

Broadside

A FEMINIST REVIEW

Toronto Women's
Calendar Inside.

Volume 4, number 1 October 1982

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FEMINISM AND GAY LIBERATION



Poster from Lesbian And Gay Pride Days 1982

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encourage
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Christine rarely talks, women in the audience are with her all the way. Page 8.

TORONTO
NO
MORE
SHIT!
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LETTERS

Broadside:

I'd like to ask Susan Crean ("The Dinner Party: Indigestion for the Establishment," Sept. 1982) for some examples of "shows for working class people." I have always found that kind of patronizing attitude toward working class people to be the height of middle class pretensions. The Dinner Party was not supposed to be a history lesson but a work of art; people of all classes can read history free of charge at their local library. Judy Chicago's vision is very radical; just because her message also reached "upper class matrons" doesn't make it any less so. I suspect that the Dinner Party introduced more women to radical feminist ideas through its symbolism than any number of theoretical books have in the last ten years. Crean seems to be against a lot of women: middle class women, upper class women, women who make a living from their art, non-feminist women, and Judy Chicago. While I agree with Crean that accessibility, politics, aesthetics, display, cost and cultural nationalism are all important considerations in any art criticism, I strongly disagree with her about what The Dinner Party "really is."

There have been a few times in my life in which the created spatial relationships around me felt perfect and, hence, had a spiritual quality: Knossos (Crete), Maryon Kantaroff's schoolhouse (Ontario), and The Dinner Party. I was in a state of grace with the universe, and it was not just the architect-

ture that led to this sense but also the symbols which spoke to me and quietened my spirit: the shapes of the artifacts, the curves of the pots, the contrast between light and dark, and bright colours against a neutral white or grey.

There is no need to once again speak of the significance of the rectangular table, lustrous tiles, round plates, embroidery, and place settings in The Dinner Party. But there is a need, I think, to state that the power of The Dinner Party came from the brilliant and moving arrangement of these artifacts in relation to each other. The size, shape, juxtaposition, colour, and texture and their interrelationships is what makes The Dinner Party a great work of art and, consequently, a culturally and personally enriching experience. And that is why the person who conceived of it (laid it out in her mind) is the artist and the many women who assisted her in this work over the years are her partners. But let's go back to why I think The Dinner Party is a deeply rewarding experience for women of all classes, ages, and races.

The universal (read patriarchal) symbol for the female has been a fertility symbol: curved, rounded shapes signifying breasts, belly and buttocks. The symbol for female sexuality has been the flower both visually and verbally as in "deflowered" to denote loss of virginity, "budding" to denote beginning puberty and "flowering" which often means growing to maturity in love. (Can you imagine saying a male was "flowering" or "deflowered"?) Visually represented, the lush, soft layers of petals of a flower, all the more sensual if the flesh colours are pink or red, have denoted female sexuality, not specific genitalia. Until Georgia O'Keeffe used the flower, no one ever suggested that this was "vaginal art"; the vagina is an anatomical term for the lower part of the birth canal and thus has a biological function. Erotic symbols are supposed to engender erotic feelings; they are not biological drawings. But erotic symbols are connected to biology in that the symbol evokes the continuum of fertility, reproduction and survival of the species.

The flower symbol is not so much reproducing the folds and the lips of pink flesh as it is reproducing the many pulsating layers of

the total female sexual experience which culminates in orgasm (French: *jouissance*). To tie the flower symbol in with a specific historic personalities is what seems to confuse some viewers. A symbol is just that: a symbol; it stands for something else and that something is general, not specific. A symbol can be tied to a generally understood idea or feeling but it is not usually personified, not connected with specific people or individual names.

The originality of Judy Chicago's art is neither in the symbol, nor her use of the symbol (combining the symbol with the domestic plate and meal), nor her combination of history, the symbol, and women's omission and oppression. The originality of her art is in the concept: tying the female sexuality symbol to specific female personalities and so, on one level, causing unease because she has taken the universal female sexuality symbol and turned it in on itself, so to speak. She has taken the symbol for female sexual pleasure and the representation of the organs for female sexual pleasure and made them become one. In other words, she redefined the symbol: she took it out of the patriarchy and woman-defined it. It raises the question: If this new symbol is given the name of a specific woman, are we voyeurs in looking at her flowering? If we as women are looking at, and find beautiful and moving, the erotic symbol for ourselves, are we narcissistic, or even homoerotic?

This is the unease I think some female and almost all male reviewers feel, and this may be what causes them to discuss all the things The Dinner Party fails to do and not what it actually does: *celebrates liberation*.

Women's biological enslavement will soon be a thing of the past; The Dinner Party is both a requiem for this death (a last supper) and a celebration of the liberty which accompanies a sexual coming of age (quite different from the coined "sexual liberation" which confuses liberty with a lack of responsibility and feeling; just the opposite is true: there can only be adult liberty with responsibility and deep feeling). Women are coming into their own economically, socially and sexually. For the first time in our century, a large number of women can begin to love, not as dependents but as equals: they

can openly choose to love a man, or a woman, or both, or neither, to live independently or in companionship, to marry or remain unmarried. She may still suffer economically but she won't starve; she may suffer socially but she can exist on her own.

But Judy Chicago's art goes even further than encompassing the past and celebrating the present; it also points the way to the future: "... in a kind of 'future perfect,' where the most deeply repressed past gives a distinctive character to a logical and sociological distribution of the most modern type. For this memory symbolic common denominator concerns the response that human groupings, united in space and time, have given not to the problem of the *production* of material goods (i.e., the domain of the economy and of the human relationships it implies, politics, etc.) but, rather, to those of *reproduction*, survival of the species, life and death, the body, sex, and symbol." (Jalia Kisteva, "Woman's Time", *Signs*, v. 7, no. 1 (1981), p. 14.)

Judy Chicago's symbols in The Dinner Party are a celebration of liberty and also point the way to survival.

Sherrill Cheda
Toronto

P.S. I really liked your Special Arts Issue (September 1982).

Broadside

EDITORIAL

Philinda Masters, Editor
Jean Wilson, Books

PRODUCTION

Philinda Masters, Co-ordinator
Louise
Elaine Johnson

DISTRIBUTION

Elaine Berns

CIRCULATION

Catherine Maunsell, Co-ordinator

ADVERTISING

Judy Stanleigh, Co-ordinator

COLLECTIVE MEMBERS:

Beverly Allinson, Susan G. Cole,
Jane Hastings, Judith Lawrence,
Philinda Masters, Catherine
Maunsell, Layne Mellanby, Deena
Rasky, Judy Stanleigh, Jean Wilson,
Eve Zaremba.

Address all correspondence to:

Broadside
P.O. Box 494
Station P
Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2T1
Tel. (416) 598-3513

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MOVING?

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EDITORIALS

Fourth Year Fortunes

"25/200"

As we head into our fourth year we are plagued, as is everyone else, with financial woes. It has even been suggested to us that the 1982 economic climate is not time for the alternate, let alone feminist, press to get the support it needs to continue publishing.

There may be a feeling of doom and gloom afoot, but we at *Broadside* won't let it get us down. It's important that we all remember what we set out to do — provide women with a feminist voice in the misogynist wilderness. And, though *Broadside* may not be all things to all people, it is *ours*. We will not, and cannot, let it go away. We call on all women to support their feminist press (not just *Broadside*) through bad times.

Barnes-storming

Sally Barnes, for six years press secretary to Ontario premier William Davis, must have pleased her master, for she has now received her reward. She has been named to head the Ontario Status of Women Council, a body of fifteen government appointees who supposedly watch over our 'status.'

As it happens, the new chairman (sic) does not believe in: equal pay; affirmative action; non-sexist language; fighting sex-role stereotyping; equal employment opportunities; or in government responsibility in any of these areas.

That is just for starters. Wait till you hear what she does believe in!

According to Louise Brown in the Toronto *Star*, Sally Barnes is big on the glorious record of the Tory government. She wants us to think of all the great things it has done for

In fact, the amount of money required to keep *Broadside* going is ridiculously little (compared to the \$1.5 billion government bailout of Dome Pete?). We ask that you support us financially, in whatever way you can.

To this end we've instituted a fund-raising campaign we call "25/200." If 200 women give us \$25 (or 25 women give us \$200) we could raise \$5000 in no time at all. In fact, we've already raised a substantial amount in the past several weeks, and we hope you'll help us raise more.

We can't count on national advertising or a huge circulation (the traditional methods for keeping a publication afloat): we're a feminist paper! So please, send us your \$25

or \$200 (or more, or less). Help keep *Broadside* alive.

OPEN HOUSE

With this issue, *Broadside* is celebrating its fourth Birthday. We've been on the stands through three volumes, and we hope to be around for many more.

We hope our readers will come and help us celebrate. On Sunday, November 14, from 2 to 5 pm, we will be holding an **Open House** at our office (call us for directions). There will be light refreshments and heavy socializing. We will also hold a draw for our 'Maryon Kantaroff — Dove' contest. You may be the winner. See you there.

ment appointee would be a radical feminist or even a keen reformer. We would be naive to think that our priorities and that of this government could even coincide (except by accident). But we do have the right to insist that anyone, anywhere in this country, who is appointed to head anything to do with women would have some concern for women and some knowledge of the issues.

The appointment of a person like Sally Barnes should not be accepted in silence. At a time of cutbacks it adds insult to injury. We should let this government know in no uncertain terms what we think of this appointment. We did it on a national level in the case of the Advisory Council on the Status of Women and on the issue of the Constitution. Why should the Ontario Tories get away scot-free?

