

DAY CARE

Anyone interested in forming a cooperative Day Care Center on the West Side please call Ann Gardner 696-4946 or Marie Grossman 221-1256.

MONEY

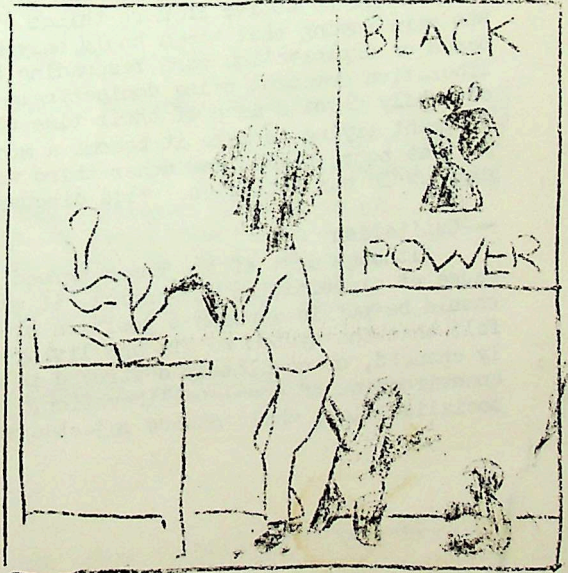
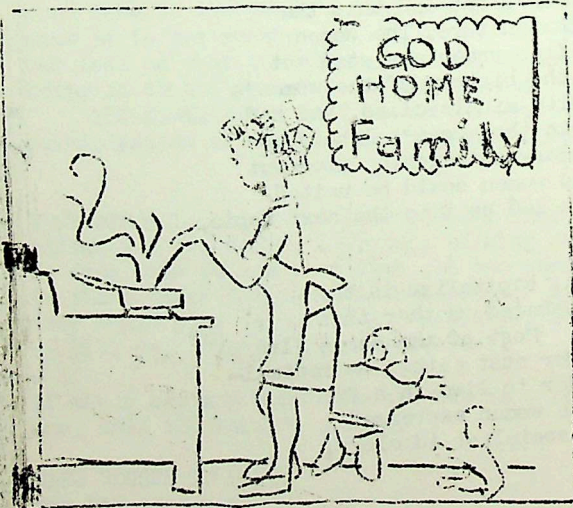
The Women's Center is in bad shape for money right now. If anyone could send money to the women's center now it would be greatly appreciated. There was a statement in the newsletter last time about where the finances go, and the ~~women's~~ women's center is having a hard time paying its bills. So send, even if it isn't much.

The mountain moving day is coming.  
I say so, yet ~~many~~ others doubt.  
Only a while the mountain sleeps.  
In the past.  
All mountains moved in fire,  
Yet you may not believe it.  
Oh man, this alone believe,  
All sleeping women  
Now will awake and move.

--Yosano Akiko

NEWSLETTER

Anyone interested in helping put out the newsletter (being on a newsletter committee), please come to the women's Center on Monday April 26, or call Jane or Eve Boswell 321-7319.



APRIL 17, WE HAD A WORKSHOP. Not too many people showed up, maybe  
about 20 all together, but we had a pretty good discussion. We started  
with a few words from the Minister and the sisters who  
went to Toronto for the convention with the Chinese Women. She said  
that the main thing that the Minister stressed was unity!  
For more information about that convention, look for the article in  
our next newsletter.

Then we started to discuss the statement of goals of the CWLC.  
Several issues were discussed.

Whether the women's liberation position is to struggle strictly  
for "women's issues", i.e., economic and psychological oppression,  
or whether women's issues were all encompassing and cannot be  
separated from the struggles of other oppressed people.

The first argument was that the education of new women would  
be through women's issues, and not to get involved in any other  
issues. The other position was that this was a narrow viewpoint  
and would isolate us from the other oppressed peoples, resulting  
in our own self-destruction. Well, we thought that this was a  
contradiction at first, but after a lot of discussion, we seemed  
to come to a consensus that these things weren't necessarily  
contradictory, and that things could be worked out for a statement.  
The women who felt that only women's issues should be mentioned in  
the position paper were responding to a segment of the women's  
movement that they felt were totally involved in issues such as  
anti-imperialism, and did not act on down-to-home issues  
such as day care, health projects, abortion projects, etc., so that  
women could be free to go ahead and work on other social concerns,  
if they chose to. We all seemed to agree that actions based around  
women's issues is a very important beginning point and that the  
CWLM should be active in more things of that nature. The women  
who were saying that women could only be free under a system not  
based on exploitation were responding to the history of the women's  
liberation movement being dominantly white middle class, and had  
obviously devoted much of their time within the woman's liberation  
movement trying to make it become a much more outreaching movement  
so that poor, black, and other third world women could be united  
with us in our struggles. This discussion led us into the next topic.

#### Capitalism

Although most of the women agreed that capitalism is the  
cause of exploitation in general, it was debated whether this  
should be put in a woman's position paper. Most of the women also  
felt that the system we are now living under must either be radical-  
ly changed, or completely destroyed in order to live in a free  
environment of complete liberation. Some women expressed a  
socialist view, while others rejected the socialist ideology,

---Democratic Decision Making Policy

We want to find a way to make decisions (i.e., CWLM statement of support for the lettuce boycott) more quickly, but keeping the small group structure. We also seemed to all feel that in order to keep a democracy, more people and representatives from each of the small groups should come to the workshops, which is when and where the decisions are to be made. We didn't see how we could have a fair representation of the CWLM, unless we have as many people at the workshops as possible. (The flux of different women in and out tends to alter the whole tone of a meeting.)

---Mass Movement

There was some discussion about what is a mass movement, and is a mass movement what we want, and can we really have a mass women's movement? Some felt at a loss because they didn't think a mass movement is possible, Others felt it is possible and absolutely necessary to reach all women of all classes.

I feel that a lesson to be learned from this discussion is that often, what we may feel are contradictions among ourselves can be worked out if we listen to each other. We all had valid criticisms of the Women's movement, as well as we all had something positive to offer. A position paper is important because we need to define and understand our goals, in order to have a certain united base that can be used as a springboard for future actions.

Our next workshop is Saturday, May 15, at noon. Please, will all small groups, and everyone else, pick up the K collective's statement, and think about it, and talk about it, and write down the things that you would like the statement to say, and come to the next workshop. We will be talking about it again at that time. IF you don't have a copy of the K collective's statement, either come down to the Women's center and pick one up, or call us. IF you cannot make it to the workshop, acall up one of your sisters who will be here, and have her tell us what you think, or call us up here at the center, and we will bring it to the workshop for discussion.

The final draft will be written up at a future workshop, with the full participation of all the small groups (Dig?)

ANNOUNCEMENT: we would like to hear from the small groups. What kinds of things are you doing, learning, talking about? We would like you to write us from time to time, so that all the women can learn from them. We ought to share these things with each other. Also, if anyone has anything that they would like to put in a newsletter, send it to us, Box 2526 E. Cleveland, or call us. This is your newsletter.

