

# the HERLAND VOICE

DECEMBER 1991

## “PLANNED PARENTHOOD’S 75TH ANNIVERSARY” OR THE OK CHOICE

by Judith Rycroft

*I knew something must be done to rescue those women who were voiceless. Someone had to express with white hot intensity the conviction that they must be empowered to decide for themselves.*

Margaret Sanger, 1879-1966, Founder, Planned Parenthood

On October 24, Planned Parenthood of Central Oklahoma (PPCO) celebrated 75 years of Family Planning. “The Oklahoma Choice” meeting held at Lincoln Plaza Hotel was not a symposium of women’s rights. It was, rather, an affirmation of the right of women to reproductive self-choice.

Margaret Sanger Lampe, the featured speaker at PPCO’s 54th Annual Meeting, recalled some of her famous grandmother’s triumphs and hardships. In the early 1900’s, Margaret Sanger defied convention and legal restraints by saying that parenthood could—and should-be planned. Both revered and reviled, she was jailed nine times for her efforts and blessed by women who received the contraceptives she smuggled into the United States from Europe.

From pulpits Mrs. Sanger was denounced as a “lascivious monster” who murdered children; her British hosts found her “soft-voiced, gentle-mannered, altogether charming.”

How much has changed in these 75 years? Outside Lincoln Plaza, picketers carried signs saying “stop killing babies,” Inside, at the dinner, two soft-voiced, gentle-mannered, altogether charming women reiterated Margaret Sanger’s message: “No woman can call herself free . . . until she can choose whether or not to be a mother.”

Sarah Weddington, the second speaker, is the attorney from Texas who successfully defended Roe vs. Wade in the Supreme Court. “As I watched the . . . Thomas Hearings,” she said, “I felt I was watching the sands of time running out on Roe vs. Wade.”

She feels that the more conservative view now prevailing in the Supreme Court will overturn Roe vs. Wade within the next two years. “It then becomes our responsibility to make it live again so that every woman has the opportunity to choose, every mother is a willing mother, and every child is a wanted child.”

These 75 years of family planning in America have provided a formula but no guarantee. As Margaret Sanger wrote,

*Though many disputed barricades have been leaped, you can never sit back, smugly content, believing that victory is forever yours; there is always the threat of its being snatched from you. All freedom must be safeguarded and held.” ■*

## REPORT ON THE SPEAK-OUT

When planing the “Speakout Out—Take Action—On Sexual Harassment” held November 18, 1991, Herland and the other sponsoring organizations made a conscious decision to allow and encourage the meeting to take its own shape and direction according to the participants; and so it did.

Personal recollections of being sexually harassed on the job, and the meaning of harassment and its demeaning aspects were the topic at the start of the meeting; but it soon became evident that the group gathered at the Neighborhood Services Organization building on that dreary wet evening had in mind the bigger issue of women’s rights in general, and in particular the backlash to feminism which has occurred in this country, and which continues daily to strip us of our rights, opportunity, dignity, and all too often, our lives.

We left with two commitments: one, to meet again at the same location at 7:00 p.m. on Tuesday, December 10; and secondly, to gather at the State Capitol on the evening of the day that Roe vs. Wade is overturned, to vent our frustration and our outrage, and to let our state legislature know that we will not tolerate the outlawing of abortion in our state. ■



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# ST. SYBIL



Dear St. Sybil,

With the new year approaching, I am looking for a motto to live by; you know, something to help me improve both myself and maybe the world, and to help me maintain constancy in my philosophy and actions. I'll appreciate any guidance you can give me. Could you tell me, for instance, what motto you live by?

Thanking you in advance,  
Ima Tryon



Dear Ima,

I can't really say that I "live" by a motto; more by the grace of grace; but some good mottos that come to mind are:

- Speak softly, and carry chocolate chip cookies; or
- Do unto others as you would have them do unto you, and remember: it's your turn; or
- My country, right its wrongs; or
- The early bird sure missed a good party last night;

And my all time favorite, though it's very demanding:

- ★ Reverence for all who live, even Republicans. ★

Did I help? good luck anyway,  
Sybil

Dear St. Sybil,

Do you have a holiday shopping list this year? Am I on it?

Avariciously,  
Hope Full



Dear Hope.

I'm glad you asked. Yes. No. For your information, here's my list to date (still unfinished).

