

Broadside

A FEMINIST REVIEW

Toronto Women's
Calendar Inside.

Volume 3, number 9

August 1982

\$1



Andrea Dworkin: On Pornography

SEE STORY PAGE 6.

FEATURE

DWORKIN DIALOGUE: Andrea Dworkin, author of *Men Possessing Women*, talks to Kim Fullerton about censorship, women's response to pornography, the need to take feminism seriously, and freedom of speech. In countering the argument that one shouldn't pass judgement on another's 'right,' Dworkin says, "You don't have a political movement that's value free." Page 6.

NEWS

POW! Five Toronto women were beaten outside a tavern on the Yonge Street strip while engaged in a 'Not a Love Story' style demonstration sponsored by POW (Pornography Oppresses Women). Police and onlookers watched without helping. *Movement Matters*, page 5.

INSIDE BROADSIDE

RAPE REFORM: The implications of Bill C-53, the new bill concerning rape and sexual assault, has grave implications for women. What kind of justice system allows a man to go free because he "honestly believed" a woman wanted to be raped? Such a defence is based on the assumption that men can't help it if they are sexist. Lois Lowenberger and Reva Landau of TACWL report. Page 3.



COMMENT

PROGRESSIVE MEN?

There's a short supply of men who can match emotionally evolved, politically aware women, capable of passion and tenderness, comments Jacqueline Swartz. In the *realpolitik* of relationships with men, it's unseemly to be too assertive. Page 4.

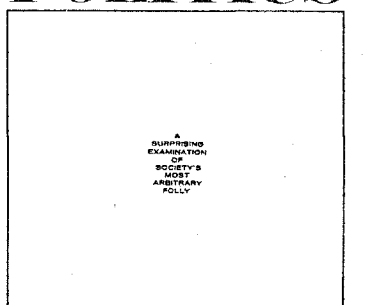
ARTS

EVOLUTION vs. CREATION:

Have men evolved culturally while women have not; or has the low status role of women been created? Anne Innis Dagg reviews Sarah Hrdy's book, *The Woman That Never Evolved*. As a sociobiologist, says Dagg, Hrdy should blame our genes. Page 9.

BIRTH OF SEXUAL POLITICS: Kate Millett coined the phrase and initiated the analysis. She may have bitten off more than she could chew, says Susan G. Cole in this month's 'Classics Revisited' review, but she did so brilliantly. Page 8.

SEXUAL POLITICS



Kate Millett

CALENDAR: Don't miss 'Outside Broadside,' our Toronto women's events calendar for August, 1982. Page 11.

LETTERS

Broadside:

Your introduction to my article in the *Broadside* 'Sampler' on the Nestlé boycott ("Milk-ing the Third World," May 1982) incorrectly stated that Nestlé had complied with the World Health Organization Code of Marketing.

While Nestlé claimed, in March 1982, that it would indeed comply, the company made a very careful interpretation of the Code under which "mothercraft nurses," free samples and other forms of pressure on mothers could continue.

Nestlé would very much like the public to think that the boycott is over. It is not.

Beverly Biderman
Toronto

Broadside:

Congratulations on a good looking and well written paper! In this time of economic collapse and resurging reactionary politics, we are heartened to see the survival and growth of a strong feminist voice in Canada. Your lay-out looks great and even more important, your content covers the wide range of topics we need to challenge and encourage each other. Keep up the good work!

Cory Beneker and Suzanne North
Network
Newspaper of Saskatchewan Women

Broadside:

Right now, Nicaragua is in a state of emergency. Torrential rains and strong winds have ripped through the country leaving the entire Pacific area devastated.

I was in Nicaragua at the beginning of the floods, which struck in the last week and a half of May. For 17 months, I lived and worked as a researcher and writer. Wherever I went, I saw women and men, young and old, working together to build a self-reliant nation. I was most impressed with the pace of development. In only six months, from

February to August 1980, nearly 500,000 people learned to read and write! Popular health campaigns begun in 1981 have mobilized over 80,000 volunteers to carry out programs of vaccinations, malaria and dengue fever control and environmental sanitation. More than 1.7 million acres of underused farm lands have been distributed, along with seeds and technical advice, to peasant farmers. They had begun planting the basic grains which would help Nicaragua to become self-sufficient in food.

And now, almost 50% of the country has been declared an official disaster area. One hundred thousand people are homeless. Nearly 500 are dead. Every aspect of Nicaragua's life has been affected. Bridges and highways were swept away and hospitals, schools and offices are unusable.

The floods are a major blow to the social and economic change underway since the 1979 overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship. It has been estimated that the productive capacity of Nicaragua has been set back two decades because of the damage to soil, factories and workshops and transportation systems. Most of the export crops needed to earn foreign exchange have been lost, as well as almost half the crops grown for internal consumption.

Yet there is no spirit of defeat. The Nicara-

guan people are organized and throwing all of their collective energy into rebuilding. A special commission of the United Nations' Disaster Relief Organization made unannounced visits to refugee centres in the cities of Managua and Chinandega and was impressed by the "excellent organizational capacity of official structures (and) great concern of authorities with health and sanitation conditions."

I am concerned that the Canadian public is not being informed about the extent of the emergency or its impact on Nicaragua's future. The 1972 earthquake, which was less devastating, received far more coverage.

These people need our help to repair damages and alleviate suffering. They need to return to the work of developing their country.

One of the ways you can help is by sending emergency funds to: Oxfam-Nicaragua Floods, 175 Carlton St., Toronto M5A 2K3. OXFAM has the experience and contacts necessary to ensure that your money gets quickly to the people who need it.

Canadian support is urgently needed.

Yours truly,
Cathy Gander
Oxfam
Ottawa

Broadside

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EDITORIALS

Broadside Bulletin

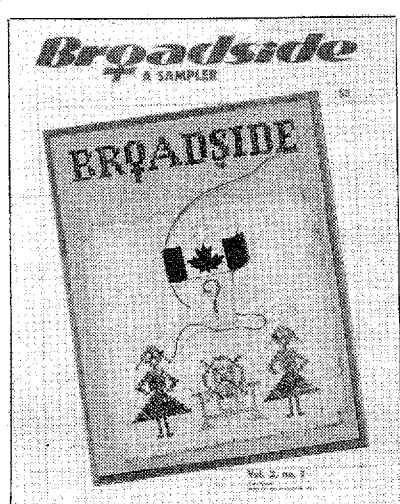
- On June 30, the American Equal Rights Amendment died after a 10 year struggle to pass. The amendment, which stated simply, in 23 words, that rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged on the basis of sex (no mention of bathrooms or the military), had to be ratified by 38 states to become part of the US Constitution. It wasn't. If there was anyone who doubted that women are real, not imaginary, second class citizens, the failure of the ERA should put flight to the notion. There is a war on, and women just lost one round. Still, there is a move afoot to get the ERA re-introduced into Congress, and American women are in for another long fight. Let's hope this time more women add their weight to the struggle and that this time women win.

- In Toronto, four women were raped and murdered in the past six weeks. Another was pulled, screaming, out of a large central park full of sunbathers and picnickers, and raped in the bushes. The latest victim, an east-end mother of three, was strangled, as was the first, a 19-year-old cheerleader. Police are beginning to think there may be a connection between all the crimes. When asked about a suspect for the east-end murder, police said, "We're looking for a man."

- Last month, Toronto's gay newsmagazine, *The Body Politic*, was acquitted on a four year old charge of advocating scurrilous material. (*TBP* was acquitted in 1979 on the same charge, which was later appealed, in case you get all their trials confused.) There is a 30 day period in which the acquittal can

be appealed, and two days before the deadline, on July 13, an appeal was in fact served. The judge had ruled that it's not wrong to advocate an activity just because it goes against the grain of some "community standards." (The scurrilous material was an article on pedophilia entitled 'Men loving boys loving men') When applied to pornography, for example, the ruling could cause concern to feminists, but it is important that *The Body Politic* not be singled out for persecution.

- In deference to the Broadside collective's need for summer holidays, this issue of the paper will be shorter than usual, as will our September issue, which will be devoted entirely to the arts. We wish you happy reading and a good summer.



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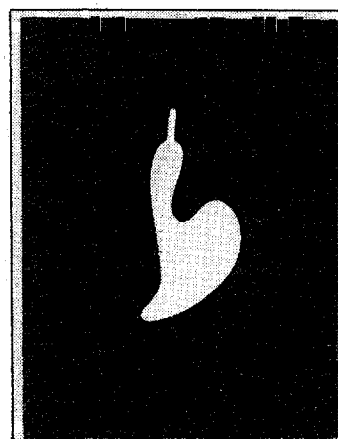
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SEE BACK PAGE

A Rape By Any Other Name...

by Lois Lowenberger and
Reva Landau

The Federal Government is promoting Bill C-53 as the answer to women's criticisms of existing rape law. Women must realize that while the Bill does improve the present law in some ways, in most ways it is a frightening step backward for us.

Bill C-53 will amend the Criminal Code in relation to sexual offences and the protection of young persons. While there are several areas of concern in the Bill, this article will discuss only the sections dealing with sexual assault.

Publicity has centred on the change of name from rape (and indecent assault) to sexual assault. There is, and always has been, controversy within the women's community as to whether the name of the offence should be changed from "rape" to "assault." Many women thought that only by changing the name of the offence to assault, thereby increasing the emphasis on the violence in the act, could there be other substantial changes in the law itself. Other women thought that the term "rape" had political and emotional values that should be retained. But all women thought that there must be radical changes in the law dealing with this crime, regardless of what they thought it should be named. What the Government has done is to give us a change of name. But any radical changes proposed in C-53 have generally worsened and not improved our position.

In brief, the five fatal flaws in the Bill are as follows:

1. Even after it has been proved that the victim did not consent, the accused will be acquitted if he convinces the jury that he honestly (even if unreasonably) believed that the victim had consented;
2. the victim's prior sexual history with others than the accused will still frequently be introduced into the trial;
3. consent may be inferred from the fact that the victim did not resist the use of force;
4. the whole definition and structure of the offence of sexual assault itself is unacceptable; and
5. the two important evidentiary issues of "corroboration" and "recent complaint" are dealt with in a poor and, especially in relation to "recent complaint," virtually incomprehensible manner.