If there are any women who are not in a small group and would like to be in one, call the women's center.

OPEN HOUSES IN MAY:

May 6th at 8 p.m.

May 23rd at 2 p.m.

At the International Women's Day demonstration at the Cuyahoga County Jail, many women expressed an interest in continuing activity around women prisoners.

Most of the women (and men) in the jail are there awaiting trial. Most of the women are there for committing "crimes" of prostitution, shoplifting, credit card fraud, etc, in order to get the necessities of a decent life for themselves and their children. They are jailed with little regard for their families and held for many months because they cannot afford the bail.

The Cleveland Political Defense Committee is requesting a public hearing with the sheriff, the commissioners, the city and county prosecutors, and other officials in policy-making to discuss the issue of bail.

They are urging that innocent prisoners (and all are considered innocent until proven guilty) be released without bail to the custody of friends, family, community organizations, or on their own recognizance.

If any women are interested in working with the Cleveland Political Defense Committee in this important campaign to eliminate bail for the poor, please come to the next meeting on Tuesday, April 27, at 8:00 p.m. in the CWRU Student Union, 11111 Euclid Ave.

For further information, call Dorothy Kover, 371-0905, or contact the Cleveland Political Defense Committee at P.O. Box 2576, East Cleveland, 44112.

freecalloursistersfreeerickafreeangela  
freecalloursistersfreeerickafreeangela

New York (LMS)—Popular recording artist, Aretha Franklin says she stands ready to post Angela Davis's bond, "whether it's \$100,000 or \$250,000."

"Angela Davis must go free," Aretha said. "Black people will be free. I've been locked up (for disturbing the peace in Detroit) and I know you've got to disturb the peace when you can't get no peace."

"Jail is hell to be in. I'm going to see her free if there is any justice in our courts, not because I believe in communism, but because she's a black woman and she wants freedom for black people."

"I have the money; I got it from black people—they've made me financially able to have it and I want to use it in ways that will help out people." —However, Angela has been denied bail.

ANNOUNCEMENT: if you want to write to Ericka Huggins, here is her address;

c/o Catherine Roraback  
265 Church Street  
New Haven, Conn. 06511

WRITE A LETTER TO ANGELA DAVIS: the letter on the next page is being circulated by Radical Women in Struggle, and L.A. Liberation group. They would like women to make copies and sign this letter so it can be sent to Angela Davis. Send signed letters to: The Women's center, 1027 S. Crenshaw, L.A. 90019.

Angela Davis (continued)

DEAR SISTER ANGEJA,

We are all fighting for the right to be free. As women, we are becoming aware of our strength as an independent, creative, revolutionary force which will challenge the roots of this system. We are uniting to overthrow the institutions which deny us control over our lives. our struggle is against all forms of oppression--economic, sexual, racial, psychological and cultural--which limit our right to self-determination. We will not be free until all oppressed people are free.

X  
X  
Your fight for freedom, your fight for life, is a source of strength for us all. Your struggle to become a philosophy professor was an act of defiance against the traditional role reserved for women. More importantly, that did not diminish your prime commitment to revolutionary change for all people. Your involvement in the black liberation struggle, your defence of all political prisoners, your courage to go beyond the personal independence your career could have allowed you, in order to strive for liberation--all these have made you a target of repression.

We know that, as women in the women's movement fightin to change this society and fighting to break the traditional chains that bind us into prescribed roles, we are a threat and as a threat, we too will be victims of repression. You are our sister! This attack on you is an attack on all women and must be met with a-united, powerful movement--a movement strong enough to free you and all women prisoners. We are committed to the building of this movement.

UNITED WE SHALL BE FREE!

OWERFULSISTERHOODISPOWERFULSISTERHOODISPOWERFULSISTERHOODISPOWERFULSISTERHOODISPOWE

FREE ABORTION ON DEMAND: NO FORCED STERILIZATION

On Saturday, April 10th approximately 150 people demonstrated on public Square to protest Ohio's inhuman abortion law. Women carried a banner saying, "Free Abortion on Demand: No Forced Sterilization" There were also many other signs and posters protesting the fact that thousands of women are murdered by botched abortions; that society cares little for the welfare of children after they are born, oppressing both the children and the women who bear the burden of raising them by not providing adequate and low-cost health care and child-care facilities; that women must bear the consequences for using unreliable or potentially dangerous contraceptives; and that women are the ones who are forcibly sterilized -- or are the ones to whom sterilization is denied, when asked for. It was obvious from the signs, banners, and speeches at the demonstration that the laws, the hospitals, the doctors aren't very consistent. The only thing that is consistent is the denial of our right to control our own reproductive lives.

The demonstration was called by the Abortion Project Coalition and was endorsed by CSU's Women's Liberation, CWRU Women's Liberation, Baldwin-Wallace Women's Liberation, Bread, Peace and Land, National Organization for Women (NOW), and Association for the Reform of Ohio's Laws (AROAL). There were speakers from these organizations and also from the Health Collective of Cleveland Women's Liberation.

ERICKA

In Sunday  
New Haven  
played

ERICKA, if warmth alone could make a revolution,  
The people would already been victorious  
with your warmth alone.

I see you now, sitting in the courtroom.  
There is death all around you.

If your warmth could penetrate the dead,  
You would be free.

But death won't look you straight in the eye,

Because he is afraid of the warmth  
your eyes are radiating.

But warmth does spread,  
and it reaches each blooming child of the revolution  
and it touches them with the same loving care

as a sun does to budding spring flowers.

And even in a courtroom--  
surrounded by death--  
and while you are in jail---

You are reaching the children of the revolution this way.

---Carol Stern

Ericka Huggins is one of the several Black Panthers who were arrested in New Haven Connecticut in May, 1969. She was arrested shortly after the death of her husband in January 1969, and separated from her baby. She has been denied bail--and has been in jail since her arrest. Her trial has just recently come up where she is facing a frame-up murder charge (of another Black Panther) along with Bobby Seale. Some of her poetry that she has written while in jail follows.

the oldness of new things  
fascinate me like a new  
feeling about love about people  
snow, highways that  
sparkle at night, talk  
laughter. . .  
that old longing for freedom  
that this place constantly  
renews--it all makes  
me know that humankind  
has longed to be free ever forever  
since its break from the  
whole  
maybe the longing for  
freedom will soon make  
others homesick for our  
natural state in / with  
earth, air, fire, water  
not dead  
but living  
not asking for freedom--  
but free--

On Sunday, the 13th of December, the  
New Haven Women's Liberation Rock Band  
played a concert at Miantic State Prison.

