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Only if we educate the people to raise still higher their consciousness and spirit of opposing U.S. imperialism and colonialism in the struggle for the real daily rights, can we build and develop strongly the anti-U.S. forces to demand national independence and divide and isolate further the feudalist and reactionary forces in the South. . . .

3) Build real specialized strength, that is to push strongly the building and strengthening of the Party section, in order to raise the influence and role of the Party. Strengthen the peasant worker alliance, broaden the popular front, go deep to create specialized bases in the U.S.-Diem army and government.

Utopian Dreams in Mao's China

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On October 1, 1949, with the Guomindang armies of Chiang Kai-shek in full retreat, Mao Zedong, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, stood above the Gate of Heavenly Peace in Beijing and proclaimed the People's Republic of China. China's civil war had ended, and the fate of 540 million Chinese lay in the hands of Mao Zedong and a small number of his followers who for 25 years had struggled to unify China under communist rule.

Mao and the communists had ambitious plans. They envisioned a strong, independent China, no longer vulnerable to imperialism and its attendant humiliations. They envisioned a China in which poverty would be eradicated through agricultural modernization, industrialization, and a program of road-building, railroad construction, and energy development. They envisioned a China in which ancient inequalities—between men and women, landlords and peasants, the learned and the illiterate, bureaucrats and subjects—would no longer exist. But was it possible to achieve rapid economic development in a truly egalitarian society? Finding an answer to this question became Mao's greatest challenge.

Between 1949 and 1953, large-scale businesses were nationalized, and land seized from rich landowners was redistributed to peasants. In 1953, in imitation of Stalin's Soviet Union, China instituted its first Five Year Plan. Its key components were centralized economic planning, the collectivization of agriculture, and rapid industrialization, with emphasis on steel, industrial equipment, chemicals, and electric power.

Despite annual growth rates of 18 percent, Mao was unhappy with such an approach. Central planning meant larger and more powerful bureaucracies, while rapid industrialization brought disproportionate wealth and status to elite managers and engineers. Thus by late 1957, Mao was prepared to take China into a new stage of its socialist development—the Great Leap Forward.

The Great Leap Forward shifted the focus of China's economic development from cities to the countryside, where millions of peasants, in the selfless pursuit of socialism, would dedicate themselves not just to farming but also to road construction, stock-raising, iron-making, and other enterprises to transform China into a modern socialist society. By the end of 1958, 120 million households had joined 26,000 large communes, which party officials ran according to strict egalitarian principles: private plots were abolished; commune members all received the same pay and food ration irrespective

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of their work; families were organized collectively, with meals and child care provided by the commune. They joined militias; built and operated backyard iron foundries and other factories; worked on construction projects; and in some cases prospected for uranium. Those with talent were encouraged to write inspirational poetry and songs.

The Great Leap Forward was a disaster. People were worked to exhaustion; the backyard iron foundries produced millions of iron pots and tools, but most were unusable; worst of all, farm output failed to reach unrealistically high production targets, and as the communes' grain, vegetables, and meat were handed over to the state to feed city-dwellers, famine swept through rural China and claimed 20 million lives between 1959 and 1962.

Why did the Great Leap Forward fail? Some answers are provided by the following article, which appeared in the journal *China Reconstructs* in 1959. Its author, Tan Manni, describes how a commune in Lushan County, a region in Jiangxi Province, reached a "sputnik" in iron production. Sputnik was the name of the first man-made satellite sent into orbit by the USSR in 1957. The term was used during the Great Leap Forward for high production goals in agriculture and manufacturing.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does the selection reveal about the level of economic and technological development in Lushan County at the time of the Great Leap Forward?
2. According to the author, how do the workers view their labors? What methods have been used to motivate them?
3. What does the article reveal about the reasons for the poor quality of pig iron produced in the Lushan County foundries?
4. What does the article reveal about the reasons for the fall in agricultural production during the Great Leap Forward?
5. What changes in social and family relationships accompanied the Great Leap Forward? Why were they necessary?

Furnace fields are everywhere . . . plots of hundreds of small earthen furnaces were "growing," in late autumn when I was there, alongside fields of sweet potatoes and tobacco. . . .

Small red flags fly overhead indicating the sections belonging to the various companies and squads of farmer-steelworkers, who are organized like militia units. . . .