From Paupers to Pensioners

by Reva Landau

Within the next year, the federal and provincial governments are likely to be bringing in substantial changes to the present pension schemes, probably the last changes for the next 20 to 30 years. It is important, now, to analyze these changes because they will help determine whether or not the pattern of holding women primarily responsible for housework and childcare will be broken or reinforced.

It is, for example, a well-known fact that two-thirds of single women over the age of 65 are living below the poverty line, but the implications have never been properly analyzed. Most elderly women are poor because most women are poor. Forty per cent of all single women, young or old, and of all female-headed households, live below the poverty line. One of the primary causes of female poverty is female responsibility for household and childcare: women who work entirely inside the household have no independent source of income; women work part-time so that they can fulfill their household duties; women who have been working only at home for ten to twelve years have great difficulty re-entering the workforce, and of course re-enter it at a much lower level than if they had been working for all those years; women are not promoted because employers think they will, or should, leave work to look after husband, family, and home; women carrying the "double burden" of housework and outside job cannot work the long hours that men with "support systems" (wives) can work.

Naturally, all these factors affect women's poverty in old age. Women who have been working entirely inside the home receive nothing from the Canada Pension Plan (CPP), no private pension, nor the opportunity to build up their own nest-egg or savings. Women working part-time pay less into the CPP, and in fact very few part-time workers are covered by the CPP at all. Because women earn half as much as men, both CPP and private pensions (if any) will be that much smaller.

One reaction to the problem is to assume that women will, and *should*, continue to carry the double burden. This point of view concentrates on helping women with such devices as survivor's benefits, or the "drop-out" provisions of the Québec pension plan. Another, more realistic, reaction is to suggest that we will never have equality in our society until the burden of housework and childcare is shared equally by men and women. Any plans to "help" women that reinforce women's role as houseworker to the world are therefore suspect. These plans may help a few women in the short-run. In the long run, they reinforce a pattern that will hurt them, their daughters, and their granddaughters.

An example of short-term "help" is the drop-out device. Under the CPP plan, each person is considered to be eligible to work for every year from the time she turned 18 (or the plan started, whichever came later) until she is 65. She is allowed to drop out 15 per cent of these years. There is a yearly maximum pensionable earnings (YMPE) which is supposed to be near the average industrial wage, and in 1980 was set at \$13,100. If a woman contributed at the maximum rate for all the years she was eligible, at retirement she would receive 25 per cent of the average of her last three years' yearly maximum pensionable earnings. The worker is allowed to drop out the lowest 15 per cent of her years of earning. These may be years in which she



Terry Schulte

went to university, stayed home, or worked at a minimum wage job. But, after that lowest 15 percent has been dropped out, for every year the worker contributes nothing, or less than the maximum, to the CPP, her final pension plan will be diminished.

In Québec, the plan would, in addition, allow any woman who stayed at home to take care of children under the age of seven to "drop out" those years. A woman would therefore not have to count these years when calculating her CPP. This plan has been advocated by many women's groups and has just been proposed by the Ontario Legislature's Select Committee on Pensions.

This plan appeals to many, but what are its long-term effects? Women have, unfortunately, a history of grabbing at anything that seems to offer us some improvement over a present bad situation. As women are so badly off, this reaction is quite understandable. But the result can be that we accept a "solution" that helps a few women in the short-run, but that hurts all of us in the long-run.

There are several major flaws in the Québec Pension Plan. First, it encourages women to drop out, creating permanent long term effects on women that do not vanish when they decide to drop back in. For all those years a woman has dropped out she is dependent on her husband. She is, of course, not receiving a private pension, nor has she had an opportunity to accumulate any savings of her own. She is also, naturally, creating a pattern in her own household: daddies (men) work outside the home; mummies (women) do housework and childcare. The most intensive anti-sexist propaganda may not succeed in breaking the conditioning of those early years in a child's life.

Moreover, the wife and mother who has "dropped out" may not find it that easy to drop back in. The average woman using this plan would probably drop out for eight to twelve years. A woman, aged 35 to 40, trying to re-enter the outside workforce after an absence of ten years, still has the problem of childcare and housework. She is, naturally, lacking in current experience in her relevant specialty, if she has any.

Many 40-year-old women, after ten years away from the workforce, and faced with trying to find afterschool child-care, carrying a double burden, and the usual discrimination against women, do not re-enter the

workforce. It is not surprising that 50 per cent of women with children over the age of six do *not* work outside the home. But these women, once their children are over six, are not helped by the Québec Pension Plan. They are not covered by the CPP or Québec Pension Plan, by private plans, and have no savings.

Even if these women do succeed in re-entering the workforce, they still face great burdens. A secretary who has not been doing secretarial work for ten years will not receive the same salary as a skilled secretary with relevant commercial experience. She has even less chance of being promoted beyond a secretary. She may be very limited in the kind of job she can take because childcare after school and on holidays, and housework, is of course *her* problem, though her husband may "help out." Thus, encouraging women to "drop out" permanently penalizes them.

If a woman who has dropped out of the workforce becomes divorced (one quarter of all marriages end in divorce) or widowed (50 per cent of all women 50 years of age or over who have been married are widows) she stands an excellent chance of becoming one of the 44 per cent of all single women or female heads of family living below the poverty line. If a woman is divorced, division of family assets is only of assistance when there are assets to divide. Most of us do not marry, or live with, movie-star millionaires. No law can give the widow or divorcée her ex-husband's job, salary, or future prospects.

It is a reality that many women do work only at home, and that our society encourages them by saying that childcare and household chores are women's responsibility. It is necessary to compensate these women to the extent we are able, but it must be done in a way least likely to perpetuate the disadvantages. To find the best way we must analyze what work women do in the home, and who benefits from this work.

What the majority of working wives do, including wives who work only in the home and have under-schoolage children, is household work, not childcare. The average wife who works only in the home and has children under six spends only 2 1/2 hours a day on childcare. If this seems strange, remember that women often keep on eye on Judy while cooking supper, or leave Jimmy sleeping upstairs while they do the laundry. If women spent all the day solely looking after children, the housework would never be finished.

Clearly, these 50 per cent of all women at home with older children or no children at all spend no time on childcare. A serious criticism of the Québec Pension Plan is that it reinforces the myth that the majority of women who work at home do so to take care of young children. It makes no provision for women who stay at home for other reasons.

But what women who work at home are doing is mainly housework. In a household with two adults, one would imagine all housework to be split equally between them both. Inasmuch as the wife is doing her husband's share of the housework, she is working *for* her husband. If a widow employs a housekeeper, no one doubts that the house-

keeper is working for the widow. If a widower hires a housekeeper to look after his house and children, no one doubts that the housekeeper is working for the widower. If he marries the housekeeper, and she continues to cook and clean and look after his children, surely she is still working for him. Does a secretary cease to be her boss's employee if she marries him, and continues performing her secretarial duties?

Once we see that the wife is working for her husband, a much better solution for the pension problem is created. Employers normally must contribute to the CPP for their employees. Why should an employer who marries his housekeeper be in a different situation than an employer who does not marry his housekeeper?

The first step in solving the problem is to decide on an imputed salary for the full-time housekeeper wife (the Income Tax Act is full of imputed capital gains). Let us make it \$10,000 — more than housekeepers actually get but less than they should get. The husband-employer must pay both the employer and employee contributions for his wife-employee.

Suppose she is working full-time in the house and part-time outside the house. According to recent statistics, 33 per cent of married women work part-time outside the house. Thus, it is very important to protect these women who work part-time. They work part-time, of course, so that they can fulfil their household duties as well. Therefore their husbands must pay the same employer and employee contributions for them.

What about women who work full-time? They too suffer because of the double burden. Several studies show that husbands contribute only minimally more to the housework when their wives work full-time outside the house. So they too must contribute, on a reduced imputed salary. There would be provisions for wives who already earn the maximum CPP outside the home or who (exceptionally) really do split the housework with their husbands.

There is a danger in assuming that society must subsidize the pension of the woman who has dropped out to work at home. "Society" is Mr. Single who does his own laundry, makes his own meals, etc. Society is also Ms. Married who pays the CPP for her housekeeper and then comes home to split the rest of the housework with her husband, or Ms. Double Burden who pays for her child's day-care, and then comes home to do all the housework. The woman who works only in the home should be covered by a pension, but the contributions should be made by the man who benefits from her work, her husband.

Many women, understandably, resent being thought of as employees of their husbands. Yet it should be far more insulting to be considered a "dependent," as in the Income Tax Act. Moreover, refusing to face reality will not make it go away. If being a domestic worker — looking after home and family — is an important and respectable

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CHOOSING A THERAPIST

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Zeroing In on Zionism

The following article by Lilith Finkler represents one view of many, and we hope that as issues rise for discussion, such as the role of Jews in the women's movement, Jewish women's invisibility in North American and European cultures, Zionism and anti-Semitism, *Broadside* readers will contribute their opinions. Finkler's article, to set it in context, was written in June 1982, before the invasion of Lebanon, and therefore does not deal with the most recent charges. "The issues, however, remain the same," says Finkler.

by Lilith Finkler

In many recent feminist and lesbian-feminist publications, anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism have been inextricably linked. *Lilith*, *Ms*, *Lesbian Lives*, and *Nice Jewish Girls*, a recent lesbian anthology, all contain articles that support this political connection.¹

An American group called Feminists against Anti-Semitism said in a statement published in *Lilith*: "Today, when explicit anti-Semitism is no longer acceptable, it has surfaced as a virulent anti-Zionism which rejects the right of the Jewish state to exist. Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Criticism of Israeli governmental policy is not anti-Semitism, but vilifying Jews who support Zionism is anti-Semitism."²

This remark and some of the articles referred to above are a direct response to the events of the 1981 International Women's Conference sponsored by the United Nations in Copenhagen.

