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EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN— IS '75 THE YEAR?

It's been a long fight, with its roots in the suffragette movement, but advocates of a constitutional "rights" amendment now sense victory.

Backers of equal rights for women now see 1975 as the year in which a 27th amendment will be added to the U. S. Constitution, guaranteeing equality under the law for both sexes.

Thirty-four States have passed it; four more are needed to give it the necessary three-fourths approval.

A big breakthrough for equal-rights advocates came on February 3 when North Dakota's House of Representatives approved the amendment by a vote of 52 to 49. The State Senate had earlier ratified the measure, 28 to 22.

A year ago many supporters of the amendment were gloomy about its chances of final ratification. Then the outlook was brightened by the results of the election's last November which changed the complexion of some of the 16 State legislatures that have yet to approve the amendment.

Ratification of the amendment got off to a fast start in 1972, the year that Congress passed it and sent it along to the States. That year 22 States approved ERA, followed by 8 in 1973 and only 3 last year. The deadline for ratification is 1979.

The amendment, if ratified, would affect federal, State and local laws, not private actions. In the last two years, opponents of the ERA lobbied strongly against the amendment in State legislatures with a degree of success.

Grass-roots battle. But before the 1974 elections, supporters of ERA had formed coalitions—nearly 75 groups support the amendment—to work for election of those favoring passage.

In a study of election results in nine key States where ratification was pending, the League of Women Voters found that 52 per cent of 1975 legislators supported the amendment while 28 per cent were in announced opposition. In those States, 30 anti-ERA incumbents were replaced by amendment backers, and only one pro-ERA legislator lost to an anti-amendment challenger.

Ruth Clusen, president of the League, said the ERA coalitions "raised men's as



Today's demand by women is that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged." About 75 organizations support such a guarantee in the U. S. Constitution.

well as women's consciousness—and consciences—about women's rights." She pointed to a Gallup Poll conducted last October which showed that, given a chance to vote, 79 per cent of the electorate would favor the amendment.

There are, other factors which supporters say will aid the drive this year.

The AFL-CIO, after straddling the fence, endorsed the amendment late in 1973. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has raised \$250,000 to aid ratification this year.

Some of those funds have been used to hire a political consulting firm—Bailey, Dardourf & Eyre—to help formulate strategy in key States. That strategy was to target 10 States where ERA groups believed passage possible in 1975.

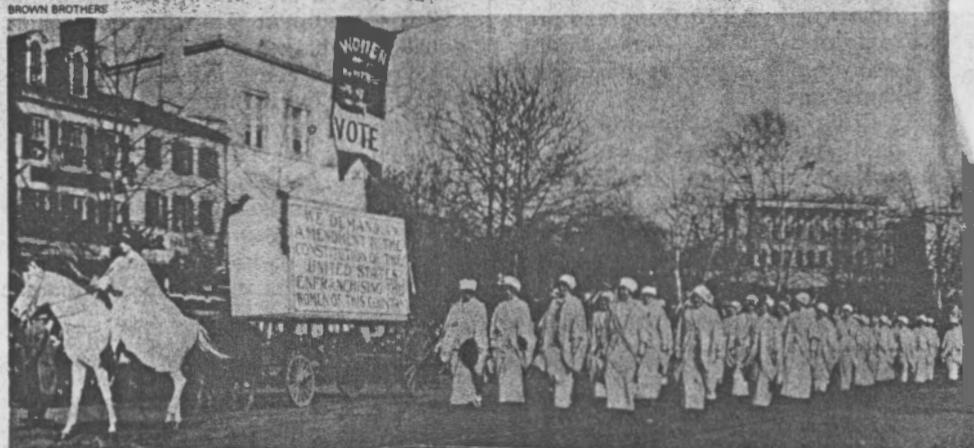
In addition to the favorable results in North Dakota, ratification is thought

possible in Missouri, Illinois and North Carolina by spring. Other targeted States include Arizona—a State where six anti-ERA legislators were defeated by challengers who favor ERA—South Carolina, Florida, Indiana and Nevada. Oklahoma was also a targeted State, but the Oklahoma House in late January defeated a motion to ratify by a vote of 51 to 45.

The 16 States which have not ratified the ERA are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia.

Actions on rights. Meanwhile, the battle to end discrimination on account of sex is encountering rising success at both the State and federal levels. Recent actions by Congress and the U. S. Su-
(continued on next page)

In World War I days, the suffragettes marched to demand the right to vote for women. Their victory was written into the Constitution in 1920 as the Nineteenth Amendment. 49



The Heroine of the Stat

By BARBARA GAMAREKIAN

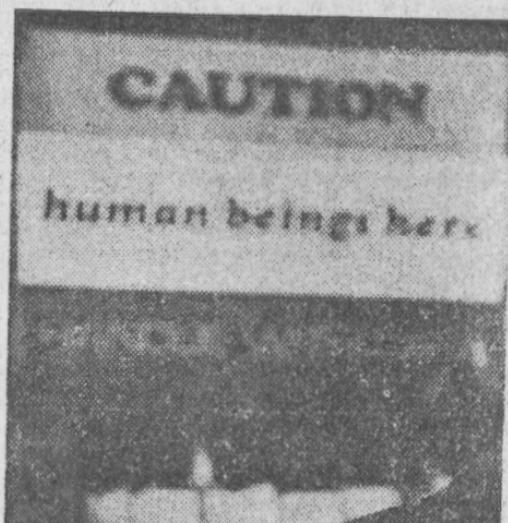
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 5 — Mere mention of the name Alison Palmer produces an immediate groan from some—but then there are those others who call her a pioneer, a heroine, not a troublemaker.

Many of the policy changes that have taken place at the State Department affecting women have been attributed to her.

"She was the first to attack the establishment in a meaningful, viable way," said one State Department employee, "and you always take the risk of personal damage—she could have been fired."

Miss Palmer has not confined her fight to practices in the State Department. She also has taken on the Episcopal Church and was ordained last September to the Episcopal priesthood in an unsanctioned service here at St. George's.



THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1976

e Department's Women



designed to hire women at the middle level of the service. Seven women have qualified.

In the past, women were not able to take dependents abroad, although men at the same rank were supplied with housing for families. Georgian Prince, Federal women's program coordinator, who has served abroad with her mother as a dependent, said, "There was a time when women with dependents were discouraged from a Foreign Service career—it was considered a problem at best, but that has all changed. Social prejudices have been pretty much swept away, and I know of several women who have

N.Y. Times 3/18/76



The New York Times/Chester Higgins Jr.