17 december 1970  
6 p.m.  
miantic prison

reflections on Sunday:

sounds that come from the soul are always  
the same

free  
open sounds  
giving

the kind that reach out and touch--

that's what our sisters did/minimum  
touching maximum/showing oppression  
and the wish for its  
removal...

feeling those sounds  
seeing them felt on others  
watching faces smile

really smile for the first time in months--  
getting high--on the natural power of the  
people to resist/to smile/to laugh/to sing/  
shout/love/give  
ever here!!!

wild hair, funky guitar  
long hair funky voice (someone said  
bessie smith came to mind)  
hair--all lengths, legs, arms, smiles, music--  
SISTERS--and us...

raggedy peacoats, cotton dressed, rocking,  
swaying  
screaming

enjoying it--  
crying too--even if not too many

let the tears fall free  
...us--black/brown/white/poor--SISTERS  
and it was all a total exchange  
of energy

communication  
even if we did not share words  
we all knew their soul--sounds were  
saying

we understand  
we know  
we can see what amerika is doing  
to you--mother/daughter/child/woman  
of oppression--

we can see, they sung

and our voices answered their guitars,  
horns flute-voice-cowbell-tambourine de-  
mand for freedom with an unspoken right on  
...a feeling there that one day--soon--  
all people will be free...and

we left  
stronger  
able to smile (for a moment)...

til we returned to  
rules that degrade  
schedules that destroy sanity  
racism that they cannot see  
sexism that rapes us of our womanhood...

and the locks, keys, windows, walls, doors,  
threats  
warnings  
bribes that harden our hearts and  
chain our souls...

the time  
must be  
seized

venceremos!

## abortion rally(continued)

There are two abortion bills now at the state legislature waiting to be sent into committee. One bill, submitted by State representative, Robert Manning, (R-Akron) states that it be enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio that the existing abortion law be amended to read: that no person, other than a licensed physician or surgeon shall prescribe or administer a medicine, drug, or substance, or use an instrument or other means with intent to procure the miscarriage of a woman. Whoever violates this section, if the woman either miscarries or dies in consequence thereof, shall be imprisoned not less than three nor more than ten years. The second bill introduced by State Representative, John Galbraith (R-Maumee) simply states that the existing law be repealed. These bills are scheduled to go into either the HEW committee or the Judicial committee within the month. However, who knows what these bills will come out of the committee looking like, if indeed, they get to the committee at all. The politicians can't be trusted!

Women across the country are mobilizing--going into the streets in large numbers in struggle for their demands. We need to join our sisters in this struggle and place no reliance on the politicians. Our own strength and our own militancy are the weapons we must count on. Join the Abortion Project Coalition! The next meeting is on Thursday, April 29th at 8:00 p.m. in room 305 of Thwing Hall (Western Reserve Student Union). The possibility of a Northeast Ohio Abortion Conference will be discussed. Sisterhood is Powerful! Justice for Women!

--Valerie Robinson

\* \* \* \* \*

SPRING DEMONSTRATIONS: We have written in the last bulletin about the mass demonstration that will be held on April 24th in Washington D.C. There will be "intensive lobbying" following the demonstration until May, and actions will continue, including a "stop the War or We stop the Government massive Ghandian civil disobedience" planned for May 3rd.

We also have word from Kent that there is a national call for people to go out there from April 30th to May 4th. There will be a Rally on the Anniversary of the Cambodian invasion April 30th, a declaration of struggle against the present genocidal bombing escalation of Indochina, a youth celebration and pig roast, Workshops, ending with a Rally and Festival on May 4th. Kent will be striking again this spring, and they need our support.

If you need transportation to either of these events, or have transportation available, or want to form a Cleveland Women's contingent in Kent, or want further information, call the Woman's center, 268-5131. Keep trying--someone will be there sometime, and we'll be glad to hear from you. (Someone will always be here on days it is staffed.--Tues. 1-5, Fri. 1-5, and Wed 7:30 to 10 p.m.)

### RUMMAGE SALE TO RAISE MONEY FOR THE CENTER

If you have any old books, clothes (clean), or any other stuff hanging around your house that you don't need anymore; if you or a supportive male makes things that are beautiful that we can sell inexpensively, or cooks or bakes food that is healthy, then you can HELP US EARN MONEY. The rummage sale is Saturday, May 1, 10 am to 5:30 p.m. at the OUTPOST, 13037 Euclid Avenue. We hope that everyone in a small group or on the mailing list will contribute something. If it's too much of a hassle to make or to find something, a money substitute would help. You may drop things off at the Outpost only on Saturday. Before that, bring it to the Women's Center.



On April 10th, there was a demonstration at the old federal building and a rally at the Tom Johnson Memorial on public square, demanding free abortion on demand--no forced sterilization. One of the sisters from the CWLC spoke at the rally. This is a copy of her speech.

I am Lee Cooper from the Cleveland Woman's Liberation Health Collective.

Look around you--look at your sisters--stylishly dressed, clad in jeans, working poor, welfare mother--one out of four of you has had an illegal abortion. Why? Abortions are occurring in Cleveland--for those who have the money, for those who are desperate enough to try it themselves, to turn to knitting needles, coat hangers, or quacks.

The next time someone asks you what time it is, tell them it's time for women--poor women, white women, old women, rich women, black women, brown women, young women--women. Time for us to take control of ourselves where we have the human right to control ourselves--our bodies. Time to make the choice--are we for ourselves or against ourselves. Time to say this is my body, my life and I'm going to control what happens to it. Time to say WE ARE TAKING THE CHOICE AND THE CHANCE OURSELVES.

We are limited and oppressed by several factors.

1. Archaic and experimental methods of birth control. More money is spent on advertising birth control pills than on researching them. On who are they experimenting with 3 month contraceptive shots? Women--often poor and black or brown. Women who out of economic necessity must allow themselves to become guinea pigs. Does anyone quite know how an IUD works? In fact the only truly safe method seems to be abstinence--strangely this one seems to be the least appealing to men!!!
2. We are limited by male supremacy. Men screw, leave, and bear no consequences. Who suffers from unwanted pregnancies, illegal or unsafe abortions and illegitimate children? It isn't your brothers, Sisters! Our double standard accuses women of being immoral in not wanting a conceived child while men need suffer no physical or moral pain for fathering children. In Washington and New York states abortion reform has taken place. A bill proposed in the N.Y. legislature and passed in the Washington legislature would require a husband's permission before an abortion could take place. Why? Are we a man's property that he can have the final control over what happens to our bodies? Are we to be considered as mindless fragile creatures who do not have the sensibility or responsibility to know what's good for us? Their trouble is that we DO know what's good for us. We know what we want. Control of our bodies--and men don't like it.
3. We are also limited by the social stigma and financial impossibilities of single women raising children if they want to. Blue Cross does not give maternity benefits to dingle women. Illegitimate children are called bastards. Mothers who are alone cannot afford to work because of the price it takes to pay a babysitter. Being alone puts you in a double bind--you must work--yet can't afford to. And the only alternative our society has come up with is welfare. Not only must women submit to the indignities of the welfare system, they must submit to possible forced sterilization for economic profit, abortion for profit, sell your body and feed your family. Don't let any more Black Panthers grow up--all because of economic dependency in a society which does not recognize the priorities of feeding, clothing, and educating people. Two bills have been proposed in the Ohio legis-

abortion speech (continued)

lature. One would pay for the abortions of Welfare mothers. The other would pay the cost of a tubal ligation plus \$500 cash to Welfare mothers. The alternative is going off welfare. Why? Why? When abortions should be free and out of a choice. When tubal ligations are unobtainable to most women because of the seriousness of the operation. Free has become a dirty word in our society--they tell us we must work hard, do good, and we'll be happy in the end. Why is the concept of free choice so frightening to some people? Because they will lose their control over us.