Representatives of the PLO apparently managed to make many of the workshops into vehicles for consciousness-raising and stacked meetings so as to control the speakers' list. From their reports, it is obvious that many North American women suffered emotional battle scars which included profound alienation from non-Jewish feminists. It would not be hard, given their experience, to conclude that all those who were opposed to Zionism as a political movement were also opposed to them as Jews.

However, one conference does not a movement make: the reality of Copenhagen is merely the reflection of much anger and frustration experienced by those whose legitimate claim to Palestine is constantly being ignored.

It is obvious from their writings that these Jewish women, radicalized in other spheres, have yet to understand the complicated Zionist terminology and Israel's history.

To be anti-Semitic is to attribute specific character traits to Jews or to be hostile to them as a religious or social minority.

To be anti-Zionist is to oppose the existence of the State of Israel.

To believe that those who oppose Israel as a physical reality are against the Jews as a group reflects a myriad of other misconceptions.

First, one must presume that the survival of the State of Israel will ensure the survival of the Jewish race. Nothing could be further from the truth. Israel, as a nation, has interests which often conflict with those of Jews in the Diaspora.

Argentina, a safe harbour for Nazi war criminals and with a government well known for its virulent anti-Semitism, received valuable weaponry from Israel, most recently during the war over the Falkland Islands. Is Evelyn Torton Beck, editor of *Nice Jewish Girls*, aware that Jacobo Timmerman, the very man she quotes in her article in that book, languished in an Argentinian prison while Israel provided his jailers?³ Ethiopian falashas being massacred by co-patriots of various political persuasions have continuously been denied entry into Israel. Speaker of the Knesset in 1952, Israel Yishayahu, actually suggested publicly that the falashas solve their problems by converting to Christianity!⁴ Needless to say, discussing these black Jews might have put the Israeli government in an uncomfortable position with its special friend and ally, Haile Selassie.

Yehuda Dornitz, head of the Jewish Agency's Department of Immigration and Absorption, stated: "Taking a falasha out of his village is like taking a fish out of water.... I am not in favour of falasha Aliyah."⁵ This in spite of the fact that his Jewish brethren now sit in refugee camps awaiting salvation.⁶

Perhaps most revealing of the nature of political Zionism is the role of its leaders during World War II. They responded to cries for help with calculated logic.

Nathan Schwab, then a representative of the Jewish Agency in Switzerland, when approached by a rescue committee of Czech Jews for a sum of money to halt transports to Auschwitz, replied in a letter that serves as a testament to Zionist interests: "... they (the rescue group) must always remember that ... after all, the Allies will be victorious. After the victory, they will once again divide up the world between the nations as they did at the end of the First War. Then, they opened the way for us for the first step, and now, as the war ends, we must do everything so that Eretz Yisroel should become a Jewish state.... We must be aware that all the nations of the Allies are spilling much blood, and if we do not bring sacrifices with what will we achieve the right to sit at the table when they make the distribution of nations and territories after the war? And so, it would be foolish and impertinent on our side to ask the nations whose blood is being spilled for permission to send money into the land of their enemies in order to protect our own blood."⁷

It was a philosophy of "selective immigration," expressed by Chaim Weizman at the Zionist Congress in London in 1937. "The hopes of Europe's six million Jews are centred on emigration. I was asked: 'Can you bring six million Jews to Palestine?' I replied, 'No, from the depths of the tragedy, I want to save two million young people.... The old ones will pass. They will bear their fate or they will not. They are dust, moral and economic dust in a cruel world. ... Only the branch of the young shall survive.... They have to accept it.'⁸ It was a case of Zionism using anti-Semitism, not as its *raison d'être*, but rather as an emotional and political backdrop for its activities.

Another presumption commonly held is that if one denounces the State of Israel, one is also denying the Jews the right to national self-determination. That is not necessarily

so. Instead of uprooting other people to provide for our own, why not form "Jewish space" wherever we now live?

Surely we can look to the women's movement for inspiration! We form "women only" space, women's centres, women's land, and we have created a network of women's self-help services. Why not form "Jewish only" cities in areas where we now live? This would not be a reversion to a ghetto life-style since any Jew could choose to live among her co-religionists or not. We could create our own government based on Jewish values, as opposed to those of our neighbours. We would feel safer and more secure in our own environment and would have displaced no one in the process.

Some feminists, in an attempt to justify Israel's racist policies, have drawn a parallel between lesbian separatism and Zionism: "I am saddened and angered by feminists who never call a separatist coffeehouse or women's centre sexist, but who are quick to call the Jewish law of return racist" (Phyllis Chesler).⁹ Chesler fails to grasp the conflicting nature of these two ideologies.

Lesbian separatism is a peaceful form of self-definition and autonomy. It can indeed be applied to the Jewish way of life. Sarah Feinstein, in her article "It Has to do with Apples," describes how her grandmother, Rivke, aligned herself only with other Jews, and how she chose to continue that feeling of separateness as a lesbian.¹⁰

Feinstein saw separatism as a question of where a lesbian puts her energy, as opposed to a desire to throw all men out so she can have more place for herself. Zionism attempts to create a Jewish-only space by removing the indigenous population, the Palestinians. The law of return which permits Jews to become citizens of Israel immediately also prohibits four million Palestinians from returning to their own land.

Between 1948 and 1967, 385 Arab villages were wiped off the map.¹¹ The land acquired through mass uprootings was first held under the jurisdiction of the Jewish National Fund and later distributed to settlers to form *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*. Consider the village of Umm al-Fahn, which had a population of 5,000 in 1948, as well as 140,000 dunams of land. In 1978, it had a population of 20,000 but only 15,000 dunams of land, most of it unfit for agricultural use. The best land had been confiscated. Ironically, today on this same area there are a *moshav* and two "socialist" *kibbutzim*!¹² The argument that Jews can take over and create their own space because of our oppression elsewhere does not hold water.

Another argument used to defend Israel in feminist circles is that it is "progressive." Referring to the Copenhagen Conference last year, Letty Cottin Pogrebin wrote in *Ms*: "Under national instructions, they (female representatives of the Arab world) used their once in a lifetime vote to condemn Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East and the only state that grants suffrage to all women."¹³

One has only to read the wealth of material published on the situation of women in Israel to know that it was and is today as oppressive as any other country in the Middle

East. It is a weak "my-patriarchy-is-better-than-your-patriarchy" argument.¹⁴

If one wishes to analyse critically a society's values (or even a subsection of a society for that matter), one must examine not only how women are treated, but how other elements, such as classes and ethnic minorities, are regarded as well.

Natives in their own land, the Palestinians are limited to the most menial work at the lowest pay, denied access to the areas in which they once lived by a series of "pass" laws, prohibited from expressing national pride by a censor board which monitors their cultural activities, and prevented from holding public office.¹⁵

Any individual protesting this most undemocratic regime is hauled off to prison as an "administrative detainee" under the 1945 Emergency Regulation Act. Felicia Langer, an Israeli lawyer, has worked extensively with Palestinian prisoners and documents numerous such cases in her book, *With My Own Eyes*.¹⁶

Israeli feminists, most of whom acknowledge government repression, have tried to make alliances with Palestinian women. Their attempts have been less than successful. During a workshop on Feminism as a Unifying Force at the National Feminist Conference in Jerusalem in June 1981, the participants remained undecided as to whether the fight for Palestinian national liberation should remain separate from the fight for women's rights.¹⁷ This indecision clearly indicates the different priorities of the two groups.

One Palestinian, Leila Khaled, born in Nazareth, recounted an incident which further illustrates the gulf in understanding: "I went to visit Marcia in Haifa at the women's centre and we talked. She asked me at one point: 'Leila, why don't Palestinian women ever come to the battered women's shelter?' So I answered, 'Marcia, the problem of the Palestinian women is not that she is beaten by her husband, but that both of them are being beaten by the Israelis.'¹⁸

Although the validity of this statement is readily acknowledged by Jewish feminists, they still maintain that the state itself has a right to exist: "I believe that it is important for Jewish women to support Israel in addition to working towards important political, economic, and social change."¹⁹

By supporting Zionism, or a Jewish state in Palestine (as opposed to some other arrangement), these "radical" feminists are refusing either through ignorance or denial to recognize that the State of Israel was founded on the graves of yet another people.

Contrary to popular belief, Israel was not created in 1948 but rather during the 1880-1939 colonialization period. The cooperative settlements and towns built over this 60-year period formed a cohesive substructure upon which the Zionists later were able to develop a national base. The land bought during this time was from rich effendis, or landowners, who resided not in Palestine but in other large centres of the Middle East. They charged exorbitant prices for their feudal holdings because they were aware of the Zionists' intense desire to buy them.

• continued, page 10



Finding Lesbian Herstory

70 19th and 20th century lesbians at work and play



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MOVEMENT MATTERS

Women's Action for Peace

STATEMENT OF UNITY

We are women of many ages, experiences, skills, interests and backgrounds who are joining with thousands of other people in Ottawa on October 30th to "Refuse the Cruise" missile; but, more importantly, we are gathering at this time as a contingent of women because we perceive the undeniably clear connection between the bomb-making militarism of this male-dominated society

and the oppression of women everywhere. We see nuclear weapons as the inevitable manifestation of a patriarchal society which believes that "might is right."