From left, Jill Robinson,
Marya Mannes, Erica Jong.



'Women Writers'—or Just 'Writers'?

By NAN ROBERTSON

The lightning rod at a symposium of women writers, which drew a warm and lively audience out of the pelting rain to Lincoln Center, was undeniably Cynthia Ozick.

Miss Ozick, winner of the 1976 O. Henry Award for short fiction and one of the panelists, attracted

er whose prolific output includes "Man's World, Woman's Place."

On women writers, these were some of the opinions to emerge:

Miss Ozick. "Literature universalizes, it does not divide." She derided the notion of separate male and female psychologies, ideas or experience by virtue of

On feminism and the women's movement:

Marian Hoberman. "My imagination has been freed by the women's movement."

Florence Howe. "People have been silenced because of sex, race and class."

Natl. Enq



Peoples Bicentennial rally: New stage for Bonzo.

—Photographs by Bill Brunkhorst

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The New Revolutionaries

Peoples Bicentennial Says America Needs Another 1776

By Robert W. Merry
FROM OSHKOSH, WIS.

"THIS IS Oshkosh," exclaims Ted Howard, his voice a mixture of incredulity and ecstasy as he stands amid the pandemonium of Albee Hall at the University of Wisconsin's Oshkosh campus. "This isn't Harvard or Dartmouth or Yale. It's Oshkosh, and it just might be Ronald Reagan's last campus appearance."

Ted Howard is a leading organizer for the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, and he was sent here from Washington, D.C., to organize a political ambush for Reagan's Presidential campaign. Right now it's 12:40 p.m., just 20 minutes before Reagan's scheduled appearance, and it looks as if the Republican candidate might be riding into a box canyon with Indians on every ridge.

A Costar From Yesteryear

Howard's stated mission is to "laugh Reagan right out of Wisconsin," and the 1,500 students crowding into Albee Gymnasium are getting a good chuckle out of the props provided by Howard's

is an educational one—to put forth his view of the American Revolution as the prototype of what's needed today. Of course, this interpretation relies on a particular view of the American Revolution, and that's a matter of considerable debate—whether it was largely a social revolution or merely a political one. But Rifkin and his regulars don't let that debate interfere with their favorite sport—drawing parallels between today's situation and that of the 1760s and 1770s.

After the Massacre

The campus agitation of the 1960s, for example, is compared to the tax revolts of the 1760s. The East India Co. becomes the Eighteenth Century equivalent of our multinational corporations. And one commission activist even suggests that the calm on the campuses since the 1970 Kent State shootings corresponds to the period of relative tranquility that followed the 1770 Boston Massacre.

And, in the Rifkin view, America's businessmen are our Tories. His philosophy, a distillation of just about every antibusiness attitude ever generated in

triotism, has little patience with the radical "elitists" of the antiwar era. "I want to be charitable to the '60s," says Rifkin, "but the radicalism of those days had an Alice-in-Wonderland, mumbo-jumbo, hocus-pocus quality. I mean, there you had young people from Scarsdale, who had everything they had ever wanted in their lives, going around calling themselves Americong and spelling America with a K and hating their country. I had a different view of revolution: I thought it should be based on pride in our country, not debunking our country."

That pride came easily for Rifkin, who grew up in a Southwest Chicago enclave between a mostly Catholic, working-class area and the upper-middle-class Beverly area. "I grew up on rugged individualism," says Rifkin, whose father ran a small plastic-bag plant. "My parents believed in the American success story, the business ethic."

After high school, where Rifkin quickly rose to student prominence in several areas, he received an economics degree from the University of Pennsylvania, then ran off to burst

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'Pro-Life' Backer Is Under Attack On Fund-Raising

By Isabelle Shelton

Washington Star Staff Writer

The National Abortion Rights Action League today filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission seeking to deny federal matching funds to anti-abortion presidential candidate Ellen McCormack, on grounds her campaign "used deceptive practices and violated the federal election laws in soliciting funds."

NARAL President Sarah Weddington, who argued the landmark pro-abortion case before the Supreme Court three years ago, told a Capitol Hill press conference that McCormack's campaign "has made a mockery of the 1974 amendments to the Federal Election Campaigns Act."

"Her candidacy and campaign techniques demonstrate a pattern to deceive potential contributors by failing to disclose without ambiguity that she is soliciting funds for her presidential candidacy and not for the anti-choice movement (those opposed to freedom of choice on abortion)," Weddington said.

"We also believe there has been a direct institutional involvement of the Catholic church in the campaign," she declared. She said NARAL is calling upon the FEC to "use its resources to conduct an investigation of this."

NARAL HAS BEEN told that appeals for "pro-life" contributions for McCormack have been made in Catholic churches, one of them in the Northern Virginia area, Weddington said. She appealed to "persons who have evidence or knowledge of such involvement" to come forward with affidavits, sending copies to the FEC.



Ellen McCormack
Anti-abortion candidate

Sources said that the local church Weddington referred to is Queen of Apostles Catholic Church at 4329 Sano Street, in Alexandria. Spokesmen for the church could not be reached immediately for comment.

David Fiske, press secretary for the Federal Election Commission, said the issue would be resolved quickly, because questions such as NARAL is raising "would automatically have been checked" when FEC staff members conducted a field audit in McCormack headquarters in New York State last week.

To qualify a candidate for matching funds, Fiske said, the law requires that checks must be made out to an individual, not a committee. "Checks made out to a committee are not matchable, by definition," he said.

See ABORTION, A-6

Women From 30 States Carry the E.R.A. Fight to the Land of Lincoln

By WILLIAM E. FARRELL

Special to The New York Times

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 16

—About 8,000 supporters of the equal rights amendment from 30 states—from Maine to California—convened in front of a statue of Abraham Lincoln here today and rallied for passage of a 24-word-long addition to the United States Constitution that one speaker called part of the "second American revolution."

The gathering was a good-

steps of the State Capitol to pressure the Illinois State Senate to become the 35th state to ratify the amendment.

Supporters contended that passage in Illinois could have a spillover effect on neighboring states like Indiana and Missouri, which have not yet acted on the amendment.

