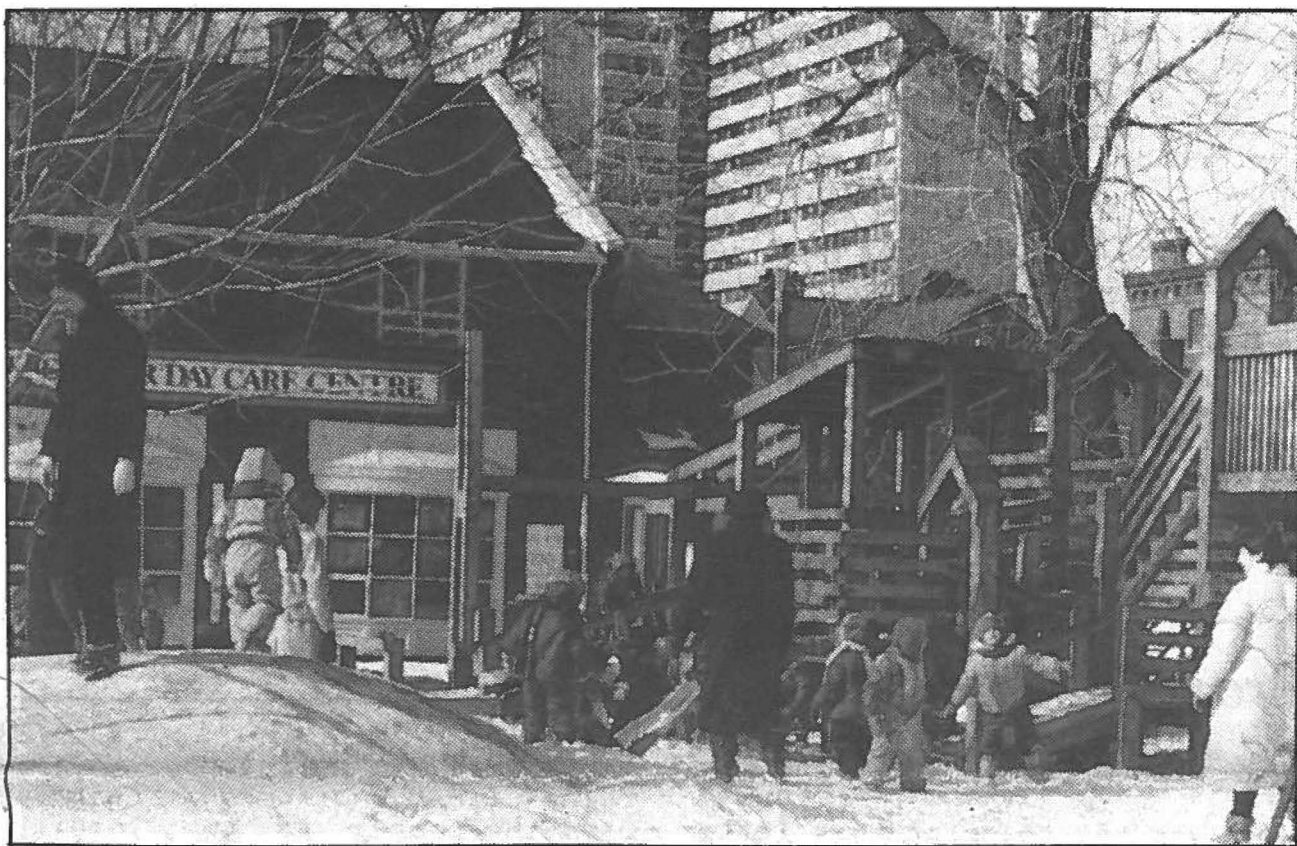


SUPPLEMENT: FEMINISM AND THE LEFT

OtherWise

A Feminist Newspaper at U of T

Volume 2, Number 5, 25 February, 1986



These kids have daycare space - too many others don't. A recent campus forum examined the daycare crisis in Ontario, see report on page 8.

Choice Movement in Full Swing Putting the law on trial

by Janet Mawhinney
and Lise Betteridge

Saturday, January 25, 1986 - over 400 people pack a Vancouver hall, spilling into the aisles and standing in the rear. The cameras are focused on the stage, yet each member of the crowd is also an active participant -- they form the "jury" for the first tribunal in an historic national campaign, "Speak Out For Choice: The Abortion Law On Trial". The silence is heavy as the tribunal begins, not even the handful of anti-choice demonstra-

tors dare to break the total attention given to the 15 "witnesses" who step forward to give their testimony.

Some women who give testimony speak of the mortal risks of illegal abortions prior to 1969 when birth control, all abortions, and homosexuality were illegal in Canada. Many women discuss the frustration and anger that they experience under the present law (section 251 of the Criminal Code). Even government reports on the operation of section 251 clearly document the

Continued on page 10

International Women's Day 1986

by Renate Schoep

On March 8 women all over the world will gather once again to celebrate International Women's Day. On this day in 1908 the women of New York City's garment industry took to the streets demanding equal wages, better working conditions and the right to vote. Since then, March 8 has become a day to focus attention on the struggle for the rights of all women.

In Toronto, this year's slogan is "Women Say No! to Racism From Toronto to South Africa." The fight against Apartheid in South Africa has brought the issue of racism to the attention of the world. "From Toronto to South Africa" means that we must not only join in solidarity with the people of South Africa, but must also fight against racism in Canada as well.

Racism is not just based on a "misunderstanding" between people, but it is, like sexism, an integral part of capitalism's exploitation of labour for profits. In Canada this means that although women on the average only make 60 cents to every dollar men earn, black women in turn only earn two thirds of what white women earn. An anti-racist analysis is thus vital to the women's movement.

On Saturday March 8th there will be a rally gathering at 10:30 am at Convocation Hall, U

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a quiz, p.10

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From The Collective

The "privileged" structures which underlie our society are also inherent in contemporary Canadian feminism. Racism, homophobia and classism have carried over into the movement, leaving countless numbers of women out of the feminist equation. Canadian feminism needs more than just an analysis of patriarchy. It needs a critique of the economic structures which affect all women. Feminism must address issues of class, colour and sexual preference. It must reject the capitalist dream of individualism and material wealth if it is to grow.

Feminism in Canada is dominated by a liberal voice. As an issue-oriented theory, liberal feminism provides a set of short-term legislative goals, such as affirmative action and equal pay for work of equal value, which work within the existing political and economic system. It assumes that once women are given the same rights as men, gender will cease to limit opportunities for all women. Liberal feminism does not acknowledge that capitalism prevents women from sharing male privilege. It is not just the gender of a Spadina Avenue sweatshop worker which prevents her from earning a decent living, but her relative lack of privilege as a member of the working class. By not challenging capitalism, liberal feminism shares an interest within the present economic system.

