a concept and not the attitude of the subjects toward the concept. Certainly, the attack is an important one if there is some reason to believe that the concepts selected by the researcher do not reflect the major determinants used by the subjects when attitudes are framed. I see no reason to believe that such was the case in this situation given the comments and reactions of the subjects involved. From a larger theoretical perpsective, it would seem to be the obligation of the questioner to demonstrate that there is some meaningful difference between the concept of meaning and attitude from a behaviorial and/or motivational study of human beings. Based upon recent evidence regarding effect and information dependency, the two concepts do not seem to be distinct. See, for example, Edward E. Jones and Harold B. Gerald, Foundation of Social Psychology (New York, 1967), pp. 76-156.

10. It is popular to deny that a number can "replace" or "take the place" of a person's complex reasons or attitudes. Certainly, such "numbers" are never intended to explain why a subject marks a continuum where he or she does. The numbers do, however, reflect degrees of intensity. We do meaningfully speak of "more happy" and "most happy" when describing our attitudes. Likewise, intensity can be symbolized by way of numbers if the numbers are clearly associated with more commonly understood degrees of intensity. Only if a person wishes to deny all forms of symbolized degrees of intensity does the attack on the semantic differential become meaningful and even then the person may be denying a human factor most people understand and relate to. On a larger theoretical framework, the validity of the evaluative, saliency, and potency scales have been repeatedly demonstrated. In large part, many of the attacks made upon the semantic differential seem to stem from a paranoia on the part of those who are afraid that part of their "humanness" is being denied if their characteristics are described in quantitative terms. Yet, a quantitative analysis does not proport to be a critical theory. Critical theories are needed, in addition to descriptive studies, if knowledge is to be meaningful and enduring. The apparant conflict between quanitative research and qualitative analyses ought to be eliminated when researchers begin to see the mutual relationships between the two fields of understanding. For a more complete discussion of the relationships within the field of speech-communication see: Wayne E. Brockriede, "Dimensions of the Concept of Rhetoric," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, (February 1968), pp. 1-12.

On Liberation and Ritual Rebirth: A Review of Jill Johnston's "On a clear day you can see your mother"

Sandra E. Purnell

> "Some old lines and some new ones thrown on to each other for the Town Hall affair"

With this elliptical introduction, Jill Johnston presents her Town Hall Theatre of Ideas speech to Village Voice readers.[1] Here the curious may find the speech which was presented as well as the section of the speech which, due to Norman Mailer's intervention, was not presented.

"The title of this episode is new approach..." "New Approach" describes this speech-poem-epic drama accurately on several levels and from several angles of analysis.

Jill Johnston's speech is an act uniquely in keeping with the scene which evoked it. In an era when Black people have progressed from the hierarchical plea for "civil rights" to the revolutionary demand for independence, separation and "Black Power;" when the anti-war movement has advanced from silent peace vigils through alienation and separation to the brink of guerrilla war against the military-industrial, imperialist establishment: Jill Johnson expresses the (potential) revolutionary mentality of women's liberation. Making a leap of faith and thought from "women's rights" and even "women's lib," J.J. urges a new level of (self-) consciousness for women of America and the World. It is a consciousness that irretrievably separates women from the hierarchy of male domination: in

elementary essence she maintains that all women are lesbians:

> "All women are lesbians except those who don't know it naturally they are but don't know it yet I am a woman who is a lesbian because I am a woman and a woman who loves herself naturally who is other women is a lesbian a woman who loves women loves herself naturally this is the case that a woman is herself is all woman is a natural born lesbian..."[2]

The context for this revelation was, perhaps, less than propitious. The Town Hall Theatre of Ideas event was organized by Norman Mailer shortly after his "Prisoner of Sex" article appeared in Harper's. Germaine Greer, a reluctant participant, suggests in a recent Esquire article that the central purpose of the evening was to publicize Norman Mailer through the heart-rending drama of one man doing battle against the leading hostile-women of Women's Liberation.[3] Though several other women passed up the opportunity to contribute to Mailer's fame (including Kate Millett, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Gloria Steinem, and Robin Morgan), Jackie Ceballos, Diana Trilling, Germaine Greer and Jill Johnston entered the ring. Mailer had the event filmed and later prepared a transcript of the proceedings. His apparent intent, thwarted by G.G.'s lawyers, was to produce a film and book under his own direction and largely for his personal profit. The women were to be even more fully cast into an appropriate background from which the male hero Mailer could emerge.