- Justice Thomas: A tiny red flag to hang from the end of his Pinocchio nose to alert people near him not to bump into it.
- Professor Anita Hill: Whatever she wants.
- Senator David Boren: Just what he deserves.
- State Representative Leonard Sullivan: A \$10,000 gift certificate to the hospital of his choice so he can have his brain (if they can find it) surgically removed from his posterior. Talk about microsurgery!
- Earvin Johnson: More of the same joyful magic that made the whole world love him in good times and want to wrap their arms around him in bad times.
- George Bush: A good long look at a history book of the future. (I know, this sounds *really* mean, but it's the only thing I can think of that might make him change his principle-impoverished ways.
- Governor David Walters: A gift certificate for five free visits to an Ethichiropractor, to straighten out that debilitating little quirk in his character.
- Oliver North: A good unabridged dictionary, so that he can learn the difference between "completely exonerated" and "dodging the bullet on a technicality."
- Senator Alan Simpson: Eternal life—well, think about it; if he died where could we bury him without creating a mammoth toxic waste site?
- Lokocoxco: Bring Co back to town.
- The World: More PC, not less.

And Goddess bless you every one.  
Sybil



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## BOYCOTT GREEN GIANT



"The Green Giant workers are the future of free trade," says Mike Kostyal, who has helped organize a nationwide boycott in behalf of 300 workers from Watsonville, California. Grand Met-Pillsbury-Green Giant, which also owns Burger King and

Haagen Dazs, has laid off a large part of the workforce in Watsonville—mostly middle-aged women who had worked at the plant for an average of fourteen years.

The company is shifting production to Irapuato, Mexico, where it pays workers starvation wages of about \$4.25 a *day* and dumps untreated waste into the local water supply.

"We want to make Grand Met-Green Giant a model of what fair trade should be instead of an example of what free trade is," says Kostyal. Displaced workers' demands include three years' medical insurance, retraining, a guaranteed living wage for the Mexican *maquiladora* workers who have replaced them, and attention to the havoc wreaked on the environment as the company moves production across the border.

A video featuring the workers in Watsonville and Irapuato, *Dirty Business—Food Exports to the U.S.*, won the best short documentary award at the Environmental Film Festival in Santa Monica this year, and is available for \$35 from Migrant Media Productions, (408) 728-8949. Workers hope to put pressure on the company by publicizing its abuses and by encouraging Americans to boycott all Grand Met products. ■

## MUSICIANS WANTED

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## BOOK CORNER

### ***The Duke Who Outlawed Jelly Beans and Other Stories;* by Johnny Valentine, Illus. by Lynette Schmidt**

Ages 7-9, younger for reading aloud. Alyson Press' latest title in its series of books aimed at children of lesbian and gay parents dispenses with the apologist, didactic tone to tell stories that might actually be of interest to children, rather than their parents. This generously illustrated volume contains five short stories set in a mythical kingdom threatened by dragons, ogres, and corrupt monarchs. The first four stories feature children as archetypal heroes, bravely striving to right wrongs, protect the kingdom, or find fame and fortune. The gay and lesbian parents of these youthful heroes are presented matter-of-factly as secondary characters, but they stay in the background while their children set out on their heroic quests. Only in the final story does sexual preference become an issue when an arrogant young duke is left in charge of the kingdom while the king and queen are away on royal business. Heady with power, he begins to make a series of ridiculous proclamations: first, he outlaws jellybeans, then, books, and finally, families without one mother and one father. The protagonists of the four previous stories come together to figure out a solution, and they are more than equal to the task. The author's wry, breezy style, evident throughout the book, is particularly strong in the final story. Many alternative families and progressive parents will be delighted to find this collection on library shelves.

### ***A Stone Gone Mad;* by Jacquelyn Holt Park**

In spite of being a little confused at the beginning of the novel, I really enjoyed this book. "A Stone Gone Mad" takes a look at the price of honesty with friends and family in a time when lesbianism was viewed as a disgusting disease. The cost of being yourself was ostracism. In this novel Emily courageously battles herself and society to live the life she finds to be so natural to her, and she still manages to maintain some true friendships.

### **Do your holiday shopping at Herland! Good books, fun crafts, great buys.**

## 25 WAYS TO OPPRESS A LESBIAN WITH A DISABILITY

by Mary Frances Platt

This piece is meant to be used as a tool for able-bodied lesbians to begin to acknowledge, confront, and work through their own ableism. The author suggests that women meet in small groups and use each numbered "Way to Oppress a Lesbian With a Disability" as a discussion catalyst.