In order to compete in this profit-oriented system, capitalists produce goods at the lowest possible cost. Most often, this is done by exploiting the labour force: paying minimum wage, demanding high piece-rate productivity, offering no job security; the list goes on. An exploited class is integral to

capitalism. An available work-force is ensured by withholding certain class "privileges" from those who cannot afford them. Education is one of these "privileges". The high cost of living pushes young adults out of school and into the wage-earning market. Even if they did manage to complete high school, the expenses of post-secondary education prevent people from acquiring job skills. Thus, an unskilled labour force, which can be easily exploited, is produced.

In Canada, and other capitalist countries, it is women, particularly non-Anglo-Saxon women, who have the fewest and/or least valued skills. Consequently, women's labour is exploited in the workplace. Women's domestic labour is equally essential to the capitalist system; women produce and maintain the labour force. To pay women for this work would cripple the economy. It is no wonder that capitalists show little support for essentials such as daycare and pensions for housewives. They prefer to have these services provided free of charge - that is, at the expense of women.

An economic analysis of our society is necessary to feminism in order that all women's situations be considered, instead of only those of white middle-class women. Many issues which liberal feminists have approached require more than a gender-based explanation. The resistance to "equal pay for work of equal value" is not only derived from the fact that men don't want to pay women a wage equivalent to their own, but because capitalism depends on women's under-paid and unpaid labour to subsidize their investments. The problem for socialist feminists lies not only with the issues themselves, but with the system which produces and sustains them.

While there is socialism without feminism, and feminism without socialism, a combination of the two is essential in order to encompass the needs of all women, and to provide an alternative to liberalism. Only this will challenge the capitalist system. From each according to her own, for each according to her needs. *OW*

Happy International Women's Day!

From Our Readers

Dear Otherwise,

Please try to print this letter in its entirety otherwise I will hold Kate's throat in my wimminly little hands, (she knows who this is...).

How the Goddess Got a Bad Name

What are crystals really for? In a recent discussion with a fellow feminist, my friend informed me that a majority of women within the small university community she lived were in danger of annihilation. "Why?" I asked. "They're all into wimmin's religion", she responded, "one told me of a rock which she possessed which was so powerful that she could probably use it to walk through traffic unharmed". My friend feared that the feminists in the area were going to be killed en masse while walking across highways clutching stones.

How was I, a committed witch/priestess to respond to this? With the basic sense which governs the divine way of the Goddess, avoid moving traffic at all costs. This brings us to the point. The fact is that a large number of women have recently displayed cynicism regarding the practice of witchcraft. It has, in many cases, revealed itself as a form of divine bimbo-ness. As such, I feel that in these times of feminist criticism, it is important to set the record straight. Despite the crystal and feather healing image of the Michigan Women's Music Festival, paganism or witchcraft is an active, intellectual and acces-

sible form of "religion".

The first and foremost symbol of the craft is the trinity representing the phases of life, the seasons and the stars. It is important to note that it includes all creatures in all forms beginning with the maiden/son as symbolic of birth, sexuality and initiation; the mother/consort as creation, stability and love and the crone/dark lord as the symbol of wisdom, strength and death, hence the return to birth. It is the symbol of the continuing cycle of life in all its phases which forms the basis of the craft. Death is seen as a function of life and change, something necessary and good but not valuable in the form of greed related torture or suffering in the name of national patriotism. Such abuses of power are considered "not okay" and are singled out as crimes which should be halted. The craft therefore always promotes action, not "energy" blissing as a means to social change. Energy without action will only lead to immense frustration. Thus the craft has always stood as a symbol of action against tyranny. One of the older myths to come out of the Italian tradition of the craft is the story of Aradia. She was the spirit of the moon sent to the people to give the poor the tools which would enable them to fight against their oppression. These tools took the form of everything from nasty herbal poisons designed to

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Otherwise bids a collective farewell to Nancy Worsfold, the girl who just wanted to have fun; she has gone to live in Montreal.

Otherwise is a University of Toronto feminist newspaper and is independently funded. Any donations will be most welcome. All articles published in Otherwise do not necessarily represent the views of the collective. Only those articles and editorials signed by the collective have been agreed upon.

Women and Unions at UofT

Cleaning Your Floors and Shelving Your Books

By Lynn Macfie

Students usually regard the university as a place to learn, not a place to work. It would probably come as a surprise to many to find that the university is workplace to approximately ten thousand people. The most visible and obvious of these employees are the faculty members who compose only a small percentage of the university workforce. For the people who provide your food, maintain the buildings, catalogue library books and process fees, the university is not an ivory tower but a nine to five reality. Most of the people who provide non-academic services are women who work in clerical and secretarial work, light cleaning and food service - all traditionally "women's jobs". The university administration, as an employer, has been pressured in recent years to recognize such issues of concern to women as sexual harassment, maternity leave, equal pay for work of equal value and affirmative action. Unions on campus have played a major role in presenting these concerns to administration and are involved in the ongoing struggle for action to be taken on these issues.

On campus three unions represent about 3200 employees. The oldest of these, active on campus since 1948, is the Services Employees Union (SEU) local 204, representing Physical Plant, food service, parking authority and other service personnel. The Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), local 1230 represents workers at Robarts, Sigmund Samuel, and the Pharmacy and Engineering Libraries. The largest local on campus is the Canadian Union of Educational Workers (CUEW), local 2 which

For the people who provide your food, maintain the buildings, catalogue library books and process fees, the university is not an ivory tower but a nine to five reality.

represents teaching assistants.

Although the future of the existing unions is secure, the prospects for organizing the nonunionized workers on campus seem less bright. There has been speculation that the University of Toronto Staff Association (UTSA) would organize but Dave Askew, UTSA's president, declared that although the membership favoured the enhancement of bargaining power which a contract could bring, most voted against unionization. Only two cafeterias on campus, Innis and University College, are unionized. According to Chris Compton, chief steward of SEU, it is very difficult to organize other cafeteria workers. Compton says that this is because the university contracts out management of cafeterias to Versa, a company that has not been and is not sympathetic to union activity. When the company suspects workers of attempting to organize it simply transfers employees to other cafeterias. Under such circumstances it is difficult to spread information among workers.

Although SEU and CUEW have memberships consisting of 2/3 male employees, and the executives of the three unions are largely male, officers of all three locals expressed concern about women's issues. All three unions' contracts include anti-discrimination clauses on the basis of sex and sexual orientation. The university has only recently included sexual harassment as a form of discrimination in union employees' contracts. It was not until May 1985 that the first reference to sexual harassment was included in a CUPE 1230 contract under the already existing discrimination

At the libraries, wage differentials do not seem to be a problem since women fill all job categories. But Andrea Lennox, chief Steward for CUPE 1230 said that at U of T, as in other libraries the wages paid are those paid for "women's work", so the fact the men are paid the same as women is less important than the principle that the work should be worth more.