It is possible, however, that Jill Johnston's performance that evening ruined Mailer's drama even before G.G.'s lawyers. Could he really emerge as hero from a scene in which a woman proclaimed that not only she but all women were truly lesbians? If Mailer were a "prisoner of sex" his captors must certainly not be female. Moreover, Jill (anti-) climaxed her presentation with an on-stage demonstration of feminine love. As she describes it:

> "...my friends appeared on stage and I made love before notables and my circuitry got overloaded and the men in the audience voted they dint want to hear me no more and I don't remember too much except leaving and wishing later I'd kissed Germaine before we walked off..."[4]

This, as G.G. notes, "served to blow Papa Mailer's cool, though, and that's just as well." So Mailer, the erstwhile hero of his own drama, became the bumbling, befuddled object of not only female antagonism, but, worse, of feminine sexual indifference. Super stud is no more.

Given Mailer's secret plan for the commercial success of the event, Jill's presentation begins to appear increasingly appropriate. Her theme is that woman must be born again into a kingdom of women:

> "...Verily Verily, I say unto thee, except a woman be

born again she cannot see the Kingdom of Goddess a woman must be born again to be herself her own eminence and grace the queenself whose mother has pressed upon her mouth innumerable passionate kisses so sigh us..."[5]

Norman Mailer and maleness itself shrink into obscurity in this framework. "New approach" is an altogether appropriate title for this episode.

i.

The speech is a complex of puns and jokes intertwined with mythic, symbolic appeals for female salvation. Johnston initiates the process of re-writing the myths of the ages to show the heroism, centrality, and millenial significance of women. The discourse envisions a symbolic drama: the pollution of woman enforced over time by (guilty) man, finally expunged and woman redeemed by the acceptance of the salvation of (symbolic?) lesbianism.

Johnston, throughout this poetic speech-act, infuses the mythic scene with ambiguity, doubt, confusion; she induces questioning. Centuries old expectations are raised and not fulfilled but challenged. In the section quoted above, not man but woman must be born again; not into the Kingdom of God but the Kingdom of Goldess, later the Queendom of Goddess:

"...These are the series of sayings we are saying the world with: the lamentations of Mary and Marilyn Monroe. Lord help you, Maria, full of grease, the lord is with me! Her smile is between her legs and her moustache is in her armpit and she ordered that history should begin with her."[6]

The challenging of half conscious ideas emplanted by centuries of indoctrination results in confusion, doubt, discomfort, rage. (That the audience was uncomfortable is beyond doubt. They voted to end the speech prematurely.)

Since woman finds herself excluded from or degraded in our cultural myths, she must re-write the tales or re-discover her place in them:

"...the 350 years of Abraham intersample Abraham lived for 350 years because the bible ages are only a succession of their ancestors their son so identified naturely with the father that he believed he was the father and of course he was as was Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Esau and Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah and Joseph each one lived for 350 years, but who are the daughters of Rachel and Ruth and Sarah and Rebekah the rest we do not know the daughters never had any daughters they had only sons who begat more sons and sons so we have very little sense, from that particular book, of the lineage and ligaments and legacies and identities of mothers and daughters and their daughters and their mothers and mothers and daughters and sisters..."[7]

Through recovery of her past, woman gains understanding of her substance: her identification or consubstantiality with other women:

> "...meaning the terminus of the heterosexual institution through the heterosexual institution through the recollection by woman of her womanhood her own grace and eminence by the intense identities of our ancestors our descendants of the mothers and the daughters and the grandmothers we become who we are which is to say we become our own identities and autonomies..."[8]

This identity, the discovery of the "lineage, and ligaments and legacies and identities of mothers and daughters..." necessarily results in withdrawal from the current social hierarchy:

> "...the heterosexual institution is over spiritually over and the new thing now that is happening is the withdrawal of women to give each other their own sense of self a new sense of self..."[9]

Woman withdraws from male dominated heterosexual institutions thus enunciating a vibrating No to the current social structure. She will not plead for her "rights;" she rejects the very hierarchy that makes her subordinate and less than human; through rebellion she recreates herself: insubordinate and thus fully human: "...a woman must be born again to be herself her own eminence and grace the queen..."[10] The means of achieving this salvation, this ultimate identification with Woman, the Queendom of Goddness, is sisterly sexual love:

> "...until women all the women see in each other the possibility of a primal committment which includes sexual love they will be denying themselves the love and value they have readily accorded to men, thus affirming their second class status..."[11]

The physical qualities of lesbian sex, in this framework, serve to re-create the individual woman:

> "...giving each other their sense of self tracing the body of the woman whose fingers in turn traced her body that the miracle of the mirror be accomplished between women love is contemplative carresses are intended less to gain possession of the other than gradually to recreate the self through her own self among the women..."[12]

The re-creation of self through lesbian sex is the symbolic and spiritual rejection of the heterosexual institution. Negation and withdrawal are essential to the autonomy of women.