At one of the ten-foot-high furnaces, a man climbs a wooden ladder to dump coke and firewood through the top. After a few minutes

beside the 1,000-degree heat, he descends and another worker goes up to tamp the fuel down with his rake. A third man follows to pull the hot rake away from the blast of the fire. Beside the furnace another crew is pushing the handle of the huge homemade wooden bellows. With all his might one of them pulls the handle, half as tall as himself, and pushes it back with the weight of his body. Three other men standing by to take their turns jokingly cheer him on. . . .

Source: "Lushan's Pig Iron Sputnik," *China Reconstructs* (now *China Today*), vol. VIII, no. 1 (January 1959), pp. 6–9.

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The river a few miles away from the county town is another scene of activity. Undaunted by cold north wind, 25,000 students, women, and local government workers are ankle-deep in the water, washing for the iron-bearing sand that has been carried down from the nearby mountains. On the banks, groups of students off their working shift hold classes, and a crew of older women minds the children for the mothers beside the temporary living quarters made for workers from distant parts of the county. . . .

The office of the county Communist Party committee where I stayed in the county town of Lushan is like the headquarters of an army, for the party had undertaken direct leadership of the iron campaign. Any time of the day or night, one can hear someone shouting into the telephone, "Long distance . . . urgent . . . coal . . . tons."

This is the verve which enabled Lushan, the small mountainous county which six months ago possessed neither a blast furnace nor an engineer, or even an automobile, to startle the entire country by proving it could turn out 1,000 tons of iron a day. That record on last August 28 opened a new page in the nation-wide campaign for iron and steel, for it did away with the belief that smelting by local methods does not add up to much.

Lushan's achievement was called a "sputnik," and within the next month it inspired seventy-three more counties to reach that level. Now the record has been surpassed hundreds of times, but the county's 430,000 people are still seized by the iron and steel fever. Each day 100,000 of them work directly in its production, and many thousands more "at the rear" help transport ore after a day's work in the fields.

The people of Lushan began making small amounts of iron early in the summer, in line with the country's policy of developing small local industry as well as large plants, and to meet their own needs in making labor-saving farm machinery. . . . In Lushan, local materials and

simple homemade tools were used to cut down initial investment and half of the funds were contributed by the people themselves. A dozen blacksmiths who at the beginning did not know how to smelt ore, led by the party vice-secretary, studied and experimented until they found a suitable process, and then passed the technique on to 600 other farmer-steelworkers. . . .

. . . The farming had to be done with as few people as possible so as to free as many workers as possible to build and operate more furnaces, and mine and transport ore and coal. . . .

As the work could not go ahead without full mass support and understanding, the meetings to discuss the proposal [to set higher production goals] became hot debates—a struggle of ideas. It was through this that the farmers came to realize their real power to produce. Party leaders put the need for iron in terms of the country's own needs—it could bring hydroelectric power stations on every one of the 600 reservoirs the people had built in the spring, better farm tools and machines, multi-storied buildings. They also pointed out that more iron for national construction would mean more tractors, rail lines and other improvements for all.

The way [to proceed], most people agreed, was large-scale organization. Lushan's mountains had ore but few people to do the mining. On the plains, on the other hand, there was manpower to spare. So their coops¹ decided that only by merging could they better deploy the working force. This later formed the basis for the people's commune which now embraces all of Lushan county.

Suggestions for nurseries and canteens to release more women were also adopted. In one large village alone, these measures freed 2,100 women for productive work. . . .

When the time came to sign up for iron work, 95 percent of the county's able-bodied persons applied, and 65,000 were soon actually making

¹Cooperative farms.

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iron. Shock teams were organized to man the furnaces, mine the ore, mold crucibles, and repair roads to facilitate transport. They built 500 new furnaces, and methods were developed to make the older ones yield twenty times as much iron per heat.

In the fortnight which preceded the target date of August 28, few people got a full night's sleep. It was just in those weeks that news came of the aggressive military build-up by the United States in the Taiwan Straits area and of provocations against the mainland.² Determination became even greater. On August 27, just as the furnaces

were being lit, word arrived about the nation-wide call to raise the 1958 national production of steel to 10.7 million tons, twice as much as the year before. On August 28, Lushan's furnaces yielded 1,068 tons of pig iron. The "sputnik" had succeeded and Lushan had set a new standard for local iron production.

Soon the daily average was far surpassing this one-time figure. In the autumn, 40,000 more workers came from neighboring counties. By early November 150,000 tons were being produced in one day—as much as had been planned for the whole year.

²In August 1958, China demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan after the Chinese air force began bombing raids against Quemoy, an offshore island near the port of Amoy controlled by the Nationalist government of Taiwan.