A total of 38 states are needed before the E.R.A. can become the 27th amendment to the Constitution. Ratifica-

of support from a broad spectrum of politicians ranging from Presidential aspirants such as Gerald Ford, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and ex-Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia to Senators such as Charles H. Percy, Republican of Illinois, and Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota.

A Plane Overhead

While the crowd was warmed up with tunes from

delivered in front of a contemplative statue of Lincoln that looked down on the speakers.

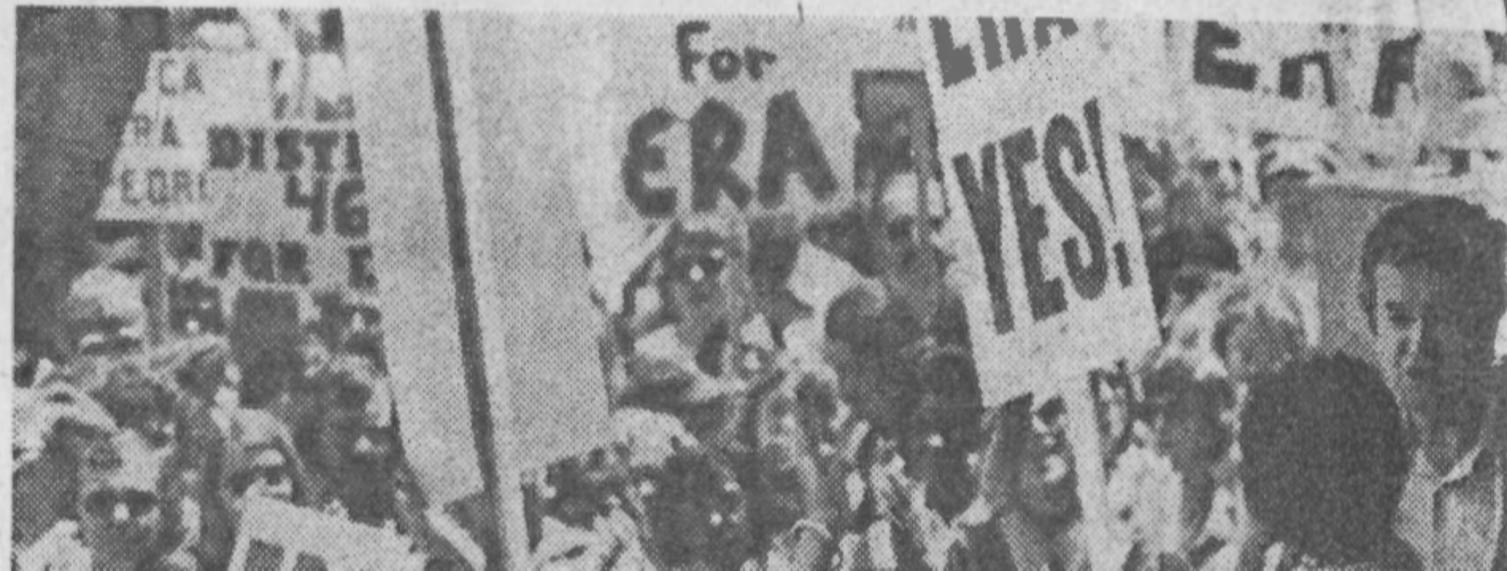
"I'm not a betting woman but I've got a \$20 bill here that says that the polit of that plane ain't no woman," said Sheli Lulkin, a teacher and union official, as the crowd roared.

The Lincoln figure was draped with a banner emblazoned with the simple

Washington and other points east. They went by train to Chicago and then by bus to Springfield.

The train journey was, in part, a tribute to a cross-country rail caravan made by suffragists in 1917 when they were seeking the right to vote.

Sally Campbell, a member of the New York Library Guild, a branch of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said: "The train ride





Associated Press

Betty Ford

2/21/75

Cleveland
Plain Dealer

Most letters to Mrs. Ford oppose ERA

WASHINGTON (AP)—Betty Ford's mail at the White House is running 3 to 1 against her outspoken support of passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

Marvin Schmalzried (left) is the kind of conservative one thinks of as typically American, and as being a bit set in his ways. When his 27-year-old daughter Darlene (center) sued the White House for \$100,000 charging sex discrimination, he was a bit shook up. Now he is beginning to be proud of her. With them is Tim C. Ford, Darlene's best friend. They are picnicking in Lafayette Park, across the street from the White House.



The education of a big man

who never stopped growing

By ANN WOOD

"Success or failure was determined entirely by the individual himself; structural barriers simply did not exist."

—Doris Kearns, "Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream."

the news summary for the President. At one point, she even had to fire one person for sloppy work who had been making more than she. Darlene was convinced the work she did was worth a higher salary. (Bear in mind that Elizabeth Ray says she made \$14,000 a year for doing nothing in a Capitol Hill office.)

father's teeth on edge. But Marvin can also get some amusement from Tim's problems with his own 17-year-old daughter, from a previous marriage. Tim did not want her to travel across country with an older man, who happened to be 22, and Marvin kidded him:

Jeanne M. Holm

Ford's Record

On Women's Rights

Post 10/19/76 A-19
Pg. 19

In her op-ed piece of Oct. 4, Ellen Goodman has taken leave of her normal good senses to cast unwarranted aspersions on both the President and the First Lady of the land.

The thrust of her article is that by allowing her picture to appear on campaign posters with her husband, Mrs. Ford is trying to mislead moderate and liberal voters into thinking that she has some mystic influence on her hus-

hope to see it a part of our Constitution before too long." He went on to point out that "injustice cannot wait upon politics, nor upon the lengthy public discussion which has already delayed ratification of this constitutional amendment. The time to act is now."

He announced that he had directed the Attorney General to plan a sweeping review of all federal laws and regulations that may discriminate on the ba-

Star 6/28/76

Magazines Team Up to Back ERA

Favorable Articles Stem From Effort to Air Issue

By Randy Sue Coburn
Washington Star Staff Writer

Pick up a July issue of True Romance, True Love or True-anything magazine. (Stick it inside a copy of Scientific American if it makes you feel better.) Within are all the articles you might

HELEN GURLEY BROWN, who was at that initial editors' meeting, issued a statement of her own, evidently to clear up the muddy waters surrounding liberation and the pneumatic "Cosmo girl" image. "We've always admonished the Cosmo girl not to be a parasite, not to live off a man, not to be kept," she announced. Her magazine carries a thorough article entitled "ERA and You."