The Defence of "Honest Belief" (s.244(5))

Section 244.5 of the Bill codifies the controversial 1980 Supreme Court of Canada decision in *R. v. Pappajohn*. This decision created a new defence to a rape charge. This defence applies after it has been proven that the victim did not consent. The defence is that the accused had honestly believed that the victim had consented, although in fact she had not. We wish to emphasize that this belief does not have to be reasonable, although the Bill says reasonableness is "one factor" to be considered in assessing the honesty of the accused's belief.

Men's honest although unreasonable beliefs about women's sexual behaviour can range from thinking women like "rough sex" to thinking a woman's consent to a drink is a consent to something more. Given these prevailing sexist beliefs, the danger of this defence is clear.

Some women think that it would be sufficient to require that the accused's belief be honest and reasonable. We do not think that the legal system will interpret "reasonable" in the way that women would interpret it. Instead, judges would decide that prevailing sexist beliefs were reasonable, either because they shared these beliefs themselves or because they are so prevalent in our society that it is "reasonable" for the average male to accept them. Our recommendation is that the defence of honest belief be removed entirely.

Prior Sexual History (s.246.5)

Not only is the defence of "honest belief" dangerous in itself, but it also is used in the Bill to justify the introduction into the trial of the victim's prior sexual history with others than the accused.

This prior sexual history can be introduced where it "relates to evidence that tends to show that the accused believed the complainant consented...." Thus, prior sexual history of the victim could be introduced wherever the accused had some acquaintance with, or knowledge even by hearsay of, the victim. For example, suppose the accused had met a woman at a bar who he knows has been "picked up" by men in bars before. When she resists his "advances" he assumes she's just being "coy." After all, he thinks she has always consented before; so according to his beliefs about how women behave, she must be consenting this time. The accused could introduce the evidence of her prior sexual history at the trial because it relates to his honest (though sexist) belief that she was consenting at the time that he raped her.

Therefore, once the law allows the defence of honest belief in consent, it is almost unavoidable that it must allow the introduction of prior sexual history as it relates to this belief. For this reason alone, the defence of honest belief should not be allowed. Moreover, as discussed above, the (male) legal system's concept of "reasonableness" and that of feminists may differ greatly. We therefore strongly suspect that in many cases even a defence of honest and reasonable belief in consent would justify the introduction of prior sexual history.

Further, once this evidence is before the jury, they may well use it to determine the issue of consent itself, rather than just the accused's mistaken belief in consent. The previous sexual history of the complainant with others than the accused should be inadmissible under *all* circumstances.

Inference of Consent (s.244(3) and s.244(4))

One of the few good features of the Bill is that it does initially expand the circumstances in which the victim's "submission" will not constitute consent. Under present

law, there is no consent where the victim has submitted because of force, the threat of force, or fraud, though fraud is very narrowly defined ("Fraud as to the nature and quality of the act"). Bill C-53 adds to these categories by stating that no consent is obtained where the victim did not resist because of the exercise of authority or because of fraud, fraud not being defined or limited. Unfortunately, this expanded definition is undermined by s.244(4) which says that "consent shall not necessarily be inferred" (emphasis ours) from the fact that the victim did not resist the application of force. In other words, under this section consent *can* be inferred where the victim did not resist the application of force. The danger is obvious.

Structure and Definition of Sexual Assault (ss.246.1 and 246.2)

The present offences of rape and indecent assault are replaced in the Bill by the two categories of sexual assault and aggravated sexual assault. Section 246.1 states that the maximum penalty for a sexual assault is ten years. Section 246.2 states that an aggravated sexual assault is a sexual assault where there is use of a weapon or where serious bodily harm results. The maximum penalty for aggravated sexual assault is life imprisonment.

There is no definition of "sexual assault" itself in the Bill. Some women think that this is a positive step because it will allow judges to be flexible in deciding what assaults constitute sexual ones. Currently, a conviction of rape requires both vaginal (not anal or oral) penetration, and penetration by the penis (not a foreign object). Potentially at least, under Bill C-53, assaults, whether anal, oral, or vaginal, whether or not there is penetration, and whether or not a penis is used, will be treated equally seriously.

However, there is great danger that this potential will never be realized. The problems are both structural and definitional. Because of the lack of definition, judges may decide that a "grab at a breast" on the subway is not a "sexual assault." This type of reasoning will be encouraged by the structure which creates only two categories, with the maximum penalty for the lesser offence of sexual assault being ten years. Judges may say that the Government could not have meant to include less serious assaults in a cat-

egory with such a high maximum penalty. In fact, we agree that it is unfair to charge a person who has committed a minor sexual assault with the same offence as a person who has committed what we would now call a rape. We therefore think that there should be a third category with a maximum penalty of six months to a year, which would cover minor assaults. However, if this category is not defined, there is a danger judges may decide that, for example, oral assaults should go in the "minor assault" category. For all these reasons, we think that there should be three categories, and that they should be defined.

In addition, the middle category of "sexual assault" should have a maximum penalty of fourteen rather than ten years. Where the maximum penalty for an offence is less than fourteen years, a judge can give an absolute or conditional discharge after the accused is convicted. This raises the possibility that under Bill C-53 a person convicted of a rape could be discharged, without the penalty of a jail term or even a fine.

Finally, the highest category of "aggravated sexual assault" applies to too few cases. We think other aggravating circumstances should include gang rape and the causing of psychological harm. As well, we think that the physical harm required to raise the offence to the highest category should only be "bodily harm" and not "serious bodily harm." Otherwise, there is a danger that only women who have been maimed or mutilated for life will be considered to have suffered "serious bodily harm."

We acknowledge that the Bill has made some improvements to the present law surrounding rape. As we have noted above, there is a potential for treating all sexual assaults equally seriously, and the definition of lack of consent has been somewhat broadened. In addition, spousal immunity has been abolished, a reform which has great symbolic value but little practical significance.

However, these reforms dwindle in comparison with the appalling nature of the Government's other proposals in the rest of the Bill. If this Bill is allowed to pass as it stands it will greatly increase the injustice of the rape laws, contribute to the oppression of women, and reinforce the stereotypical thinking surrounding the issue of rape.

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Naming No Names

by Jacqueline Swartz

If there is anyone around who still glows at the mention of the Sexual Revolution, it's not likely to be a woman. We've seen through the packaging, the slogans ("No one owns anybody"), and now feel comfortable passing on a series of soulless sexual encounters that end shortly after they begin.

Sensitive, attractive men have also been saying for quite a while that they hate one night stands, that they never go to bars to meet women. Why should they, when for the price of some good conversation they can attract formidable women with finely tuned minds and bodies. Relieved to find men who can listen, who do not treat them as "sex objects," who are quick to reinforce their sense of independence, these women are seduced by a new hope: man as equal, man as comrade, man as brother. I'm talking about the "progressive" man who cares about social justice, takes full credit for going by new rules — and again and again brings proud feminists to their knees. And because unequal relationships are out of style, and being a doormat is unacceptable, many feminists are blaming themselves. They cannot or will not *cherchez l'homme*. Their heartbreak is a shameful and debilitating secret.

I think a lot of women sense that something is very wrong, but don't want to look at what it is. Emotionally, it doesn't cost much to criticize the old-fashioned leftist man who fights the ruling class while expecting his kingdom at home. Lina Wertmuller's films, for example, are filled with aspiring male revolutionaries for whom feminism is a stunning blind spot.

It's not hard to criticize these imitation Che's or to throw up your hands at the women who get ripped off by them. Less easy to dismiss, however, are the men who show informed sympathy with feminism. These men know all about the growing wage gap, all about discrimination in universities and provincial budgets. They are appalled at the erosion of the right to legal abortion, and they're for daycare, just as their forefathers might have been for universal suffrage. But the personal is as frightening to them as it ever was. And it's so unbearable for the personal to be seen as political. In a sense, these men know all about the negatives. The problem is when they are confronted with the positive — a woman's forthrightness, her desire to feel empowered, to get approximately what she gives. The problem is emotional equality. And since you cannot legislate it, since it's often hard to pinpoint, men, with women's co-operation, are getting away with a lot of vintage 1960's irresponsibility.

How does this work? Let's say he's busy, busy with activities we respect. We're busy too — all the more reason why waiting for him to call, or call the shots, is a tragic drain on energy that should go into fighting the ever more dangerous patriarchal setup. And yes, vital women are still waiting by the phone. Talented, energetic women are still acting according to distorted versions of female dignity. It's not that a woman shouldn't be "assertive" — she should appear to be, especially in her work. But in the *realpolitik* of relationships with men, too much assertiveness (unless it's sexual) is unseemly; better to respond than to initiate, better to wait for signs than to ask what's



Ramona Devonshire

what. If he wants to call or see you, he will. If not, you should take his silence as the message, despite mutual expressions of affection and keen interest. A well-known Toronto writer, admired for his radical politics, calls a new lover three times a day. She doesn't have the chance to pick up the phone. She is impressed by how different he is from other men, by his emotional and sexual focus on her, by his creative intelligence. When she gets involved, he backs off. When she calls at this point, he is busy, and then more busy. She asks what's going on, and he says she is "pressuring" him. It has happened so many times. If only one could name names; if there were some kind of central printout enabling women to benefit from the experience of other women.

Not to blame — I'd rather point out how these men operate and why women are so loath to call even a well-meaning phony a phony. For one thing, they appear to have the same politics. This being the case, how could he be doing anything unfair. As one woman told me: "He's anti-nuke, anti-patriarchy, anti-multinational — how could he be anti-me?" And if he's not on her side, who is? Looked at this way, the woman is well on her way to the self-blame (maybe she is too "possessive") that makes her utterly convenient. Convenient because she will be reluctant to make demands; convenient because the furtiveness and anxiety that comes from putting the lid on feelings will convince them both that she is becoming a drag. Just when she starts to smell an incongruity (one he can't bear to hear about) he can bring down the curtain, saying that the tension between them is just too much.

