

all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariable the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

For Discussion and Writing

1. What is the source of the language that ends this Program's tenth point? Why is it significant in light of the ten points that have been raised?
2. What contradictions might lie between the desires expressed in points two and four, and those expressed in points six and ten?
3. If a key skill in any bargaining campaign is to ask for more than what is reasonably expected, so that the other side has room to counter-negotiate, then which of these ten points might the Black Panther Party have been willing to abandon if other points were won? Which points would be considered essential?
4. Taking the ten-point program as a whole, which main elements of the American Dream are most grievously missing from Black experience at the time of this writing, in the view of the document's writers?
5. Conduct extensive research, using a variety of credible sources, on the Black Panthers' history and its conflict with the United States government. What inroads, if any, did the group make for African Americans?

The National Organization for Women's 1966 Statement of Purpose

BETTY FRIEDAN

Over a hundred years after the Seneca Falls Declaration was written, the National Organization for Women (NOW) issued this "Statement of Purpose," written by Betty Friedan. Whereas the 1848 Declaration had served as a list of grievances, meant to illustrate the extensive inequality of women's rights as citizens in contrast to men's, the 1966 document offered a combination of stated beliefs, historical overviews, and firm rejections of particular social ideologies. While

the document excerpted here is not as bleak as its nineteenth-century counterpart, it is clear that NOW in 1966 saw much work left to be done.

We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come for a new movement toward true equality for all women in America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the world-wide revolution of human rights now taking place within and beyond our national borders.

The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men.

We believe the time has come to move beyond the abstract argument, discussion and symposia over the status and special nature of women which has raged in America in recent years; the time has come to confront, with concrete action, the conditions that now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity and freedom of choice which is their right, as individual Americans, and as human beings.

NOW is dedicated to the proposition that women, first and foremost, are human beings, who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential. We believe that women can achieve such equality only by accepting to the full the challenges and responsibilities they share with all other people in our society, as part of the decision-making mainstream of American political, economic and social life.

We organize to initiate or support action, nationally, or in any part of this nation, by individuals or organizations, to break through the silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination against women in government, industry, the professions, the churches, the political parties, the judiciary, the labor unions, in education, science, medicine, law, religion and every other field of importance in American society.

Enormous changes taking place in our society make it both possible and urgently necessary to advance the unfinished revolution of women toward true equality, now. With a life span lengthened to nearly 75 years it is no longer either necessary or possible for women to devote the greater part of their lives to child-rearing; yet childbearing and rearing which continues to be a most important

part of most women's lives—still is used to justify barring women from equal professional and economic participation and advance.

Today's technology has reduced most of the productive chores which women once performed in the home and in mass-production industries based upon routine unskilled labor. This same technology has virtually eliminated the quality of muscular strength as a criterion for filling most jobs, while intensifying American industry's need for creative intelligence. In view of this new industrial revolution created by automation in the mid-twentieth century, women can and must participate in old and new fields of society in full equality—or become permanent outsiders.

Despite all the talk about the status of American women in recent years, the actual position of women in the United States has declined, and is declining, to an alarming degree throughout the 1950's and 60's. Although 46.4% of all American women between the ages of 18 and 65 now work outside the home, the overwhelming majority—75%—are in routine clerical, sales, or factory jobs, or they are household workers, cleaning women, hospital attendants. About two-thirds of Negro women workers are in the lowest paid service occupations. Working women are becoming increasingly—not less—concentrated on the bottom of the job ladder. As a consequence full-time women workers today earn on the average only 60% of what men earn, and that wage gap has been increasing over the past twenty-five years in every major industry group. In 1964, of all women with a yearly income, 89% earned under \$5,000 a year; half of all full-time year round women workers earned less than \$3,690; only 1.4% of full-time year round women workers had an annual income of \$10,000 or more.

Further, with higher education increasingly essential in today's society, too few women are entering and finishing college or going on to graduate or professional school. Today, women earn only one in three of the B.A.'s and M.A.'s granted, and one in ten of the Ph.D.'s.

10 In all the professions considered of importance to society, and in the executive ranks of industry and government, women are losing ground. Where they are present it is only a token handful. Women comprise less than 1% of federal judges; less than 4% of all lawyers; 7% of doctors. Yet women represent 51% of the U.S. population. And, increasingly, men are replacing women in the top positions in secondary and elementary schools, in social work, and in libraries—once thought to be women's fields. . . .