A standoff ensued. China continued the bombardment until December but made no attacks on the supply ships sent to Quemoy under U.S. Navy escort.

Women Between Tradition and Change, 1960s–1970s

During the twentieth century, political leaders of industrialized nations, revolutionaries such as Lenin and Mao, and nationalist heroes as different as Atatürk and Gandhi all supported the ideal of women's equality with men. The United Nations Charter of 1945 committed the organization to the same ideal, and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reaffirmed the goal of ending all forms of gender-based discrimination. Beginning in the 1960s, powerful feminist movements with agendas ranging from equal educational access to legalized abortion took root in the Western industrialized nations and to a lesser degree in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Despite this broad support for gender equality, progress for women worldwide was uneven in the 1970s and 1980s. In developed industrial societies, women undoubtedly made great strides. Large numbers of women entered professions such as law, medicine, and university teaching; contraception and abortions were legalized in some nations; laws forbidding gender-based discrimination were passed. Nonetheless, even in developed countries with strong feminist movements women still earned less than men for doing the same job, were underrepresented in managerial positions, and played less significant roles in politics than did men. Furthermore, movements for gender equality met strong opposition from individuals and groups who were convinced that they threatened the family, undermined morality, and left women unhappy and unfulfilled.

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In less economically developed parts of the world, efforts to improve the status of women faced even more obstacles. Movements to improve women's legal status were hindered by the small pool of educated women and by the gap between middle-class, urban women and the millions of women in urban slums or rural villages who struggled against poverty. Religious fundamentalists in the Islamic world and elsewhere also sought to keep women in traditional roles. Even in China and India, both of which adopted strong antidiscrimination laws, it proved difficult to modify, let alone eradicate, centuries-old educational patterns, work stereotypes, marriage customs, and attitudes. More so than in almost any other area of modern life, tradition held its own against movements and ideologies seeking to liberate African, Asian, and Latin American women from the burdens of patriarchy and inequality.

Liberal Feminism and Women's Liberation in the United States

110 • NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN, 1966 STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND NEW YORK RADICAL WOMEN, "NO MORE MISS AMERICA!" SEPTEMBER, 1968

After having won the right to vote in most Western democracies by the 1920s, the powerful feminist movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries lost momentum. In the 1930s and 1940s, women diverted their energies to surviving the Great Depression and contributing to their nations' efforts in World War II. After 1945, as prosperity returned to the United States and Europe, women were generally content to accept the domestic roles prescribed for them by the family-oriented ethos of the postwar era.

Beginning in the 1960s, feminism reemerged as a powerful force, with much of its impetus and energy derived from movements originating in the United States. The revival of feminism gathered strength in the early 1960s with the appointment by President John F. Kennedy of the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, and the inclusion of gender as one of the categories protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The National Organization for Women (NOW), which concentrated on redressing gender-based vocational and educational inequalities, seemed ready after its founding in 1966 to assume leadership of a moderate and liberal women's movement.

Within only a few years, however, calls for legal equality gave way to demands for women's liberation, as the feminist movement became increasingly radical and militant. Radical feminists of the late 1960s were young, and like black militants, were angered by the disparity between American rhetoric about equality and the reality of their lives. In 1967 and 1968, the first radical feminist groups were formed in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco. In 1968, the New York Radical Women pioneered the technique of consciousness-raising, in which women met

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to participate in open-ended discussions of how societal oppression personally affected them.

The two following excerpts provide insights into the concerns and priorities of moderate and radical U.S. feminists in the 1960 and early 1970s. The first excerpt is from the Statement of Purpose adopted by the National Organization for Women in 1966 (and does not necessarily represent current language or priorities of the organization). It was written by the organization's first president, Betty Friedan, who in 1963 had published the best-selling *The Feminine Mystique*, an indictment of the 1950s cult of domesticity. The second excerpt is from the manifesto "No More Miss America!" distributed by the New York Radical Women in September 1968 at the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Convinced that the pageant encouraged sex-based stereotyping, the women picketed, crowned a sheep as "Miss America," tossed symbols of female "torture" (high heels, dish detergent, bras, and girdles) into a trash can, and interrupted the closing ceremonies. They also handed out the manifesto that is excerpted below. The events at Atlantic City captured headlines around the world and made "women's liberation" a household phrase.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the NOW Statement of Principles, why are the mid-1960s the right time to advance the "unfinished revolution" of women's equality?
2. According to the NOW statement, what factors have kept women from full equality with men?
3. What evidence does the NOW statement provide to show that women's status and prospects declined in the 1950 and 1960s?
4. According to the "No More Miss America!," what qualities are rewarded at the Miss America Pageant? How is this a disservice to women in general?
5. To what extent do the NOW Statement of Purpose and "No More Miss America!" share common values and goals? Where do the two documents disagree?