The woman who doesn't understand his contribution to the tension might agree that it's her problem. Instead of looking at her

attempts at non-coercive power that have been sabotaged, she will get desperate, and the panoply of pleas and tears, with which he is so familiar, will further eat away at her self-respect. Then, while he replaces her, she might plod into the sunset of celibacy, another sign of female "virtue." About which, I like what Ellen Willis has to say: "... the purpose of women's liberation is to liberate women, not defend our superior capacity for abstinence ... No doubt about it — when one must endure abstinence, repression, or suppression, the capacity to adapt does come in handy. But somehow I always imagined that feminism was about rebelling, not adapting."

One of the reasons our progressive man can have it both ways, controlling relationships while taking full credit for fair play, has to do with the short supply of men who can even begin to match the many women who are emotionally evolved, politically aware, and capable of passion and tenderness. Those men who appear to have these qualities are in a seller's market. It's not all their fault that, as the saying goes, women mourn, men replace. It's easier for them to replace women who share their concerns than it is for women to replace men who seem to be their equals.

What's going on with these ersatz comrades? Two fears — the old fear of inchoate female power, and the new fear of being a bad guy. Both can be held in abeyance through a new catchword: friendship. "We're just friends," used to be the code

for "there's no sex between us." Now men can use friendship as a convenient way to obfuscate what a woman means to them, and avoid the consequences of a sexual relationship. Friendship is the new rationale for irresponsibility. It works best with the woman who wants at all cost to avoid being called demanding. What is really avoided is definition. So she is his friend. Like most people, he probably has more than one. And some of them are women, of course — nothing wrong with that. Dare she ask if he is sleeping with his other "friends"? If he is giving them what he gives to her, sharing what they share? Dare she ask where she stands in the hazy, relativistic world of his feelings?

No, that would be laying her trip, as they said in the 60's; that would be categorizing feelings. And that's *her* problem. Traditionally, a man who hinted at other lovers but was reluctant to talk about them was called a Don Juan. But that's the last thing the new man wants to hear. A sensitive lover, yes, a compassionate ally, but a consumer of women? That's a label for the other guys, the boors. Because he's not blatantly telling her what to do, demanding that she cook for him, or acting in stereotyped oppressive ways that are irrelevant to both their lives, his conscience is clear. He can ignore the fallout from what he might call his own autonomy. He remains in control, he is not free to let intimacy grow or wither on its own. She is the one taking the emotional risks without the barriers fear sets up. But unless he is very anxious and unsure of her affections, her spontaneity is frightening; and so it is penalized. In this situation, real equality, *emotional* equality, is just an empty platitude that can burden a woman with confusion — and what is worse, with guilt.

I'm painting a very grim picture here, and I do see some hopeful signs. Men are beginning to hear from women precisely what I've been talking about. Women, single women, are starting to look at what they don't want, and are realizing that a man's *talk* about feminism doesn't necessarily mean much. Maybe these women are becoming more existential, less inclined to explore or attend to a man's "psychological problems" than to decide whether his actions are acceptable or not. It's fine to understand men's age-old fears of women, have to stop making excuses — for him and for yourself.

A man I know was left recently by a woman he held up as an example of a long-term sexual friend. They saw each other maybe once a month for two years. He was shocked to hear that for quite a long time it hadn't been what she wanted at all. Another man confided that he had been abandoned just at the point of a nervous breakdown. I was beginning to sympathize, when he told me the ingrates were three women — his wife and two others. He hadn't stopped to consider that perhaps each wanted more than one-third of him. Like I said, it would be wonderful to name names...

Jacqueline Swartz is a Toronto freelance writer.

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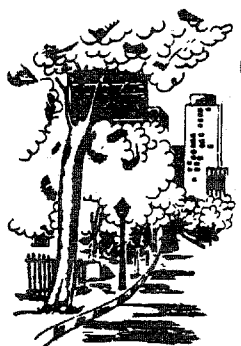
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MOVEMENT MATTERS

Fighting Back

TORONTO — "Fighting Back" was the theme of a weekend conference organized by the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre on May 28-30, 1982, to bring together women to exchange information and discuss methods of action for fighting back against violence against women.

"We recognize that we've isolated ourselves in our work as a rape crisis centre. We see this conference as a first step in our reaching out to build alliances with other women's groups," said Laura Rowe of the TRCC. The conference was successful in reaching out. The issues discussed have been opened and will continue to be discussed.

We met in classrooms of a local high school. We talked about all of the abuse women have been dealt: psychiatric abuse, incest, rape, poverty, sexual harassment, lesbian oppression, and racial oppression. We saw that diverse as we are, none of us is invulnerable to violence, to rampant mysogyny, to verbal or physical abuse, on the streets, in our homes, in the media, at work, in organizations.

We addressed our privilege over each other and how we can become accountable individually and collectively. Heterosexual women supporting lesbians, middle class women working for Family Benefits Work Groups, single women taking responsibility to ease time and money pressures women with children are faced with, white Canadian women addressing racial and cultural power over immigrant and women of colour, these are some of the ways we can use our societal privilege to benefit other women, rather than abusing these privileges for our own personal mobility in a male world defined by male supremacist laws and customs.

We celebrated our own music at a Friday night coffee house. We danced on Saturday night and we connected with other women with the final conclusion that it is time to recognize and name our differences. Once we address these very differences then we can work together, taking action against the institutions, the laws and the myths that perpetuate our oppression and validate mysogyny.

The women who attended the conference did so with fury. We recognized and validated our anger. As two women who were present, we were disappointed that that attendance was not in the thousands. We want to ask all women who did not participate in a fighting back conference why they did not. We want them, too, to notice and name their oppression, to recognize their anger and accept that it is valid and founded. We want them to talk with each other and gather strength. Once we are conscious, we must act.

— Lois Fine and Karen X. Tully

POW & Zanzibar

TORONTO — Five women were attacked by bouncers outside the Zanzibar Tavern on Yonge Street in Toronto on June 4, while taking an action against pornography. The women were with six other members of POW! (Pornography Oppresses Women). They were kicked, punched, dragged, and knocked to the ground. The police were immediately called by the women.

Although the assaults occurred in daylight, on a crowded sidewalk with many witnesses, although substantial material and physical damage was blatantly obvious, the police claimed that they were unable to determine that a crime had indeed taken place. Although one woman was seriously injured and required hospitalization, the police have still not laid charges.

A picket the following weekend was organized by members of POW! to take place outside the Zanzibar Tavern protesting the violent reaction of the tavern management and the lack of police response to the assault.

On Saturday, June 12, at 5 pm, in the midst of Saturday afternoon shoppers, 150 women marched down Yonge Street to picket in front of the Zanzibar. There were no casualties. There was no violence. The women were angry, mobilized, organized, and fighting back.

The Zanzibar Tavern was not the only target of POW's protest; it was just the first and it won't be the last. The members of POW! are currently meeting to continue taking direct, public, and non-violent action against pornography.

— Deborah Clifton, Karen Sheehan, Anna Marie Smith, Karen X. Tully, Anna Willats, and Natalie Zlodre.



Deena Flasky

Darlene Lawson was recently elected President of The Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies. The Association is the only national volunteer organization that concerns itself with female offenders. An active feminist and a founder of Interval House for battered women, she is a social worker who is currently the Assistant Director of the Bail Program in Toronto.

Renew Today

If your copy of *Broadside* is stamped "Sub. expired," don't miss another issue ...Renew Today.

Role Models on the Hill

Mary Hemlow, *Broadside's* *Woman-on-The-Hill*, has graciously consented to let her valuable correspondence be reprinted.

Dear Ms. Hemlow:

I was sorry to read that a woman lost her job as a cook in a mining camp because there were no *women's facilities*. What does this mean? Should we protest?

Women on Guard.

Dear WOG:

There are lots of stories like this and mostly mention of facilities means there are no women's toilets (you know how complicated *women's toilets* are) or no nailpolish, mascara, rouge, eyeliner, wool for knitting, midol, tampons, etc., for women. I don't think we should be too harsh though because it's not quite fair to expect mining companies to have all of this equipment. Until very recently miners had no use for this stuff at all.

In sisterhood,
Mary Hemlow.

Dear Ms Hemlow:
When can we expect *affirmative action*?

Anxious:

Dear Anxious:

Oh it's hard to say. The slight delay of four or five years was caused by nobody wanting to go *first*. You know how it is. The government wants private business to start but they say, just a minute there, it was *your* idea, you

go first and we'll follow. In Ottawa this is called *discussions with the private sector* and it could go on for some time yet.

In sisterhood,
Mary Hemlow.

Dear Ms Hemlow:

I've been looking everywhere for a job as a *role model* but haven't had any luck. Can you advise me?

Autumn Leaf.

Dear Autumn:

Good heavens, I can't understand why you haven't found a role model job. They are very easy to identify — think in terms of being a Judge, a Deputy Minister for a government, a media star, President of a college, a Cabinet Minister, a business woman, things like that. Really any job that pays a huge salary, has lots of perks and where there are only one or two women is a *role model* job. Try *harder*, Autumn.

In sisterhood,
Mary Hemlow.

Dear Ms Hemlow:
I've been feeling very depressed lately. What should I do?

A Woman.

Dear Woman:

My dear, don't feel *depressed*. I read just lately that doors are opening for women all the time. New doors, doors that have never opened before, doors that in a sane world

would never be opened, doors that will close in your face if you don't step smartly. Yes, Woman, it's the age of doors opening to women. Doors without hinges, trap doors, doors with and without windows, paper doors, wood doors, steel doors, and doors opening on to other doors on to other doors on to other doors. Take advantage, get in front of one of those doors. You may hold a doorknob in your hands!

I hope this is helpful,
Mary Hemlow.

Dear Mary Hemlow:
Now where are we in all this constitution business? Is it over now?

Women Against the Left.

Dear WAL:
Okay. Here's the situation. Our constitution was all written out by hand (it took a man three weeks to write it) and approved by Ms Thatcher who sent Her Majesty the Queen all the way from England to sign it with a gold pen. The signing took place in a neat little, red, white, and blue structure built especially for that purpose, and Her Majesty tried to tell us all about it but it rained and blew and stormed so hard we couldn't hear what she was *saying*. We'll just have to wait for a quieter day to learn the details but I can tell you it's not over. The Prime Minister said it is just a *beginning*. He didn't say to what.