We ask for free abortions, repeal of abortion laws and no forced sterilization, so that every woman can make her own choice. Economic coercion is not free choice, however, abortion is only a true choice when others are equally viable. We are most limited in that if we DO choose to have children we know that adequate health and child care facilities are not available. At this time rather than showing more concern for women and children we find our community growing less responsive. In Cleveland health services have been cut to 3 clinics with 12 nurses and no physicians. We want the right not to bear unwanted children and equally we demand our right to care for the children we have and the children we want. And we want the right to control those institutions which affect us. Health and child care facilities must be controlled by the women who use them in order that they be responsive to women's needs. Yet who will pay for those facilities? Why not tax the corporations who use us in making their money?

We are told that abortion is dangerous yet we are given no alternative. Which danger do you choose? Unwanted children, back abortions, prohibitive costs making abortion available to only those wealthy enough to pay? Or free safe abortion in community controlled--women controlled clinics. It's possible and in the hands of knowledgeable caring people it is less physically and psychologically dangerous than tubal ligations and full term pregnancies.

We want the repeal of all abortion and contraceptive laws. Reform is not enough. It's only half a solution and will only place the ultimate decision in the hands of legislators and doctors--men--who will make money or political gain off of you.

We want free safe and voluntary abortions with no forced sterilization. Free client controlled, 24 hour health and child care centers. It's a lot. We want the control of ourselves.

If women would take this one step of control it would mean more than just abortion repeal. It will help free you from your historic role of housewife, part time worker, and the bearer of unwanted children. What time is it? Time to take one step in the direction of controlling not only our bodies, but our lives.

PLEASE, IF YOU DON'T WANT THE BULLETIN SENT TO YOU ANYMORE, TELL US,  
you will be saving us time, money, and effort,

ALL OTHER WOMEN, LET US KNOW YOU ARE THERE. C'MON AND SEE US SOMETIME.

Elements of Sisterhood:

A gift from the women's movement  
in Lawrence, Kansas to our friends  
written by Marge Picroy

The prevailing winds of our struggle  
sweep through the barbed wire and prison walls,  
through boundaries carved out at conferences  
Through newspaper masks of Enemy and Ours  
Breath is life  
and we begin by speaking our own truth as women.

Sisterhood has to be made to happen: Hammered,  
heated, forged in the slow flame of struggle,  
agony that chars or transfigures the old selves,  
burns out or fuses us together.  
We become a new metal.  
Our color is fire shining.  
We sing in the air like a scythe.

We must flow out to all people.  
We must seep into each house and each cradle, and bed  
We will wash the old lies and old shame from our bodies.  
Keeping our level together we will rise.  
The sea of womankind salty and deep as the blood,  
is preparing wave upon wave  
and each wave goes on a little farther than the last.

In sisterhood we must stop the looting and waste  
The masters of the monkey god money are stealing  
from our children's children their milk and bread or rice  
They buy and sell our eyes,  
our grandmothers' bones and our childrens' teeth.  
We are the fertile earth of our peoples.  
We must fight to bring forth a new abundance  
so that each child born from us will be born free,  
born to usefulness and work with her sisters and brothers,  
born to fullness in the belly and the brain,  
born to stand and say, "we are the women of earth"  
We have made sisterhood out of struggle  
and a new world is brought shouting to birth through us.

ATTN: Jessie Glaberman  
1443 Baurick  
Detroit, Mich., 48214  
Detroit Women's Coalition

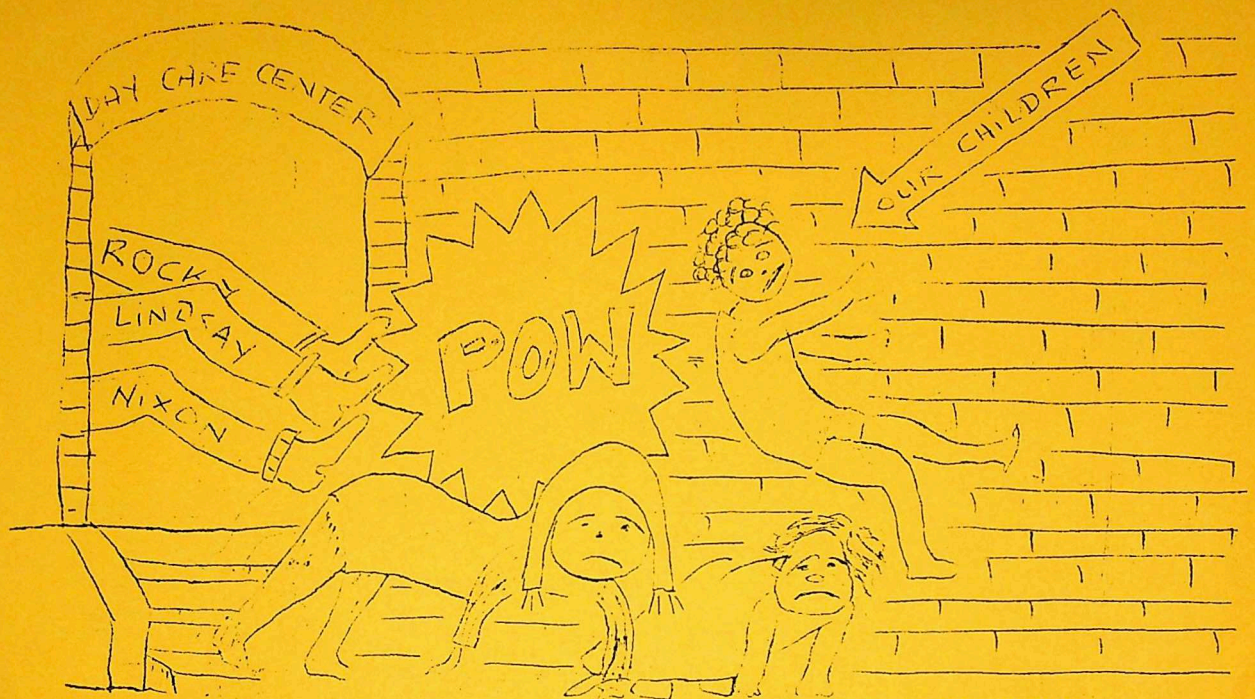
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CLEVELAND WOMEN'S  
LIBERATION MOVEMENT  
P. O. BOX 2328  
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44112  
Phone: 268-5131

The Health Project Group, which has been meeting for almost three months now is beginning work on a program on the near west side. We spent a lot of time learning about and thinking through different health issues -- abortion, sexuality and birth control, women as health consumers, women as health workers, the Cleveland health delivery system (hospitals, etc.) Several different project ideas grew out of those discussions, and last week we decided to work on one around the issue of sexuality and birth control.