On a daily basis, it is the same male-controlled power structure which controls all women's lives by the ever-present threat of rape in the same way as it controls "weaker" nations by threatening to drop the bomb. In both cases, the act does not always have to be carried out in order for the threat to be effective in intimidating and controlling the movement and the choices of the victim. We have seen this in Viet Nam, during the Korean War, and in the Middle East; and, as

women, we experience it daily in our lives, both in our homes and on the streets.

It is this same male-controlled power structure which spends approximately \$1.5 billion every day on military expenditures to cause death and destruction while it denies women, children and poor people, both in North America and the Third World, adequate access to basic life-giving survival tools such as food, education, housing, control of our reproductive rights, good child care so that we can work, and equal pay for work of equal value (Sivard, Ruth. *World Military Expenditures*).

It is this same male-controlled power structure which sees the natural resources of the world as theirs to dominate and waste just as they exploit women's energy and skills in the home and in the workplace.

Because we see the nuclear threat to world survival and the oppression of women as rooted in the politics of domination, we also see that world nuclear disarmament would be only a partial step toward a lasting world peace. We must challenge not only the arms build-up but also all the props that support militarism as the characteristic solution to problems between individuals or nations, in society and the world. We must consciously seek out non-hierarchical alternatives which enable us to live a healthy, sensible and loving world.

What we are saying is not new. During World War I, our suffragist sisters struggled to connect the "might is right" doctrine with women's oppression, and worked towards systems that would promote a peaceable international postwar order. Our American sisters who worked in the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960's also struggled to point out the impossibility of long-term peace while an elitist, sexist, political

process remained in control. In recorded history, the connection between patriarchal domination and constant warfare is clear. Unless we want to be yet another anti-war movement, we must clearly challenge this patriarchal domination, both in our personal lives and in the institutions and workplaces outside the home. We must expose the relationship between the power which produces nuclear weapons and the power arrangements which oppress us as women in our daily lives.

Women do hold up more than half the sky. Imagine the creative energy we could release by withdrawing our support from this hierarchical, militaristic social order and committing ourselves to seeking life-giving, non-violent ways of sharing the world together.

Please join with us in Ottawa on October 30th, 1982. Arms are for hugging!

—Women's Action for Peace



TAKE BACK THE NIGHT: Women marched through the Parkdale/High Park area of Toronto on September 16. The action was sponsored by Women Against Violence Against Women.

Catherine Maunsell

Kiss Me, I'm a Feminist Man

by Judy Fudge

There is a need to examine the phenomenon of the self-declared feminist man. Recently, in several conversations, I have been confronted with men announcing that they are feminists. As with any announcement whose purpose is to evoke some response from the recipient, I became suspicious. I am particularly suspicious if the view they subscribe to runs contrary to their long-term interests, as is the case when a man announces he is a feminist. Usually such an announcement is made to allay what is perceived to be latent suspicion held against the male gender on my part. It is supposed to function as reassurance. Its effect, in my case, is usually the opposite.

Feminism is antithetical to the long-term interests of men. It comprises a world-view in which men and women treat each other equally and in turn are treated equally, regardless of sex. Contemporary society is grounded in the historic and continuing unequal treatment of one sex, women, by and for the benefit of the other, men. Men, as a class, do benefit from both the exploitation and oppression of women, as is evidenced by the fact that men enjoy the by-products of women's unremunerated labour, housework by their wives being a leading example. So why would men endorse a position which runs contrary to the continued enjoyment of this benefit?

One response is to recite the adage that no one is free until everyone is free. This is fine theoretically — oppression does tend to dehumanize the oppressors as well as those they oppress — but it is insignificant practically. The benefits of a free and equal society have never been sufficient, on their own, to persuade any class which benefits from systemic inequality to renounce the fruits of that inequality.

Another possible rationale for the announcement is that men who declare themselves to be feminists are attempting to disassociate themselves from the majority of men who participate, either actively or passively, in the oppression of women. The problem with this, however, is that men as members of a particular class cannot choose not to be members of that class. This is not to say that men cannot change their behaviour on many levels; my point is that the benefits accrue merely by virtue of membership in the class, regardless of any choice on the part of an individual man.

An additional reason for my rising suspicions when men call themselves feminists results from the fact that I don't know what they mean. What does feminism for a man, or for that matter anyone, consist of? Is calling oneself a feminist merely an example of elective affinity — I say I am a feminist, therefore I am a feminist? If that is what feminism means, then, it means nothing. Or does calling oneself a feminist mean that one endorses certain views about the world, and in particular, certain views about the relations between men and women? When asked to explain what they mean when they call themselves feminists, the men I have met usually take this line. But problems arise, for me anyway, when they act in ways that are in practice inconsistent with the theory they espouse. Can one be a feminist and read pornography, or unquestioningly conform to traditional stereotyping of male and female jobs or male and female behaviour? If being a feminist merely entails endorsing a particular view, then the absurd may be illuminating: Can a rapist be a feminist? Certainly when someone claims to be a feminist their commitment cannot only be theoretical; it must also include a constellation of concomitant actions and responses.

I suspect that when a man claims to be a feminist what he is in fact claiming is that he does not manifest sexist behaviour. At best this claim is presumptuous, at worst patronizing. Take the case of someone who truly believes she or he does not act in ways that can be described as racist. If they were to confront a member of an oppressed, racial mi-

nority or majority and declare that they were not racist, surely we would have some reservations about their doing so, motivational concerns being the least important. That this is generally not done indicates that we leave it to members of the oppressed race to judge whether or not we are acting in a racist manner. Surely it is for those who bear the brunt of the particular strain of oppression to determine when they are being oppressed.

Irrespective of the other concerns raised, I would like to know what response a man expects from me when he informs me that he is a feminist. I presume that the expected response is positive. If a feminist man is a non-sexist man, a status worthy of attainment, surely he cannot expect praise. Struggling against one's own racism and sexism, however difficult the struggle, constitutes a minimum requirement for enlightened human interaction. If his purpose is to allay my suspicions, I would prefer to allay them myself by judging whether or not his actions are or are not sexist.

None of the above ruminations should be taken as denigrating the struggle of men who attempt to exorcise sexism out of their actions and attitudes. By all means they should continue with their struggle, my only caveat being that they should examine why it is that they expect praise when they do.

Judy Fudge is a Toronto law student whose interests include sexual offence legislation, women and labour, and legal reform as a means of solving the problem of women's oppression.

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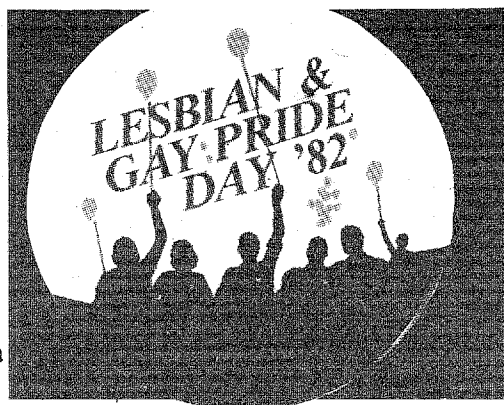
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by Lorna Weir and Eve Zaremba

Introduction

Relations between feminists, lesbians, gay liberationists and gay men have long been problematic. Much of the struggle has been over the hearts and minds of unsuspecting dykes. Committed gay liberationists of both sexes believe that all politically conscious lesbians belong in their movement, shoulder-to-shoulder with their fellow gays. Women's issues are played down as 'straight' — reproductive freedom, day care, equal pay, even rape. These are perceived as not of personal concern to most lesbians, who, according to this logic, face more discrimination as dykes than as women. Thus any reluctance on the part of lesbians to identify with gay liberation or any preference for a more inclusive feminist analysis is viewed as a sort of perverse female chauvinist separatism: a myopic inability to recognize mutuality of interest with gay people. Feminist lesbians often stand accused (or at least suspected) of 'hiding' behind feminism in order to avoid coming out. This tends to be taken to the point where feminism is seen as a lesbian plot (Phyllis Schlafley would agree): a sort of political closet for the faint at heart.

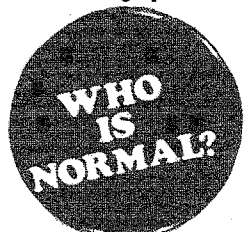
While many gay liberationists wish activist lesbians would smarten up and stay away from feminism, some lesbians and straight feminists view having any truck with gay liberation as disloyalty to women and to feminism. They see no compelling reason to waste precious female energy pulling gay nuts out of the fire by supporting dubious male issues such as pedophilia, public sex, or pornography. Some are frankly uncomfortable with the 'flaunting it' extravagances of gay male style and discount the solidarity of 'queers' in a 'het' world. They see no possible advantage to women's liberation in being identified with gays, wish lesbians would shut up about their sexuality and neither get involved in gay politics nor drag feminism into such treacherous waters.

Most gay men, when they think of it at all, consider feminism irrelevant to their lives at best, and at worst, view it as anti-sexual and possibly dangerous to gays. Predictably, the area where gay and feminist interests clash is sex in all its many manifestations.

Thumbnail Sketch of Gay Liberation History

At the present time the gay media has launched a defence of pornography, pedophilia, public sex and S/M, a defence which has been coupled with harsh criticism of feminist sexual politics. A thumbnail sketch of the history of gay liberation is useful in understanding some of the current conflicts between the women's and gay movements.

