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PRESS RELEASE

Redstockings

of the
Women's Liberation Movement
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REDSTOCKINGS DISCLOSES GLORIA STEINEM'S CIA COVER-UP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This whole structure is backed by curious corporate financing.

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

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

Gloria Steinem and the CIA

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

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

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

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

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

Gloria Steinem's response is available from OFF OUR BACKS
1724 20th St. NW
Washington, DC 20009 for 60¢

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We realize that raising these issues will draw lines in the

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

THE PAST: GLORIA STEINEM & THE INDEPENDENT RESEARCH SERVICE

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

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

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

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

Work of CIA With Youths At Festivals Is Defended

By Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

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

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

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

First Admission

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

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

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

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

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

All Controlled by Reds

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

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

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



Dennis Shaul

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

United Press International



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

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

She first decided that youth politics was important during a two-year visit to India after graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Smith College in 1954.

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

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

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

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

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

cratic Society. Nobody told them what to say."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—NEW YORK TIMES, February 16, 1967

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

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

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

This is a serious lie.

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

SUPPLEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION:

NOTES ON THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE EIGHTH FESTIVAL

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

...

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

September, 1961
New York, New York

APPENDIX II

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

SOME BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON FESTIVAL PERSONALITIES

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

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

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

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

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

...

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

Redstockings

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

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

Director:

GLORIA M. STEINEM

Executive Officers:

DR. PAUL E. SIGMUND, JR.

LEONARD N. BEBCHICK

from Report on the Vienna Youth Festival,
Independent Research Service, 1961,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ms., February 1973

Who's Who in America, 1968-69

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

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

Who's Who in America, 1973-74

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

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

1. Title of publication: Ms. Magazine
2. Date of filing: November 6, 1972
3. Frequency of issue: Monthly
4. Location of known office of publication: 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017
5. Location of the headquarters of the publishers: 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor and managing editor: Publisher: Patricia Carbine, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Editor: Gloria Steinem, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Managing Editor: Suzanne Levine, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017
7. Owner: Ms. Magazine Corporation, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Stockholders: Gloria Steinem, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Patricia Carbine, 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Katharine Graham, 1150 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Forsling Harris, 40 Central Park South, N.Y., N.Y.; The PST Group, Inc., 370 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017; Warner Communications, Inc., 909 Third Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10022
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state) None.
9. For optional completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 332.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626.

Patricia Carbine, Publisher

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

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Patricia Carbine, Publisher

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

THE PRESENT: GLORIA STEINEM AND MS.

Financing Ms.

The CIA's big mistake was not supplanting itself with private funds fast enough.

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

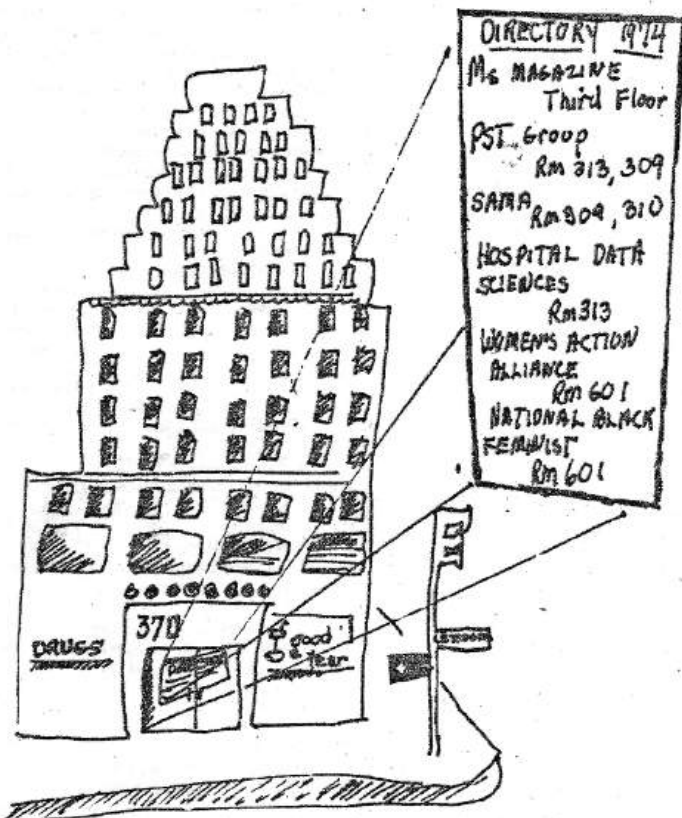
In a recent television appearance Pat Carbine, formerly editor of *McCall's* when that magazine named Gloria