Indeed, Brown has always advocated independence. It's what the magazine frequently suggests be done with it that's confusing — like taking blue collar lovers for kicks and explaining why tall, short, fat, Southern, WASP or Jewish men

See ERA, C-3

P.A. Times 7/25/76 Pg. 3 Pt. 5

Betty Friedan's New Mystique: Middle-of-Road

BY BETTY LIDDICK
Times Staff Writer

Betty Friedan sat in the Green Room of the TAV. Celebrity Theater on Vine St. in Hollywood. She drank white wine on the rocks, bounced her right foot in time to some inner rhythm and, from time to time, pressed an index finger to the middle of her forehead. "Waiting gets me nudgy," she said, using the Yiddish word for edgy.

She watched the television monitor as Merv Griffin introduced Betty White and Ann Miller. Betty Friedan was to be the last guest, after Phyllis Newman. In the back of the room, three models from the fashion show that led off the program began talking loudly. People wandered in to use the phone.

Ms. Friedan strained to hear the monitor. Betty White talked about changes in language, the seeming demise of the word "mankind." Ann Miller told how she likes hav-



BETTY FRIEDAN
" . . . on to sex-role revolution."
Times photo by Harry Chase

ing doors opened for her. "Men are supposed to be the strong ones," she said.

At one point Griffin said the "next lady" probably would have more to say on similar subjects.

"Is it all right to call her a lady?" Betty White asked.

A few people snickered. It was as though they expected Betty Friedan to charge on stage with a trail of burnt bras and trashed Crockpots in her wake. Actually, she was worried about making an entrance without tripping. Nobody quite understands Betty Friedan.

To Heartland Americans, who tune in to Merv or line up for Friedan lectures and never read the Village Voice, she is the wild-eyed radical, the quintessential symbol of women's liberation. (She herself has stopped using the disparaged term and focused on the broader issue of "sex-role revolution.")

To leaders of the organized feminist movement, such as the National Organization for Women—which she founded in 1966—she is a conservative, clinging to the middle class, while they move "out of the mainstream into the revolution."

The truth, as it is for anyone, is that Ms. Friedan is not so easily categorized. The day before the Griffin show she had considered the question of her own liberation and admitted, after an uncharacteristic pause, "It's not complete. It's so hard to liberate one's self from self-denigration, from the scars of dependency, from the scars of evasion of

Please Turn to Page 10, Col. 1

Jan 11/18/75 Q and A

The Schlafly View of ERA, Liberation

Phyllis Schlafly is an author, commentator, political activist and prominent opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment and women's liberation groups. She was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Judy Flander. In this space tomorrow, former Representative Martha Griffiths — who largely takes the opposite view on these issues — will be interviewed.

Question: *What do you make of the recent setbacks of the Equal Rights Amendment and the defeat of the state equal rights amendments in New York and New Jersey?*

Mrs. Schlafly: I think they show that despite the fact that the proponents had nearly 100 percent of the press on their side, and despite the fact that they had nearly 100 percent of the politicians who cared to commit themselves on their side, nevertheless the voters recognized ERA as a fraud, and they're against it. They recognize it as a takeaway of women's rights; they recognize it won't do anything good for women, and so they're against it.

Q: *Why do you feel that if women got legal equality, say in New York, it would take away their rights?*

A: The New York state support law is a beautiful law. It says the husband must support his wife, and the husband must support their minor children under age 21. It's perfectly obvious that when you apply the ERA to that law, it becomes immediately unconstitutional, and it knocks it out. So you have taken away the right of the wife to be supported and to have her minor children supported. Obviously, this is an attack on the rights of the wife and on the family. Now, if there's been a divorce, she isn't his wife anymore. The principal thing that ERA does is to take away the right of the wife in an ongoing marriage, the wife in the home.

Q: *Do you think that that is the reason men support their wives, because it's the law?*

A: Yes, I do. Because it is the duty, and I think duty is an honorable word. I think when men get married they know that they are taking on the duty of supporting their wives.

Q: *Do you think that women today really are getting married to be supported?*

A: Well, even if you think that in the future the law should be changed, I think it is a gross invasion of the property rights of women in existing marriages to come along and say, "Now as a new principle of law — no matter that you went into marriage 10, 20, 30, 40 years ago, thinking that the marriage contract meant a definite relationship — too bad, sister. You're on your own now." And that's what they're saying.

Q: *You see it happening that the wife at some point would have to support the husband?*

L.A. Times

ERAmerica— an Umbrella for Equal Rights

BY MARLENE CIMONS
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—At one point, while the President's Commission on International Women's Year (PCIWY) was voting on dozens of recommendations, commission member Alan Alda turned to presiding officer Jill Ruckelshaus.

How, he wanted to know, could they make sure that the right people are told of the commission's proposals—and act on them?

It was the kind of question frequently on the minds of those who labor on such commissions, but one that is not always asked aloud.

"The problem with presidential commissions is that they have neither purse nor sword," Jill Ruckelshaus said. "We can make sure that the President gets these. We can make them available to the public and hope something happens on the strength of this commission. But I don't think we can force them on anyone."

Alda, star of the television series MASH and co-chairperson of the commission's committee on the Equal Rights Amendment, was not yet satisfied.

"Couldn't we be more aggressive and direct that the commission make its recommendations to the appropriate people?" he said. "We can say, 'this affects you and we would like you to know about it.' That way, it gets the word to them a little bit more surely than putting it all in a book and hoping they all hear about it. It would be very useful—especially if we carry all the weight we hope that we do."

A Serious Limitation

Jill Ruckelshaus smiled. "I see all the staff people in the room rolling their eyes back," she said. "But I think it can be done if the commission members are all in agreement."

A vote was taken and it was so agreed.

The brief exchange illustrated what is perhaps the most serious limitation on the work of groups such as Presidential commissions. Sometimes their ideas are ignored. "It happens," Ruckelshaus said. "It happens."

"But look," she said, displaying a letter addressed to her, dated several days earlier, and signed by Ford. "We correspond with the White House all the time. The President is very interested in what we are doing. His wife is very interested. Maybe these will not be implemented in 1976. Maybe they won't happen until 1977, or 1978. But they serve to focus and define, and they encourage women to bring pressure. Maybe it will be better with Ford. He's shown in a lot of ways that he is trying very hard. But it does take a long time."