In the United States during the 1950's and 1960's the major organization of male homosexuals (the word 'gay' did not become current until the late '60s) was the Mattachine Society. Founded by ex-members of the Communist Party, its beginnings were radical, espousing in such laudable principles as mass collective action by homosexuals, the social value of homosexual culture, and the rejection of categorizing homosexuals as social deviants. Their principle political tenet was that homosexuals constituted an oppressed social minority. The early Mattachine Society engaged in a variety of political activities, ranging from criminal code reform to the defence of homosexuals against police harassment, to what we would now call consciousness raising. After a fierce internal fight in which its founders were defeated, the Mattachine Society in 1953 took on a more conservative political mould, opting for the mildest of political strategies: community acceptance of homosexuals as respectable citizens. To this end, the Society embarked on such projects as blood drives and the collection of books and clothes for distribution among the 'disadvantaged.' Hatred of homosexuals was, they reasoned, caused by individual prejudice, which attitude could be cured through public education.¹

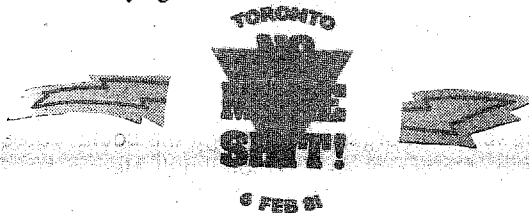


After the routing of early Mattachine politics, a reformist fog settled over the homophile movement for nearly two decades. The chief political priority during this period was the decriminalization of male homosexuality. In Europe and North America various groups organized and lobbied to this end, achieving their goal in England in 1967, and in Canada in 1969. The modern gay liberation movement did not emerge until after the limited decriminalization of homosexuality in these countries. The situation in the United States is harder to encapsulate, since homosexuality was and is under state rather than federal jurisdiction; there was, however, a general trend towards the decriminalization of homosexuality on a state by state basis beginning in the 1960's.

Lorna Weir has been active in feminist, lesbian and gay politics. Eve Zaremba is a Broadside collective member.

Many of the early gay liberationists looked to feminism to provide the theoretical framework for gay liberation. Gay liberation was at that time thought of as involving both sexual liberation and gender liberation. Sexual liberation: a dream of non-genitally organized, polymorphous perversity; the validation of desire for members of the same sex through the formation of a social movement to overcome barriers inhibiting free sexual expression; a utopia of perfect sexual spontaneity. Gender liberation: freedom from the narrow confines of masculinity as a social institution, i.e., overcoming the 'male role.' To come out as gay men was to abdicate male supremacy in all its forms, to wash gay hands of the oppression of women by men. Strategies for the destruction of capitalism and patriarchy involved living in gay communes, consciousness raising, and coming out to oneself, the gay movement and the world. The gay commercial scene — capitalistic, anti-female and sexually objectifying — was clearly a modern Babylon to be scrupulously avoided and denounced at every available opportunity.²

The structure of gay male life changed during the 1970's, principally as a result of the combined growth of the gay movement and the gay ghetto. In the last five years there has been a gradual re-evaluation of the relation between the ghetto and the political movement. Gay activists have come to regard their previous attitude of disdain as a political error which isolated their movement from the people they were purportedly organizing. Further, gay activists tired of condemning the very services which they themselves patronized. Early gay liberation politics tend now to be regarded as covertly elitist and self-marginalizing by mainstream activists. This makes good sense, for the leadership of a political movement cuts itself off from its constituency by regarding itself as pure in contrast to the masses of supposedly benighted souls it is trying to save.

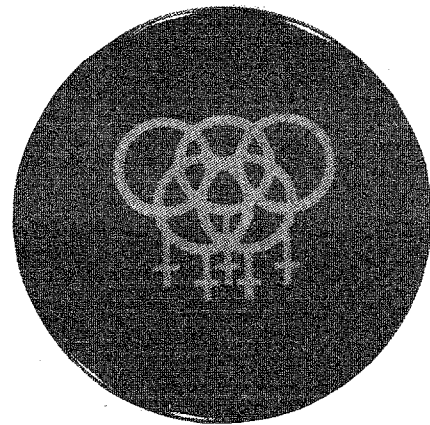


In Toronto, the police raids on the gay baths mark the watershed between early and current gay liberation politics. External attack had the effect of mobilizing hundreds of previously disinterested gay men and bringing movement activists into direct (political) contact with their non-political brothers. The link between movement and ghetto had been established through political defence of a ghetto institution (the baths) which a wide spectrum of gay men frequented. From the viewpoint of early gay liberationism, the baths were a hotbed of sexual objectification and capitalist alienation to be shunned by the pure of body. The defence of the baths led activists to reconsider the sexual practices found therein. And they saw that they were good.

Paralleling the validation of sex in the baths has been a defence by the gay movement of a spectrum of sexual practices found among gay men — public sex in washrooms and parks, pornography, pedophilia and S/M. All these aspects of gay male sexuality have been the subject of increasing police intervention since the decriminalization of sexual acts among consenting adults *in private*. After the 1969 amendment to the Criminal Code, the heat of state regulation came to be focused on public sex. In England, for instance, there was a "tripling of the convictions of men for homosexual behaviour in what were defined as public places after 1967."³ The current defence of public sex by the gay media is in large part a response to changes in the state regulation of sexuality. Note that public and private are defined by the state. The private is a political construct, and should not be thought of as 'natural,' like a fern growing in a primeval forest. The state, it has been said, has no place in the bedrooms of the nation. This is currently being interpreted to mean that it does have a place everywhere else. And, moreover, what is a bedroom? As feminists, whatever our disputes with the gay movement may be, we have no interest in supporting state-defined notions of the private as the only place where sex 'naturally' belongs.

The homosexual law reform groups played a role in effecting these legal changes, although they alone did not cause them. The reforms must be seen in a broader context of a tactical shift in the regulation of sexuality since World War II. People have clearly been obsessed with sex/sexuality for about the last 200 years: sexuality has been intensified. Intensification has taken the form of extensive power over and through sexuality: the establishment of obstetrics and gynecology, the development of population control, the gathering of social statistics for policing sexuality, and the countless classifications created by psychologists are aspects of this modern sexual regime. In other words, modern power does not primarily operate to prohibit sex, but to implant and control it. Control through prohibition is a secondary feature — a tactic — of the sexual regime, not its overarching strategy. Tactics can change where strategies remain constant. Power over sexuality switched from tactical prohibition to tactical excitement following the last World War,

Boys and Gi



when the pattern of the intensification altered considerably. Many of the earlier prohibitions have been relaxed, from abortion (banned in the 19th century), to masturbation (ruthlessly attacked from the late 18th century on), to women's sexual pleasure (assimilated as 'nurturance' since the end of the eighteenth century). The decriminalization of male homosexuality, legally banned in many Western countries during the last half of the nineteenth century, should be seen against the backdrop of tactical relaxation of prohibitions governing the entire social terrain of sexuality.

The 'Second Wave' of gay liberation dates from the police raid in June 1969 on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City. Gay men resisted the police, a riot ensued, and a militant gay movement was born. Gay liberation groups were being formed prior to this event, but the Stonewall festivities came to symbolize the formation of the new movement: it has a mythic quality. Where the previous homophile movement had been concerned with community tolerance, respectability and legal reform, the new gay liberation, heavily influenced by the 60's counterculture and New Left thinking, conceived of itself as a revolutionary movement locked in combat with capitalist alienation. The new movement identified gay people as members of an oppressed minority whose interests it was to join with other oppressed minorities — workers, women, blacks — to overthrow the common source of their oppression: capitalism. Moreover, since capitalism depended for its reproduction on the twin monsters of sexual repression and The Family, the politics of the new gay liberation movement were implacably anti-repressive and anti-family. Sexuality, and especially gay sexuality, was thought to be destructive of power relations in all their myriad invidious forms.

Present Controversies

It is now 1982 and gay sexuality has not yet threatened the foundations of capitalism and patriarchy. The overall ideology of gay liberation has shifted from countercultural rhetoric to sexual liberationism. Sex is what you might call an organic issue among gay men, a group which, after all, is defined in the first place by a socially prohibited sexual taste. The narrower self-identification as sexual liberationist is a defensive reaction to changes in the regulation of homosexuality, a counter-attack to police encroachments on gay social space. In Toronto we have seen *The Body Politic* dragged through the courts for publishing articles on pedophilia and fist-fucking; Glad Day Books, a gay bookstore, was recently charged for selling an allegedly pornographic publication; the trials of the found-ins at the baths pursue their interminable course; police regularly entrap men in washrooms and parks. Small wonder that the gay movement is here defending pedophilia, pornography, public sex and S/M. Coming out and CR, the tactics of the early gay movement, have given way to the nitty-gritties of fundraising, planning legal battles, and community defence: a narrow but immensely practical vision. Corresponding to the shift in the tactics and techniques of organization has been an ideological re-orientation. From a virtual blanket condemnation of the institutions of gay culture, the movement has swung to praise of the clone, that "gay Everyman," and a Whitmanesque song to the (male) body — a sort of gay populism. It would seem as though our gay brothers are going through a brotherhood phase which the women's movement endured several years ago.

The early gay liberation activists believed that sex negated power; the events of the past decade have proved otherwise. Singles bars, gay baths, and the mass distribution of sex manuals have not brought about the demise of capitalism or patriarchy. Which is not to say that the implantation of gay male sexuality is without value, but simply to state that it is of more limited good than was originally predicted. If anything, gay sexual liberation and capitalism go together like pasta and wine; marginalization through incorporation is the order of the day. Social protest is best contained through inclusion rather than exclusion: UIC to prevent mobilization of the industrial working class; ineffective equal pay legislation to undercut the women's movement; underfunded race relations boards to keep the anger of people of colour within system-preserving bounds. And ghettos for deviants of all stripes. Incorporation does offer tangible gains to the oppressed — no one would quarrel that the eight-hour day is better than the ten-hour one — but the effects of incorporation are frequently, and intentionally, deradicalizing.