Crossman of CUEW, local 2 noted that while both male and female T.A.'s are paid according to years of study and degree program, this "begs the question of women's education. There are fewer women PhD



Working the cash at Robarts Cafeteria.

clause. All union contracts now contain this clause and Bev Crossman, staff representative for CUEW local 2, says that her local was also able to include an articulated description of sexual harassment in the educational workers contract in their February negotiations. The description is similar to that submitted to the Governing Council by the Sexual Harassment Grievance Committee on which CUEW is a representative. Compton at SEU said that the introduction of contract language regarding sexual harassment to the SEU negotiating team helped to create an awareness of the situation. He also believes that its inclusion in the contract will acquaint local members with the union's intolerance of negative actions and attitudes toward women. He hopes that this will provide women workers with the opportunity and knowledge of procedures with which to fight sexual harassment.

Wage differentials between men and women workers is also an issue that these unions are concerned about. Compton noted that SEU has been negotiating wage increases, rather than percentage increases in order to lower the differential between wages paid to light duty cleaners (most of whom are women) and other job categories filled primarily by men. He said that his local has been successful in doing this and that the wage differential between light duty and heavy duty cleaners is lower at U of T than it is in other locals of SEU.

students." Crossman also discovered recently that in some departments women are hired as T.A.'s in a lower proportion than that in which women graduates are enrolled in the program. This would warrant affirmative action measures to increase the number of women teaching in relationship to the number of graduates studying in the department.

Safety for women workers became a prominent issue when two years ago a cleaner was raped at Innis College. The university attempted to solve the problem by making sure no employee worked alone in a building, but many women rejected this solution and refused to sign waivers freeing the university of

responsibility in the event of injury. SEU put pressure on the administration to offer day shift positions to women working the late shift and to consider women for daytime heavy duty cleaning positions. This was done, but Compton said that many daytime positions were only part-time and that this was only a partial solution.

Although unions have provided women with a useful tool against management, internally problems can arise. For example, unions are largely inequipped to deal with sexual harassment between workers. Lennox and Crossman suggested that their locals would handle the matter by using the steward body to make the offender aware that his actions were undesirable. Compton said that his procedure might either be to ask for a transfer of one of the employees or to present the case to management to deal with. However, these solutions are problematic because ultimately the union has no power of recourse against a sexual harasser. Unions can't fire workers or force a change in behavior. This is exacerbated by the unions' idealization of the fraternity of brothers and sisters working together harmoniously.

Maternity leave for members of all locals on campus is 17 weeks with no loss of seniority, and CUPE and SEU members receive full pay. Lennox of CUPE 1230 said that recently adoption leave has also been extended to 17 weeks, under the same conditions. Crossman of CUEW expressed concern about women T.A.'s who wish to leave study and work to have children. Unlike CUPE and SEU workers, CUEW women only receive 1/14 of their salary during maternity leave. Women currently have no hope of combining motherhood and study because of institutionalized sexism that refuses to make a support system for women students, says Crossman.

The work of women at U of T as everywhere, is undervalued and ignored by the public they serve and underpaid by the administration. Unions have attempted to deal with the problems posed by the administration such as issues concerning wages and working conditions, to help make the nine to five reality more tolerable for women.

CentreStage Forum ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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Doing a "Man's" Job

Trades Women Deserve Notice

by Helen Armstrong

Women In Trades (WIT) is committed to equal opportunity for women. The group was established in 1980 as a self-support organization for women in skilled, semi-skilled and blue-collar jobs.

Its founders are two women who taught an Introduction to Non-traditional Occupations (INTO) at Seneca College. These two women, Gloria Geller and Mary Bray, had discovered that graduates of the course were facing discrimination in

Non-traditional (non-trad.) work raises a number of important feminist issues. Central to non-trad. work is the goal of financial independence for women, the issue of equal pay for work of equal value (and the affirmative action policies which this goal often entails), and the elimination of employer discrimination based on sex.

WIT is currently comprised of twelve women, with three or four of these members being actively involved. Karen Pengilley, a three-year member of WIT, is a heavy equipment operator at CN. Pengilley says that when she first joined WIT she needed a support group, to help her deal with the isolation she faced as a woman working in a male environment.

Her interest in the group has grown in the past three years, and she now promotes non-trad. work, visiting high schools and colleges to speak on the subject.

Pengilley would like to see WIT grow into a political pressure group, lobbying the government for affirmative action legislation. She wants tradeswomen to have a united voice in other women's issues, such as Choice and pornography. At present the group does not have enough members to do this type of work, says Pengilley.

Current members are too busy with their jobs to put in the time and energy needed to form a strong lobbying group and work on other projects, Pengilley explains. A high-quality newsletter and a calendar were produced earlier but had to be discontinued because of "burnout". Pengilley would really like to see new women join the group to help work on these tasks.

The heavy equipment operator says she feels strongly about the need for affirmative action legislation. "Until you get governmental pressure on

companies, you won't see women being hired" in non-trad. occupations, she says. The U.S. is ahead of Canada by 10 years in affirmative action

If you're just a pioneer then you're the only one on the job site...as a token you'll remain a stereotype, a representative of your sex... You can't be seen as the whole person you are if you're only seen as the stereotype.

programs, says Pengilley. The success is evident in the U.S., where women and other minorities are now employed in areas they were previously excluded from, she says.

A number of Toronto companies, such as the TTC and Toronto Hydro, are starting to hire women to escape the pressures of having to conform to mandatory affirmative action legislation, likely to come in future years, says Pengilley.

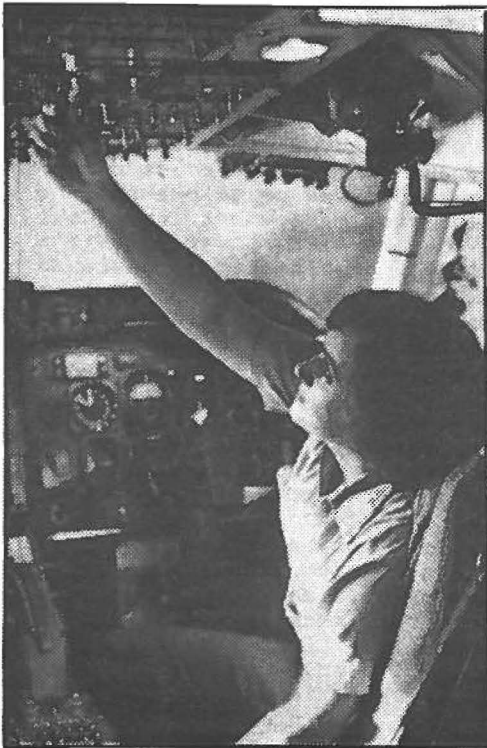
Jenny Stimac, a former printer, joined WIT in 1980 while she was still in the trade, after the group's first National Conference in Winnipeg.

