

Women's caucus works up ire at Carter's clubby selections

By SANDY BANISKY

Washington—Frustrated by President-elect Carter's failure to consult with women on his Cabinet appointments, an ad hoc coalition of women's groups yesterday questioned Mr. Carter's commitment to them.

Gloria Steinem, a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, held up two thick, red binders that she said were filled with names and descriptions of women qualified for government jobs.

"We are alarmed by statements of President-elect Carter and his staff on the supposed difficulty of finding qualified female appointees.

"We are especially alarmed because women's organizations and women activists all over this country have put thousands of hours and thousands of dollars—time and money we can ill afford—into identifying literally dozens of women superbly qualified for Cabinet posts and an additional 500 to serve in sub-Cabinet jobs—plus more who were specifically recommended for regulatory agencies and other policy-making positions.

Mr. Carter said last week that he found qualified women reluctant to leave high-paying corporate jobs or to move their families to Washington for a government post.

Ms. Steinem disputed that, saying many qualified women are "neither rich nor docile."

Ms. Steinem called yesterday's press conference "an act of faith" in the President-elect, though he so far has failed to consult women's organizations on his Cabinet.

She said she would like all further ap-

pointments delayed until Mr. Carter meets with women.

"Women's groups have been requesting a meeting with President-elect Carter since immediately after the election," Millie Jeffrey, of the National Women's Political Caucus, said.

"The women's constituency is the only major one that Carter has not consulted personally," Ms. Steinem said. "Unlike labor and big business, we have had no consultation with the President-elect."

In the last three weeks, an official of the National Women's Political Caucus said, the group has sent two telegrams and has made "about a dozen" phone calls to Carter transition offices—usually to Hamilton Jordan, a top Carter aide—requesting a meeting.

Most calls, she said, went unanswered, though some recent ones have been returned by lower-level aides. "Hamilton Jordan has never returned a call."

Yesterday morning, the National Women's Political Caucus wired Mr. Carter in Plains, Ga., asking him to hold off naming a labor secretary until he consulted with women's groups.

But an hour after the press conference ended, Mr. Carter named F. Ray Marshall Labor Secretary and Patricia Roberts Harris Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Mrs. Harris is the second woman named to the Cabinet. Juanita M. Kreps was named Commerce Secretary Monday.

The target of yesterday's telegram was John T. Dunlop, Labor Secretary in the Ford administration until last January. The caucus feared that Mr. Dunlop, whom Ms. Steinem said "frequently has inhibited efforts toward affirmative action," would be named to that job again.

The labor position is "extraordinarily important" to women and minority groups fighting for jobs and better pay, a caucus member said, and should be filled by "a leading advocate of strong affirmative action."

Mr. Marshall, the Labor Secretary named yesterday, is considered an expert in the problems of minority hiring. But Jane Pierson-McMichael, the political caucus's executive director, would say of him only, "We're glad he's not John Dunlop."

She said Mrs. Harris has "a fine mind, she's very clear on the issues, very fair, accessible." But she said she would like to see "some strong feminists in key jobs."

Many women at the caucus said that their groups—Hispanic women, minority women, working women—had campaigned for Mr. Carter because they believed he would help women into the government.

"We worked our heads off for him," Jane Pierson-McMichael said. "He made promises to us that he would be responsive."

Audrey Nelem, of the National Women's Political Caucus, said, "I worked in 26 states to get Jimmy Carter elected." She paraphrased the President-elect as having said he wanted to be to women what Lyndon Johnson was to civil rights.

Asked if two Cabinet women would be enough, Ms. Steinem said it depended on who the women were and what jobs they would hold.

"We're hoping for more," Ms. Pierson-McMichael said.

Julia Lear, the president of the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women, said, "We want women in policy-making positions because we want women



Representative-elect Barbara Mikulski addressing women's caucus in Washington yesterday

to have an impact on public policy."

Besides Cabinet posts, the caucus members said women must be named as under secretaries, assistant secretaries and as heads of regulatory agencies for them to have an effect on policies.

Barbara A. Mikulski, Baltimore's Democratic Third district congresswoman-elect, blamed the transition team for women's problems in communicating with

Mr. Carter.

Carter advisers were "a block" between women and the President-elect.

She said most of the Cabinet jobs were being filled through "the old boys' network."

"It's the same people calling each other up and recommending themselves. Their idea of recommending what's good for America is to look in the mirror and rec-

ommend themselves."