The program will be a series of classes and discussions for teenage women aimed toward knowing your own female sexual and reproductive system, knowing how birth control works, how abortion works, how childbirth works, how sex works, and the right to adequate medical care and why it's so hard to get it. These classes will be aimed at young white working class and poor women on the near west side for several reasons: they have little opportunity for female-oriented information about sexuality and birth control, and we in Cleveland Women's Liberation want to have more contact with near West Side young women, so that we have a chance to learn from women of different class backgrounds than ourselves.

We hope to begin this project in a few weeks; we're beginning to put it together now. Any sisters who have not worked with the Health Group so far, and are interested -- now is a good time to join us. Our next meeting is Sunday, April 25, 7:30 pm at the Women's Center.



THE CITY, STATE & FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAVE DECIDED THAT WORKING FAMILIES CANNOT HAVE DAY CARE \* \* \*

- 1- Day care fees have gone as high as \$37.50 per week.
- 2- If your family income is over <sup>\$163.50</sup> ~~\$103.50~~ per week, your child will be dropped from your day care center.
- 3- Hundreds of families have been ruled ineligible because of the new fees.
- 4- This robs thousands of workers' children of day care.
- 5- The government is trying to divide welfare poor and working poor through the State Eligibility Law and the Welfare Work Plan.
- 6- If you are a welfare recipient, you are told you must put your child in a day care center and you will be forced to work for your welfare check.
- 7- If you do not obey this law, you will be sent to the Labor Department and held until you go to work.
- 8- 8,000 city workers earning union wages have been fired & 8,000 welfare recipients will replace them doing the same work for only their welfare check. This is the Nixon-Rockefeller plan for free labor.
- 9- 600 of the Welfare poor are now doing jobs at the Community Development Agency for a welfare check.
- 10- THIS IS NOT JOB TRAINING BUT OPEN SLAVERY !!!!!

LET'S JOIN TOGETHER

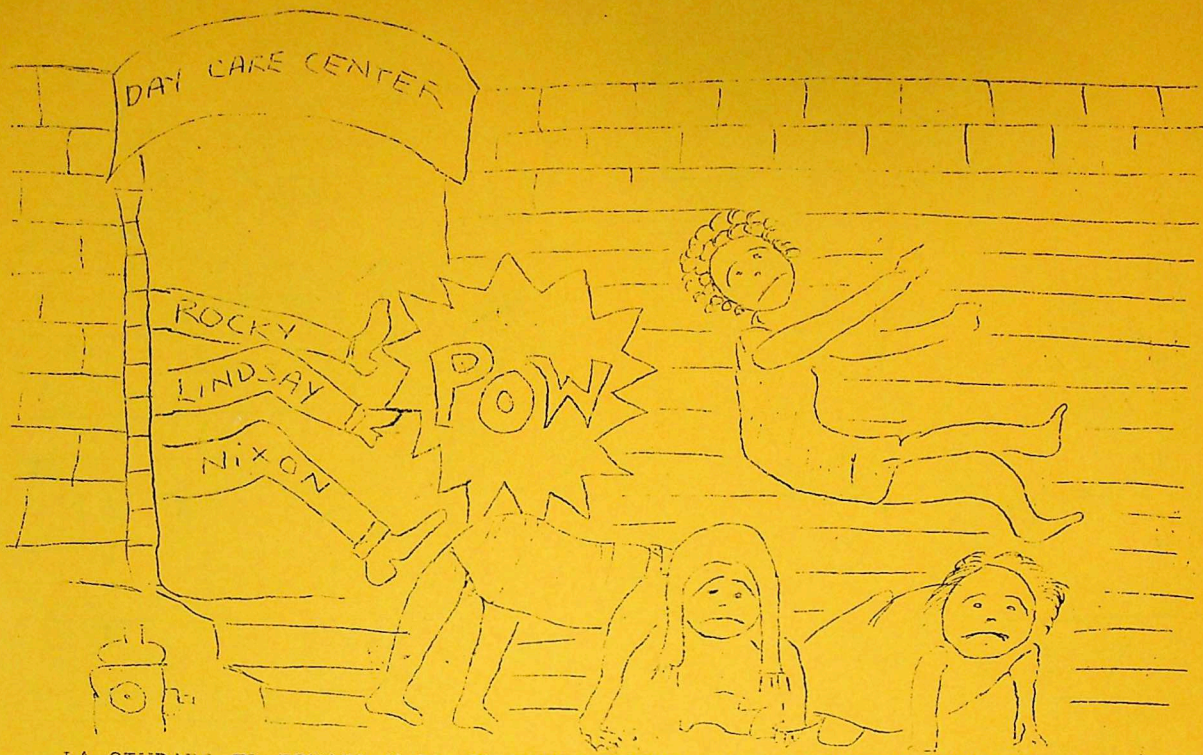
ALL PARENTS, CHILDREN & STAFF OF DAY CARE CENTERS AND ALL OTHER WORKERS, STUDENTS, WOMEN'S GROUPS, UNIONS & COMMUNITY PEOPLE ARE URGED TO JOIN TOGETHER IN A MASSIVE PROTEST DEMONSTRATION AGAINST AGAINST THESE ACTS OF REPRESSION & FURTHER CONTROL OF OUR LIVES.

TUESDAY --- AUGUST 31st --- 11 A.M. --- 250 CHURCH STREET

"A" train to Chambers St.  
New Lots to Franklin

for more info. call: 787-4315  
866-8762

PARENTS AGAINST NEW FEE SCALES



LA CIUDAD, EL ESTADO Y EL GOBIERNO FEDERAL HAN DECIDIDO QUE LAS FAMILIAS QUE TRABAJAN NO PUEDEN RECIBIR SERVICIOS DE DAY CARE PARA SUS HIJOS!!!

1. Pagos de day care han subido hasta \$37.50 por semana.
2. Si su familia gana mas de \$163.50 a la semana su niño sera botado de su centro de day care.
3. Cientos de familias han sido calificados inelegibles a cause de los nuevos pagos.
4. Esto roba a miles de hijos de trabajadores de servicios de day care.
5. El gobierno esta tratando de separar los pobres que reciben Welfare y los pobres que trabajan, usando la ley de "State Eligibility" y el "Welfare Work Plan."
6. Si Vd. no obedece a esta ley nueva, su cheque sera mandado al departamento de labor y no se lo entregaran hasta que Vd. vaya a trabajar.
7. Si Vd. recibe welfare, le van a decir que tiene que poner a su niño en day care, y le forzan a trabajar por su cheque.
8. 8,000 trabajadores de la ciudad que ganan paga de union had sido despedidos y 8,000 personas que reciben welfare los van a reemplazar haciendo el mismo trabajo solo por su cheque de welfare. ESTE ES EL NIXON-ROCKEFELLER PLAN DE LABOR GRATIS.
9. 600 personas que reciben welfare tienen trabajos con Community Development Agency (agencia para el desarrollo de la comunidad) pos los cuales solo reciben su cheque de Welfare.
10. Esto no es ensenanza en el trabajo pero ESCLAVITUD DESCARADA

TENEMOS QUE JUNTARNOS!!!