In sisterhood,
Mary Hemlow.

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John Cavanagh

Andrea Dworkin: "It's urgent that feminists take feminism seriously."

ON PORNOGRAPHY AND CENSORSHIP

In the United States we don't have institutions of prior censorship. Generally speaking, the way that censorship has operated in the United States has been through two different means. The first has been through the application of obscenity laws. Police confiscate material that is already public and available. The second means has been customs, not letting material into the country that the customs apparatus judges to be obscene. We've certainly found that the obscenity laws not only don't work for the protection of women, but that in fact they're part of the apparatus of male supremacy. That's something that feminists have to analyse in much more detail. I am very interested in the way men hide information about their own sexuality from women and children in order to maintain their power. And that's what the obscenity laws have always been about, an argument between different groups of men as to whether material about themselves, about their own opinions of women, their values of sexuality, will or will not be publicly available.

From the very beginning of work against pornography most feminists have realized that getting pornography out of our sight does not solve the problem of pornography. If pornography is the sexual bible of men, the fact that we don't see it doesn't mean that it doesn't have a tremendous impact on our lives. That's why, strategically, what we've done is to take pornography and show it to women and say, this is what it says, this is what it does. It's the very opposite of hiding it or of demanding that women not be forced to look at it. In fighting pornography we have to do two things, and the first one has to do with every single area of feminist activism: we have to change the fact that women are basically acquiescent, sexually, intellectually, and politically acquiescent. Then women will begin to act as if they have a right to live in this world. And people who have a right to live in this world will not stand for depictions of themselves as garbage being rammed down their throats as part of their environment. That doesn't require the intervention of the legal system. As far as I'm concerned, we're talking about women as human beings and citizens directly confronting the status that they have that's reflected back at them from those pornography magazines in every aspect of daily life.

The second thing which I think the women's movement hasn't concentrated on enough is the education of men. I think that we went through a very legitimate period where that could not be one of our priorities. But in the last four or five years I've begun to see a substantial, and vocal and active minority of younger men that is profoundly anti-sexist. We've really made an impact there, one we haven't even recognized, and we don't even know we've done it. There's no way to deal with the pornography issue without confronting the issue of the consumers, because if you're not going to go to the state and tell it that you don't want to see pornography all around you, then the only way you can really hurt the industry is by stopping the consumption of the material. Since women basically do not consume the material you have to educate men. 'Educate' is a euphemism for put pressure on, coerce, do activism around, everything, the whole spectrum of action from the most militant to the most communicative. Really, for the first time, the issue of pornography demands this of us as a political priority in a way that no other issue has.

ON WOMEN RESPONDING SEXUALLY TO PORNOGRAPHY

All of my work on pornography comes out of and is based on a recognition of how deeply women are involved in this system of sexuality. I have never had the expectation that women would not be affected by pornography. The real issue is how this system colonizes women. Part of that is what men do to us and part of that is how we collaborate with it. And when that's used as a charge against women, "You collaborate and I don't, you're part of it and I'm not," it's very destructive. Because in fact, we are all a part of it. There are women who think that there's a correct line on pornography and won't look at their own sexual colonialization. And there are women who say "Well, I respond to it, therefore I will have nothing to do with this movement against pornography" and are also refusing to look at their own sexual colonialization. Those are two ways of avoiding the real issue.

One of the things I've encountered in audiences is what I would characterize as lesbian superiority: "We are above it, we are outside of it, it has nothing to do with us." I have al-

ways confronted that and said that is not true. There are a lot of ways to be male identified, there are a lot of ways to be women in this society. And you're just not looking at all of them. Some women, lesbian or heterosexual, say "It has nothing to do with me because I have stepped outside of it forever." I don't believe that's possible. Other women say, "It has nothing to do with me because this is my sexuality and my sexuality is not defined by men, it has nothing to do with men, it's me." And I say they're both delusions. They're both hallucinating an autonomy that women by definition in a male supremacist society can not have.

It's precisely our sexuality that's colonized, it's precisely our sexuality that we do not have no matter how we feel. And there's a difference between our subjective experience of pleasure, very often, and the meaning of those experiences. We have to take some responsibility for that. I think that a lot of the resistance to the work that we've been doing on

ON TAKING FEMINISM SERIOUSLY

There has developed in the past couple of years in the women's movement an attitude of superiority toward women who are not feminists which I find very destructive. I understand it because I think that becoming a feminist is having a sense of moving away from a way of life as a woman you have a lot of contempt for, a lot of it self-contempt. And as you become more of a feminist, you feel more pride in yourself than you ever did when you were a "just plain woman." You feel different, you feel proud, you feel better. And somehow that adds up to your thinking less of those women who are what you may have been. However, no movement can operate on that dynamic.

The feminist movement is a movement for women. It's a movement for the liberation of women. You cannot liberate women when you think that they are contemptible. I have seen too much of an abandonment of any willingness to communicate with all different kinds of women on issues that concern all women. Pornography is the perfect example because pornography is one issue on which women from all over the political spectrum have very visceral reactions. Potentially feminist reactions. And those reactions are manipulated by the right and those women are organized by the right and those women are used by the right and feminists are the ones who are holier than thou, basically saying, "We're not going to be contaminated by contact with those women." What that means is that the opinion of men on the left is still so important and feminist identity is still so tenuous that the feminists cannot risk guilt by association. The problems of being male identified don't necessarily change when your politics apparently change. If women can be discredited by guilt by association — by talking with right wing women about pornography for instance — and can be accused of sharing the politics of those women because they communicate with them, what kind of organizing movement do we have? We have none.

But I'm going to talk to those women; other radical feminists I know are going to talk to those women. Some feminists, many left-identified feminists and left-identified men will point a finger and laugh at us, but what does that mean if that's the kind of pressure that intimidates us? We stand up to the pornographers who, in a city like New York, have the police and the press in their pocket, who are pimps, who use force all the time against women, and yet we're supposed to

fold and die because we're so insecure about our politics that we can't be seen associating with anyone whose politics aren't exactly like ours? To me it shows how completely intimidated we still are by male political values, that we have to prove to those left-wing men, those civil libertarian men, those whatever they are men, that we're for real, we're authentic, we're really political, we're serious.

The process of radicalizing women is what feminism is all about. It's a commitment to the liberation of women as a class. And that means concentrating on those experiences that have to do with the class of women, that women have in common: experiences like rape, abortion, economic discrimination, motherhood, prostitution, and battery. Those are the political issues of feminism. Feminism is not a serious political movement unless it has that rigorous kind of definition. It is not a serious political movement unless the movement is committed to the liberation of all women. And that presents incredible political problems neither the right nor the left has ever had to deal with.

This is where I think that women back away a lot from really having rigorous feminist politics. We are saying that the Jewish woman gets raped and we are also saying the Nazi woman gets raped. Now what does that mean and how do we translate it into both politics and into ethics? The fact that we don't have an answer that we can comfortably live with does not mean that that's not the question. I think that feminists have said, "If I acknowledge that the Nazi woman is also raped, I'm pro-Nazi," to give a really gross example. At the same time, and this has to do with the political schizophrenia of women, women who call themselves feminists have no trouble whatsoever supporting a civil liberties position that defends Nazis. They don't think then that they're defending Nazis. If they defend the right of Nazis to speak they say they're defending free speech, not that they're defending Nazis. But I think that's the whole area of feminism that feminists back away from and yet that's the essence of feminism, the liberation of women as a class.

We are involved in a movement that only a revolution will address and the revolution can't be a revolution in male terms. There is nothing analogous to the situation of women in relation to men. So what we're talking about is the transformation of a pervasive system of power based on gender. Also, there's no reform, or no series of reforms that's really

No Judgment No Politics

In April, Andrea Dworkin gave a lecture on pornography as part of a lecture series on violence, organized by the Feminist Calgary coalition of women. Afterwards, Dworkin spoke with Kim Fullerton, and their conversation are reprinted here.

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orkin addressed a Night' rally, and raphy as part of a ce against women Town Hall, a inist groups. Af- e for several hours the results of the ed here.

RAPHY

pornography comes from women refusing to take responsibility, saying, "I am not going to look at what this has done to me. I'm going to insist that I have free will in the sense that I do what I want to do."

There's a vocabulary around that encourages us to be value free. You don't have a political movement that's value free. But just how do you have a movement that encourages the integrity of so many individuals, rather than a political movement that lays down a correct line, forces people to conform, and then falls apart when the authoritarianism of it falls apart. We've always tried to build a movement that was based on the integrity of individuals. And in many respects we've failed because, first of all, such a movement has never been built before. No political movement has ever done that. And secondly because I think that we're very frequently cowards. I think that we sit back and expect other women to do it for us and then we blame them for being leaders.

going to change it. Reforms allow the people to live a little better in certain ways at certain times. And that's important. But the women's movement has to understand that we really are fighting for hearts and minds. That is our battle. And along with those hearts and minds goes the sexuality of people, their personalities, their material circumstances, the institutions that impose individuality on them but also reflect their very real values. Every action, in my opinion, should be seen in those terms. Then you evaluate both the short term effects and the long term effects. It is essential to recognize the nature of change. It remains slow no matter how fast you want it to be. So it's totally self-defeating to judge your strategies a failure because they don't have a miraculous effect in the short term. There aren't that many miracles. Maybe there aren't any miracles. But long term change is not something simple. We get overwhelmed by our failures and we can barely help that.

The most urgent thing is that feminists take feminism seriously. I see increasingly a failure to do that, a sense that dealing with an issue like pornography is frivolous, silly, and essentially superficial shows an incredible misunderstanding of what the liberation of women involves. I think that's part of the arsenal of political insult that, when used against women, expresses misogyny and nothing else. If the liberation of women does not involve liberation from degradation, from forced sex and from being used as things, then what is it about? Most of the women who are actually exploited in pornography are poor. They're not only economically deprived, many of them are illiterate. A tremendously high number of women are incest victims who ran away from homes in which they were sexually harassed and frequently often battered. To me it's a measure of the bankruptcy of the left that they don't care. They think it's fine that these women be used the way they're being used. There's nothing fine about it. Marxists should be in the forefront of a struggle against pornography: it's the quintessential expression of capitalism, it is the buying and selling of human beings as commodities, it is implicitly alienated labour, it is exploitation of labour by virtue of birth, not to mention that it is the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Marxism, in the United States, is so politically bankrupt that this industry of exploitation is seen as a movement for liberation.