Ms. Mikulski said she suspects all the advisers graduated from Yale, class of 1948. She suspects "Pete Preppie" is calling "Tom Terrifico" and "Mike Macho," names she assigned Washington insiders, for advice on nominees.

She said the President-elect should "get his transition together, to shape up or to ship out."

Feminists: Carter isn't doing enough

Another in a series of stories that assess President Carter's first year in office from the perspective of various segments of the American public. Today's story deals with the views of feminist leaders.

By Betty Anne Williams
Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Feminist leaders are saying President Carter isn't doing enough to fill his commitment to women, that he hasn't approached the

Special report

fervor with which the late President Lyndon Johnson pursued civil rights for blacks.

Carter is being praised for selecting dozens of well-qualified women for decision-making jobs in his administration. But at the same time women activists are complaining that there haven't been enough of these appointments. They're saying Carter hasn't wholeheartedly embraced some causes he said he supports, while taking negative positions on others.

"Overall, we are critical. But we are still supportive and we'll be pushy," said Mildred Jeffries of the National Women's Political Caucus.

Many women were infuriated by Carter's stand against federal financing of abortions for poor women and his accompanying statement that "life is unfair."

Many are displeased, as well, with his assertion that the government is not responsible for redressing all economic inequities.

Those statements were made when Carter was asked about the fairness of denying poor women government-financed abortions when these women have no other alternative to giving birth to unwanted children.

Carter has said repeatedly that he personally opposes abortion but that he would uphold the law if it required payments for abortions in some cases through the Medicaid program.

"We understand his personal position. But we don't think an individual's personal position should be imposed on a nation," Jane Pierson McMichael, chairwoman of the Coalition for Women's Appointments, said.

Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, said she was concerned that Carter has not done all he could to reduce unemployment and to support affirmative action programs aimed at compensating for past discrimination.

She said both problems have a disproportionate impact on minority women.

"I put a great stake on the implementation of affirmative action and of full employment," Ms. Height said.

"I recognize that the residue of unemployment is not something that just happened. If the President would throw the full weight of his office behind trying to deal with the problem, we could see more results."

Carter has adopted the concept of "full employment" as a goal and has helped draft a revised version of the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. The measure states that a 4 percent unemployment rate should be the national goal but has no provision for achieving the goal.

Perhaps the greatest expectations of women activists were focused on



President Carter

the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). On this matter, they had the President's support.

Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, acknowledged that Carter made phone calls to wavering state legislators in an attempt to swing votes for passage of the amendment.

Nevertheless, she said, "We feel that in the legislative season of 1977, the President did too little too late. He did speak out, but he did not speak out enough."

Ms. Smeal said Carter passed up opportunities to include references to the ERA in his major human rights speeches. He also missed chances to correct distortions about the kind of impact ratification of the ERA would have on American life, she added.

"It was clear that the White House was for the ERA. But the kind of moral leadership that was needed was not provided by the White House," Ms. Smeal said.

The ERA will die unless it is ratified by Mar. 22, 1979. The ratification of three more states is needed for the

ERA to be added to the federal Constitution. And three states — Idaho, Nevada and Tennessee — have voted to rescind their ratifications. The Justice Dept. has said the rescissions are not binding, however.

Ms. Smeal said women activists were heartened by the department's recent statement in support of a seven-year extension of the ERA ratification deadline. That question remains unresolved.

Feminists generally gave the Carter Administration the best marks for its selection of women for key government jobs. But even in that area, women activists say they felt the President had done less than promised.

"Yes, the administration has done a better job than the past administration," said Joan McLean, political action coordinator for the women's political caucus. "But from 5 percent (in the Ford administration) to 12 percent is not the significant jump that was promised."

Ms. Jeffries complained that women

have yet to make a dent in the predominantly male-oriented judicial system.

She said Justice Dept. figures show that of the 394 federal district judges, only five are women. There are six women in the entire federal judiciary system of 525, she added.

"If a vacancy in the Supreme Court should occur in 1978, I think there would be a massive, united effort to make sure that the vacancy is filled by a woman," Ms. Jeffries predicted.

Carter also was applauded for supporting an increase in the minimum wage, because most hourly workers are women; for drafting a welfare proposal that includes an income floor; and for supporting the reorganization and strengthening of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Feminists say they will be watching Carter's moves in each of these areas in 1978.

"The commitment has been there, but the follow-through hasn't," said Ms. McLean.