1. Call her "honey" or "sweetie" when you're not in an intimate relationship with her.
2. Touch her chair in an intimate fashion when you're not intending intimacy.
3. See her as totally non-sexual.
4. Use the word blind to connote ignorance, stupidity or fear. As in "the blind leading the blind," "blind rage," etc.

5. Never consider ramping your home or office because you "don't know any women in chairs."
6. Assume that a lesbian with a disability needs/wants your help. (We couldn't possibly manage to open a door without a concerned citizen like yourself holding it open and blocking our passage in the process).
7. Use the terms: differently abled, handicapped, crippled, or physically challenged to mask the reality of disability.
8. Hold an event in a space that has an accessible entrance but also segregated seating and inaccessible bathrooms.
9. Look the other way or stare at a dyke with a disability.
10. Pull your child away from a person with a visible disability or prevent them from asking you or the lesbian with a disability questions. (Yes, we really do hear all those parental SHHHHs).
11. Deny your attraction to a lesbian with a disability. Better yet, never allow yourself to integrate with dykes with disabilities, and prevent the possibility of ever having to be friends or lovers with us.
12. Assume that all of us are not very intelligent or that we're deaf or hard of hearing. Do you know how many times people have talked baby talk to me in very loud voices?
13. Treat us with kid gloves.
14. In your mind, treat us all like Easter Seals Poster Children.
15. Put us in one of two categories: Pitiful Crip, or Super Crip.
16. Participate in behaviors or activities that exclude or segregate lesbians with disabilities.
17. Don't challenge your sisters on their ableist remarks, production of inaccessible culture, attendance at inaccessible events, performing in spaces that exclude disabled dykes, etc.
18. Help to create inaccessible culture.
19. Pity and condescension in all its many, varied, and insidious forms.
20. Push, pull, or otherwise manipulate a disabled dyke's chair, crutches, etc. without being asked to.
21. Assume that a lesbian in a wheelchair cannot/does not transfer into regular chairs. (Yes, Virginia, it is irritating when you automatically remove the seating chair away from the restaurant table... if we want it moved we'll let you know.)
22. Wear perfumes or bring your animals to public lesbian gatherings so that women with Environmental Illness cannot attend, or will have to leave because they have become sick from all those scents and Rover's dander.
23. Take out your anger/fear of your own mortality or susceptibility to becoming disabled on us.
24. Assume that a lesbian with a non-visible disability is "not really sick," or "not really disabled" (Disabled lesbians come in all forms of disability... from mobility impaired to diabetic, to chronically ill to mentally disabled, etc.)
25. Disregard and invalidate this piece as the rantings of an angry disabled dyke who only wants to alienate her able-bodied sisters.

# RECLAIMING OUR LIVES — Answering The Call Of the Wild

by Deborah Fox

Do you believe that Peace begets Peace, that war can only create more war? If so, and if this idea is true, then it follows that oppression begets oppression and Liberation begets Liberation. Would you agree that you cannot change other people, that you can only change yourself? Would it not then follow that women cannot change patriarchy by trying to change patriarchy? That by seeking outside ourselves for change we give away our power to effect change?

If so, then **give me one good reason women should depend upon men**—their System, politics, institutions, et al, **to change**. Give me one good reason we could or should depend upon men to hand us our birthright of Freedom. One good reason we ought to get men's permission to terminate a pregnancy. I suppose one good reason to get men's permission to have an abortion is that we could end up in jail (the bullies!), but what if we had a women's underground where we could have safe abortions by female experts! If we seek men's permission aren't we validating the idea that women are infantile dependents of men?

The "man's world," female denigration, male ideology and men's fabrication of what constitutes "true" reality and superior government have been so deeply ingrained within our psyches that we often do their devious work for them by oppressing ourselves, as well as a blindly accepting as "true" what we are told by "professionals" and "authorities," without even realizing it. If our minds and hearts are not free, how can we *do* freedom? The superimposed "reality" of men has become a mass of subliminal message that we are bombarded with daily. "Women who are willing to make the Journey of Becoming must indeed recognize the fact of Possession by the structures of evil and by the controllers and legitimators of these structures." (Mary Daly) Our first, most important and rewarding challenge, then, is *inner liberation*, unbinding the spell of patriarchy. "The process of exorcism, of peeling off the layers of mindbinding and cosmetics, is movement past the patriarchally imposed sense of reality and identity. This demystification process, a-mazing The Lies, is ecstasy." (M. Daly).