ON EMPOWERMENT TOWARD SPEECH

What I've observed is that the empowerment toward speech is contagious, that as women speak up, other women speak up. There's a silence and somebody breaks it or some group of women breaks it and then what you find are, very gradually in their own ways, individual voices speaking to universal experience. That's on the individual level of how women become feminists which is, as far as I'm concerned, a declaration toward speech, toward the speech of women. But when we talk about the institutional suppression of women, that's a whole other issue. You can have a grass roots feminist movement and you can have women involved in activism, and none of that is necessarily reflected in the communications media, in what women can distribute, in the creative works of women that can find their way to the surface.

What we have to recognize when we're talking about speech is that we're really talking about power. How a group as powerless as women can get the kind of power necessary to change their condition is a very frustrating question, because having that power would already be a change in women's condition.

I am a real believer in street activism and in grass roots activity. I do not believe in doing things for the sake of the media. We are history, we create history, we make politics, we make society, and our business is to go and make it and to do what we can and to act as if our human lives have meaning, not to judge whether those lives have meaning by whether they're reflected in electronic media or print media. But the forces of silencing women are much greater than any feminist ability so far to counter them. The kind of impact that we can make is really very small.

Despite that, every human being has to decide how much their life is going to be worth to them, not to somebody else, to them. And for women that's a particularly difficult question because the worth of our lives has always been measured by how men value us. So we are the ones who have to decide that we are going to engage in acts of speech, in acts of creativity, in acts of politics, in acts of social action, whether or not they in the end become meaningful on a broad social level. And I think personally that if women would make that commitment, and I mean feminists as well, and use it as a form of discipline, almost like a yoga of politics, as a form of concentrating on what is necessary and what is important,

that a lot of the larger issues would fall into place.

What we see happening is that women start out saying we can't make that kind of impact, therefore there is nothing we can do. A tremendous demoralization sets in. If we did everything right, if we never made a mistake, if all of us worked to the maximum of our capacities, it might take two hundred years for us to make the kinds of changes we're talking about. If there's anybody, any group of people, that has to take the long view it's women because we're changing what amounts to the metaphysical definition of our condition. It's not a superficial politics.

When considering what's necessary to empower women toward speech, it's very important for reformists and radicals, if not to work together in total harmony, at least to understand each other. It's an area in which reform work is extremely important: the number of women in the media, the number of women represented in different institutions, in different places, the effort to make sure that the women in those places are not token women, that they have some kind of solidarity or the possibility of solidarity with other women, so that they're not isolated and manipulated and used, these are important considerations. At the same time, you need radical analysis, and you need radical action, to put militant pressure on every institution of communications to make changes. Also you need affirmative action law suits. You need to use every tool you can possibly use to make spaces and those spaces are possibilities. We're responsible both for making the spaces and then for using the possibilities, and very frequently we fail one place or the other. Sometimes we make the space and then we don't use the possibility. Very often it's manipulated away from us, or taken away from us.

But I hope that whenever women approach any problem they'll think in terms of a whole continuum of possible actions and possible approaches with the understanding that the gains are going to be small, they're going to be slow, and if one expects immediate gratification, that's impossible, it's not going to be. In terms of institutional change, everything goes along at a turtle-like pace. The rewards that one finds in the women's movement are very simple rewards. They have strictly to do with saving women's lives from despair. That's it, that's the big reward.

Notes on freedom of speech

The most cynical way in which the freedom of speech issue is used is to suggest that we should not be discussing pornography because the very discussion of it will potentially damage the freedom of speech for pornographers.

That's the argument in its most reductionist form. We have been told over the years that discussing this issue is dangerous because it limits freedom of speech for others. My view of freedom of speech is that men deeply misunderstand what the issue is. Being excluded from the rights of citizenship is being denied freedom of speech. Being raped silences you but good. Being battered for opening your mouth keeps you very quiet. Being raped as a child by your father ensures a certain level of silence as you grow older and become an adult.

The way that I feel about the freedom of speech issue, as men understand it and present it to me, is that I am being asked to protect rights that I am being denied simultaneously because I am a woman. In other words, it's like saying stand outside the city and guard it but you're not allowed in. The way to approach freedom of speech is to take an aggressive approach to try to determine how to make the means of communication accessible to those groups that are denied it as a condition of birth.

I have to speak with reference to the United States now because I don't know what Canadian laws are. In the United States all the arguments have to do with the First Amendment of our Constitution. They occur in a context that people consider irrelevant, which is to say that the ERA is not going to be passed. The simple fact that the ERA is not going to be passed means that the Bill of Rights of which the First Amendment is a part does not apply legally to women. In practice it never has. It still does not. Legally there isn't even going to be the *pro forma* recognition that it should. So I find that arguments that don't take into account even the second class legal status of women basically don't have the kind of political integrity that's necessary.

Issues of speech and literacy have always been related to power. The First Amendment was written by white men, most of whom owned white women, many of whom owned black slaves. It was written when literacy and the owning of property were virtually synonymous. It was never intended as a universal proposition and it has never in practice been a universal proposition.

I think that the politics of freedom of speech have to do with finding ways to empower women to speak. And that also means empowering a group of people who are by definition poor, who are economically poor, to speak in a society where speech costs money. So, the economic issues that have to do with freedom of speech are very acutely felt by women. We don't have access to the media, we don't control our own media.

Feminist activism against pornography largely started with feminist writers, which is really interesting, because in the United States it's very hard to survive as a writer if you don't publish in pornography magazines which virtually control the market. Feminists are the ones who took

on the responsibility for trying to articulate the issues around pornography because they involve the things that matter most to us. They involve issues of civil rights, issues of violence against women, issues of freedom of speech, issues of the right of access to the media. We kept trying to define our relationship to these issues on feminist grounds, which have to do with what society does to women to keep women from being able to exercise rights that we think women should have. What we encountered was paternalism, being treated like infants, being trivialized, and being slandered in many cases. In the very course of the struggle, what we found was that we could never directly represent our views in the media. Anyone who opposed us got a tremendous kind of exposure that we ourselves didn't get. So, even in the very act of organizing around this issue we were constantly forced to confront our own powerlessness in relation to communication itself.

We've made, many of us, what we consider to be extremely important and affirmative suggestions to groups like the American Civil Liberties Union to try to find some common ground on this issue. For instance, we have suggested that as part of their women's rights project, such as it is, they consider including some kind of an investigation that would develop a program that gives women, and racially excluded groups, access to the means of communication. This they have refused to do and the reason is very interesting. When you look at what the ACLU considers to be a question of access, for instance when they have to make a decision as to whether a group of feminists would have a right to have their opinions represented on NBC, they say, "Wait a minute, that interferes with the rights of expression of NBC. You can't coerce NBC to do something that they don't want to do because they are considered to be the individual protected."

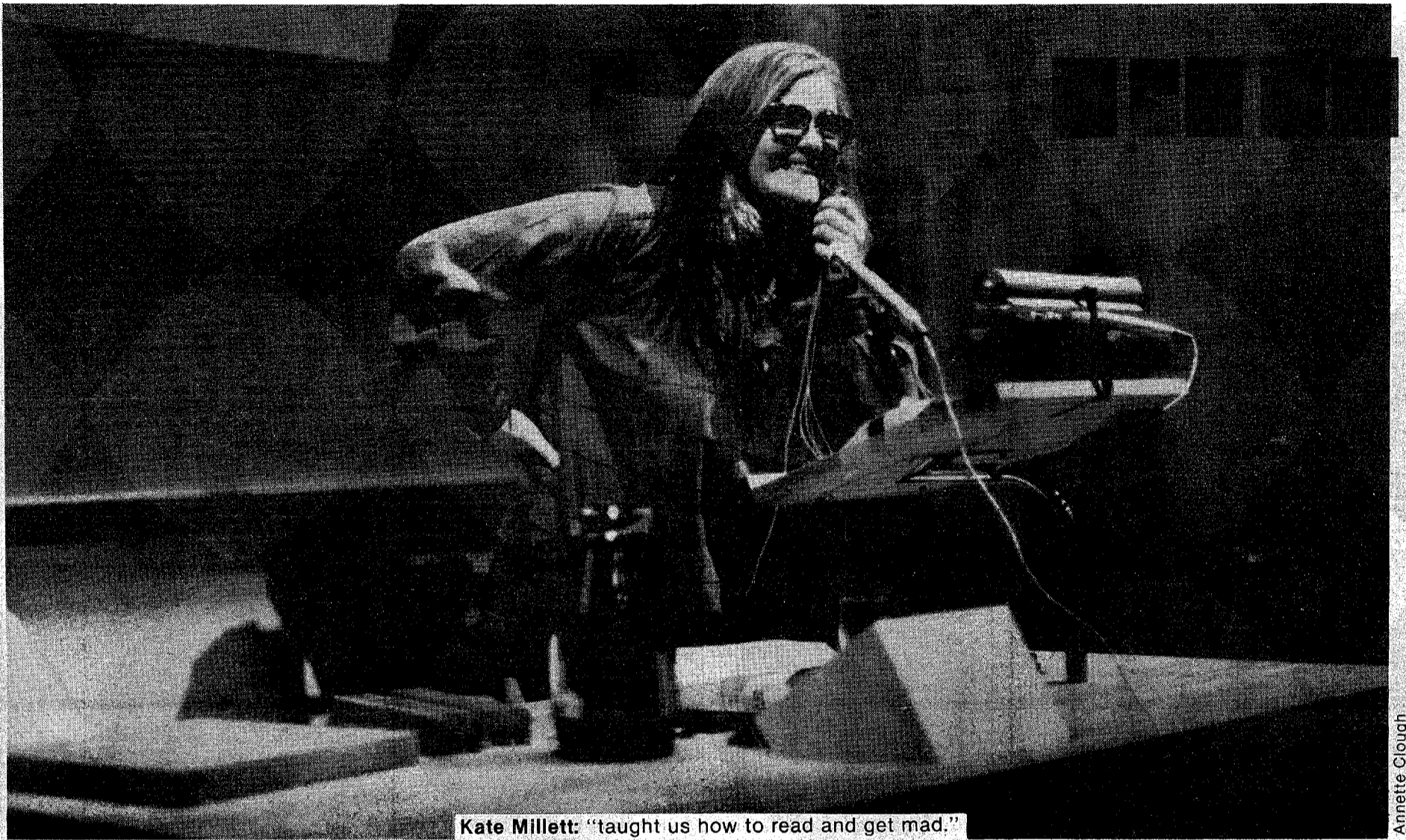
The First Amendment was written in an agrarian society. People took a pen made from a feather and they dipped it in ink and they wrote something and they hung it up somewhere. That's the kind of expression, in part, that the First Amendment was designed to protect, for those who could write. We are dealing with massive corporations and being told that their rights are defined as the rights of individuals. People who are talking about freedom of speech are not understanding, first of all, that women are deprived of it, they're *denying* that women are deprived of it. Second, they are not recognizing the corporate nature of communications and expression. And third, they're very interested in protecting the status quo and we're very interested in changing the status quo.