The naive, apocalyptic theories of the early gay movement originated in the rage of people who had little social space, who were legally persecuted and socially despised. Over the last decade, life has become brighter for gay men. A new social space, the gay ghetto, has been created; sexual orientation clauses in human rights codes and union contracts have been fought for and occasionally won through the efforts of gay rights activists; homophobia is proscribed in polite circles. With these breakthroughs has come a deradicaliza-

rs Together

Feminism and Gay Liberation



tion of the movement, which increasingly comes to define itself as concerned solely with sexual liberation, understood now as demands for more and better sexual services. The idea of contesting the form of the ghetto as a social structure for marginalizing deviants is far from the pragmatic minds of gay liberationists. But what is pragmatism but liberalism unconscious of its own ideological roots? The social terrain being contested by the gay movement has narrowed considerably, a symptom of both maturity and incorporation. The links between gay liberation and other progressive movements have become unclear as a consequence.

As the gay movement increasingly identifies itself as a sexual liberation movement — at times seemingly as the vanguard of progressive sexuality — it has grown more critical of gender liberation and any critique of institutionalized masculinity. In a society where gay men are still viewed as being less than 'real men,' and despised for it, one would have imagined that gay liberation had an intrinsic interest in the critique of gender in conjunction with the women's movement. Brian Mossop's "Feminism and Lesbian/Gay Male Unity, or Putting the Sex Back into Homosexual,"⁴ an article which is by far the most cogent exemplar which we have seen of recent trends in gay male theory, defines the aims of the gay movement as follows: "... gay liberation means (1) freedom to fuck in whatever way you and your partners mutually desire; (2) freedom from obsession with sex; (3) freeing of love through its disentanglement from sex." Point (3) is left undeveloped in the article. Yet through this point the problem of gender is reinstated, for, if gay men are to care for one another, they must surely violate the rules of the present construction of masculinity.

Gay populism has further questioned the adequacy of feminist theory to provide a basis for gay liberation. In retrospect, feminists can heartily agree with this, for feminism is an articulation of the oppression of women, whose lives differ in an immense variety of ways from those of gay men. We have little strategic or tactical advice to offer gay men on how to organize the ghetto, and it is downright dangerous for the women's movement to let any man call himself a feminist and thus have equal entitlement to defining the oppression of women. Non-sexist men are a joy; feminist men are a potential threat to the autonomy of the women's movement.

The political terrain occupied jointly by the women's and gay movements overlaps much less now than it did a decade ago; but in the common ground we do share — the politics of sexuality — the conflict is more intense than it has ever been. Two or three years ago gay porn/erotica was defended on the grounds that it did not sexually exploit women in any way; more recently, all forms of pornography/erotica have been taken up by the gay media as harmless entertainment. A decade of feminist research, activism and social consciousness-raising on rape, incest, sexual harassment and violence against women is dismissed as puritanical in motivation, an assault on sexual liberation. One might note in this regard that charges of anti-sexuality are used by gay men against other gay men as well. We are personally aware of cases where gay men sexually harassed by other gay men who were in positions of power over them objected to the harassment and were in turn asked if they disapproved of flirting. In a remarkable exchange in the pages of *The Body Politic* last year, a man who had taken issue with some of the content, especially racial discrimination, present in the classified ads section of the paper, was castigated in the following issue as the voice of sexual puritanism on the grounds that racial preferences and avoidances merely reflected harmless individual tastes, similar to fondness of or distaste for mustaches. (!)⁵ When discussions of racism can be so blithely and urbanely dismissed as puritanical, the women's movement is clearly keeping good company.

Especially disturbing in the gay critiques of feminist sexual politics is an emerging general hostility to and contempt for the politics of the women's movement as a whole. The gay media are busily constructing an image of the women's movement as monolithically anti-sexual, and using an alliance with S/M dykes to legitimize this view.

Women as anti-sexual; men as sexual predators. *That's* role-playing of a politically invidious kind: gender personality ascribed to each movement, and sexual stereotyping played out in ritual antagonism between the entire women's and gay movements.

Certainly, sexual pleasure has not been high on the agenda of the women's movement in recent years, and we have much to learn from some of the criticisms being levelled at us from within and without the women's movement. Even if we should grant every criticism being made, it should be remembered that sexual pleasure is only a fraction of the sexual politic necessary to feminism, and, further, sexual politics are in their turn only one component of the general politic of the women's movement. Sexual liberation may be the defining characteristic of the gay movement, but the social terrain of the women's movement is far broader than sexual liberation, not for moralistic reasons, but because the

oppression of women is not limited to sexual oppression. Any attempt to discredit the women's movement as a whole for failures in sexual liberation is blatantly ideological and invalid.

Why Bother?

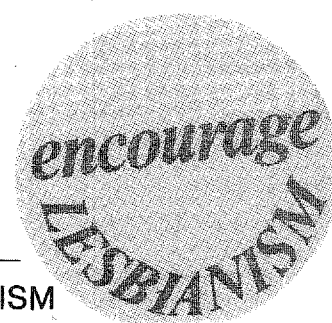
Given this sorry situation, why bother? Why should we bother with gay men, gay liberation at all? Why do we bother to discuss, to co-operate, to try to understand, to support a movement increasingly prone to hostility to us and our liberation?

Because matters are seldom that simple. First of all, whatever our criticism of gay liberation, its undoubted achievements and services to women must be recognized. It was the gay liberation movement, not feminism, which lobbied the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses. It is still gays who work tirelessly to get the Human Rights Code extended to cover gays, including lesbians of course. And how often does the women's movement as such offer financial support to lesbian mothers fighting for custody rights? By and large it is gay liberationists who are vocal and active against police harassment and brutality towards gays. Admittedly most of it is in defence of gay men, but when and if lesbians are defended it is gay liberation which is in the forefront. In Canada, *The Body Politic*, *A Magazine for Gay Liberation* carries more news about lesbians and items of specific interest and help to lesbians than any feminist medium, even when lesbian-run. No matter how we view its politics and its penchant for taking cheap shots at feminism, *TBP* has rendered women a service for more than a decade.

Prior to the rise of feminism there were traditional links between lesbians and gay men: friendships, parties, support networks, mixed bars. These continue: social pariahs need to stick together. Gay media and (non-sexual) services, since they tend to be unsegregated by sex, are often more accessible and less threatening to women on the verge of coming out or identifying as lesbians. Gay unity, no matter how tenuous, is of special importance in rural areas and small centres. The relatively high profile of gay liberation is a magnet which often draws women towards a better understanding of who they are or want to become. This whole process, with which most straight feminists are not very familiar, is central to lesbians. As such it should be assiduously protected and cultivated by our movement.

All feminists must learn to appreciate the role that gay networks, gay services and gay self-support systems play for lesbians. The women's liberation movement, precisely because it is broadly based and with so all-encompassing an analysis, is not, and cannot be expected to be, all things to all women. It cannot fulfill all the special needs of lesbians in a heterosexual society. A 'community of queers' does this and the space that it makes for lesbians is vital. These are legitimate

• continued
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LESBIANS AND FEMINISM

Lesbians are women. Lesbians are homosexuals. This is obvious, but carries a number of important implications. It is rare that lesbians are socially oppressed as lesbians, i.e., the oppression of lesbians is organized through the social categories of 'woman' and 'homosexual.' Hence the phenomenon of lesbian invisibility, and the extreme difficulty of establishing lesbian political groups independent of the women's and gay movements.

Thus dykes are faced with the choice of working in the women's or gay movements; and there is a certain leeway in picking one's primary political allegiance. Most dykes have opted for the women's movement, where the influence of sexism is smaller, and the pool of potential sexual partners larger. Fledgling lesbians, who start out in the gay movement (where other dykes, though few, are easier to locate and where their sexual experience receives more understanding) tend over a period of time to gravitate to the women's movement. This has been the usual trajectory — at least until now.

Yet the very fact that the impulse for a lesbian movement is always with us suggests that the women's movement does not fully meet the need of lesbians. After all, it has been concerned with incorporating lesbians as feminists and not with organizing us. One of the struggles of the 1970's was getting feminists to accept that lesbians as *women* could, in principle, speak to any of the issues of the movement — from day care to job ghettoization. Such acceptance has by now been largely achieved. Paradoxically, we have reached the stage where those feminist lesbians who might provide their sisters with mature political leadership seem to address all movement issues except those pertaining to homosexual women. Many lesbians in both women's and gay movements are filled with defensive hostility towards any all-lesbian formations, an attitude which contributes mightily to the fragility of autonomous lesbian groups.

There are a number of problematic features to being neither straight nor male. Coming out is a crucial area for dykes vis-à-vis both feminism and gay liberation. The former tends to play down the importance of the experience, while the latter assumes that both the experience and its consequences are the same for men and women.

Coming out has different consequences for women and men because the experience of compulsory heterosexuality differs with gender. Through compulsory heterosexuality, women are given a stake in male supremacy. Men are still most women's meal ticket — but we can only cash in the voucher if we are heterosexual. Lesbians, by stepping outside this framework, lose any direct stake in male privilege. We have to be self-supporting, and discard the illusion of having a male protector. We face all the typical problems of single women in the workforce, plus the added

marginality of a 'deviant' lifestyle which has to stay hidden.