By liberating ourSelves/retrieving the Soul the Father stole, we begin reclaiming our lives. I believe this will propel us to *Blaze Our Own Trails*/create a new reality. Of women's dilemma Virginia Woolf, in her book *Three Guineas*, writes: "Behind us lies the patriarchal system; the private house, with its nullity, its immorality, its hypocrisy, its servility. Before us lies the public world, the professional system, with its possessiveness, its jealousy, its pugnacity, its greed. The one shuts us up like slaves in a harem; the other forces us to circle, like caterpillars head to tail, round and round the mulberry tree, the sacred tree, of property. It is a choice of evils. Each is bad."

To create a new choice involves diving into the sea of possibility, and following the currents of our heart's desires—those currents/dreams we usually stifle because we are too *occupied* by the business of the patriarchy, circling round the mulberry tree. To free ourselves from this mind-numbing merry-go-round and blaze our own trails, we must be daring and willing to take risks. Many times we might want to run back to familiarity/conventionalism like dogs with our tails tucked. But it is the Wolf in us that is our origin/ality. It is our Wildness/Untamedness that seeks and craves freedom. It is our Wildnature that birthed the first cultures, and it is our Wildnature that WILL birth a new culture. We must learn to trust our Wild Nature/ourSelves.

Though I do not believe in land ownership, I think women should pool resources to buy up as much land as we can to protect it and

also to have place to birth our new reality/world, places to continue building communities that reflect women's values and women's way in the world.

Quitting the capitalist/consumer rat trap is necessary if we want to stop destroying the Earth as well as be free. Every time we **buy** into capitalism's hands, we enforce the chains that keep us slaves of the workworld. Bigger, better homes/mortgages, new cars/bigger loans, etc. If we buy used merchandise we help the environment, if we buy less expensive homes/land, we own it sooner and thus free our time or our funds. We can lower *our* cost of living. I also believe that putting our resources into the "male-mastered" (Mary Daly) system to effect change is a waste. I believe it would be far more profitable *for us* if instead we funded women's education in the trades our new world needs. "The vehicles of our voyages may be any creative enterprises that further women's process. The point is that they should be governed by the Witch within [the independent, wisewoman, healer, philosopher, counselor, teacher]—the Hag within" (M. Daly).

The bottom line is; if we don't do freedom now, maybe we never will. For me it's like the idea of the "retirement plan;" and I don't want to wait till I'm almost dead to *live*. I want a new world and I want it now. "Women's world never left this planet. It is still here, right under our noses. We recreate it as we learn to see it and to live in it." (Sonia Johnson, *Wildfire, Igniting The She/Volution*). Let's birth the world we so deeply desire and, like raindrops on a pond, our personal lives' example will ripple outward, to ever widening circles, eventually engulfing the entire pond.

By the powers bestowed upon Woman, our WILL be done. So mote it be!

## Strong Woman

Strong woman	strong muscled thighs	She lays
band across her head	knees of steele	softly
not binding	feet solid	upon a bed
black hair	upon Mother Earth.	of leaves
long		green and brown
flowing backward	She sits	and red
steele blue eyes	eyes closed	with her lover
staring ahead	in meditation	legs intertwined
past	fingers at her knees	breasts
cities full of	bent	touching slightly
blinded crowds	beet crossed	sleep
pale pink lips	She rises	Rising
full	oval purple	on the morn
chin up	egg of knowledge	smirk
shoulders straight	in hands	upon her lips
holding slings	cupped	at phallic worship
with stones	between her breasts	
breasts		Strong woman
round and strong		Alpha and Omega.
soft muscled arms		
purple shield		
against her stomach		
loin cloth		
protecting		
tomorrow's children		

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## PARENTS AND FRIENDS OF LESBIANS AND GAYS (P-FLAG) MAKES STATEMENT TO RELIGIOUS RIGHT

Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays left their tenth annual convention outraged by homophobic harassment from the religious right; empowered by new tools for fighting heterosexism in schools, churches, and institutions that work with youth; and determined to step up their efforts to advocate for their lesbian, gay and bisexual family members.