NOW Statement of Purpose

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

childbearing and rearing which continues to be a most important part of most women's lives—still is used to justify barring women from equal professional and economic participation and advance.

Today's technology has reduced most of the productive chores which women once performed in the home and in mass-production industries based upon routine unskilled labor.

Source: NOW 1966 Statement of Purpose. Reprinted by permission of National Organization for Women. This is a historical document (1966) and may not reflect the current language or priorities of the organization. New York

Radical Women, "No More Miss America!" reprinted in *The Times Were a Changin': The Sixties Reader*, ed. Irwin Unger and Debi Unger (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998), pp. 213.

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This same technology has virtually eliminated the quality of muscular strength as a criterion for filling most jobs, while intensifying American industry's need for creative intelligence. In view of this new industrial revolution created by automation in the mid-twentieth century, women can and must participate in old and new fields of society in full equality—or become permanent outsiders.

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

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

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

Official pronouncements of the advance in the status of women hide not only the reality of this dangerous decline, but the fact that nothing is being done to stop it. . . . Until now, too few women's organizations and official spokesmen have been willing to speak out against these dangers facing women. Too many women have been restrained by the fear of being called "feminist." There is no civil rights movement to speak for women, as there has been for Negroes and other victims of discrimination. The National Organization for Women must therefore begin to speak. . . .

WE DO NOT ACCEPT the token appointment of a few women to high-level positions in government and industry as a substitute for serious continuing effort to recruit and advance women according to their individual abilities. To this end, we urge American government and industry to mobilize the same resources of ingenuity and command with which they have solved problems of far greater difficulty than those now impeding the progress of women.

WE BELIEVE that this nation has a capacity at least as great as other nations, to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy the true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. . . . We question the present expectation that all normal women will retire from job or profession for 10 or 15 years, to devote their full time to raising children, only to reenter the job market at a relatively minor level. . . . Above all, we reject the assumption that these problems are the unique responsibility of each individual woman, rather than a basic social dilemma which society must solve. True equality of opportunity and freedom of choice for women requires such practical, and possible innovations as a nationwide network of child-care centers, which will make it unnecessary for women to retire completely from society until their children are grown, and national programs to provide retraining for women who have chosen to care for their children full-time.

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WE BELIEVE that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy—with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for a boy, education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society. . . . Moreover, we consider the decline in the proportion of women receiving higher and professional education to be evidence of discrimination. This discrimination may take the form of quotas against the admission of women to colleges, and professional schools; lack of encouragement by parents, counselors and educators; denial of loans or fellowships; or the traditional or arbitrary procedures in graduate and professional training geared in terms of men, which inadvertently discriminate against women. . . .

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

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. They must refuse to be segregated on the basis of sex into separate-and-not-equal ladies' auxiliaries in the political parties, and they must demand representation according to their

numbers in the regularly constituted party committees . . . participating fully in the selection of candidates and political decision-making, and running for office themselves:

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

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

"No More Miss America!"

We Protest:

The *Degrading Mindless-Boob-Girlie Symbol*. . . . The parade down the runway blares the metaphor of the 4-H Club county fair, where the nervous animals are judged for teeth, fleece, etc., and where the best "specimen" gets the blue ribbon. So are women in our society forced daily to compete for male approval, enslaved by ludicrous "beauty" standards we ourselves are conditioned to take seriously.

Racism with Roses. Since its inception in 1921, the Pageant has not had one Black finalist, and this

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has not been for a lack of test-case contestants. . . . Nor has there ever been a *true* Miss America—an American Indian.

Miss America as Military Death Mascot. The highlight of her reign each year is a cheerleader-tour of American troops abroad—last year she went to Vietnam to pep-talk our husbands, fathers, sons and boyfriends into dying and killing with a better spirit. . . . We refuse to be used as Mascots for Murder. . . .

Competition Rigged and Unrigged. We deplore the encouragement of an American myth that oppresses men as well as women: the win-or-you're-worthless competitive disease. The "beauty contest" creates only one winner to be "used" and forty-nine losers who are "useless."