Freedom of speech has become a code word for saying that those who talk should talk and those who are quiet are quiet because they want to be. So it's a question of whether you accept that representation of what's actually going on. To paraphrase the Three Marias of Portugal, who were put in jail for writing this (and I agree with them): "Silence does not mean consent, silence means dissent." I think the silence of women means dissent. That's the way I interpret it.

—Andrea Dworkin

ARTS

Classics Revisited:

Sexual Politics:
Charged Microcosm

Kate Millett: "taught us how to read and get mad."

Annette Clough

by Susan G. Cole

Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics*. New York: Doubleday and Co. 1970. Pp. 300 (cloth ed.); New York: Ballantine Books 1978. Pp. xvi, 542. \$2.95.

Imagine trying to describe patriarchy in 300 pages. In *Sexual Politics*, that is exactly what Kate Millett tries to do. Essentially all the so-called classics of feminist thought have this in common — the ambition to take in the whole world and to spew it out in good order, comprehensively and persuasively.

Actually, in the good order department, Millett doesn't fare too well. As far as form is concerned, *Sexual Politics* is a mess, a grand sprawling work that shows little faith in a methodological approach to history and even less in the value of simple chronology. Millett is happy to examine the Victorian John Ruskin and then to dive back in time and space to dissect the myth of the House of Atreus, simply because she can't resist.

The book is essentially a literary exploration and, consequently, is far from comprehensive. There are three main parts: "Sexual Politics," "Historical Background," and "The Literary Reflection." In "Sexual Politics," Millett culls sequences from the works of Henry Miller, Norman Mailer, and Jean Genet, three of the four writers — the other is D.H. Lawrence — she criticizes later in the third part, and also provides a theory of sexual politics. In the second part, "Historical Background," she describes the sexual revolution from 1830 to 1930 by examining Western politics, polemics, and literature, and then the "counterrevolution" from 1930 to 1960 — Nazi and Soviet domestic policies, and ideological forces, particularly Freud.

Of course, Millett is describing *one* sexual revolution and *one* counterrevolution. History has seen many ebbs and flows in the sexual mores of our culture. But this was Kate Millett's Ph.D. thesis and her analysis is limited to the fields she knows — philosophy and literature — to the periods she has studied — the nineteenth and twentieth cen-

turies — and to the writers she has come to know. She hasn't restricted her search entirely. The bibliography does include lengthy lists of works consulted in anthropology, sociology, and the biological sciences, but her thesis depends on analysis of only the past two centuries and on the reader's acceptance of such contentions as the polemicist John Stuart Mill, a champion of women's rights in the mid-1900s, as a spokesman for his generation, or that D.H. Lawrence represents twentieth-century values.

Both notions are hard to accept. Yet, *Sexual Politics* is persuasive, so much so that even though the book was not exactly popular when it came out in 1970, it became the first self-described feminist publication of the second wave (*The Feminine Mystique* came out too early to be a bona fide second wave book) to make the best seller list. Millett thrust feminism into a new limelight.

In doing so, and despite the rambling nature of the text, Millett managed to encapsulate a fundamental feminist precept. The title of the book says it all: sexual politics — the personal is political. Behind Millett's haphazard methodology are some important and original ideas.

Throughout the book, Millett maintains her own sense of humour. Her ironic tone is the hallmark of *Sexual Politics* opening part, also so called, a bravura piece that could easily stand on its own. It is a brief survey of sexual encounters as described by Henry Miller, Norman Mailer, and Jean Genet. Millett's purpose is to provide examples of sexual politics and to lay down the assumptions for the rest of the book. The crucial assumption is that sex can be political. "Coitus," writes Millett, "is a charged microcosm." What men and women do in bed says a great deal about their political environment. This assumption helps to establish the then novel notion that women can be seen as a class. Rudimentary, perhaps, but not in 1970.

The book opens with a vivid passage from Henry Miller's *Sexus*, which describes the author's good fortune in having intercourse

in the bathtub. Millett rips the piece to shreds, line by line, sometimes word by word. Then she sums up:

What the reader is vicariously experiencing at this juncture is a nearly supernatural sense of power — should the reader be male. For the passage is not only a vivacious and imaginative use of circumstance, detail and context to evoke the excitements of sexual intercourse, it is also a male assertion over a weak, compliant and rather unintelligent female. It is a case of sexual politics at the fundamental level of copulation.

Millett performs similar surgery on a passage from Norman Mailer's *American Dream*, but Jean Genet is approached from another perspective. Millett chooses Genet so that she can better understand heterosexual institutions by looking through the prism of gay relations. Genet, she contends, in describing the underside of homosexual existence, only exaggerates the sex roles that exist in heterosexual relations.

After this survey, Millett makes the grand leap from the bedroom to a wider political context and attempts a theory of sexual politics. The theory is crammed into 35 pages and is cursory, but it is pioneering work and, indeed, the seven sections of the theory are forerunners of books that eventually were written by other writers.

The first section, "Ideological," challenges the cultural assumption that everything human is male (see Daly's *Gyn/Ecology*). The second, "Biological," debunks the sociobiologists, who rationalize sex differences by pointing to biological sexual differentiation. The third section, "Sociological," argues against the functionalist claim that inequality exists in order to allow society to run smoothly (see Mitchell's *Women's Estate*). Next, Millett describes the sexual disparity in education and in the economic sector (see *Women's Estate* again). "Force" puts rape in context (see Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*). "Anthropological" takes on the cultural assumptions be-

hind religion and myth (see Davis's *The First Sex*). Finally, Millett does a "psychological" assessment of sex roles and how they are perpetuated (see just about anything coming out of graduate schools in clinical psychology).

Millett then moves on to the second part of her book, "Historical Background." The first chapter, "The Sexual Revolution," describes the development of a movement for women's education and the growth of the feminist movement in the West in the mid-1900s. There is discussion of John Stuart Mill, of the reactionary John Ruskin, and of Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* (seemingly only because Millett read the book), a major indictment of Western values, and an analysis of the mythical Orestes' matricide.

In "The Counterrevolution," the second chapter of this part, Millett describes some hindrances to women's then imminent emergence — the Nazi policy of "Kinder-Kirche-Küche" (children-church-kitchen) and Soviet policy, which imposed on women the double burden of domestic labour and work outside the home. What became one of the most controversial sections in *Sexual Politics* is Millett's criticism of Sigmund Freud. Freud goes under Millett's knife as she delineates the sexist assumptions he held smugly while he sat back and shrank the heads of women.

Millett won't give an inch, not even to concede that the introduction of the "unconscious" into an exploration of the human condition was extremely valuable, or that making sex a cultural issue in Victorian times was a breakthrough. Millett does not give Freud credit for at least asking the right questions.

She may have lacked generosity towards Freud, but she was motivated by the need to question psychoanalysts of all eras and the roles they have played in attempting to make women conform to patriarchal images. Millett's main problem with Freud is that he saw "female tendency" instead of social conditions, as the problem, which is precisely the problem many women have encountered.

tered with contemporary psychiatrists. Millett's section on Freud takes on new significance as women continue to challenge the authority of the twentieth-century psychoanalyst.

Millett maintains her sprightly pace and style, but the book falls apart in this second part. *Sexual Politics* reads as if the world had been created in two centuries, which is about as silly as saying it was created in seven days. It is unfortunate that Millett's expertise was in the Victorian era, since seldom has a culture been so sexually repressive. The difficult triple assumption that two centuries of cultural development explain sexism, that a crucial part of that development took place during the reign of Queen Victoria, and lastly that sexism — even Western sexism — can be explained by studying only American and British writers makes the theory of *Sexual Politics* hopelessly weak.

Millett is on much more comfortable ground when she returns to Lawrence, Miller, Mailer, and Genet to do her extensive criticism. This third and last part, "The Literary Reflection," is the essence of *Sexual Politics* and the most challenging to convention.

In the past, the first three writers had been celebrated chiefly on account of the difficulties they had encountered with American censors. For example, D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) was banned for decades in Britain and North America. Lawrence is a man Millett does admire but not so much so that she can't see through what she calls his "liturgical pomp":

The act here at the centre of Lawrentian sexual religion is coitus as killing, its central vignette a picture of human sacrifice performed on the woman to the greater glory and potency of the male. But because sexual potency could accomplish little upon a corpse, it is painfully obvious that the intention of the fable is purely political. The conversion of human genitals into weapons has led him from sex to war.

Whereas Lawrence at least conveys "the surrender of an actual person," someone of

considerable strength and intelligence, Henry Miller "confronts nothing more challenging than the undifferentiated genital that exists in a masturbatory reverie." That Miller wrote vividly about fucking hardly makes him a hero, at least to Millett. Instead: "What Miller did articulate was the disgust, the contempt, the hostility, the violence and the sense of filth with which our culture, or more specifically, its masculine sensibility surrounds sexuality." Most critics would have said that Miller was a lover of women and sex. Millett puts that myth to rest.