So-called Christians claiming to promote "traditional family values" harassed convention organizers for months preceding the convention, picketed outside the hotel, and invaded the privacy of one family by pressuring their teenaged lesbian daughter to use prayer to change her sexual orientation and using Parents FLAG envelopes to slip religious tracts and literature under the door of her hotel room.

"Those Bible Nazis who accuse us of recruiting and promoting lifestyles ought to take the planks out of their own eyes before casting stones at us and our children," said Wiggysy Siversten, San Jose (CA) college professor, counselor, and Chair of the P-FLAG Task Force on Gay and Lesbian Teens. "This is one child who will not become a Bobby Griffith suicide statistic. We and her brother and parents are here to embrace her and assure her that we love her just the way she is."

Presenting P-FLAG's three new Issue Papers on gay and lesbian teens, national President Paulette Goodman stated, "Our Respect All Youth project is now bringing the issue of gay and lesbian teen suicide to the fore. It is a tragedy that some parents find out their child is gay after an attempt at suicide. It is our firm will to stem the untimely loss of these young lives."

Past President of Parents FLAG, Elinor Kirby Lewallen, who is a gay leader of the Methodist denomination, stated, "According to statistics, one family in four includes a member who is lesbian, gay, or bisexual. So how can it be anti-family to embrace these children of God with values of love, support, and respect for their integrity? Isn't that what family values are about? The implication that our children need to change is to me a cruel hoax. I have seen so much damage from such hellish confusion that I say it is heresy to ask God to change what God has created." ■



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## Chatterbox

**LESBIAN ONLY THERAPY GROUP.** Wednesday evenings.  
Call Jo Soske. M.Ed/MHR/CAC at 364-5708....

**DO YOUR HOLIDAY SHOPPING** Saturday and Sunday, December 7 and 8. On Saturday, shop **THREE** different open houses: Herland's new consignment Gift Shop, with crafts & art by local artisans (and of course our books & tapes!). At Herland, 10-6 p.m.; refreshments, including homemade fudge & cookies & brownies, oh my!

Then swing by the Benedictine Peace House at 2912 N. Robinson, for their Christmas Open House Show & Sale, 10 a.m.-5 p.m. And then there's the "First Annual Christmas Bizarre Bazaar" at the Crown Heights Professional Center, 1010 N.W. 45th, OKC (entrance in rear).

And Finally: on Sunday, bring socks & t-shirts & undies & anything else that would look good tie-dyed; bring it where? To Herland, where Susan will have her supplies set up and help you turn your dull drab things into dazzling works of art! Great Christmas & Hannukah presents. \$5 for supplies and Susan's help....

**CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS** for a new journal for Women healing from Childhood Sexual Abuse. This journal will be a place for women to share our stories, poems, thoughts, drawings, ideas, theories, survival tips, and resources for our healing work. Send submissions to: A. Lubovna, 925 Victoria Drive, Apt. 3, Vancouver, BC V5L 4G1, Canada....

**WOMEN OF COLOR ISSUE** of *Sinister Wisdom*; seeking submissions of poetry, stories, artwork, photographs, etc. All contributors to Issue #47 must identify as Lesbians of Color. Submit written work on 8½ x 11 white paper, one side only, double-spaced. At top of title page, give name, full address, day and evening phone (including area code), and title of piece. Number each page and put name and title at top of each page. If you want your work returned, include SASE with sufficient postage. Work will not be returned without adequate postage and appropriate containers. Submissions considered in any language. Please include English translation if possible for editorial purposes. Deadline February 11, 1992. Send submissions to: Sinister Wisdom, P.O. Box 3252, Berkeley, CA 94703....

**PERSONAL ACCOUNTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT WANTED** by women from all walks of life for the book *Sexual Harassment: Women Speak Out*, to be published early 1992. Send submissions to Taylor/Sumrall c/o The Crossing Press, Box 1048, Freedom CA 95019. Deadline December 14, 1991 (hurry!). Include SASE & one line bio statement including occupation, and a signed permission statement to edit and publish....

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## ENCODINGS

Volume Two, No. One

**WOMEN WRITING WOMEN'S LIVES:**  
a sampling of new poetry.

**Artwork by Kanti R. Campagna**

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## ELECTION 1991 PRODUCES MAJOR VICTORIES FOR LESBIAN AND GAY COMMUNITY

Washington, DC—The elections of November 7, 1991 produced major advances for lesbian and gay Americans, according to the Human Rights Campaign Fund, the nation's largest lesbian and gay organization. The Campaign Fund was an early and strong supporter of Pennsylvania Senator Harris Wofford, whose come-from-behind victory against former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh attracted nationwide attention.