> "...for within the heterosexual institution no woman can be the equal it is a contradiction in terms the heterosexual institution is a male institution a homo ecce homo institution and you can't ever change the absoluteness the institution is political is built out of the institutionalized slavery of women so it is a contradiction in terms--such an institution must only collapse of its own accord from within..."[13]

Thus the woman Negates, rejects, withdraws from the heterosexual institution; she recreates herself, finds her true identification through sexual unification with her mirror image, her symbolic self; and thus woman achieves ultimately a new sense of order or value, a new understanding, for:

> "...the lost and foundamental situation of the feminine is the primordial relation of identity between mother and daughter..."[14]

ii.

Several characteristics of Jill Johnston's use of language should be noted. First, it is a curious fact that there is almost no punctuation to indicate that the speech is more than one lengthy sentence. This very loose writing style seems to give Ms. Johnston great flexibility. She is not constrained to produce grammatical units so she can incorporate any words or phrases which seem appropriate:

> "...whereas both sexes (even as Sigmund sd) are originally more attached to the mother and it is the task of the girl to transfer this attachment to the father naturally they we are but don't know it yet that woman is now approaching her ancient destiny as woman I am and therefore lesbian which means nothing we could say it over and over again over lesbianlesbianlesbianlesbianlesbianlesbian lesbianlesbianlesbian..."[15]

A second immediately intriguing quality of her writing is her tendency to play with words: to make puns, create double meanings, draw out a series of words implied by one word, alter common phrases slightly for radically different meanings:

naturally --------- "naturely"
liberated---------- "lesberated"
"lost and foundamental"
Ring out the old--------"Wring out the clothes,
Ring in the new Wring in the dew"
"Women's lib and let lib"
"o natural woman woman vimmin virmin woreman woeman of America the World"
contradiction---------"contrafiction"
age of chivalry-------"age of shrivelry"
"better latent than never"

The sense of cataclysmic events is artfully conveyed by:

> "...the beginning of the unifirst is rite now if all tinks are at this momentum begin cremated and the end of the uniherse is right now for all thinks are at this momentus passing away..."[16]

Overall, the unorthodox nature of her writing affords her unusual flexibility and opportunity for implication, innuendo,

suggestion. The reader (listener) has great latitude for interpreting her lines on the basis of her/his sense of what goes with what, what implies what.

iii.

A final critical evaluation of this poem-speech is difficult and perhaps unimportant, since each interested person must decide how the ideas relate to herself/himself.

Based on traditional criteria, the speech would have to be judged a howling failure. Rarely is a speaker on a public program asked to stop in midsentence and then voted off the stage by the audience. The speech was published by Jill Johnston as her regular column in the Village Voice. Otherwise it seems to have received little notice beyond the immediate Town Hall audience.

Viewed from another perspective, however, the speech must be accorded a certain significance in the development of the Women's Liberation ideology or "argumentative synthesis."[17] If the object of an act is seen not as immediate persuasion but an attempt to symbolically encompass a historical situation, we are not concerned with effect but appropriateness.

It seems that Jill Johnston in this speech has made an essentially valid symbolic interpretation of the male-ness of our female consubstantiality and sexual unification may be an emotionally difficult conclusion for many women to accept. It is, nonetheless, a symbolically adequate rejoinder to the "evil" postulates of the culture. It is an appropriate response to a hierarchy that demeans woman because of and through her sexuality.

Another evaluative question which might be raised is whether the speech promotes social cooperation or conflict.[18] It is apparent that Johnston is essentially divisive, urging the separation of women from the male hierarchy. But the ultimate purpose of the woman's drama of rebirth, in her terms, is unity: the unification of mother and daughter, sister and sister. In this respect, she addresses the fundamental issue of the women's struggle, as she recognizes:

> "...we are getting to the bottom of women's lib we are going down on women's lib..."[19]

For until this sense of ultimate, mystic union is achieved, the women's liberation movement can only seek favors, redress of grievances, from the heterosexual hierarchy. As in the Black Power movement and the youth counter-culture, separation and unity are necessary for autonomy, individuality, identity and freedom.

It must be concluded that Jill Johnston's speech is an appropriate response to a historic situation and that it promotes a new and productive cohesion at the expense of an old, tired and degrading do-operation. It will, perhaps, someday be true that "On a clear day you can see your mother."

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1. Jill Johnston, "On a clear day you can see your mother," Village Voice, May 6, 1971, pp. 37ff.
   The approach to rhetoric and social change reflected in this paper is founded on Kenneth Burke and Leland Griffin's interpretation of Burke in "A Dramatistic Theory of the Rhetoric of Movement," Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke, ed. by William H. Rueckert (Minneapolis, 1969), pp. 456-478.
2. Jill Johnston, p. 37.
3. Germaine Greer, "My Mailer Problem," Esquire, LXXVI (September 1971), pp. 90ff.
4. Jill Johnston, p. 40.
5. Ibid., p. 37.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 40.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 46.
11. Ibid., p. 40
12. Ibid., p. 37.
13. Ibid., p. 40.
14. Ibid., p. 37.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 40.
17. Elwin Black, Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method (New York, 1965), pp. 148-177.
18. Robert B. Watson, "Toward a Burkean Framework for Rhetorical Criticism," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1970.
19. Jill Johnston, p. 40.