TODOS LOS PADRES? NINOS Y TRABAJADORES DE DAY CARE? ESTUDIANTES? GRUPOS DE MUJERES? UNIONES? OTROS OBREROS Y COMUNIDADES SON LLAMADOS PARA JUNTARSE EN UNA DEMOSTRACION-PROTESTA MASIVA CONTRA ESTOS ACTOS DE REPRESION Y MAS CONTROL SOBRE NUESTRAS VIDAS.

MARTES.....AGOSTO 31.....11 A.M.....250 CHURCH STREET

PARENTS AGAINST NEW FEE SCALE

call: 787-4315  
866-8732

## COOPERATIVE DAY CARE CENTER

Many of us who are parents of young children are becoming more and more concerned over the kind of lives these children have. We want them to grow up to be free and strong and beautiful, fitted out for the struggle for liberation that lies ahead of each of us. Yet the very structure of our lives denies us the means to let such children grow. We live in small, tightly-knit units -- mother, father, son, daughter -- in small homes and apartments. At best two adults have extensive contact with our children, at worst and more commonly, just one, the mother.

WE sense the wrongness of this setup but the alternatives which face us are grim. Tiny nursery schools, the horrors of daytime tv, the incalculable risks of letting them run loose, the calculable risks of protecting them from those things which we know must be bad by keeping them near us, smothering them with the right toys, the right neighborhood, the best books, with over-protective caring.

Suddenly we've made the magic discovery of each other: lots of us want to break out and allow our children to break out of the repressive family situation. We've discovered too that we feel loving toward and responsible for all the children who are about us, not just "our own" children (how can you own a child?). Best of all, we've found people without children who want the experience of helping let a child grow. By getting together, we've been able to form a cooperative day care center.

Here are some of the things we'd like this day care center to be and do. Read them and see if you care to join us.

1. The day care center will provide children and parents with an alternative to the highly repressive family unit. The center is staffed by adults who each devote a half day a week to the children because they are committed to helping adults and children grow free. It is a place that makes it possible for parent and child to function with as much physical and emotional independence of each other as each needs and yet where each can find his measure of love and stability and respect.

2. Having its roots as it does in the Women's Liberation Group, the center must strike at the heart of the notion that mothers/women and not fathers/men are ultimately in charge of children. The day care center is staffed by men and women.

3. The day care center is cooperatively run. The parents who use it must, with the help of the men and women volunteers, do the work and make the decisions that keep the center going. Fathers and mothers who absolutely cannot make time to work in the center while the children are there can participate in clean-up and planning. We hope that from our monthly meetings, occasional potlucks that will involve the whole center (adults and children), and our working together a community will emerge, committed to trying new ways to help children grow and help parents and non-parents redefine their relationships with all children.

4. Finally, the day care center will free women to become participating members of society. It is chiefly women who will gain time by being part of the day care center. WOMEN must use that time to begin to become whole people, to find themselves, to decide what it is that women are all about and to fight for a society that will render a Women's Liberation Group useless.

For more information about the day care center, call or write Nancy Brand at 612 Knichtridge Road, TB, Bloomington, Indiana, 47401. The phone number is 832-336-0747.

(The following preface and history are the first part of an uncoming booklet also to include sections on details of organizing day care centers, typical issues encountered, a bibliography, and an appendix of documents. Comments on this draft will be appreciated.)

PREFACE

What Bloomington Means to You

"It would of course be so much easier to hire a supervisor and to relate to each other through money and rules. It would be what we have all learned so well all our lives: to be fragmented from each other, to shirk responsibility for others, to succumb to institutions, to retreat again into individualism." (Melody Killian, "Children are only little people")

If we had enough pictures of faces--of babies and children, of mothers and fathers, of volunteers--of people doing things, of scenes, places, toys, tools, of work and play--then perhaps every reader could see herself or himself in "the Bloomington experience." Lines of print don't create that kind of empathy. They tend to make linear and particular what was a full and complex activity with universal meanings.

Yes, with universal meanings. We didn't know at the start that we were going to commit acts of historical significance in Bloomington. We simply responded to our own felt needs, not to some larger demand of historical development, political theory, or revolutionary impulse. But as a philosopher once said, "truth lies in the concrete." And perhaps history can manifest itself in Bloomington as easily as in other places.

Now we see what we did in its larger setting, the child care situation in the United States today, and we begin to see the larger meanings of our experience, its significance to other times and places. We see that larger setting in two ways, in terms of what Emerson long ago called the Establishment and the Movement. The terms are of course imperfect, for his times and ours, to describe the dynamics of human interaction displayed in historical events. For the Establishment also moves, according to its own laws and needs, and the Movement has constantly to rid itself of the static inertia of the Establishment that is within it. But imperfect as the terms are, they have a limited usefulness.

In the area of child care then, the Establishment has its foundation in the privatized nuclear family, that group of isolates consisting of a man, a woman, and 2 1/2 children. The roles for each member of the group are rigidly set. The man is the head of the family: he works in the world and the wages he earns maintain the other members, who are all subservient to him. The role of the woman is to serve his needs, to bear his children and nurture them--not to sell her labor to others, but to give it to his "home." The children's role is to grow up socialized to be able to assume the respective sex roles of their parents, so that the work of the world can continue. Until they reach their majority, they are treated as possessions belonging to the parents, who are responsible to the world for curbing wayward impulses, disciplining bad behavior, or training the children to be "useful citizens."

Though this concept of the family informs all laws, agencies, customs, and understandings, the "solid" foundation exists only in the abstract. Reality is very different. We have only to look about us to see it. Nuclear families are constantly dissolving as the divorce rate climbs. Women as well as men sell their labor outside the home, ten millions of them mothers of children. Women do not obey their husbands--even the word is disappearing from marriage vows. In millions of families women are the "head," while the concept of head has become a mere legal form. Children do not, nor are they expected to give unquestioning obedience to parents--in fact they are restive or in open revolt against parents, school systems, and the law.

Given this actuality, the Establishment must move to cope with what it calls the "chaos" caused by the refusal or inability of people to fit its set pattern. By propaganda or legislative patching, it attempts to revitalize the privatized nuclear family, to make it function for social order and productiveness. But its efforts only serve to deepen the crisis, to sharpen contradictions, or



create new ones. No social institution like the family can be saved by legislative appropriations, however large, or external agencies seeking to repress conflicts in role or function.