Millett's criticism of Norman Mailer was not meant as a personal attack, but Mailer, ego-ridden as he was, took it that way. In fact, Millett's criticism is quite sympathetic, focusing on Mailer's personal conflict rather than on his chauvinism. "What he (Mailer) offers for our edification is the spectacle of his dilemma, the plight of a man whose powerful intellectual comprehension of what is most dangerous in the masculine sensibility is exceeded only by his attachment to the malaise." Mailer, of course, was more accustomed to being lionized as the United States's top novelist.

Jean Genet, the French writer of homosexual novels and allegorical plays is, according to Millett, the most honest of the authors examined. He, with the fewest qualms, sets out the limitations of sexual caste. Millett writes about him with enormous empathy, as if she herself were experiencing his pain, but her point is simple:

By an anomaly social history is helpless to explain, the courtly lover, though de facto master, chose to play the role of servant to his lady. Genet has, with considerable political realism, turned this situation back upon its feet and in the feudalistic hierarchy of his prisons... it is the male partner that receives homage. The heroes of his romances are king-sized hoodlums, the courtly lovers at their knees not masculine but feminine whores and queens... Genet's feudal system is simply more honest than that of our other authors in its open recognition of power and its clear parallel to

masculine cultures...

For all four authors, Millett examines practically the entire range of their work. "The adventure of literary criticism," she insists in the preface, "is not restricted to a dutiful round of adulation, but is capable of seizing upon larger insights which literature affords into the life it describes, or interprets, or *distorts*" (italics mine). Indeed, academics have tended to seize upon their favourite artists, to celebrate them to the point of obsequiousness, while occasionally lamenting the odd awkward phrase, wishing it were more.

Norman Mailer is just such a fawner. In his outraged and enraging response to Millett, *The Prisoner of Sex*, he ranted and raved about what a great artist D.H. Lawrence was. Millett actually agrees, but won't settle for that: "It strikes me as better to make a radical investigation which can demonstrate why Lawrence's analysis of a situation is inadequate, or biased, or his influence pernicious, without ever needing to imply that he is less than a great and original artist, and in many respects a man of distinguished moral and intellectual integrity." Whereas the novelist's power of perception had always been seen as a mystical force, Millett challenges Miller's, Mailer's, and Lawrence's "insights" and calls them nothing but a point of view, a *sexist* point of view.

Thus, the seeds were sown by Kate Millett for countless "women and literature" explorations, many of which were redundant in the wake of *Sexual Politics*. It could be said that *Sexual Politics* gave birth to women's studies in North America. Millett, after all, introduced academia to feminism. Her language, the other factor that makes the book so convincing, is a playful blend of academes, blunt monosyllables, and the profanity she uses as a parody of the writers she criticizes. Sometimes, however, the language is a barrier. In spite of its status as a great work of feminist thought, *Sexual Politics* is for literary types. If you love books, you'll love this one. It could even be argued that Millett is partially responsible for creating that new breed of intellectuals that

caused many to label the women's movement middle class.

Regardless, Millett's startling introduction of feminist rhetoric to the ivory tower made it necessary to reread every book ever read uncritically. Millett, by taking on the entire literary and academic establishment, taught women a new way to approach literature. Never again could we fall for sexist claptrap hidden by elegant or provocative language or whatever else camouflages a writer's malevolent perspective.

Millett taught us how to read and get mad.

What we discover through *Sexual Politics* is that Kate Millett is a much better literary critic than a political theorist. After describing how overwhelmingly sexist oppression is, she writes that "the enormous social change involved in a sexual revolution is basically a matter of altered consciousness."

The left flailed away at Millett in the wake of *Sexual Politics*' publication. They wanted a more realistic blueprint for change. Intellectual historians were unhappy; Freud wasn't given his due. Social critics found her theory sadly wanting. Even feminists thought it was remiss for Millett to have left out the crucial fact that at the end of Miller's trilogy, in *Nexus*, Ida, his much-sought-after conquest, leaves him for a lesbian lover — not a minor detail. Millett was selective about what she uncovered, even in her literary analysis. *Sexual Politics*, when all is said and done, is a skilled piece of rhetoric.

A book whose scope was limitless became limited by Millett's specific examples. And yet, for its contribution to literary criticism, its passion, its wit, its sheer irreverence, for the innumerable risks it takes — and within the confines of a graduate school program — *Sexual Politics* is a powerful book.

Of all Kate Millett's works, her confessional novel *Flying* may prove to have the most staying power. But particularly in view of her more recent offerings — exercises in self-abnegation most of them — I at least would be relieved if Millett would return to cultural criticism. *Sexual Politics* may have been a failure in its way, but never has a more noble failure come off the presses of the United States.

Primate Probing Pro-Male

by Anne Innis Dagg

Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *The Woman that Never Evolved*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1981. Pp. 256. \$22.50.

There are two basic components to Sarah Hrdy's new book. The more important, a discussion of social behaviour among non-human primates, is informative and interesting. The second theme, that we can learn something significant about women from a perusal of different species of prosimians, monkeys, and apes, I find unconvincing.

When field studies were first carried out on wild monkeys, observations centred around what the males were doing. It is only in the past decade or so that such work has zeroed in on what female primates were up to, and that behaviourists have realized that females and males have different strategies for surviving and reproducing.

One of Hrdy's concerns is the realization that size rather than sex usually determines dominance in a group. If the females are bigger than the males, or even roughly the same size, the females are likely to be the dominant sex. When the sexes are similar in size, as in 37 species of primates, these primates tend to be monogamous, with the males helping to raise the offspring.

Another important topic of Hrdy's is that of infanticide, where a male monkey or ape will kill infants not fathered by himself so that their mothers will soon come in heat, mate with him, and bear his young. He is acting to further his own genetic inheritance in

the next generation at the expense of other males, and of course females.

Unfortunately, Hrdy's efforts to weave various types of primate behaviour into a meaningful statement about women seem to me unsuccessful. For example, she dedicates her book "to the liberated woman who never evolved but who with imagination, intelligence, an open mind, and perseverance many of us may yet become." What does Hrdy mean? Does she refer to social changes in our history? Have men evolved culturally in our society while women have not? It is difficult to say. Surely women have always had as much imagination, intelligence, open-mindedness, and perseverance as men, and if women have been held back by men, as seems to be true, we do not learn that from this book.

Hrdy's ideas are of interest because she is emotionally committed to the theories of E.O. Wilson, the "founder" of sociobiology and the man under whom she did graduate work at Harvard University. She is pulled two ways at once. On the one hand, despite the dedication to her book, she is obviously herself already a liberated woman. That is, she has done extensive field work on wild langurs in India, and she lectures on her work to gatherings across the United States. She does not spend every day mothering her daughter as other primate mothers do. On the other hand, she defends sociobiology, which is often promoted by sexist men and which, indeed, cannot even be classed as a science in the way in which it deals with human beings. As Eve Zarella writes, sociobiology "may be very hard, even impossible

to prove directly, but unless it is *capable of being disproven* it cannot claim to be scientific" (*Broadside*, November 1981).

Hrdy's text supports sociobiology in an unthinking way that will bemuse feminists. For example, the dedication quoted above smacks of woman as victim; apparently men are good enough the way they are, while women must work hard to reach the same uninspired level.

As another example, when Hrdy is talking about patas monkeys, she accepts, apparently unconsciously, the idea of the male as boss. A male who has the best record of reproduction is "he who remains in control of a large harem a bit longer than average; he who takes over first one troop and then another; he who happens to find a harem in an isolated corner of the patas' range and who is by chance never usurped at all." (Note the male monkey is a "who," while the woman in the book's title is a "that.") Anyone reading this remark would be surprised to learn that, in reality, field studies show that it is a female patas who leads each group and the female who solicits breeding by a male. Indeed, a patas group is wrongly called a harem, since several males often successively join forces with the females.

Later on, Hrdy writes about gorillas, chimpanzees, and orangutans as our "highly polygynous hominoid relatives." What can she mean? Polygyny is defined as "having more than one female mate." But in chimpanzees especially it is the female which is the notably promiscuous sex. When a female is in heat, she presents to and is mounted by a number of males in turn. The three great

apes are polygamous, surely, not polygynous.

It is perhaps this anthropomorphizing that will unsettle feminists the most. Hrdy writes: "Nowhere among the social primates are females accorded more permanently privileged positions than among the monogamous species." How can one speak of privilege for non-human animals? Is it because many prosimians have males who help care for the young? Why not speak of males as privileged at being allowed time with their offspring?

At the end of the book one has to agree with Hrdy that women in many human societies "occupy a position that is far worse than that of females in all but a few species of non-human primates." As a sociobiologist, Hrdy should presumably blame our present position on our genes. But if woman has never evolved, as the book's title states, how did we, complete with our genes, get to a condition so much below that of other primates? Surely the answer lies not in inherited behaviour, but in human culture, in the division of labour between women and men with the advent of agriculture, and in the greater strength of men which has allowed them to take by force what they want for themselves.

As a review of recent field studies in primates, Hrdy's book is valuable. As a reasoned account of human evolution, it leaves much to be desired.

Anne Innis Dagg is a professor at the University of Waterloo who has a particular interest in sociobiology.

CT and April in May



by Lil MacDonald

If you've a taste for a relaxing night of fine music, you should have gone to Innis College in Toronto on May 21st. Appearing in concert there was the viola-and-classical-guitar duo of "CT and April."

Two Toronto musicians, April Kassirer and Carol T. Rowe performed a varied program of reels, blues, folk songs, classical music and even some good ol'country fiddlin' and pickin'. They opened the evening with an original work that was commissioned as the soundtrack for the movie, called 'Movie Music.' Judging from the response of the audience, they couldn't have chosen a better opener. Within sixteen bars, hands were clapping in time to the music and I doubt there was a still toe in the room. Quite an exciting beginning for their first show together in about four years.

The program went on to an original folk song about colourful Spadina Avenue in Toronto, in which April lets loose a rip-snorting kazoo solo. In contrast, CT arranged a beautiful viola complement to April's classical guitar on a Segovia adaptation of Bach's "Piano Prelude in C minor." I did think that her viola could have been a little gentler here, but melodically the part blended very nicely.