The 39-member commission, appointed by Ford last April, met for two days last week to discuss and vote on these recommendations, proposals prepared during the last nine months by 12 committees studying virtually every problem of American women. Within the next few months, they will be assembled into a final report and given to the President.

Ready for the Conventions

"We also want it ready to present to both political parties at their national conventions," Jill Ruckelshaus said. "I am also hoping that representatives from the commission will be able to testify at party-platform hearings."

(The work of the commission, incidentally, will not end there. In legislation passed by Congress recently and signed by Ford, the life of the commission has been extended until March, 1978, so that it can organize and convene a national women's conference, to be preceded by regional conferences in each U.S. state and territory.)

What was perhaps the major development of the commission meeting did not come in the form of a recommendation. It was an announcement regarding ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, which the commission voted its top priority last April. Alda and Rep. Margaret Heckler (R-Mass.), co-chairpersons of the ERA committee of the commission, announced the formation of a new or-

Please Turn to Page 4, Col. 1

Los Angeles Times
VIEW

PART IV

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1975

JACK SMITH

Coming to Terms With Love

In suggesting son-in-law or daughter-in-law as a workable name for the person who is living with (but not married to) the president, Mrs. Ford has struck a highly emotional political issue. Mrs. Ford had

First Lady Sticks to Her Guns on ERA

BY MARLENE CIMONS
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—They were an incredible sight, those several dozen men and women who had come on this sunny, but bitterly cold, afternoon—carrying hostile picket signs—to march along the sidewalk in front of the White House.

A demonstration along the spiked fence on Pennsylvania Ave. is not an unusual event. It is a location where thousands of people, all with a cause, have come throughout American history. What made these people unique was the target of their protest. They were not, as one would expect, out to castigate the President. This time, it was his wife they were after.

Several hours earlier, upstairs in the second floor family quarters of the Executive Mansion, First Lady Betty Ford had been told they were expected. She already knew there had been criticism of her lobbying for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, but she was not disturbed.

"I'm going to stick to my guns on this," she said to an aide. "I expected this. And I'm not bothered by it."

Not since Eleanor Roosevelt has there been a First Lady so willing to take an unequivocal position on a controversial and highly emotional political issue. Mrs. Ford had

Sticks to Her Guns on ERA



mon Cause. "As for the complaints, we consider them silly, picayune and unjustified."

Mrs. Ford has been commended by the League of Women Voters, the National Organization for Women and scores of other women's rights groups across the country, many of whom have either telephoned or sent telegrams of support.

"I am absolutely delighted that Mrs. Ford has a sense of responsibility, a strong sense of her own citizenship, and is taking a stand towards justice," said Karen DeCrow, national chairperson of NOW. "It's refreshing."

Ms. DeCrow added: "As a feminist, I would be happiest if there was a woman as President speaking from the White House. At the moment, however, the top woman in the White House is the First Lady and it is, of course, of inestimable value to have her speaking out on justice for women."

There are even opponents of the amendment who believe that a First Lady should not sit back and be indifferent if she feels strongly about

PEOPLE/SCENE

*American Women: 'Good Start'**By Dorothy McCardle*

First Lady Betty Ford walked slowly and carefully through the exhibition of the record of what American women have achieved in the first 100 years of the nation's history last night.

She stopped to read the fine print here and there and to laugh a little at some of the old-fashioned pictures. Then she straightened up and gave

ahead, we have one more step right now," she told Sampson, who had escorted her, together with others, through the exhibit.

"I hope we have the Equal Rights Amendment by 1976. There would be no better way to celebrate the nation's Bicentennial anniversary than with the passage of ERA."

Sampson was ready for the challenge. "If we do, we sign it right here," he said, glancing up at the tall

Bacon, director of the U.S. Center for International Women's Year.

Mrs. Ford first passed the cases enclosing the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, followed by a modern reminder of women's progress in the person of a woman violinist playing with a Marine Band combo in the lobby, where food and drinks were being served.

On her way to the women's exhibit, she was surrounded by women, chil-



Betty Ford, second from left, with Jill Ruckelshaus, James Rhoads and Arthur

Wash Star
3/11/75 A-3

Rights Bill Optimism For '75 Passage Fading

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

A proposal to guarantee equality of rights of the sexes has only about a month left to become a part of the Constitution this year — and even that depends upon a couple of "surprises."

Supporters of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, their optimism of late last year nearly gone now, say they must have some significant gains in state legislatures by mid-April or else forget it for 1975.

If the total of 38 state ratifications is not reached this year, the practical effect would be to put off the question

Women's Rights Defeated in Indiana Senate

INDIANAPOLIS, IND. (UPI) — The Indiana Senate defeated, 27-21, a proposal that would have ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The vote came on a proposal which would have substituted the wording of the federal ERA for a resolution dealing with similar subject matter

cused heavily on the abortion controversy. The state has a large Roman Catholic population, and opponents have been attempting to make the argument that equal rights for women is only a cover for a campaign to ease abortion laws.

Missouri's legislature has adopted a new abortion law putting strict new controls on that medical procedure, and most of its provisions have been upheld in federal court. Such laws might be under stronger threat, it has been argued, if the equal rights amendment were part of the Constitution.

Attempting to counter such arguments, ERA supporters in the state



Phyllis Schaafly . . .
calls to legislators



Rep. Gwen Cherry . . .
will vote 'yes'



Betty Ford . . .
musterung 'no' votes

Betty Ford has alarmed some political circles with her outspoken support of the ERA. But others see her actions as a great commitment.

The ERA

Florida In Ratification Spotlight

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Buoyed by help from the First Lady and professional political consultants, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment are pushing for final ratification this year.

rooms but also "all public schools, college dormitories and hospital rooms" would have to "desexigrated."

Since Congress approved the ERA in the spring of 1972, 34 states have ratified it. Two of them — Nebraska and Ten-

... Missouri: The Missouri House passed it, 82 to 75, in January. A tough Senate fight is expected with this state a focus of the Stop E.R.A. and the W.W.W.W. (Women Who Want to be Women) lobbying.

Nevada: The House passed

tee to let him vote. The committee then killed it 8 to 7.

Oriental

- BOUGHT
- SOLD
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As New York Vote on Equal Rights Nears, Two Sides Speak Out

On Nov. 4, voters in New York State will go to the polls to decide, among other things, whether the proposed Equal Rights Amendment should be added to the State Constitution. Two women, one a Manhattan political scientist and the other a Westchester County wife and mother, are heading the proponents and opponents of the amendment in what promises to be a spirited battle for votes in the general election.