Critical & Directive INPUT

To survive as an open system, MOMENTS requires evaluative as well as creative input. The function of "MOMENTS/Past Tense" is to provide an opportunity for critical assessments and reactions to articles which have appeared in MOMENTS. The function of "MOMENTS/Future Tense" is to provide contemporary rhetorical statements that are compelling, rich and unique in content and style but which have not been substantively examined in the field of speech-communication so far. All readers are encouraged to submit statements for either category.

MOMENTS/PAST TENSE

TO THE EDITORS: Thank you for the copy of Moments in Contemporary Rhetoric and Communication. The idea of a student publication and the rationale for your publication are good and to be applauded. I will indeed mention your efforts in the October issue of SPECTRA.

As you undoubtedly know, there is another student publication called Interchange. It was conceived by speech communication students and is now being published at the University of Utah under the editorship of Jack Rhodes. It accepts articles from any student - undergraduate or graduate - from any institution. Although a fledgling publication like yours, it has the potential to become a respected journal. I would hope that Moments might expand its scope to match those of Interchange and thus, give the field two new journals for student thought. This is, of course, a personal thought but one which I hope your editorial staff might consider. I am certain Professor Howell can offer advice about such a proposal and could, if you desired, bring such a proposal before our Administrative Committee to provide our official endorsement of such action.

You have all made a fine start; you have my best wishes for continued success. And, my hope that you may indeed expand to become a second national student journal in speech communication.

Robert N. Hall
Associate Executive Secretary
Speech Communication Association
New York, New York

MOMENTS/FUTURE TENSE

"An Open Letter To A Heterosexual World: To clear up the present confusion over how you can relate to your Gay sisters and brothers, understand that every stereotype you've spread about us is true....everything, absolutely everything you think we are, WE ARE! There now, simple enough??? Are we swishy, limp wristed, effiminate Queens? Half man, half woman? The "Third Sex"? Right On!! That's as opposed to the blue-jeaned, hero-jacket studs that stuff socks in their crotch and spray their balls with Brut...that walk like they've just been fucked..... Are we tough, butch, truck-driving bull dykes? ...out to castrate men and seduce high school girls? CORRECT! Remember when we spoke to your PTA? ("I'm a homosexual. I don't know why...God made me that way. No! Honest! I'm not sick...see, here's a study! No, we don't sin. We are praying for sodomy. Please don't oppress me.") We lied! LOCK YOUR DOOR! Your children are not safe! Maybe they are Gay too! ... You're not safe! Pray for your life...for your virginity...God is Gay!! The Blessed Virgin swings! The Vatican choir has gang bangs! Are we sick? Oh Lordy, are we sick!!! Like, we don't get our relationships sanctioned by the Government...so we can't call our wives cunts...or own our children to raise in our own image and likeness. We don't pass laws to oppress minorities...or allow 20% of the people in this country to starve...or wage wars...or run large corporations that pollute, oppress, arm nations and destroy civilization. Are we natural??? I ask you ...do flowers grow into the ground?! Did God invent bras? Do jockey shorts grow in football fields? Would God have given man wings if he wanted him to bomb Laos? Are we angry? Yes. Angry enough to bomb, loot and burn and destroy something. And angry enough to cry too. EVERYTHING YOU THINK WE ARE WE ARE EVERYTHING YOU THINK WE ARE EVERYTHING YOU THINK WE ARE EVERYTHING YOU THINK WE ARE EVERYTHING YOU THINK WE ARE WE ARE." Statement by Jim Meko, Gay Liberation Front of Minneapolis, "We Are Everything You Think We Are," MPLS FREE, Volume 2, Number 3, May 25, 1971, pp. 2-3.

The Chicano Liberation Front "seeks justice from a tyrannical government, not with your hat in your hand, but with a rifle in your fist. We would stress that our bombings are a reaction to the pig terror. We know that this society places property value over human life. We advocate urban guerrilla warfare. If a pig knows you are armed, he is less likely to arbitarily attack you for fear of his own life." Statement by the Chicano Liberation Front of Los Angeles, "La Raza," LA Free Press, August 13, 1971, p. 2.

Forthcoming

Students have indicated interest in:

*A Rhetorical Analysis of the Pentagon Papers

*The Rhetorical Strategies of the Urban Guerrilla

*On Path as Pleasure: The Rhetoric of Gay Liberation

*Special Focus: The Rhetoric of Black Liberation

These articles have been identified as potential articles by students but no final commitment has been made to any single topic at this point. Any student is encouraged to submit an article. The Editorial Policy will be a helpful guide in the preparation of articles and is the basis for selecting articles published.

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