"We are very pleased with the election returns," notes Tim McFeeley, Campaign Fund Executive Director. "These election victories clearly show the electorate is willing to support our community when we have the resources to counter the lies our opponents spread about us."

"Our most significant victory was Senator Wofford's landslide election," McFeeley stated. Wofford overcame a 40 point lead in the polls to hold his position in the US Senate. "As Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh blocked a vital change in the U.S. immigration policy which would have allowed people with AIDS to enter the country. He stood in the way of public health experts and put politics above the best interest of the country. We hope his defeat sends a clear message that elections will be lost when candidates play politics with AIDS," McFeeley stated.

In other electoral victories of importance to the lesbian and gay community, a San Francisco ballot measure to overturn the city's domestic partnership statute was turned down, and St. Paul's lesbian and gay rights ordinance survived a repeal effort.

In addition, two openly gay and lesbian candidates were elected to major offices. New York gay activist, Tom Duane was elected to the New York City Council, while across the country Sherri Harris became the first openly lesbian elected African American official with her election to the Seattle City Council. Fifty-five openly lesbian and gay Americans currently hold elected office in the United States, the highest number in history. ■

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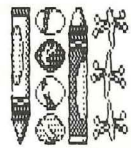


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Subscriptions to *The Voice* are free upon request.

*The Voice* is printed on recycled paper.

# December 1991

Equality of Rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1 Rosa Parks arrested in Montgomery, 1955	2  HAPPY HANNUKAH	3	4	5	6 CoDA Meeting, 7:00 p.m.	7 OPEN HOUSE at HERLAND 10 - 6 * PEGGY JOHNSON Coyote Club 9 - 1
8  TIE-DYE at Herland 1 - 5 p.m.	9	10 Emily Dickenson 1830 - 1886 * SEVENTH GRADE BRIGADE 6:30 p.m.	11 "MIRACLE ON 39TH STREET" Oasis Christmas Carnival 8:30 p.m at Angles	12	13 CoDA Meeting, 7:00 p.m.	14 MISS BROWN Coyote Club 9pm - 1 am \$2 cover * PEGGY JOHNSON Poets, 8 - 11
15 Board Meeting 4:30 * Bill of Rights Ratified, 1791	16	17 HERLAND DISCUSSION GROUP: Tonight's Topic: Fighting the Holiday Blues. 7 p.m.	18	19	20 MISS BROWN TO YOU at TRIPLES * CoDa Meeting, 7:00 p.m.	21 MISS BROWN TO YOU at the Liberty Drug in Norman \$3 cover - Celebrate the Solstice
22	23	24 	25  MERRY CHRISTMAS	26	27 CoDA Meeting, 7:00 p.m.	28 THE SISTERS OF SWING at the Coyote Club \$2 Cover
29	30	31 NEW YEAR'S EVE PARTY at Herland; Potluck & Games Galore; 7 - 10 pm. AND: OPENING NIGHT - NEW YEAR'S EVE party in Downtown OKC; Hear: PEGGY JOHNSON at the County Courthouse (Yes!) And: MISS BROWN TO YOU at the Hightower Building - Check the Gazette for performance times for Peggy & Miss Brown... (&: Super Fireworks to celebrate the New Year, at Kerr Park, at Midnight.				

Silent Vigil for peace in Central America. On the steps of the Federal Building, NW 4th & Robinson, OKC; each Wednesday at Noon.

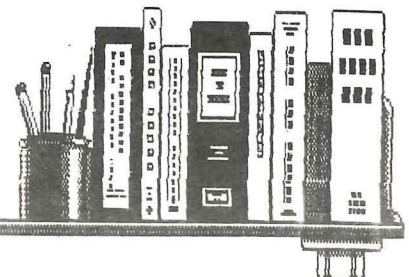
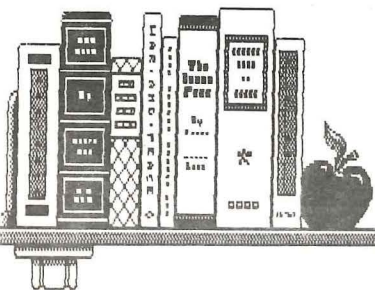
HERLAND SISTER RESOURCES, INC.

2312 N.W. 39th Street

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