Coming out for men does not bring with it the same economic and ideological consequences. Given the different material realities of coming out for men and women, it is not surprising that it should have a potentially much broader and more radical effect on women. One of the characteristics of dykes is that they are relatively easy to politicize — a process of becoming aware, angry and sensitive to a whole range of issues — and hard to organize. Try putting out a leaflet or keep a group together! The opposite is true for gay men; they are generally much less interested in what does not concern them personally and immediately but will put out three pamphlets and a video in no time flat on a single issue about which they feel strongly.

Given the character of compulsory heterosexuality, coming out is not an unitary experience for gay men and lesbians. Assuming that theirs is the norm, gay men remain for the most part mystified as to why lesbians identify with the women's movement, which, after all, has been strategically more concerned for the past decade with violence against women and economic issues than with sex and sexual pleasure. Yet the women's movement remains a better option for dykes despite our problems with it, for unlike gay liberation it speaks to the myriad of economic and social needs which we share with all women, especially single, working women.

What should be of some concern to the women's movement is the recent alliance of S/M dykes and possibly butch-femme women as well, with gay liberation. These two kinds of lesbians, whose spokeswomen self-identify as feminists are being used by elements of the gay movement to divide feminist and non-feminist lesbians and incorporate the latter in the gay movement. This is being done in purposeful opposition to the women's movement, which is portrayed as hostile to lesbian sexual diversity.

It is unfortunately true that many feminists are uncomfortable with lesbian sexuality, and also that feminist dykes have behaved with a degree of arrogance toward bar and street dykes. The assumptions that butch-femme relationships vanished from this earth c. 1970 and that lesbians are 'naturally' feminists were self-defeating. Finally, whatever the last word on S/M may be, the debates to date have already been fruitful in jolting lesbian feminism from its silence in matters sexual.

In order to build solidarity and work with other groups of lesbians, feminists must recognize their existence, learn to appreciate their experience and treat them with respect. The fact that this attitude is not always reciprocated is no excuse on our part. We must make sure that the level and content of our mutual discourse remain constructive and open. •

Out of the Silence

The Silence Around Christine M., a film by Marleen Gorris Holland, 1982, 92 minutes, colour, English subtitles.

by **Barbara Halpern Martineau**

...if Lol is silent in her daily life, it is because, for a split second, she believed that this word might exist. Since it does not, she remains silent. It would have been an absence-word, a hole-word, whose centre would have been hollowed out into a hole, the kind of hole in which all other words would have been buried.

— *The Ravishing of Lol V. Stein*,
Marguerite Duras.

The world of women is completely silent. With men, silence is an accident — when a man becomes silent it's entirely accidental. In the case of woman, she is in silence, and when she speaks, that is the accident.

— Marguerite Duras, from an interview.

The women say, ... the men have bawled and shouted with all their might to reduce you to silence. The women say, the language you speak is made up of signs that rightly speaking designate what men have appropriated.

— Monique Wittig, *Les Guerillieres*.

Both in Montreal and Toronto, women emerging from film festival showings of *The Silence Around Christine M.* wore wide grins. We met conspiratorially after the screenings, all sorts of us, and very little needed to be said.

Christine M. is the movie they accused us of wanting to make ten years ago, when the first women's film festivals started rounding up forgotten films by women, and Nelly Kaplan was acclaimed for having made *La Fiancée du Pirate* (France, 1969). In that film the heroine, Marie, is a witch's daughter who is first exploited, then exploits, going so far, in one scene that aroused considerable controversy, as to kick a man in his privates. Onscreen, "Ballbreaker, manhater, hysterical female," went the chant. "What do you women want, anyway?" And so forth. *Christine M.* does not attempt to answer that question, or any other question directly. Instead the film sheds a good deal of light on some very complex issues, leaving the conclusions up to us. Given the angle of light and the issues illuminated, the conclusions are hard to escape. We live in a woman-hating culture, and the repercussions are violent and unpredictable.

"Even though some women are so stupid you could kill them, we wouldn't have murdered a woman at that time."

Anna is an executive secretary who knows much more about the business than her boss. Because she is a secretary, as he points out, there is no question of promoting her to the Board. While a man who parroted her analy-

sis is congratulated by the boss, Anna sits blankly stirring her coffee. She has always worked for men, she tells the psychiatrist, and yes, they have always been stupid.

Annie is a short-order cook and waitress in a café. Her husband left years ago, as did her daughter — she roars with laughter when the psychiatrist asks if she has ever thought of remarrying. It was lonely at home, she says, but at least there was no one nagging at her. Annie's only social contact is at work, with male customers who joke about her weight and sex, and wait for her to wait on them.

Christine is a housewife with three children — two boys at school and a baby daughter. Her husband is a minor civil servant, who wonders why she couldn't keep the children quiet when he was at home. "After all," he complains, "She didn't have anything to do all day." She often went for days without speaking.

Now, in prison like Annie and Anna, Christine has nothing to say. When the psychiatrist asks why she and the others murdered the male owner of a boutique, brutally and for no apparent reason, Christine draws stick figures with a pen. A man, a woman, and a child. And a box drawn around them. Repeated twice. Three boxes.

Three women in a boutique on Saturday afternoon. Or were there more? The psychiatrist is curious. Was anyone else there, she asks Anna. Anna stares at her for a second, then says no. "She's lying," the psychiatrist later tells her husband. "All your patients lie to you," he responds. "Clients, not patients," she corrects; then says, "Not Anna, she's ruthlessly honest."

There were four other women in the boutique that Saturday afternoon, four potential witnesses. We see them in each of the series of flashbacks detailing the murder. They all remain silent; they meet after the murder; they come to the trial, breaking their silence only to join the defendants in uproarious laughter in the final courtroom scene. They rise when the three defendants leave the courtroom, in homage; they join them in laughter which the judge denounces, spluttering, "This is contempt of court." At this point the audience in the film theatre erupts; not a woman yet have I seen with a straight face in this scene — we are all in contempt of court. The court, it seems, is contemptible.

Janine is a psychiatrist, married to a lawyer, affluent, attractive, presumably exempt from the cares of women trapped in "women's work." Different from the housewife, the secretary, the waitress — her "clients," in this case assigned to her by the state. Janine would never tuck a shirt or a skirt into her capacious handbag in covert or open defiance of the shopkeeper, she would never hit said shopkeeper, or kick him with her high-heeled shoes, or smash at him with a shopping cart or a broken piece of counter-top glass. Or watch in silence while other women did these things. Or would she? She is different from the others, but a man who bumps into her on the courthouse steps can still mutter, "Watch where you're going, cunt." Different, but Anna, the superior secretary, can look up from her Doris Lessing book and remark, "Your report will have no influence whatsoever." Her words echo in Janine's mind. The crime haunts her. She compares it to an atrocity of war. Her lawyer husband resists that comparison, and Janine is angry — "Oh, that's different, isn't it?" She dreams of the murder.

I've often wished that men filming scenes

of violence against women would focus on the man or men perpetrating the violence. No more shots of cringing, beaten, bleeding women to titillate sadistic viewers, please. The violence in this film, which is at the very problematic heart of it, is shot as I have wished male violence against women would be shot. Once the shopkeeper goes down we never see him, only the women as they move in deliberately for the kill. His injuries have already been described in the film, when Janine listens to the results of the post mortem, and they are appalling to hear. But not shown. No titillation, no exaggeration. The facts, only the facts. Draw your own conclusions.

Of *Christine M.* who breaks her silence twice in the film, once to ask Janine to remind her husband to speak to Simon's teacher, once to exit laughing, right into the camera, Janine says, "Mother of three, two planned, the third an accident, wife of a minor civil servant... why should she talk? Who would listen to her?" Anna calls Christine's silence "brave," and demands of Janine, "What do you think she's like, this child who murdered a man?"

Christine's silence, alongside the extraordinary violence of three women against a man is at the heart of this film, and reverberates throughout. The women commit their murder in silence, exit in silence, celebrate, each in her own way, silently. The witnesses are silent. It's the men who are the talkers — Janine's husband criticizes and explains the world every night at dinner, over brandy. Anna's boss and his colleagues, Annie's customers, Christine's husband, the prosecuting attorney, the judge — these guys can explain everything. Annie, admittedly, also has a gift of the gab, but Annie explains nothing — her speech is humour, farce, nonsense. Anna speaks less and less as her interviews progress — in her last pre-trial encounter with Janine she says nothing, but silently runs her hands up and down along the shape of Janine's body, speaking in a different language. This scene of intimacy is interrupted by a passerby, a prison official who pokes his head in. Janine shares Anna's look of started guilt. Caught in the act of silence — is Janine a conspirator?

Unlike the other major women's film to play the Canadian festivals this year, Margaretha von Trotta's *Marianne and Juliane* (alias *The German Sisters*, alias *Leaden Times*), *Christine M.* effects a major change of consciousness and outward action in the central character, the audience's centre of consciousness. Janine van den Bos, respected psychiatrist, is different at the end of this film. She has made some irrevocable choices: clearly, she no longer sees herself as comfortably privileged or immune in a misogynist world. Her husband and colleagues are appalled, but the last image we see in the film is Janine's face, smiling, looking upward to the others, the silent women.

The Silence Around Christine M. is a beautifully-crafted film — in terms of the issues it raises and the impact it has on audiences I think it is one of the most important films in years.

(At the time of writing, distribution for Canada has not yet been settled, but apparently Pan-Canadian is trying to pick up the film. If you would like to see it in your community, write: Pan Canadian, 20 Queen St. W, Ste. 3500, Box 43, Toronto M5H 3S4.)

Barbara Halpern Martineau is a writer and filmmaker, and *Broadside's* film columnist.

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• GAY LIBERATION, from page 7

achievements of gay liberation as a social movement, not to be lightly forgotten or downplayed.