PRO

CON

By JUDY KLEMESRUD

Sandra Turner says confidently that all of the polls are on her side and that "so is the side of right." Still, she has one recurring nightmare: that many of the voters who favor the state Equal Rights Amendment won't go to the polls

Annete Stern is a "fortyish" suburban mother of three who does not hold a paying job, and is proud of it. She eschews the term housewife, however, in favor of "home executive."

"That's a woman who is a wife, a mother and in that order," she

Wall. Obs.

Week Ending February 7, 1976

A Cold Shoulder

Career Women Decry Sexual Harassment by Bosses and Clients

By Mary Bralove

THE 40-YEAR-OLD bank executive faced a business problem for which no graduate course in management had prepared her. No sooner had she settled into her new job as the first woman vice president of a Midwestern bank than the trouble started.

"I was hit from all directions at once with several important bank clients offering me their business on the condition that I go out with them," she recalls, asking that her name not be used. "I was responsible for keeping and building up these large accounts. If they pulled out, my career was finished."

At first she made light of the offers. Then she ignored them. When these tac-

This article is reprinted from The Wall Street Journal.

tics failed to stop the persistent phone calls at home and the suggestive remarks at business meetings, she lashed out.

"I sat down with each client and told them that I make it a firm rule to keep business separate from my social life," she says. "I told them that they could take their business to another loan officer if they wanted to."

It was a stratagem that worked. Though taken aback, the clients seemed to accept her terms. Not one has taken his business elsewhere. Still, the experience left her shaken. "Nobody ever talks about sexual harassment on the job," she says. "But when it happens to you that first time, it's frightening."

These days, the wall of silence surrounding the issue of sexual harassment is gradually crumbling. Across the country, small pockets of working women are boldly speaking out and seeking protection against unwanted sexual advances by bosses or clients. The incidents they describe are sometimes as blatant as a proposition coupled with a promise of advancement if accepted and the threat of dismissal if rejected. Or, the harassment may take the form of a physical overture disguised as a friendly pat, squeeze, or pinch.

Casting-Couch Careers

Men, too, can be the unwilling objects of such advances, but it happens less frequently. Eli Ginzberg, professor of economics at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business, explains: "Since men are in most of the positions of power, [sexual harassment] most often goes the other way."

Some women, of course, welcome these unexpected attentions and turn them to their advantage. Corporate and

old mother of five discovered that the job included fending off one of her supervisors, a married professor who pawed her at every opportunity. Rather than risk dismissal by telling him off, the woman, who is the sole support of her family, kept quiet. ("I was taught not to hurt other people and to be polite," she says ruefully.) Finally she complained to another supervisor. "He told me that any mature woman should be able to handle it," she recalls.

So she avoided the professor whenever possible. She began to dress dowdily. She took to walking down stairs rather than risk meeting him in an elevator. She asked for a transfer to another department with no success. The pressures finally took their toll. She developed severe neck pains. Nine months after her promotion and in terrible pain, she quit her job. Shortly thereafter, the neck pains ceased. When she tried to collect unemployment compensation, she says that state unemployment officials told her that sexual harassment is not an intolerable job condition.

Corporate Apathy

Despite the apparent extent of the problem, sexual harassment isn't an issue that many corporations treat seriously. "With any other business problem they would have had people hard at work researching and planning," says Margaret Henning, codirector of Simmons' graduate management program. "But as far as we can tell, nobody is doing anything."

Businesswomen concur, noting that employe counselors tend to chalk up charges of misbehavior in high places to back-office gossip. Co-workers, while outwardly sympathetic, often harbor suspicions that the woman encouraged such actions.

Some women admit that they may unconsciously invite improper advances. A former analyst for Arthur D. Little Inc. recalls one incident not too long ago that led her to examine her own behavior. While on a business trip to New York, she and four vice presidents of a client firm went out for a business dinner. Returning to her hotel, she found that all four men had telephoned her for a late-night date.

"I couldn't stand what was happening to me," she says after a year of psychological counseling. "Clearly my behavior was way out of line."

Women's groups argue that anyone should feel free to rebuff advances without fear of reprisal. To win their point, women are thrashing out the issue in court, within their unions, and among themselves.

Toughest to Crack

The legal arena is the toughest to

10X02.0

File

The state Equal Rights Amendment raises a major question: Is it necessary in view of the campaign for a Federal E.R.A.? A hearing today advances the controversy one step closer to a referendum in the fall.

State Equal Rights Amendment: Senate Opens Hearings Today

U.S. Amendment: What It Will Do

By LESLIE MATTIAND

Is the Equal Rights Amendment to be the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of the American social structure? Former Senator Sam J. Ervin asked three years ago, voicing his opposition to the resolution then before the Congress, which would put an end to sex discrimination in terms of governmental action.

The quest in which he attributed to a Yale Medical School professor of psychology, has since become just one of many questions that the amendment has provoked around the country.

The confusion that has arisen derives from the fact that there is no way of knowing for sure how the courts would interpret the amendment. Areas that are disputed. Constitutional authorities agree, however, that the legislative history that produced the resolution pro-

A. From statements made in debate by Senator Birch Bayh, Democrat of Indiana and chairman of the Constitutional Amendments subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. "The Equal Rights Amendment would not prohibit a State from saying that the institution of marriage would be prohibited to men partners. It would not prohibit a state from saying the institution of marriage would be prohibited from two women partners. All it says is that if a state legislature makes a judgment that it is wrong for a man to marry a man, then it must say it is wrong for a woman to marry a woman—or if a state says it is wrong for a woman to marry a woman, then it must say that it is wrong for a man to marry a man."

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, March 10—In addition to the campaign for a Federal Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, there is a nearly identical state E.R.A. making its way toward the New York referendum ballot this November, but not without a bit of controversy first here tomorrow at a public hearing.

The problem with the state E.R.A. and its relatively brief statement of rights due all New Yorkers, men and women, is not a lack of support among legislators. A few male solons, it's true, like to joke about the E.R.A. as the "earned run average bill," but this bit of chauvinism is a small private joke in comparison with the general expectation that the state amendment will receive the final legislative approval in the Senate to put it to the voters in November.

The hitch, some legislators say privately, is basically a political circumstance—that the opposition to E.R.A. has organized enough in the last year to necessitate a public hearing to vent some of the controversy.