WE DO NOT ACCEPT the token appointment of a few women to high-level positions in government and industry as a substitute

for serious continuing effort to recruit and advance women according to their individual abilities. To this end, we urge American government and industry to mobilize the same resources of ingenuity and command with which they have solved problems of far greater difficulty than those now impeding the progress of women.

WE BELIEVE that this nation has a capacity at least as great as other nations, to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy the true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. In such innovations, America does not lead the Western world, but lags by decades behind many European countries. We do not accept the traditional assumption that a woman has to choose between marriage and motherhood, on the one hand, and serious participation in industry or the professions on the other. We question the present expectation that all normal women will retire from job or profession for 10 or 15 years, to devote their full time to raising children, only to reenter the job market at a relatively minor level. This, in itself, is a deterrent to the aspirations of women, to their acceptance into management or professional training courses, and to the very possibility of equality of opportunity or real choice, for all but a few women. Above all, we reject the assumption that these problems are the unique responsibility of each individual woman, rather than a basic social dilemma which society must solve. True equality of opportunity and freedom of choice for women requires such practical, and possible innovations as a nationwide network of child-care centers, which will make it unnecessary for women to retire completely from society until their children are grown, and national programs to provide retraining for women who have chosen to care for their children full-time. . . .

WE REJECT the current assumptions that a man must carry the sole burden of supporting himself, his wife, and family, and that a woman is automatically entitled to lifelong support by a man upon her marriage, or that marriage, home and family are primarily woman's world and responsibility—hers, to dominate—his to support. We believe that a true partnership between the sexes demands a different concept of marriage, an equitable sharing of the responsibilities of home and children and of the economic burdens of their support. We believe that proper recognition should be given to the economic and social value of homemaking and child-care. To these ends, we will seek to open a reexamination of laws and mores governing marriage and

divorce, for we believe that the current state of "half-equity" between the sexes discriminates against both men and women, and is the cause of much unnecessary hostility between the sexes.

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. They must refuse to be segregated on the basis of sex into separate-and-not-equal ladies' auxiliaries in the political parties, and they must demand representation according to their numbers in the regularly constituted party committees—at local, state, and national levels—and in the informal power structure, participating fully in the selection of candidates and political decision-making, and running for office themselves.

- 15 IN THE INTERESTS OF THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF WOMEN, we will protest, and endeavor to change, the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves. We are similarly opposed to all policies and practices—in church, state, college, factory, or office—which, in the guise of protectiveness, not only deny opportunities but also foster in women self-denigration, dependence, and evasion of responsibility, undermine their confidence in their own abilities and foster contempt for women. . . .

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity—not in pleas for special privilege, nor in enmity toward men, who are also victims of the current, half-equality between the sexes—but in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society.

1966

For Discussion and Writing

1. Much of this document presents statistical information meant to illustrate gender-based inequalities. Would this argument technique—appeals to logic and mathematical evidence—have been effective in 1848?
2. The women's rights movement and NOW have been portrayed by some media commentators as overly aggressive, unreasonable, and hostile to the

conventions of marriage and children. What, if anything, in this document might lead those commentators to such conclusions?

3. How does Friedan attempt to balance the issues of family and work for women? Are the expectations placed on business and government reasonable ones?
4. On its web site, NOW precedes this document with a disclaimer: "This is a historical document . . . [t]he words are those of the 1960s, and do not reflect current language or NOW's current priorities." What sections of the document might be the main motivation for the group to disclaim in this way?
5. In the Statement, Betty Friedan asks the audience to compare the social standing of women to that of Black Americans, who in 1966 were also struggling to gain full equality. What specific aspects of the American Dream were both groups clamoring for most vocally?

Trail of Broken Treaties— 20-Point Proposal AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

In 1972, several Indian groups from the U.S. and Canada, including the American Indian Movement (AIM), formed a caravan that traveled from the American West to Washington, D.C., where the travelers presented the proposal they had drafted along their journey. When the U.S. government failed to treat the proposal seriously, the caravan's members took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building and held it for six days, gathering national media attention for their cause and for the complaints articulated in this excerpt from the Proposal.

We want to have a new RELATIONSHIP with you . . . an HONEST one!

**"TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES": FOR RENEWAL OF
CONTRACTS—RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN
COMMUNITIES & SECURING AN INDIAN FUTURE
IN AMERICA!**