She says that WIT women early tried early on to get large numbers of women into non-trad. work to get them out

of the low-paying female job ghettos they were in, and also to help the women already in trades: "If you're just a pioneer then you're the only one, or one of the only ones, on the job site. Then you remain a token, and as a token you'll remain a stereotype... a representative of your sex.... You can't be seen as the whole person you are if you're only seen as the stereotype," she explains.

One of the group's early aims, says Stimac, was to make the connections between women in both non-traditional and traditional jobs -- "to link their problems and concerns." She says that WIT has been concerned about the impact of technological change on women and the lack of power in most women's jobs. The group has been interested in seeing "traditional women's jobs upgraded," says Stimac, adding that this requires "long term social change."

The women's movement can benefit from learning about the experiences of these and other self-reliant tradeswomen. Their pioneering work is forcing onlookers to reexamine women's roles in our society. We would do well to support these women in their efforts. Let's look for WIT at International Women's Day and establish contact. *OW*



Rachelle Boudreau, Air Canada's first female avionics technician.

their chosen fields, even in the pre-employment course-training stage, and decided that a support group was needed.

Thus WIT was formed, a collective association comprised of tradeswomen, students, supporting and interested individuals.

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WOMEN'S LIBERATION & SOCIALISM



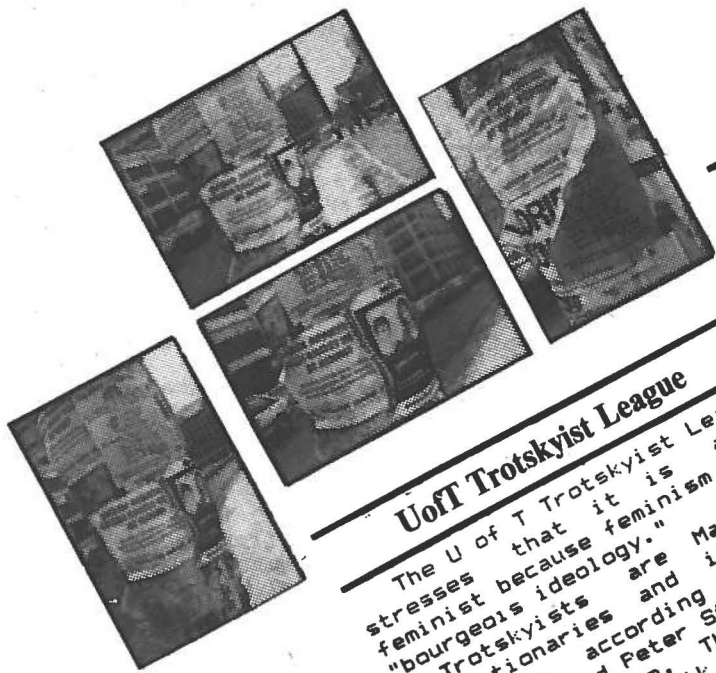
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Communist Party of Canada

Cathy Laurier, a member and employee of the Communist Party of Canada, does not refer to herself as a feminist, yet says that women's struggle must occur alongside workers' struggle. The CP does not believe "overnight," rather it will be the result of step-by-step, peaceful reforms such as redistributing the tax burden, curbing the monopolizing power of capital, nationalizing banks and key industries with workers, and reducing the importance of primary industry within Canada. She believes that the CP is a fairly well organized party.

in a sea of capitalism," says Sarner, pointing to the "state capitalism" of the Soviet Union and the failure of China to "stay out of the grips of capitalism" as examples. The IS does not favour Canadian nationalism, which would be putting "Canadian bosses in the place of U.S. bosses," Sarner says.

Alliance for Socialist Action

Anne Brunelle of the Alliance for Socialist Action believes that one "can't be a socialist and not be a feminist or pro-feminist as well." The Alliance for Socialist Action, formerly the Socialist Workers' Collective, is a revolutionary organization which follows the

UofT Trotskyist League

The U of T Trotskyist League stresses that it is anti-feminist because feminism is a "bourgeois ideology." Trotskyists and Marxists, revolutionaries according to Miriam McDonald, and Peter Stevens of the campus group. They look to the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which led the workers to power in Russia. Although they do not politically support the policies of the Kremlin, the Trotskyists do support the "economic structure" of the social-

Varying Shades of Red

teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. One of the ASA's basic principles is "permanent revolution": The first step is "Overthrowing the capitalists and their army...giving the guns to the workers," and then a process of slow change can occur, with society "always getting better."

ized property forms" of the Soviet Union, says McDonald. Stevens adds that the result of this is that "we unconditional-ly defend the Soviet Union against either from the U.S. or wherever -- and also from the

Feminism has no place in revolutionary change, says McDonald.

by Helen Armstrong
and Ali Callegarini

Contrary to popular opinion, the left is not dead at U of T. A number of hour-long interviews with representatives of some campus leftist groups confirmed that the left is alive and sometimes kicking. Unfortunately we weren't able to contact all the groups so this survey is not comprehensive. Of greatest interest to us is where these groups stand on feminism, and from what other. Our own skepticism has been influenced by the presentation of our findings, but we have tried to leave the critique up to the reader. Whenever possible, we tried to interview women, to get a better sense of what women in the left are doing.

One can't be a socialist and not be a feminist, says Brunelle.

won't achieve full liberation under capitalism because sexism, like racism, is functional to capitalism; sex example, "under advertising, so women will remain sex objects." But Brunelle says the transformation to socialism will not immediately eradicate sexism and it will take one or two generations to get rid of it in crucial society. "It is up to workers' struggles, alongside workers' struggles, says Brunelle, to ensure that men don't disregard women's concerns; men won't be able to "think of it all."

internal attempts at counter-revolution." Asked whether they condone violence, McDonald says, "As far as I'm concerned, the most violent thing is capitalist violence. We're for people's defend themselves...violence from the boss." The Trotskyists have a "healthy" leadership where they are internationally known as the Spartacists, McDonald, "something of an affirmative action program who will not develop potential. We have leadership potential. We will not develop into a leader a woman who doesn't have the capacity."

Internationalist Socialists

"Sexism holds back the class struggle," the International Socialists, says Sandra Sarner. "Struggle is what is key." When people fight together, adding that women open to new ideas; a become workers join with men; struggling for socialism, they will begin to change the sexist ideas. The International Socialist ideas. are a revolution that organization that focus on building so

A Survey

back up this claim. Stevens feels that only socialism can unite all separate struggles and abolish racism and sexism. among workers' through their paper, The IS has perspective, want to "revolution" workers' social: the creat

You can't create socialism in capitalism, says Sarner.

The membership of the Toronto IS is approximately 45 percent women. Sarner stresses that liberation, there can be no workers' struggle. She adds that the IS believes the focus must necessarily be on the workers' struggle. The Sarn doesn't agree with the patriarchy, and says "If you get rid of the male basis for sexism, there be any reason for their continue.... People's id due to doesn't believe Sarner doesn't propose a feminist proposal.