By comparison, there was no hearing last year when both houses of the previous Legislature voted initial approval of the state amendment. Indeed, opponents have used that point this year in charging the whole amendment process has been rushed and unfair.

Less Controversy in First Year

However, Senator Bernard G. Gordon, the Westchester Republican who has called the hearing tomorrow in the

with a pat on the head as part of a feminist movement they now view as inevitably ongoing.

But Senator Karen S. Burstein, the Nassau Democrat, says the amendment is of immense value. And at the hearing, she adds, it is crucial that proponents not bog down in a sharp-tongued dialogue with critics, but rather emphasize the tangible value of the state amendment.

"It will give us a needed impetus," the Senator said, "to develop intelligent marriage, divorce and support statutes. It will help clean up the labor law. It will give us a handle to correct the insurance law's treatment of women."

What the amendment does basically, in the Senator's view, "is to tell the courts to be sex-blind when talking about human potential." The proposed amendment reads simply: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the State of New York or any subdivision thereof on account of sex."

All nine women elected to the Legislature—Democrats and Republicans and conservatives—held a news conference today to stress their unity behind the state E.R.A.

"I have been around this proposed amendment for as long as I can remember," said Assemblywoman Rosemary R. Gunning, Conservative-Republican of Queens. "It is not a one-sex situation, you know. There are many men who suffer injustice as a result of their sex."

One critic of the amendment, Annette Stern, president of Operation Wake-up, which describes itself as an organ-

N.J., Connecticut: What They Did

Both New Jersey and Connecticut have approved the pending Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution, but have acted differently regarding their own state documents.

There has been no effort by the New Jersey State Legislature to amend its Constitution with an equal rights amendment, but in Connecticut last November voters overwhelmingly approved an amendment making discrimination on the basis of sex illegal.

The Connecticut amendment, which went into effect last Nov. 27, reads: "No person shall be denied the equal protection of the law nor be subjected to segregation or discrimination in the exercise or enjoyment of his or her civil or political rights."

maiden names in marriage, but women's rights groups have attacked the proposal, contending that women now have such a right and that such a law is unnecessary.

In another action, New Jersey's Supreme Superior Court in Mercer County is expected to rule this week on whether a woman must re-register as a voter if she marries. A ruling by a local election board saying this is necessary is being contested.

Bills Introduced

In Connecticut, the General Assembly plans to debate bills to prohibit employment discrimination based on marital status, to equalize retirement and pension program benefits, and to establish a state rape crisis analysis unit.

The Connecticut Supreme



Betty Ross and Dorothy Haight, right, guest guests at a luncheon held by the National Council of Negro Women.

Mrs. Ford Urges Recruiting Black Women to Key Posts

By Dorothy Gilliam
Washington Post Staff Writer

Her first organizational meeting before a group of predominantly black women,

luncheon before about 100 women representing women's volunteer organizations. The women's two-day meeting to discuss housing and food issues, was sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women, going to lead the way and lead the country down the path for equality—not only racial equality but sexual equality. You have a great commitment and I know you will... carry

Boren branded the ad a complete lie and waved before television camera an example of what called "McSpadden's and smear tactics." He offered what he was proof of positions of site to those attribute him in the ad, and challenged McSpadden to avow such tactics. Instead, McSpadden sued a statement saying Boren has been embarrassed not wronged. He counter

'Frustrating and Demeaning'

TerHorst Says Nixon Men Still Control

... Nixon says aides of President Ford, whom he served for 10 years, are press

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scribed as open and candid in intensity... on something and not given to being im-dealing with Watergate," he pressed by lengthy memos and writes "say the disposition of

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Women's Rights Amendment May Hinge on Change in Carolina

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

RALEIGH, N.C. — There is a political gospel according to Herbert Hyde, and it has a lot of believers.

"If the Piedmont flexed its power, it could take over this state, it could dominate the legislature."

Now if that's a fact, and there are many in this state who think so, North Carolina may be on the verge of real change.

Stirrings of progressivism are evident through the "Piedmont," that great mid-state crescent running from Raleigh around through Durham and Greensboro and Winston-Salem and down to Charlotte.

These stirrings are beginning to be felt in the symbolically modern (Edward Durrell Stone, designer) Legislature Building here.

A major test of whether this is something more than stirrings is coming soon. The North Carolina legislature is about to take up again the "equal rights for women" amendment to the U.S. Constitution. And that seems to be a pet cause in the Piedmont.

Herbert Hyde is counting on that. The "sage of the house," as some of his colleagues call the red head from Buncombe County, thinks he has the votes for that amendment, and a goodly number will come from the

Keeping things quiet at the Odd Fellows Hall

Piedmont. Some will come for his area, the Blue Ridge Mountains to the west. Few, if any, will come from the "East," which up to now has always dominated state politics.

Closeted (literally) in the wee, barely functional office that each representative has near the House chamber, Hyde is willing to talk about anything except his strategy for winning. He is the main sponsor of the amendment in the House.

"This issue," say as he tugs at a curtain pull that won't work, "is no

different from any other. You get the votes and use whatever influence you got."

THE ISSUE, of course, is different, very different, and Hyde leaves little doubt that he, too, knows that.

The "ERA" is hotly controversial, nearly everybody knows about it now and cares, one way or the other, and every state's reaction to it is crucial. If it is to become part of the Constitution, the amendment must win in four more states—and, as a practical mat-

ter, it probably has to do that this year.

North Carolina's role could be decisive. The amendment has as good a chance of passing here as it has anywhere. In fact, this is one of only four states definitely counted upon by its supporters to go along.

Should ERA falter here—particularly now, after six weeks during which it has stumbled more times than it has gained elsewhere—the campaign for it just might be over.

Besides, North Carolina is something of a laboratory now for testing such issues. The rising power of cities in a rural state, transmitted

into the legislature by redistricting is thought likely to give the state politics a more "liberal" cast. ERA is a good test of that, since here—as elsewhere—it is seen as a liberal cause.

These are reasons why, somewhat to its annoyance, North Carolina is beginning to look at the issue with a national audience watching.

Howard F. Twiggs shudders a that. Getting up from the desk in his law office high in the BB & T tower downtown, Twiggs greets an out-of-state visitor:

See EQUALITY, A



Lonely Crusader Battles Sexism She Sees in U.N.