Women are making gains in politics, but there's lots of room for improvement

EDITOR'S NOTE: Jane Pierson McMichael is executive director of the National Women's Political Caucus and a fellow at the Harvard University Institute of Politics. She is interviewed by Mary Ziegenhagen of The Star's Opinion Page staff.

Q. The National Women's Political Caucus is seven years old. Since you've served as director during that entire time, what would you say have been the organization's most important victories?

A. The most important activity of the caucus has been a general public political-education program. That is, the caucus has continued to raise the issue of women's equal participation in the political process and by so doing encouraged more women to go into it.

Men have come to realize that women do have, and should have, equal access to the political process. They may not support it all the time, and they may not support specific women, but I think the country by and large now realizes that women can be good public servants and should be involved. I think that is our major victory.

If you step back from that, there are a lot of specific things: We've got a couple of political committees which give money just to women and feminist candidates. We have worked hard to achieve equal participation in the political parties, and just last week the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee voted in general support of the concept of equal division of delegates in the next national convention. That is not to say it will happen, but they are on record now in support of equal division.

We are seeing more women run for public office. We are finding the resources to support their campaigns. If you just look in your own city, Minneapolis, in the last 10 years, look at the increase in the number of women who have been either elected or appointed to public office or in some other way have reached politically powerful positions. The growth is, I think, phenomenal.

Q. I agree with you. But it seems to me women who may be successful in achieving political appointment are having trouble sustaining that success. For example, President Carter's special assistant Midge Costanza has been downgraded and moved to a basement office in the White House. Here in Minnesota, the governor has fired or reassigned six key people, four of whom are women. Women may be getting appointments, but can they keep them?

A. Well, women are new to the process. And appointments are always made for the political advantage of the appointer.

Many of the women who've been appointed are put into positions which are new to them. Some do very well while others don't. There are lots of men put into political positions which they can't handle, but we notice women more because there are fewer of them and because they are the newest phenomenon.

We are noticing in the federal government that a lot of women are having difficulty in their jobs. It is difficult for many men to work with women on a



Jane Pierson McMichael



Mary Ziegenhagen

peer level, and because of that women have to work doubly hard. In most employer-employee situations and in most colleague situations it helps a great deal if you have a good social relationship with the people you're working with. Oftentimes women are not included in that.

Q. Author Betty Lehan Harragan observes that American corporate and institutional structures, patterns and values are much like those of the military and of team sports and that most women are handicapped by having had neither experience.

A. That's why we're all working so hard on Title 9, if we could ever get some regulations drafted.

Q. Across the nation, how are things shaping up for candidates for Congress—any new women out there?

A. There are a lot of new women running, but I don't think we're going to see the large numbers of women in Congress yet. I think that 1978 is going to see a couple of new people elected, but of course we're losing three and so we may just hold our own, stay with 18. We are hoping for more.

Q. How is Sen. Marjorie Humphrey doing?

A. She's wonderful. She's doing a good job, acting with integrity and real strength. She's going to be a great loss for us. Just having her there has been a wonderful thing for women in the sense that for the first time other senators have a feminist colleague. I'd like to see her stay in the Senate. I'm sorry she's not running.

Q. But you do believe that in spite of these low numbers in Congress some kind of foundation is being built?

A. Yes. Part of our problem in both appointed and elected process at the top level is that there are so few women with political experience, eco-

nom background and the constituent base necessary to reinforce them. The larger influx of women will come as more women get that base of support. We're still a pretty young movement.

Q. How many members has the NWPC, and what's your budget now?

A. Between 20,000 and 25,000 active members, with chapters in 39 states and an annual budget of \$500,000.

Q. Give us a political feminist's evaluation of President Carter's performance.

A. Jimmy Carter has appointed more women to high public office than any other president in the history of the country. For that I am pleased.

But I am concerned about President Carter's position on the issue of abortion, and I am concerned about the commitment of some members of his administration—not the women because the women by and large are feminists, activists and leaders, but on the part of some of the male members—to the party platform that Jimmy Carter ran on in 1976. So, I guess it's a mixed review.

Q. Do they look upon American women as being pretty lucky?

A. Yes. There are growing movements of women in all those countries and they look to us for leadership. They feel that what American women have done is a prediction of what can happen in their own countries. They are encouraged by our problems because it means their own are not unusual. They see that in spite of all our difficulties we have grown a great deal and that the influence of the women's movement has been profound in the culture of our country.