This concert was produced by Womylny Way Productions as part of a series called "Reaching Out on the Environment." That CT and April are concerned environmentalists is reflected in some of their music. In a slam against nuclear energy and Ontario Hydro, the song "Heavy Water" exclaimed "They'd rather be dead than broke!" and "Damn That Acid Rain," is an impassioned

lament directed at big industry.

Much to their credit, Womylny Way Productions provides a "signer" for the hearing impaired, who interprets the entire concert for them in sign-language. This adds for the abled listener an amazing dimension to the artistic expression of the music.

The audience appreciated the good nature and humour that CT and April used to blend their serious music with their lighter tunes. In the preamble to the Bach prelude, April began: "The only difference, really, between a piano, a guitar and a viola is..." and Carol broke in with "...a piano takes longer to burn!" No bias there. One can hardly argue with that logic.

In the monologues that nicely paced this concert, we learned of how the duo most humbly began its professional career — at a women's music festival in Illinois where, after an arduous journey, they arrived only to find that they actually had to pay admission to get in. They went on to perform during what was probably the windiest hour of the entire festival and were frequently interrupted as a bulletin board kept blowing over on top of them — but they persevered and their exposure at that event generated a similar booking, minus the wind, and with that they were officially launched.

Theirs is not a slick performance, but rather intimate and vulnerable. While not without its peaks of excitement, their music could best be described as soothing. As I understand it, there are no plans for an album as yet, but the talent is definitely there, so I wouldn't rule it out for the future. When you see another CT and April concert advertised, do yourself a favour and take it in. That is, if there are any tickets left. This duo has picked up a lot of fans.

Books to Note

by Elaine Berns

Sarah Aldridge, *All True Lovers*. Tallahassee, FL: Naiad Press 1978: This is a novel about two teen-age women growing up during the depression who fall in love and spend several years trying to maintain their relationship, despite the many obstacles put in their path.

—***The Nesting Place*.** Tallahassee, FL: Naiad Press 1982: Dr. Sabina Hill falls in love with Claire Duane, but alas, there is a small problem for the doctor. Claire is married! Enter Letigia Grandi, a brilliant if reclusive painist, and as the saying goes, "the plot thickens."

penter, black, a closeted lesbian who lives in Cleveland, Ohio.

Nicole Hollander, *Mercy It's the Revolution and I'm in My Bathrobe*. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan 1982: This is Hollander's latest collection of feminist cartoons featuring the wonderful, witty "Sylvia."

Kate Millett, *Going to Iran*. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan 1982: This is a personal account of the author's stay in Iran in the early days after the revolution, with special emphasis on the women of Iran and the oppression they face from the Khomeini regime.

James Tiptree, Jr., *Out of the Everywhere*. New York: Ballantine Books 1981: This is an excellent collection of science fiction short stories.



Evelyn Torton Beck, ed., *Nice Jewish Girls: A Lesbian Anthology*. Watertown, MA: Persephone Press 1982: This is a superb anthology of writings by Jewish lesbian-feminists. These include a Jewish lesbian of colour, Sephardic Jews, a separatist, and many others. Particularly good is the discussion of anti-semitism both within the women's movement and the outside world.

Carol Anne Douglas, *To the Cleveland Station*. Tallahassee, FL: Naiad Press 1982: In this autobiographical novel, Brenda Anne Dougherty, a white journalist on a radical feminist newspaper in Washington, D.C., becomes involved with (Andy) Karen Car-

POETRY

Gay Allison, *Life: Still*. Toronto: Williams-Wallace 1982

Robin Morgan, *Depth Perception*. New York: Anchor Books 1982

Marge Piercy, *Circles on the Water*. New York: Knopf 1982

(These books are all available at the Toronto Women's Bookstore.)



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OUTSIDE BROADSIDE

TORONTO WOMEN'S EVENTS CALENDAR

August 1982

Week of July 18

- **Friday, July 23:** "Art Wearables" Jewellery by Maryon Kantaroff on display in a show of art that you can wear. Tatay Gallery, 98 Avenue Road. To July 31.
- **Friday, July 23:** Shaw Festival presents "The Singular Life of Albert Nobbs," a history of a woman who dresses as a man to survive in nineteenth century Dublin. Courthouse Theatre, Niagara-on-the-Lake, 361-1544. Till July 25.
- **Friday, July 23:** Evita, the life of Eva Peron continues at the O'Keefe Centre to August 3, 365-9744.
- **Saturday, July 24:** Toronto Workshop Productions (925-8640) presents "A Place on Earth," a play by Betty Jane Wylie about a woman on an old age pension.
- **Saturday, July 24:** Art Gallery of Ontario presents a retrospective of the prints of Sybil Andres, a British Columbia printmaker. To July 25.

Week of July 25

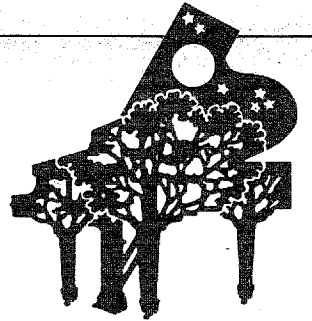
- **Wednesday, July 28:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7 pm, 789-4541.
- **Thursday, July 29:** Toronto Lesbian Network, a forum for contact and planning among lesbians and lesbian groups, meets at 175 Carlton Street, 7:30 pm. Information: Christine, 533-6824.
- **Friday, July 30:** Sylvia Tyson, Kathryn Moses and Rikki Turofsky perform at Harbourfront, York Quay Centre, free, 8:30 pm.
- **Friday, July 30:** Reflection on Non-violence and Training Session, Friends' House, 60 Lowther Avenue, 8:00-10:30 pm, information: 532-6720.
- **Saturday, July 31:** Reflection on Non-violence and Training Session continues, 10 am — 6 pm Friends House, 60 Lowther Avenue. Information: 532-6720.

Week of Aug. 1

- **Monday, August 2:** Lesbian Coming Out Information and Discussion Series presents the first of a series of three: Myths and Realities and Political Diversity in the Lesbian Community. 7 — 9 pm. Information: call Natalie, 960-2024.
- **Tuesday, August 3:** Lesbians Against the Right (LAR) meets at 7:30 pm. 730 Bathurst Street; 466-3801.
- **Wednesday, August 4:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), a group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7:00 pm, 789-4541.
- **Wednesday, August 4:** International Women's Day Committee meeting, 7:30 pm. Information: 789-4541.

Week of Aug. 8

- **Friday, August 6:** Naomi Tyrrel presents "Mostly Mime." For information, call 537-6741. Till August 29.
- **Saturday, August 7:** Mama Quilla II Charity Ball at the Cecil Street Community Centre, one block south of College, east of Spadina, 8:30 pm. Tickets \$7, available at the Toronto Women's Bookstore.
- **Monday, August 9:** Lesbian Coming Out Information and Discussion Series presents "Lesbian Relationships and Self-Help." 7 — 9:00 pm. For more information, call Natalie 960-2024.



- **Thursday, August 12:** Michigan Music Festival starts at Hart, Michigan. Performers include: Holly Near, Sweet Honey in the Rock, Margie Adam, Chris Williamson, Ferron and more! New location! More Space! Continues until August 15. For more information, call Womynly Way Productions, (416) 925-6568.

Week of Aug. 15

- **Wednesday, August 18:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7:00 pm. Information: 789-4541.
- **Thursday, August 19:** Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) meets at 519 Church Street, 7:30 pm.

Week of Aug. 22

- **Monday, August 23:** Lesbian Coming Out Information and Discussion Series presents "Sexuality." For more information, call Natalie, 960-2024.
- **Wednesday, August 25:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7:00 pm. Information: 789-4541.
- **Thursday, August 26:** Toronto Lesbian Network, a forum for information exchange and contact meets. For information, call Christine, 533-6824.
- **Friday, August 27:** "Sparks — A Women's Network" at the Grindstone Island Centre until August 29. For information, call (416) 923-4215.



Mama Quilla II: Charity Ball, Saturday, August 7.

- **Thursday, August 5:** Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) meeting, 519 Church Street, 7:30 pm.
- **Friday, August 6:** Hiroshima/Nagasaki Day, protest at Litton Systems plant in Rexdale. For more information, call 532-6720.

- **Wednesday, August 11:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs, meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7:00 pm. Information: 789-4541.

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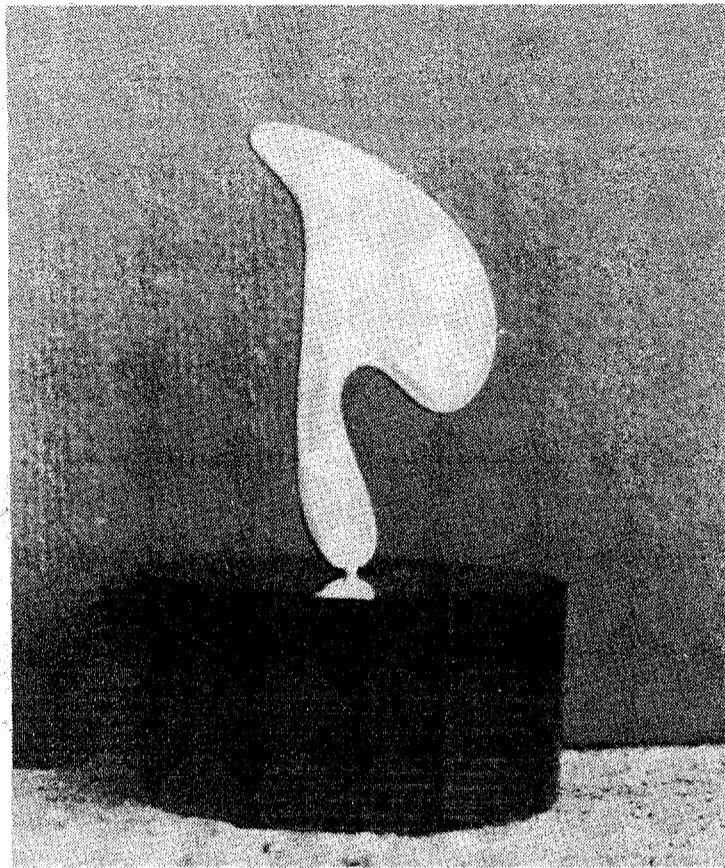
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