The Woman As Pop Culture Obsolescent Theme. . . . What is so ignored as last year's Miss America? This only reflects the gospel of our society, according to Saint Male: women must be young, juicy, malleable—hence age discrimination and the cult of youth. And we women are brain-washed into believing this ourselves! . . .

The Irrelevant Crown on the Throne of Mediocrity. Miss America represents what women are supposed to be: unoffensive, bland, apolitical. If you are tall, short, over or under what weight the Man prescribes you should be, forget it. Personality, articulateness, intelligence, commitment—unwise. Conformity is the key to the crown—and, by extension, to success in our society.

Miss America as Dream Equivalent To—? In this reputedly democratic society, where every little boy supposedly can grow up to be President, what can every little girl hope to grow up to be? Miss America. That's where it's at. Real power to control our own lives is restricted to men, while women get patronizing pseudopower, an ermine cloak and a bunch of flowers . . .

Miss America as Big Sister Watching You. The Pageant exercises Thought Control . . . to further make women oppressed and men oppressors; to enslave us all the more in high-heeled, low-status roles; to inculcate false values in young girls; to use women as beasts of buying; to seduce us to prostitute ourselves before our own oppression.

Women and Religious Fundamentalism: The Example of Iran

III • ZAND DOKHT, "THE REVOLUTION THAT FAILED WOMEN"

Although the Pahlavi rulers of Iran, Reza Shah (1925–1941) and Muhammad Reza Shah (1941–1979), gave women political rights, allowed them to abandon the veil for Western-style dress, and encouraged female literacy and higher education, in the 1970s, millions of Iranian women shared the growing disgust with their government's autocracy, corruption, and secularism. Women played a prominent role in the massive demonstrations that preceded Reza Shah's downfall in 1979 and led to his replacement by an Islamic fundamentalist regime under Ayatollah Ruhulla Khomeini (1902–1989). True to its Islamic principles, Khomeini's government revoked Pahlavi legislation on women and the family and reinstated strict Islamic practices.

Iranian women who had taken advantage of educational opportunities and had benefited professionally during the Pahlavi years opposed the Islamic republic's effort to turn back the clock. In 1979, representatives from various women's

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organizations founded the Women's Solidarity Committee, dedicated to the protection of women's rights in Iran. Although later banned in Iran itself, a branch of the organization was maintained in London by Iranian women living in England. Known as the Iranian Women's Solidarity Group, in the 1980s it published pamphlets and newsletters on issues pertaining to women in Iran. The following selection, written by a Solidarity Committee member, Zand Dokht, appeared in one of their publications in 1981.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what specific ways did the Islamic Revolution in Iran affect women?
2. According to the author, how do Iran's new leaders envision a woman's role in society?
3. How does the author explain the fact that so many Iranian women supported the revolution that toppled the shah?
4. Why in the author's view did Pahlavi-era reforms fail to satisfy large numbers of Iranian women?

When Khomeini created his Islamic Republic in 1979, he relied on the institution of the family, on support from the women, the merchants, and the private system of landownership. The new Islamic constitution declared women's primary position as mothers. The black veil, symbol of the position of women under Islam, was made compulsory. Guards were posted outside government offices to enforce it, and women were sacked from their jobs without compensation for refusing to wear the veil . . .

Schools were segregated, which meant that women were barred from some technical schools, even from some religious schools, and young girls' education in the villages was halted. Lowering the marriage age for girls to 13, reinstating polygamy and *Sigben* [temporary wives] . . . meant that women did not need education and jobs, they only needed to find husbands.

The Ayatollahs¹ in their numerous public prayers, which grew to be the only possible national activity, continuously gave sermons on the

advantages of marriage, family, and children being brought up on their mother's lap. They preached that society would be pure, trouble free, criminal-less (look at the youth problem in the West) if everybody married young, and if men married as many times as possible (to save the unprotected women who might otherwise become prostitutes). . . . Another *masterpiece* of the revolutionary Islamic government was to create a system of arranged marriages in prisons, between men and women prisoners, to "protect" women after they leave prison.

Because abortion and contraception are now unobtainable, marriage means frequent pregnancy. If you are 13 when you get married, it is likely that you will have six children by the time you are 20. This, in a country where half the total population are already under 16, is a tragedy for future generations.

Religious morality demands that all pleasures and entertainments be banned. Wine, music, dancing, chess, women's parts in theater, cinema,

Source: From Miranda Davies, ed., *Third World, Second Sex* (London: Zed Press, 1983), 152–155. Reprinted by permission of Zed Books.

¹Ayatollah is a title of respect for high Shiite Muslim religious leaders.