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

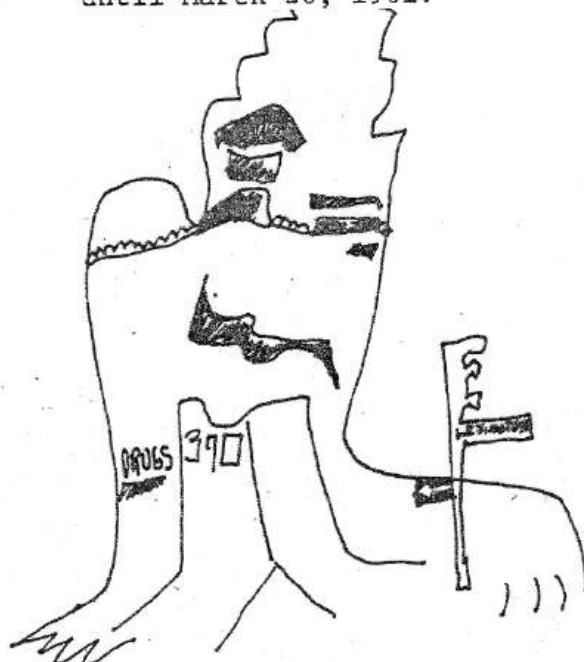
The first source was Katharine Graham, publisher-owner of the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek*, who bought \$20,000 worth of stock before the first issue of *Ms.* was published. Graham was recently featured on *Ms.*'s cover as "the most powerful woman in America" (10/74). It may be more than coincidental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

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

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



Im just a building....



*Or am I just
a building?*

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

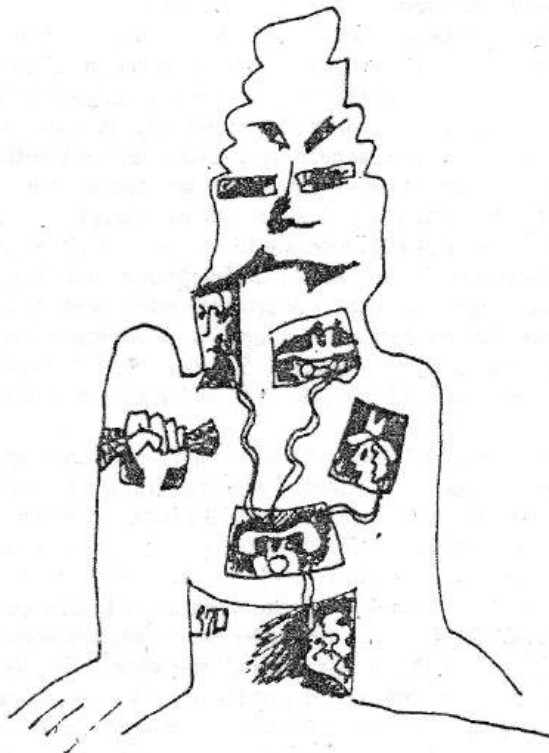
Warner's chief executive officer, Steven J. Ross, started off in the funeral business and then went on to National Kinney Services which eventually merged with Warner. Warner Communications is now the owner of Warner Brothers movies and records and has large holdings in cable television, publishing,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