Student Movement
The Movement whose Chris Bat se

d

the Catholic Church, while not openly opposing SCM, is not very keen on its support of gays and lesbians. Babcock stresses that "those of the group who are practising progressive changes within their churches that 'SCM does not have any answers. It's a place to come and question.'"

ate an island of in a sea of, says Sarnier.

e action will benefit ss working women; it d only those women who already comparatively

UoF New Democratic Party

The University of Toronto New Democratic Party has an extensive platform of policies for women. Nick Marchese, the chairperson of the youth club, describes the NDP as a "coalition of socialists, liberals, social democrats and democratic views has been diverse for much debate within the party, yet according to Marchese, the NDPers are basically brought together by their "injustices and inequalities of the capitalist system."

Marxist Institute

Kari Delhi, a member of the Marxist Institute collective, is a committed feminist who believes that "feminism is workable, but she notes that 'feminism without class isn't going to go very far.'"

The Marxist Institute offers courses and lectures to the public in Marxism, socialist feminism, and other topics. The Institute is "independent of any political organization and seeks to promote a non-sectarian atmosphere of discussion and debate."

UoF Anarchist Club

Anarchists often try to develop counter communities such as networks of co-op houses, and work at educating people through producing magazines, says Ambrosio. They do not favour parliamentary efforts at social change except at the municipal level where there is more possibility of community involvement, she explains.

Diana Ambrosio of the U of T Anarchist Club sees feminism as compatible with anarchist philosophy. A lot of anarchist writing tries "to eliminate distinctions between men and women, and between old and young," she says. Abolishing the class system will not get rid of sexism, says Ambrosio. The club is a theoretical group, not a political party. In theory, "anarchists would like to smash the state," she says, but this would suddenly got to have some interim measures," she says. The United States and the Soviet Union are imperialist, says Ambrosio, but this would have no problem speaking up in the group, largely because they are assertive, says Ambrosio.

Student Christian Movement

The Student Christian Movement is a social justice, rights-oriented group whose "action stems from the faith", says Glenys Babcock, secretary/director. She stresses, however, that "SCM is open to everybody; you don't have to be a practising Christian." "You don't have to be a leftist to participate, but because we're leftists, only leftists come."

SCM was the first ecumenical organization in Canada, established in 1923. It is part of the World Student Christian Federation. The campus group tries to focus on issues that students express interest in, and on issues not being covered by their activities. Group, forums, and films, discussions, against religion, pornography, and violence, etc. SCM does not often take a position on abortion, although the group has no formal policy. Babcock adds that they are open to debate on that subject. About 60 percent of the organization, which is pro-choice, is funded by the United Anglican, and Presbyterian Churches and Babcock says that

Although the more radical in the party desire to see the NDP act as a catalyst for the transition to socialism, in practice the party that doesn't seek the complete overthrow of capitalism. The NDP wishes to seek power through Parliament, yet believes that the extra-parliamentary party is just as important; nothing can improve a "movement," says

Feminism is one of the most serious challenges to the left and it has been for some years, says Delhi.

Delhi feels that feminism is "one of the most serious challenges to the left and it has been for some years." She notes that there are a number

Left Groups

y of Campus

orkers, primarily the publication of the Socialist Worker. They have a long term to "build a group that one day constitute a revolutionary party."

The IS doesn't believe that socialism exists anywhere in the world today: "You can't create an island of socialism

interest in, and on issues not being covered by their activities. Group, forums, and films, discussions, against religion, pornography, and violence, etc. SCM does not often take a position on abortion, although the group has no formal policy. Babcock adds that they are open to debate on that subject. About 60 percent of the organization, which is pro-choice, is funded by the United Anglican, and Presbyterian Churches and Babcock says that

provincial executives and is urged at the riding association level. Also, the NDP has established a women's committee which can present resolutions, as can a riding association, at conventions. About 40 percent of the youth club and, of women, are very strong positions on issues affecting women: the party is

of left groups in Canada that have fallen apart over the "woman question." In the courses and lectures the Marxist Institute offers representation. This winter an Feminism is offered. Institute provides a forum for debate so that those involved in political change can continue to develop theoretical contextualize their work.



KATE LAZIER

An Appeal for Feminists and Socialists to cooperate

by Chris Leafloor

Some feminists are very critical of socialists. This criticism is sometimes appropriate, but it is also regrettable, since socialists and feminists have much to gain from working together.

(What is a socialist, you say? For historical reasons, "socialism" is properly understood as including a large element of Marxism. But the word "socialist" has also been adopted by the moderate left. Individuals who are no more progressive than disoriented liberals -- and who may be members of the New Democrats -- proclaim themselves to be socialists.

Marxists, communists, anarchists, Greens, and the NDP all call themselves socialists. Perhaps the best way to understand the word today is as a catch-all for the whole left. Though it is debatable whether one should include within the legitimate socialist camp the Trotskyist League or the Communist Party of Canada/ Marxist-Leninist (CPC/ML). No matter how well-intentioned, the simplistically rhetorical and allegedly CIA-influenced behavior of these two organizations seems to be uncannily designed to embarrass progressive movements.)

Socialism needs feminism. Women clearly are among the most exploited people in any society today. The left obtains its strength by appealing to those who are exploited. If socialists cannot reach out to and enlist the support of feminists, then socialism is much weaker than it should be.

But so too should feminists reach out to leftists. Socialism proposes to provide real equality of opportunity and liberty for all people, and therefore leftists should be committed to helping to emancipate women. With the help of socialists, feminism can be stronger.

These links between feminism and socialism should be obvious, as should the need for these progressive movements to work alongside the peace movement, anti-apartheid groups, gay and lesbian organizations, and environmental groups when they

agree on specific issues. But for many this co-operation is grudgingly accepted, if accepted at all.

Why is there this hostility between feminists and socialists? One reason is because some very vocal socialists (e.g. the Trotskyist League) have alienated feminists by saying that feminism must take a back seat to socialism, since only after the revolution will women truly be free. Revolution now, women's liberation later.