Q. We haven't time or space to hear about the entire trip, but I have to ask about the women of Bangladesh. A few years back, there were horror stories about massive numbers of women there who were raped by invading armies and rendered "untouchable." What has become of them?

A. Yes, those women were raped, assaulted and left untouchable because Muslim men don't want "tainted women," and that was part of the strategy of the invading forces. They knew the women would be left; many were maimed.

There are thousands and thousands and thousands of them living in refugee camps. They are getting some support from international relief agencies and they are trained in handicraft projects, but they are not equal citizens and never will be. They were raped, they are untouchable and they will die as such.

We know that women who have been raped in this country often are treated as if they are the criminals. So why should we expect it to be different in a country where illiteracy is so high, where religious tradition is so strong? We really shouldn't be surprised.

Women Chart Major Issues On America's 1979 Agenda



Eleanor Smeal

By GAY PAULEY

NEW YORK (UPI) — Inflation, defense spending, equal rights, full employment and politics head the list of special concerns of women as the world moves into the New Year.

"If our problems are ever going to be solved, they're going to have to be solved at the community level by people who care," Rosalynn Carter told UPI as she pondered 1979 and beyond.

"I think the United States has a death wish," said Maggie Kuhn, Gray Panther. "Our preoccupation with arms is suicidal".

"We are not a fad. We will continue to push for ratification of ERA, said Eleanor Smeal, president, the National Organization for Women. "The women's movement has nothing to do with who lights the cigarette."

"On March 22, we will celebrate the death of ERA," said Phyllis Schlafly, most vocal and visible leader of the opposition to the equal rights amendment.

"The major issue in 1979? Inflation...the cost of living, unquestionably," said Sylvia Porter, financial and consumer columnist since 1939.

"Our projections are that the rate for women coming into the labor force will continue to increase, mostly from family economic needs," said Alexis Herman, director of the Women's Bureau, the U.S. Department of Labor.

"The coming year is sort of our bulwarking year," said Jane Pierson McMichael, director, the National Women's Political Caucus. "We'll be involved in state and local elections,

but we'll be targeting toward the big one in 1980."

"I think consumers are beginning to understand the farmers' problems," said Joan Adams, president of the farm wives' organization, Agri-Women.

These are some of the views various national leaders gave United Press International in an assessment of special concerns of women in the new year and years to come. Many of the women quoted were chosen from the annual World Almanac's list of "the 25 most influential."

Among them, of course, Rosalynn Carter, the First Lady.

"I am going to be traveling across the country pointing out the good things that are happening," she said in a comment for UPI. "I want to stress what individuals can do in their communities.

"If our problems are ever going to be solved, they're going to have to be solved at the community level by people who care.

"My focus on the communities ties in with the work I have been doing with the mentally afflicted and the elderly. Every program that I have seen work has one essential ingredient and that is individuals in the community where the program is who care whether or not it works. You can pour government money into programs and if there is not somebody who cares, the program will fail."

The sharpest criticism of government policy on increasing defense spending came from Mrs. Kuhn, founder of the Gray Panthers, a national organization focusing on problems of the aging. But it's broadening its scope.

"We're terribly concerned about

peace," said Mrs. Kuhn. "We're among various groups working for disarmament. We're protesting the big spending on defense. I think the United States has a death wish. Our pre-occupation with arms is suicidal. I will appeal to Mrs. Carter, whom I know. We already have enough weapons to destroy the world many times over.

"The third world does not need defense. It needs jobs, more agriculture to feed its peoples."

The Gray Panthers, which Mrs. Kuhn, 73, founded in 1970, today has a network of 101 chapters.

It continues its stress on problems of the elderly, even as it embraces other issues. Mrs. Kuhn reminded that the United Nations has earmarked 1982 as the year for an international conference on the aging.

"We need to look again at what our elders can contribute," she said. "We'd like to see the age limit on retirement eliminated altogether. ... see how work can be made more enjoyable. ... we're lobbying for a changing life style.

"The next 10 years will be crucial for our economic survival in light of inflation and fixed incomes. The elderly are very vulnerable."

Gray Panthers is one of the many organizations pushing also for ratification of ERA. Congress in 1978 gave the amendment a new lease when it extended final date for individual state legislative action for 3 years and 3 months, or until June, 1982.

"The extension heartened us," said Mrs. Kuhn. "We've supported ERA from the beginning."

Other pro-ERA groups promised renewed action in 1979 although it is not a national election year.



Rosalynn Carter