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

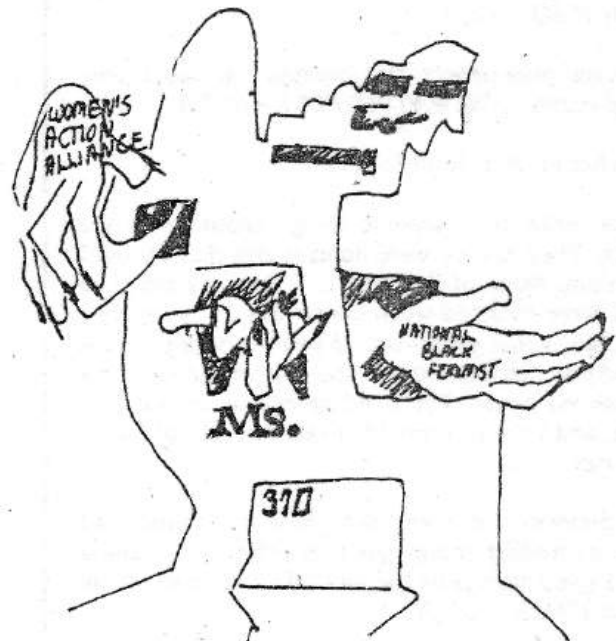
regular issue of *Ms.* appeared on the stands featuring a cover story on Wonder Woman as feminist heroine by a *Ms.* founder, Joanne Edgar. The story announced that Wonder Woman comic books, having been in a decline since the 1940's, would be reborn in 1973 with a new woman editor. The following January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

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

Wonder Woman also reflects the anti-people attitude of



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



Moneyed,
literary,
Glamorous,
People with
Connections

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

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

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

From Gloria Steinem:

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

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

From her mother, Ruth Steinem:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Corporate Interests & Ms. Ideology

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

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

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

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

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

— Michael Wood
RAMPARTS, March, 1967

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

— Marin County WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER,
February, 1973

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

Ms. Classified, May, 1975

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Information Gathering

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

women's action alliance
370 lexington avenue
new york, new york 10017
(212) 685-0800

board of directors

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lucy wilson benson
yvonne brathwaite burke
antonia chaves
phyllis chesler
shirley chisholm
constance cook
susan davis
ronnie eldridge
brenda feigen fasteau
marc feigen fasteau
john kenneth galbraith
ruth bader ginsburg
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dorothy pilman hughes
marjorie fine knowles
marlene krause
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The Women's Action Alliance — The Second Year A fund-raising newsletter

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

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

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

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

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

—James Forman

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

we are left isolated and in the dark.

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

"impoverished" Women's Action Alliance have included:

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

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

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

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

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

The CIA and Liberalism

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

— *The New Republic*
3/4/67, p. 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— *a woman journalist and feminist*

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CIA AND WOMEN

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

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

Another example recently came to light when a NOW

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

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

The Committee of Correspondence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— *THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT*, February 1975

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

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

— *Elizabeth Cady Stanton in a letter to Gerrit Smith, 1885, HISTORY OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE*

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

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

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

— *Barbara Leon*
for
Redstockings

From A Finnish Notebook

Victoria Schultz

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

June 1975

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

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

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

SUGGESTED READINGS

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

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

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

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

The Secret Team by Fletcher Prouty, 1973.

OSS by R. Harris Smith, 1972.

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

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

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

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

RADICAL CRITIQUE GROUND BREAKING ATTACK

The Second Sex
by Simone de Beauvoir
sourcebook of wlm

The Feminine Mystique
by Betty Friedan
sourcebook of wlm

WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

an idea whose time has come

women suffer from treatment as sex objects

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

racism, imperialism, sexism

INVERTING THE RADICAL CRITIQUE & IDEA

The First Sex
by Elizabeth Gould Davis
Naval Intelligence officer

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

Warren Farrell
reported government intelligence collaborator

MEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

reaction and backlash
Warren Farrell, leading organizer (above)

men suffer from treatment as success objects

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

sexism, racism, anti-homosexuality

Redstockings

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

PRESS RELEASE

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

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

FEMINIST REVOLUTION CENSORED

AFTER GLORIA STEINEM AND OTHERS THREATEN SUIT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

State of the Women's Liberation Movement—Moving Backwards

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That we compromised and allowed an

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOME MATERIAL MADE AVAILABLE AT THE NEWS CONFERENCE:

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