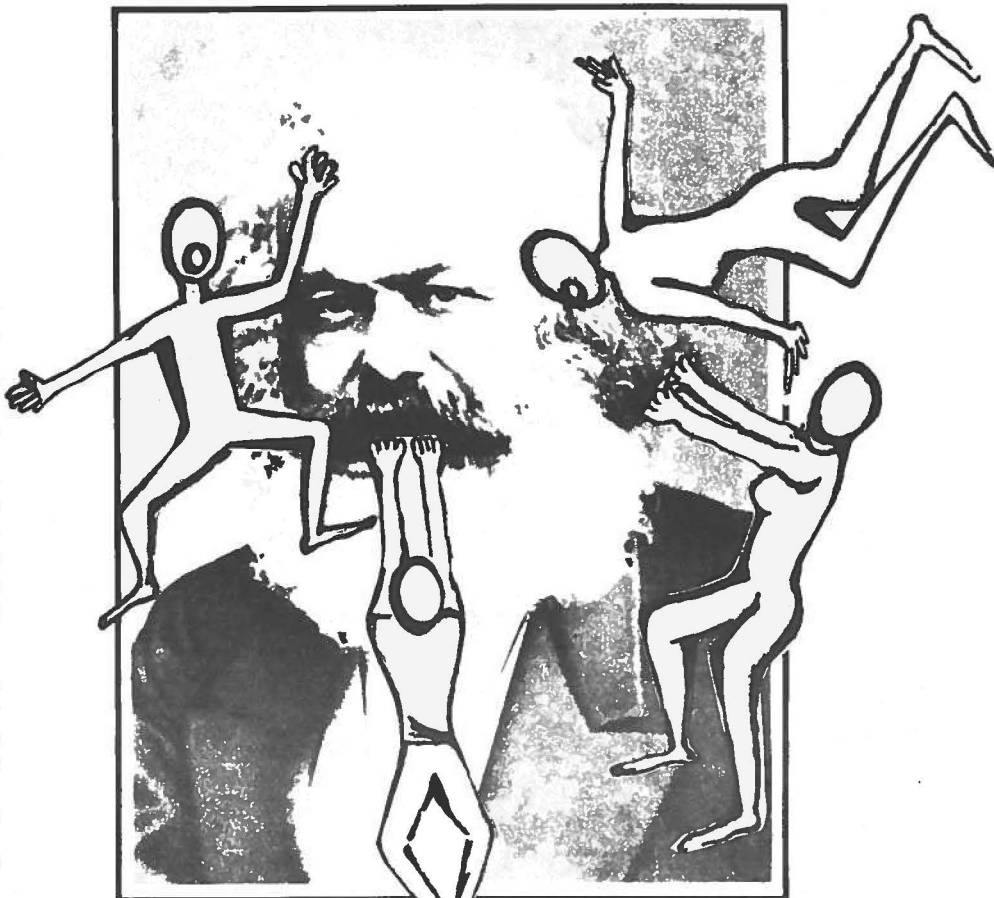
However, in the last two

viewing the women's movement as a struggle that is separate from socialism, but related.

These leftists accept that there are many different progressive movements, all of which have something important to say. They admit that it is probably impossible and foolish to try to rate progressive movements in order of importance. It is also recognized by these socialists that different individuals have different rankings of their interests. Women will often be

allies from assisting your organization. Not only does it weaken potential allies. But the bashing often is viewed by the establishment as insincere. For example, people who are political moderates commie-bash in an attempt to prove that

If socialists cannot reach out to enlist the support of feminists, then socialism is much weaker than it should be.



decades many socialists have become much more sophisticated in their analyses of society and history. One result of this is that many of them no longer claim socialism is more important than and encompasses feminism. They continue to believe that women (and all people) will have equal opportunities only when class distinctions are eliminated. But they also believe that women's demands should not be put on a back burner until after our society becomes socialist. These socialists are

attracted to the women's movement as "their cause". A black man may choose an anti-apartheid group as his or her most passionate political activity. The envious and outraged poor (like me!) might be most passionate about socialism.

Another reason why there has been hostility between some feminists and socialists is because of some people's inclination to commie-bash or "fem-lib bash". Bashing is counterproductive. Not only does it discourage potential

they are not radical. However, often conservatives simply conclude that these commie-bashers are really commie sympathizers, but hiding it. "Methinks the lady doth protest too much". (An example of this occurred earlier this century when the American Federation of Labor tried to prove to the U.S. government that it was not communist.)

Getting more people out to demonstrations is only one reason why feminists and socialists should work with each other on those issues they agree on. Another reason why they should work together is so that each can learn from each other. Socialists should learn to be more understanding of women's issues. And feminists can benefit by using socialist analyses of power, class, economics, and politics.

This mutual education will happen as a result of working together and through explanations, when appropriate. Bullying your allies is never constructive. Socialists should not badger feminists into becoming socialists. Similarly, feminists should not pressure socialists into admitting that women's issues are more important than socialist concerns.

Progressive groups need allies and thus should try to work with those who agree with them on specific issues. Working together will help them to gently educate each other. It is foolish to alienate and undermine potential allies. OW

Chris Leafloor is a first year law student at U of T.



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Facing the Daycare Crisis: A Campus Forum

When Parents are Away, Where Can Kids Play?

by Lise Betteridge

Because the daycare system in Canada operates on the assumption that daycare is a service which individual parents should purchase in the marketplace the current crisis is unlikely to be solved unless a wide variety of organizations join daycare lobby groups to demand free universal daycare.

In an effort to make students aware of and involved in daycare lobbying efforts a seven-member panel spoke at a forum on "Daycare and the University Student" at the U of T International Student Centre on Feb. 5.

At the forum, organized by the Arts and Science Students' Union, Susan Colley from the Ontario Coalition for Better Daycare (OCBD) urged student groups and members of the university community to make submissions to a recently appointed Federal Committee on Childcare.

Chairing the 7-member committee will be Shirley Martin, host of the REAL Women conference in Ottawa last November, and the only Tory woman MP to publicly oppose daycare. Colley stressed the importance of mobilizing a progressive lobby to counter anti-daycare submissions solicited by Martin.

Federal lobbying can at best be only partially effective however, since daycare is also funded and administered at the municipal and provincial levels.

OCBD, aware of the limitations of lobbying, also attempts to make daycare the focus for mass action, said Colley: at a

meeting at Queen's Park in November startled provincial politicians were confronted by 300 parents frustrated by the inadequacy of current daycare provisions.

Wednesday's panel -- which also included Ellen Mills of the Ontario Women's Directorate, Helen Slater of the Ministry of Community and Social Services, Mamie Armaly of Margaret Fletcher Daycare on campus, and student, parent and ex-daycare worker Janet Davis -- reflected strategic and ideological debates around the childcare question.

While Ellen Mills argues that the Women's Directorate views childcare as "fundamental to women's equality in the workplace," she stated that "policy change takes time."

We must keep in mind that "there is no social consensus" as to what form daycare policy should take," she said.

Colley challenged Mills by arguing that social programmes such as unemployment insurance were fought for by those who did not and could not wait for social consensus. "Daycare is a majoritarian issue," she said. "There can't be any more patchwork solutions."

Panelist Janet Davis' decision to return to university was partially based on the fact that she was "tired of being exploited" as a daycare worker. After 12 years in the field, her salary had only increased from \$6,200 to \$14,200.

In non-profit centres, such as the Margaret Fletcher Daycare Centre on campus, fees paid by parents must cover all operating costs. Unlike

universities, daycare centres do not receive any direct funding to cover operating costs, including salaries.

"Early childhood education is not a viable career choice," Davis said. "It is undervalued and underpaid."