By NAN ROBERTSON

Shirley Hazzard seems a woman in perfect control. Fastidious and cool, crowned with smooth black hair, she sits in her polished apartment high above Manhattan or in "two little white rooms" on the island of Capri, writing sensitive, tender stories about love and ulti-

ternational Women's Year that just ended "is the perfect expression of the unauthenticity of the U.N. Secretariat, the supposed custodian of world standards while it discriminates appallingly" against its own female employees.

She calls them the "domestics" of the place frozen



WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 3, 1976

family/style

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19



"Women, in accepting inferior status," says Shirley Hazzard, "virtually renounce advancement from clerical positions."

evidence" demonstrated by its own personnel statistics of the organization's injustices to its female staff.

Since 1970, groups to combat this have been formed, petitions signed, questionnaires circulated. From the outside, the discontented

Washington Press Club

PEOPLE/FASHION

Pressing Inaugural Statements

By Jeannette Smyth
and Dorothy McCardle

Washington is such a
otlin' town.

Though they might better
ave been building an ark,
he journalists and the pol-
ticians and the culture vul-

oath to Associated Press
reporter Peggy Simpson.

At the somewhat more se-
date gathering of the Ameri-
can Newspaper Women's
Club (ANWC) Smithsonian
Secretary S. Dillion Ripley
got off a remarkable state-
ment of his own as the club
inaugurated the Voice of

the guacamole and said
"This isn't supposed to be a
platform for somebody's
thing. This is supposed to be
about Peggy."

"It just goes to show,"
said another woman, "that
you can't trust politicians no
matter what sex they are."

International Women's Year
Conference in Mexico City
and succeeds as president
the WPC's first male presi-
dent, Ronald Sarro of The
Washington Star. The club,
now 56 years old, started
out as the Women's National
Press Club.

Outgoing president Sarro

New N.C. Lawmakers May Decide ERA Fate

Continued from Page 1C

to prevent an objective examination of the ERA.

Opponents want to hold off vote as long as possible, arguing that there's no reason to rush things on such an important issue.

Behind both arguments, however, each side admits,

publicly so much in North Carolina and around the nation that more hearings would contribute little.

AMONG ERA supporters, Rep. Mickey Michaux, D-Durham, is the bluntest in promoting that argument. "Why go through more debate?" he said last week. "We've heard it all before, let's just vote and be done with it."

He directed ERA supporters to stay away from the General Assembly. And Campbell, who is thought to oppose passage (though he says he's uncommitted), says he hopes opponents will do the same.

AT THE FIRST meeting of Campbell's committee last Tuesday, sparring between the opposing sides was evident almost from the outset.

Edwards Against, Harvey For ERA

Continued from Page 1C

The 124 House members are committed to vote for the ERA, but that only 20 of the senators now plan to vote for it. Proponents must win in both Houses; opponents must block the amendment in just one chamber.

Both sides have lobbyists and powerful politicians working for them. Groups of women wearing "Stop ERA"

(Columbia hairdresser David Bagwell, a national vice president of the association, said the nonscientific survey should not be taken lightly. He said a similar poll in 1972 predicted that Richard Nixon would carry every state but Massachusetts in the presidential election.)

THE ERA opponents, however, strongly disagree with the assertion that most South

Kays Gary

Carolinas ERA Vote May Be Crucial

N.C. Proponents Push Vote; Opposers Stall

By PAUL BERNISH
Observer Staff Writer

RALEIGH — A few days after the 1975 General Assembly session began, freshman state Sen. Charles Vickery, D-Orange, strode into the Senate chamber prepared to introduce a bill calling for ratification of the equal rights

scores the intense war of strategy that has built up this year as the N. C. legislature tackles the ERA again.

LEGISLATORS for and against the controversial Constitutional amendment agreed last week that the maneuvering going on now is likely to decide the issue.

votes in the 50-member Senate.

Opponents, meanwhile, don't discuss figures, saying they haven't had time to count heads.

But, as the intensity of both sides' efforts reflects, the issue is far from settled.



S.C. Lawmakers Divided

By JON BUCHAN
Observer Columbia Bureau

COLUMBIA — It took the S.C. General Assembly 50 years to ratify the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution, giving women the right to vote.

Twice in the past three

anti-ERA lobbying campaigns in anticipation of one more battle over ratification.

Thirty-four states have ratified the ERA. Four more — bringing the total to 38 or three-fourths of the states — must approve it before it can be added to the Constitution.

ella Story Brings To Mind

'Dorothy 'Long Sam' Brown

member "Long Sam." Underella story freshens the memory as if an being played again with warm but minor

GR Press Photo

"Until I actually studied the Equal Rights Amendment, I had supported it," Mrs. Elaine Donnelly, of Detroit, told members of the Ladies Literary Club.

Stop ERA chairman says amendment will deprive women of more rights

By Bernice Mancewicz

She is young, vivacious and dedicated. She believes in women's rights but is no militant feminist.

"Until I actually studied the Equal Rights Amendment, I had supported it," Mrs. Elaine Donnelly of Detroit told members of the Ladies Literary Club Wednesday morning.

"Once I reached the conclusion that ERA

the other, notes the Stop ERA chairman.

"This will not be equal pay for equal work. It will have nothing to do with ability — only sex priorities.

"When there is so much to lose why do women bet on anything as drastic and unpredicable as ERA?

"Senator Sam Ervine has said ERA is the most drastic proposal. It will outlaw any law which benefits



Betty's Mail Is 3-1 Against Rights Stand

Cheerful as always, Betty Ford "expected" her mail to be against her strong stand for the passage of Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It is meant to end sex discrimination. After luncheon with wives of U.S. Chamber of Commerce directors, Mrs. Ford acknowledged



ona.
EARLY THIS month, North Dakota became the 34th state to ratify ERA, but Arizona killed a measure to approve the amendment last week and the Georgia Senate turned down a similar resolution yesterday.

Meanwhile, Knight Newspapers has learned that Republican National Chairwoman Mary Louise Smith also has pushed for ratification in at least eight states. Mrs. Smith said this effort is "personal" and not coordinated with the White House.

Former Sen. Sam Ervin, D-N.C., who led the opposition to ERA in the Senate, said last weekend he doubts Mrs. Ford "understands very much about that amendment." Ervin

Wash Star News 2/18/75

P. 01

Mrs. Ford Mulls Trip To Back ERA

Knight News Service

Betty Ford is contemplating her most aggressive move to date in behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Administration insiders