Of all those rejecting the roles assigned to them by the nuclear family, women are the first in importance because of their centrality to the institution and because of the heavy burden it has put on them. They are the ones who are most concerned with a redefinition of roles on a more equal, human basis, and they are the moving force behind the creation of a new kind of family and institutions that will make that new family possible.

The signs of women's revolt against the old-style family have existed for many decades. Some have taken a negative expression, such as we see in divorce or child-abuse statistics. Where rejection and rage can have only individualistic manifestation, destructive or self-destructive acts abound. Revolt and rage expressed by a group with common experiences and common goals can become a positive force.

Cooperative child care is the positive institution created by women, mainly, to meet their need of liberation from the shackles of the nuclear family. That it liberates men and children too is appropriate to the woman's concern for those closest to her and to her recognition that true liberation is not bought at another's expense. It is no accident that the first cooperative centers were created by women and that child care continues to be a central concern of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Thus briefly sketched are the Establishment and the Movement, the context of the "Bloomington experience." Except for the connotations of the word, we might have called this background "political." In the women's movement, the word would not be misunderstood, for women have learned that the "personal is political and the political is personal." Divorce and child-abuse are as much political manifestations of the current child care situation as is Nixon's welfare scheme.

Profoundly revolutionary in the true sense of the work are the positive creations of women's revolt. No envisaged change in our social life together delves so deeply into the well-springs of human attitudes, behavior, and institutions. Nowhere can this be so easily and clearly demonstrated as in the concept of cooperative child care. And, in the present phase of our struggle, the word "cooperative" must be stressed. We in Bloomington are prepared to say, "If it isn't cooperative, it isn't revolutionary." No other mode answers the real needs of women and their families. Demands can be made for funds, child-care centers (the facilities and regimens) can be set up by philanthropy or by Nixon (for less charitable reasons) without challenging the oppressive forms that women are revolting against, without changing our lives and our ways of relating by sex or generation. In the realm of child care, only the cooperative center produces the new society "in the womb of the old," and prepares the way for other changes that our experience will teach us to envisage.

#### OUR HISTORY, OUR STRUGGLE: 1969-1971

#### Cooperative Day Care in Bloomington

Apart from the five cooperative day care centers now operating in Bloomington, the area's child care facilities are typically expensive, inconvenient, and otherwise unsatisfactory or unavailable to many parents. There are 17 pre-schools, nurseries, and day care centers in addition to public school kindergartens, Head Start centers, and classes for handicapped children. Only five of these facilities, however, offer all-day care, and only one accepts children under age 2 1/2. The average cost of all-day care, five days per week, is \$73/month (range: \$40-\$100). The one center caring for infants and toddlers charges \$90/month. The majority of pre-school facilities for children age 3 to 5 provide 2-hour sessions from 2 to 5 days a week at an average cost of \$33/month for the 5-day-a-week programs (range \$7-\$60). There are also approximately 40 licensed day care homes where one adult typically babysits for from 3 to 10 children, infants to 6-year-olds, full or part time, charging \$60-\$80/month for all-day care. The only other alternative is a private babysitting arrangement.

In addition to high cost and limited age range in the centers offering all-day care, it should be noted that, except for the infant-toddler one, the ratio of adults to children is 1:10. Another negative aspect is the lack of flexibility in terms of what part of the day a parent needs to use the center. To

be enrolled in some, the child must remain all day every day. In others there is the option of all mornings or all afternoons, while most offer only 2-hour-a-day programs. Some parents are also concerned that they themselves have no effective say or participation in what goes on in these settings where their children may be spending most of their waking hours. Even in the so-called cooperative nursery schools, the board of directors is limited to a few parents, and the parents participating in the classroom a few hours a month are usually given jobs such as serving the juice, cleaning up the paints, or chauffeuring on field trips. Lastly, there are some facilities whose motivations are clearly commercial as evidenced in the advertising for one as modern, professionally equipped, air-conditioned, and fully carpeted.

The first cooperative day care center was begun in the summer of 1969 by members of Women's Liberation who sought an alternative to the repressive situations in which they found themselves and their children. The center was held in space rented from a community church, was open from 8-5 five days a week, and had from 15 to 20 children attending all or part of that time. Infants through primary school children were cared for by parents and adult volunteers. All aspects of the center's operation were handled by the group of participants, with a rotating steering committee to deal with mechanical details on a monthly basis. Financial costs divided among the parents averaged \$8/month per family. Real costs were in commitment, time, and patience rather than in money. A feeling of community was developed among adults and children, and some of the group's most important values gained concrete expression. From the waiting list, a second center was formed in January 1970, and a third began in June. These also rented church building space and were both based on the cooperative model.

Two types of struggles have been involved in establishing and maintaining cooperative day care centers in Bloomington. There have been external struggles: with licensing officials over the right of this kind of center to exist; with church, realtor, and university landlords over renting facilities; and with building, fire, and health officials as to what standards are appropriate and necessary. These kinds of struggles, although difficult and frustrating, are usually over after a decision of one sort or another has been made. The second type of struggle seems to be interminable, but it can be rewarding as well as difficult. This is the internal struggle among adult individuals when they try to work as a group in their day care center. It is not hard to understand. People trained to compete find it very hard to cooperate. People who customarily direct others find it difficult to let others' views be heard. People who have learned to be silent and to take orders do not suddenly take initiative and contribute of themselves. People who have just gained a measure of freedom from structure imposed upon them find it hard to decide upon and carry out plans and structure to achieve their own goals. People who have learned to be suspicious and defensive cannot easily be open and receptive to others. And on and on. It is indeed a struggle, each center here has had its own variations, and it does not end. For cooperative day care, it is necessary that this struggle go on as a new social form is being evolved.

For the first three centers, external struggles were minimal during the first year. A verbal agreement was made with the local official in charge of licensing day care centers that operations which were essentially a group of friends collectively caring for their own children, with no monetary profit, did not have to be licensed. The churches were tolerant, if sometimes critical, landlords, and rents were low. When the university was approached with proposals for cooperative day care, however, external struggles were escalated.

The Day Care Campaign at Indiana University began in June 1970 with the presentation of two proposals. Of Student Government, \$1500 was asked to fund a survey of the campus and to provide basic expenses through the fall semester for one pilot cooperative day care center open to students, faculty, and staff. Of the I.U. Board of Trustees, additional funds for rent and equipment totaling \$6000 were requested to continue the pilot center through the spring semester and to begin six additional centers in the spring, each center to serve approximately 20 children. The trustees OKed the Student Government budget for day care but made a statement that no university funds could or would be allocated for support of day care centers. Those working on the Day Care Campaign were clear as to what was wanted: small, autonomous, parent-controlled and parent-operated cooperative day care centers for children of I.U. student, faculty, and staff members. This goal necessitated that the demands of the university include rent-free facilities, funds for equipment and supplies, and a work-release program whereby full time staff parents would have a half-day off from their regular job to work with the children at their day care center each week. It was hoped that the survey would show the need and desire for such a program,

the pilot center would demonstrate its feasibility, and support would be gathered to present such a proposal to the university late in the fall semester.