Currently a subsidized parent with a school-age child, Davis confronted the problem from another angle when she returned to university. Not only were there no spaces and huge waiting lists at local daycares, but there was also a waiting list for subsidy.

Even though Davis was eligible for subsidy, she spent \$600 on daycare before her name finally came up four months

later.

As a supervisor at Margaret Fletcher Daycare, Mamie Armaly said she finds it difficult to know where to cut off the ever-growing waiting list. Even when their names do come up, low-income parents often find themselves unable to pay the \$448/month fee until their subsidy comes through.

There is no doubt that it is usually those who can afford it who get quality care, Armaly said. Furthermore, she added, there are no provisions on campus for infant and toddler care.

For more informatn about daycare and strategies for change, call OCBD at 766-4691.



From left to right: Ellen Mills, Helen Slater, Susan Colley, Janet Davis, and Mamie Armaly.

Another Quiz (Reprinted From Cosmopolitan's Lesbian Subtext)

by Sabia Lexe

Are you the kind of girl who thinks "gay" refers to moods and men only? Do you think "Dyke" is the only thing between you and the wide sea? Take this quiz and find out where you stand (right now!) Be truthful (or the results won't be accurate.)

1. A Lesbian is...

- a) A woman who wants to be a man,
- b) An exotic fruit,
- c) Difficult to define, but almost always a woman, probably having sex with another woman and usually enjoying it immensely.

Answers: if you picked...

- a) -5 points - If wanting to be a man counts as a sign of lesbianism, Margaret Thatcher is the Dyke's dyke.
- b) +2 points - In a manner of speaking, yes.
- c) +5 points - You have spotted the longest sentence in the world of quizzes. This makes (c) the most likely to be correct.

2. Circle all of the women you think are Lesbians.

- a) Anita Bryant
- b) Carole Pope
- c) Tina Turner
- d) Lily Tomlin
- e) Katherine Hepburn
- f) Your grade 9 gym teacher

- g) Martina Navratilova
- h) Rosa Luxembourgh
- i) you
- j) Mary Richards
- k) Nancy Reagan
- l) Olivia Newton-John
- m) Anne Murray
- n) Adrienne Rich
- o) Princess Diana
- p) Michael Jackson
- q) Phyllis Schlafly
- r) Vita Sackville West

Answers: add up the number of women you have circled.

Scores Between 0-3 guess again
3-7 you're a realist
8-12 maybe you have some info we don't
all 15 - wishful thinking!

Add 1 point to your total score for every woman circled.

3. If two lesbians are the same height, how would you tell which one is butch?

Circle your most likely Response:

- a) find out which one kick starts her dildo and rolls her own tampons.
- b) in analyzing the various assumptions implicit in such a question, it is, of course, a stupid question! Mind your own business! (M.Y.O.B.)
- c) write Anne Landers for advice.

What's Your Dyke Quotient?

Answers: If you circled...

- a) -5 points - "Politically incorrect".
- b) +3 points - For answering with 3 polysyllabic words in one sentence.
- c) Forfeit all points previous-

ly gained. If you wanted advice you should have asked Ms. Enigma Person.

4. Do lesbians have a sense of humour?

Answer: No! And its not funny!

OW



Tribunal continued from page 1

ly document the lack of access to abortion procedures (e.g. Statistics Canada 1983, Badgley Report 1977). Access is particularly denied to rural, poor, and non-white women thereby exacerbating existing systemic inequalities. Tribunal participants speak of the effects of unnecessary, health endangering delays - of what it means to have vital personal decisions arbitrarily granted or denied by an anonymous therapeutic abortion committee. The one doctor who gives testimony, based on his experience of performing hospital abortions, underscores the need for free-standing clinics, providing publically funded abortion services.

The Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics has initiated the "Speak Out for Choice" campaign and Toronto is hosting its own tribunal on March 1st, Trinity St. Paul Church, at 2p.m.

Vancouver's panel of "judges", represent the pro-choice movement's broad base of support, and includes such notables as Grace McInnis, N.D.P., first woman M.P. in Canada, and Art Kubes, president of the B.C. Federation of Labour. Following the powerful testimonies the "judges" and "jury" loudly, clearly, and unanimously, find the law guilty of being in contempt of women.

The success of the Vancouver tribunal is an auspicious beginning to the "Speak Out" campaign. The campaign appropriately focuses on the federal law which is implemented by the provinces. Feminist communities all across Canada are choosing their own dynamic form of presentation for the tribunals. In all, women give personal accounts of their experiences with state-defined access to abortion.

Intrinsic to section 251 is a fundamental denial of women's sexual and reproductive self-determination. The dramatic presentation of the tribunals is an empowering reversal for the participants. Central to the campaign is women's experience and how it informs our politics.

The "Speak Out For Choice" campaign will culminate in a mass action in Ottawa in late May or early June, coinciding with the National Action Committee on the Status of Women general meeting. Individuals and feminist organizations are now mobilizing for this massive collective move on Ottawa. The end goals are the removal of abortion from the criminal code and the legalization of free-standing, publicly-funded clinics. Has Ottawa seen anything like this before? Well, not recently, but there is an inspiring historical precedent in the 1970 Abortion Caravan which expressed the majority support for freedom of choice on abortion through mass mobilization, education, and civil disobedience.

The majority support for freedom of choice indicates the pivotal position of abortion rights in Canadian politics today. But we cannot wait in patient silence for the Supreme Court to pass its verdict on our reproductive rights - this forum is lengthy, costly, and controlled by the interests of the state. Safe and effective birth control, sex education, adequate public health care, midwifery, and abortion are interdependent. At the same time, the "choice" to have children is hardly free in a society with severely limited public childcare, inadequate parental work leave, pervasive economic inequality, and systematic male violence against women.

It is painfully evident that we cannot leave our fate in the hands of Supreme Court judges. Fortunately, the Ontario



A march on October 21, 1972, organized by the Canadian Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition.

Coalition for Abortion Clinics has initiated the "Speak Out For Choice" campaign and Toronto is hosting its own tribunal on March 1st, Trinity St. Paul Church, at 2 p.m. The immediate drama and transformative potential of the tribunals has involved many new individuals. By the time the tribunals hit Toronto, the momentum will be amazing. Raise your voice!

OW

Janet Mawhinney is a member of the Coalition for Responsible Choice at the University of Toronto and The Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics.

Lise Betteridge is a member of the Coalition for Responsible Choice at the University of Toronto, and is on the executive of the Arts and Science Student Union.

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Letter continued from page 2

dispose of despots, to the craft tradition of meditating while naked in order to show your own self pride as well as your freedom from outside symbols. If nudity proved one thing, it was that both lord, lady and commoner were equal in their humanity. The practices of some witches who work "through feelings" using the craft, have their basis in two things. Although some may be accused of spiriting out, it is their purpose to devote themselves to a certain spiritual path, one which is not to be confused with social action. Likewise the craft is often used as an alternative to and in conjunction with therapy. Some people prefer to figure themselves out using archetypes rather than a paid feminist therapist.



Ingrid MacDonald

Another accusation recently leveled at the craft in Ms. Magazine was that it was akin to the Ghost Dance, ineffective mysticism which clouded rational, political thought. It should be noted that the craft was traditionally governed by the rules of knowledge and science. The fact that the craft is a nature religion therefore bases it in the realm of empirical knowledge. To observe and partake in the cycles of ourselves and nature brings about a logical, grounded system. Lest we not forget, the sciences of agriculture, astronomy and mathematics were all aided by forms of the craft. It was not until the Dark Ages of Christian, feudal tyranny that such knowledge was deemed heretical and an aspect of devil worship. One must keep in mind the murder of Hypatia, the famous keeper of the library of Alexandria who defended the pursuit of knowledge to the last until she and her library were sacked by fanatical Christian monks. Simplistic as this mention is, it is still a valuable reminder of where our roots lie. Finally the craft promotes a view of the planet, which in times of intense alienation, is

crucial to our "struggle". While some feel that trees just look nice, it is also important to remember that they also fertilize our soil, supply us with dinner, prevent soil erosion and creeping deserts and lastly, give us nice oxygen. The point is, that whatever has been taken must be returned and we ourselves as an aspect of the planet, are manifestations of the "divine". Hence all processes whether they be eating, poohing or dying are all part of the divine pattern. This includes, (as the great goddess doth spake) "all acts of love and pleasure" as "rituals". Thus loving somebody, fucking one's brains out or enjoying a nice record are celebrations of life and our origins. The craft appeals to many feminists due to its central female and nice male symbols. With its tradition of anti-hierarchical organization (at least in the coven form) and its reliance on spiritual revelation, the personal realm is dramatically different fare than what traditional religion has offered women. Witches use symbols, not fetishize them, which is why the Craft tends to be open to so many interpretations. We do not believe that all people, or as in the cultural feminism mode, all boys are bad. In the craft, personal and political responsibility is the name of the game; and as for crystals...some should be reminded that all that glistens is not gold.

"Do as thou wilt and harm none" is the basic law of the craft so sign me,

Sincerely,

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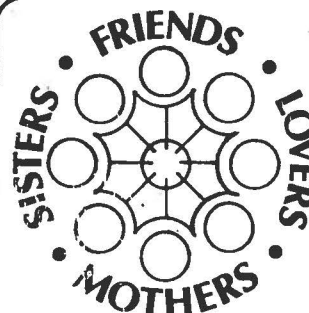
IWD continued from page 1

of T. After the rally a march will lead to Jorgenson Hall at Ryerson, where a fair will take place. At the fair there will be book tables, workshops, movies and entertainment. The day will culminate with an all women's dance at the Concert Hall, 899 Yonge St.. Tickets for the Dance are \$7 in advance, \$8 at the door, and are available at the Native Women's Resource Centre, Third World Books, Toronto Women's Bookstore and SCM. Daycare will be provided. For more information call OPIRG at 978-4575 or the U of T Women's Centre, 978-8201. OW

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by Jeannette Dowson

"Was my grandmother a feminist?" I asked my aunt.

"What does that mean?" my aunt said, smiling to herself.

"I guess it means did she have some sort of analysis of her oppression as a woman."

My aunt laughed and said, "You don't have to have an analysis to know something is right or wrong." And so it goes.

Without using political jargon one might say I am third generation "uppity woman". My grandmother Mary Jewett, nurturer of feminists, socialists and socialist-feminists never labelled herself as anything at all. She was a woman who had a strong sense of humanity and a great deal of energy and goodwill. Beyond that, as my grandmother might have said, "What does it matter what you call yourself, as long as you are right."

After her mother's death, she found herself and her younger sister Etty in a position she later vowed none of her children would ever experience. As the eldest, Mary alone resisted her father's and stepmother's harsh discipline. At the age of 13 she deemed the situation intolerable and moved out of her father's house, using some of the trust fund left to her by her mother. She chose to live with a kindly woman named Mrs. Windover, who agreed to provide board and be surrogate mother to Mary and Etty until they were old enough to be married. At 16, after her father's death, Mary again approached the trustees of her mother's estate and demanded that they give her money, so that she could be trained in an occupation. Initially the trustees resisted the request. They were of the belief that ladies did not support themselves financially, should marry and raise a family. Mary's persistence, though, finally persuaded them to give in. She trained and worked as a secretary, which at that time was still a male-dominated profession.

During her early adulthood she was active in many social clubs. Mary loved to dance, play games, and flirt. It was during one of the many picnics she attended that she met her husband-to-be, the "tall, dark and handsome"

REMembering

Walter Dowson, my grandfather. They courted, fell in love and were married. The children came soon after, one every two years for 12 years. As a mother it became important for Mary to create the secure and safe home she had never experienced.

This deep sense of personal responsibility was not reserved for her family alone but extended to the world at large. As her children became adults they manifested their own sense of responsibility by becoming politically active in the growing socialist movement in Canada.



Mary, accompanied by her children, often attended meetings of "The Party" (The 4th Socialist International), where members could listen to speakers, and take part in discussions.

In confronting her everyday struggles Mary's insights were much ahead of her time. During the war effort of the 1940's women were hired in the factories to do what was traditionally "men's work". Having come through The Great Depression Mary's modest financial resources had been diminished. The necessity of work landed Mary her first factory job. It was from

her sense of social justice, and her confidence that she could do her job as well as a man that strengthened my grandmother's resolve to fight for equal pay for work of equal value, and win. As a union steward, she became familiar with and sympathetic to the plight of rural women. These women had been lured by the relatively high pay to come to the urban factories. In the early 1940's companies bussed women in from as far off as the Maritimes to increase the labour pool. These women rarely had connections in the city and little knowledge of how to cope with urban life. As their union representative, she convinced management to provide information about housing and other services available in Toronto.

Mary was known as "Mother" to all of the women on her shift. She dispensed information to these women on everything from where to go on a date to how to deal with a toothache. Imagine her daughter's surprise when she went to talk with her mother at work and was told to wait in line like everyone else.

Her neighbours, the ladies of High Park, must have thought her somewhat unconventional. They and their husbands - bankers, lawyers and doctors - probably had little in common with a woman union steward who worked in a War Plant. Her activities in the newly organized CCF (predecessor of the NDP) and in the union movement must have alienated her from her peers.

Out of a deep commitment to others came a legacy that I, born 10 years after her death, still feel today. Was she a feminist? Perhaps it wasn't useful or even possible in her time to label herself as such, but she was a firm believer that actions speak louder than words and I believe her actions say "yes".

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Jeannette Dowson is a young feminist who works for the Canadian Women's Movement Archives.

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