In July, the group of parents who would participate in the pilot center, named by them Hobbit House, was formed on a first-come, first-serve basis. They began the important initial meetings to get to know each other and to plan their center. Meanwhile, after a month, I.U. Real Estate had not located a house for the center. After leading us to believe they were really trying, Real Estate finally said that they could not proceed until official authorization was obtained by us from the administration.

An interview was obtained with the Chancellor who expounded on his support of day care, his understanding of the need, his experience touring the state-operated centers in Denmark. He wished that the federal government would begin such a program here, where large centers could care for large numbers of children under professional direction and salaried child care workers. He did not seem to grasp our concept of cooperative child care or our immediate need for one small house. He then turned responsibility for assisting us over to the Dean of Students, who finally gave the go-ahead to Real Estate and who subsequently became the administration's representative in dealing with further issues raised in the Day Care Campaign.

At fall registration (1970), Hobbit House was ready to open, furnished, painted, cleaned, and fenced through the labor and funds of the participating parents. Rent and utilities would be paid for one semester by Student Government. Hobbit House followed the cooperative model established by the Women's Liberation center. Children from 6 months to 4 years of age were at the center all or any part of the day, 8-5 Monday to Friday. Parents and volunteers were assigned to work so that a ratio of one adult for every five children was maintained. A basic daily schedule was agreed upon, but it was up to the workers on their shift to decide in what kinds of activities they wished to engage the children. Lunches were brought from home. There was a nap room with cribs and cots. Parents met every few weeks to discuss organization, problems, and handling of the children. A rotating steering committee dealt with administrative details for a month at a time. Jobs such as treasurer, scheduler, laundry and daily clean-up were taken by parents who could not work at the center when the children were there. Despite the usual internal struggles which characterize a group of people trying to do something on a strictly cooperative basis, it was agreed that Hobbit House was a success.

The survey was not as successful. Distribution was not as wide as had been planned, and only about 300 forms were returned, a very small sample for such a large campus. The survey did provide a list of some 100 families who indicated they were definitely interested in participating in a cooperative day care center. With this basic group, parents were called together to plan how to approach the university for more facilities.

A meeting of parents needing day care was held November 22. The attendance was light, but the group discussed what progress had been made and what was needed. A proposal was agreed upon and sent to the university Chancellor. (See appendix.)

The Chancellor's answer, unsurprisingly, was negative. He suggested that Student Government should continue to fund the day care centers. He also recommended that parents follow the example of "other applicants" who were "negotiating" with the university for space to rent. These applicants were none other than members of the Women's Liberation day care center and of the second day care center both of which had been asked to leave their church-rented space and were seeking to rent from the university.

At this point, it seemed important that the three existing day care groups and the parents seeking to begin new groups start working together. This wasn't easy as two groups already had houses promised and were hesitant to join a larger movement where their own advantage might have been lost. Nevertheless, enough people in the existing centers responded to the need of the parents who had nothing that a joint meeting was held December 13 out of which three new groups were formed: two of which included both members of the original Women's Liberation center and new parents and one of which consisted entirely of new parents with an advisor from Hobbit House.

At subsequent meetings called by the Dean of Students, there were five day care center groups represented, two who had houses and three who needed houses. The message from the administration at these meetings was that they

were quite willing to rent houses to day care centers as long as the university was entirely protected and the parents assumed all the expenses. At this point, parents needed houses immediately and so the Day Care Proposal asking for rent-free houses, funds for equipment, and work-release time for staff was held in abeyance. By February, the three houses were found, and three new centers began.

With the formation of Hobbit House as a pilot center within the university, the licensing issue was raised again. The outcome of two interviews with the Indiana Department of Welfare licensing representative for our area resulted in a verbal agreement that although a center structured as ours was could not be licensed and did not legally need to be, since parents were caring for their own children, nevertheless we would have to meet fire regulations and health/sanitation standards. With the opening of another center and the request to open three more second semester, the university required a written statement of policy with regard to licensing. After some debate, it was confirmed in writing that licensing would not be required of the cooperative centers but that the state representative would advise the centers as to fire, health, and sanitation requirements and inform the university if they were or were not being met. Presumably if standards are not maintained, the university could refuse to rent to a center. The centers have remained open while inspections have been done and repairs and changes made to meet the standards.

The reasonable attitude which has prevailed here in Bloomington with regard to the licensing issue is surely a precedent. In other places, people were not allowed to operate similar day care centers because either their structure or their building did not meet the usually rigid codes which apply when parents pay to leave their children with a caretaker other than themselves. On the whole, the welfare representative here has been openminded about what we are doing.

The drawback, of course, is that the university has required the parents to pay for all repairs or renovations to meet necessary standards by raising the rents to cover costs. Similarly, the parents are required to buy insurance which will not protect the children or workers at the center but which will protect the university in case an accident occurred to some outsider (the mailman, for example) on the day care center property. The right of the university to require parents to take all the financial burden of protecting the university as well as themselves against fire, disease, and in case of accident has not as yet been challenged. Likewise unfair but not yet challenged is the renting of these houses, the university's making money on these properties on which it had not made money before they became day care centers. Many parents are beginning to see these inequities and are developing a consciousness which may in time lead them to raise the issues with the university and demand their right as parents, students, and employees of the university to free day care.

In December when it became advantageous for all the day care center groups to work together, it was suggested that a Day Care Council be formed with two representatives from each group. These ten people would meet regularly, discuss common problems, and work out ways to coordinate their efforts where they could. The Council met first in January two days before a meeting called by university administrators. At this time, their main concern was to stick together regarding the need for three new houses. Also suggested were joint purchasing of supplies, a central waiting list, coordination of volunteer assignments, joint discussions with the university on any issue which affected the day care centers, as well as a continuing self-education program on day care and the cooperative principle. These possibilities for the Council have not been actualized as yet. The time and energy demanded by full participation in one's own day care center do not leave much left for working cooperatively at an inter-center level. The value and efficiency of a working Day Care Council will certainly be discovered as need for it becomes greater.

It may seem as if we in Bloomington have had to swallow pretty much from the university in order to make possible a setting where cooperative day care can exist. Also, the struggle involved, the personal and collective ups and downs that occur in these centers, may seem counter-productive. We do not feel pessimistic, however - quite the opposite. We know we have begun a process here which is good, which meets real needs, which changes people's lives. As more see what is happening and want to try it for themselves, then there will be more support for successful confrontations with the university or any institution that would keep people from helping themselves and freeing themselves in the area of child care. The people involved in a movement like this must grow into revolutionary action as their experiences and consciousness leads them. This exciting process is happening here. And it will continue.