Secondly, while there is no need to bend over backwards to accommodate them, it is useful to try to understand why gay men have so much trouble with the feminist approaches to sexual matters. They are male. Gay men no less than their straight fellows generally lack a concept of sexual exploitation. They seldom experience it directly as victims (boy prostitutes and rape victims are exceptions). Power and bodily autonomy are the birthright of males. For most gay men, sex is relatively unproblematic, at least as compared with women, whether straight or gay. Few men have the experience to imagine that sexual pleasure/liberation as they conceive it can only be a tiny part of the sexual politics of feminism, i.e. for women whose social and sexual identity is drastically different. How can gay men grasp (or care) that birth control and abortion are more critical to sexual pleasure/freedom for women than pedophilia, wash-room sex or S/M? No matter what the rationalizations, domination and exploitation have a whole other meaning for women (and children, and people of colour and Jews) than they do for white adult males.

It was interesting in this regard to see the furor around the movie *Cruising* in the gay press. A controversy erupted as to whether or not to recommend that gay men see the film. It was clearly exploitive of gay men; a film about gay men without gay input made by straight men for a heterosexual audience. If hundreds and thousands of films were produced in which straight men defined gay male sexuality for straight audiences, gay men might find themselves upset at such a social phenomenon, especially if the straight men called them anti-sexual for objecting to it. This hypothetical situation is in some ways analogous to the current regime of heterosexual male pornography in which men define their sexuality of women for other men to the exclusion of women. The anti-porn movement has its flaws, but it is difficult for gay men, lacking the category and experience of sexual exploitation, to diagnose its failures except through the crude concept of the 'anti-sexual.'

It does not help that some lesbians, having rightly rejected the crippling gender roles which are thrust upon us all, find it easy to identify with gay men to the point of adopting a gay liberationist politic. These women are doing nobody a favour; they confuse other lesbians and mislead gay liberation. They are sources of inaccurate and distorted information on the women's movement; they validate gay male misperceptions of feminism; they prevent gay liberation from developing links with lesbians who have organic ties with lesbian and feminist organizations. These women, perhaps interested in preserving a self-marginalizing power base, block co-operation, cripple the difficult project of constructing political links and undermine inter-movement solidarity.

Some of the confusion between gay liberation and feminism is probably due to the mistaken notion on both sides that divergences in perceptions and lifestyles completely undermine the possibility of political co-operation. This is a preposterous and highly destructive idea from which only the patriarchal establishment can profit. Lesbians do not need to act, think or have sex like gay men in order to work towards common objectives. It is legitimate to question gay male sexual practices and some of the social objectives of their movement, but only with a full realization that, while feminism

can inform the theory of gay liberation, it can never define it or mandate its practice.

Thirdly, feminists should not buy either the straight or the gay media stereotyping of gay men; they are not all uniformly affluent, white and possessed of exquisite taste. Most of them aren't even particularly kinky. Gay men on the average are neither more nor less likely to despise women than straight men, and, although gay men on the whole do not have sex with women, they do not live in a world completely cut off from us. What is perhaps more relevant, there is a small but significant number of gay men whose understanding and commitment to anti-sexist and anti-male supremacist radical change is every bit as thorough and sincere as that of many feminists. These men are important as allies, friends and co-workers.

While we may believe, and not without foundation, that gay men want most of all to be accepted as 'men,' with all the privileges that entails, it is not true that, as is somehow said, 'gay men are no different than straight men.' Gay men, as should be clear by now, are an oppressed group: the ghetto is subject to police raids; gay meetings are infiltrated by undercover cops; gay men can be fired from jobs and evicted from homes solely on the grounds they are gay; parents are not enraptured to discover gay sons. And queer bashing, both physical and emotional, is much more prevalent than many people would like to believe.

However serious the conflicts between the women's and gay movements may be, we feminists owe the gay movement political support for its efforts to battle heterosexist domination. We must unconditionally affirm the right of gay men to organize and form their own social movement, to express their sexual preference freely without fear or discrimination.

One of the curious facts about the contemporary women's movement is that many feminists can be at once lesbian-positive — seeing lesbianism as politically necessary to the women's movement — and gay negative. Those straight feminists who are uncomfortable with gay male promiscuity ought to be reminded that no form of sexuality is more fraught with contradictions and compromises than heterosexuality. There is no reason why sex must occur in the context of a relationship in order to be ethical. For far too long feminists have held up long-term relationships of perfect mutuality as ideal and downgraded other types of sexual contact. Sexual pluralism need not entail political liberalism.

The women's movement needs an understanding of sexuality which does not presume a single sexual norm nor presuppose a naturally nurturant women's sexuality. This point having been established, we will be able to begin discussion on the very difficult questions of power and sexuality which are causing deep divisions within the women's movement today: (a) the representations of power in sexual images (the problem of 'objectification' in pornography/erotica); (b) the manifestations of power in different forms of sexual desire (the problem of 'inequality,' from romantic roles to sado-masochism); and (c) the exercise of sexual power (the problem of 'exploitation,' and the boundaries of consent and force). The examination of these questions would be of value to all of us, whether male or female, lesbian, gay or straight.

(Charlotte Bunch, lesbian-feminist activist and theorist, will be in Toronto for a panel discussion of *Gay Liberation and Feminism* on Friday, October 22, 7:30 pm, Trinity United Church, 427 Bloor St West. Everyone welcome.)

FOOTNOTES

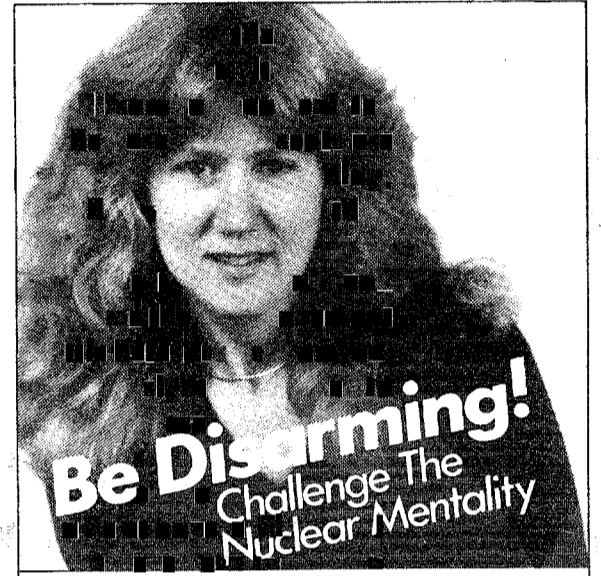
¹ For the history of the Mattachine Society, see John D'Emilio, "Dreams Deferred: The Early American Homophile Movement," in *Flaunting It!* Ed Jackson and Stan Persky, eds. Vancouver and Toronto: New Star Books and Pink Triangle Press, 1982, pp. 127-37.

² For the politics of the early gay liberation movement, see Simon Watney, "The Ideology of the GLF," in *Homosexuality: Power and Politics*, Gay Left Collective, ed. London: Allison and Busby, 1980, pp. 64-76 and Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*, London: Quartet Books, 1977, pp. 185-206.

³ Jeffrey Weeks, "Capitalism and the Organization of Sex," in *Homosexuality: Power and Politics*, op. cit., p. 18.

⁴ GLARE Pamphlet No. 1, *Gay Men and Feminism*, Toronto, 1982, p. 28.

⁵ Peter Bowen, "So What's Wrong with Discrimination?" *The Body Politic* 77, Oct. 1981, pp. 6-7. The title, with its tone of cheerful bonhomie and wilful political evasiveness, faithfully mirrors the content of the article.



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• ANTI-ZIONISM, from page 4

Once a piece of land came under Zionist control, all the Palestinian peasants who had worked the same land for as long as thirteen generations were kicked off and forced into the cities to search for employment. At the same time, the Histadrut, a Jewish-only trade union, was being formed and managed to limit the number of Palestinians working in urban areas.

It is no wonder that in their transition from rural subsistence farming to urban un-

employment a great deal of resentment arose. There were numerous riots and eventually an armed uprising in 1935-6 to protest this gradual but pervasive takeover.²⁰ But this was just the beginning. Until 1948, only 6 per cent of the land was under Zionist control.

During the "War of Independence," the Jewish Defence Forces proceeded to force the Palestinians off their land in a reign of terror very similar to a course they are now on in Lebanon. A long-standing member of the Knesset, Yical Allon, admits: "We saw a

need to clean the inner Galilee and to create a Jewish territorial succession in the entire area of upper Galilee.... We therefore looked for means which did not force us into employing force in order to cause the tens of thousands of sulky Arabs who remained in Galilee to flee....

"We tried to use a tactic which took advantage of the impression created by the fall of Safed and the Arab defeat in the area which was cleaned by Operation Mateteh (Operation Broom!), a tactic which worked miraculously well.

"I gathered all the Jewish mukhtars who had contacts in different villages and asked them to whisper in the ears of some Arabs that a great Jewish reinforcement had arrived in Galilee and that it was going to burn all the villages of Huleh. They were to suggest to these Arabs as friends to escape while there was still time."²¹

The Zionists, in fact, used other more violent methods to persuade the natives to flee. Although the massacre of Deir Yassin is well known, there were many other mass murders carried out by the regular forces of the Haganah, Nasr-al-din, Ain-al-zeitounch, al-Bi'na, al-Bassa, Safsaf, and Hula in Lebanon.²²

Jewish feminists who support the State of Israel support not only what they term "Jewish liberation" but also the uprooting and destruction of the Palestinian people.

To be anti-Zionist is not the same as being anti-Semitic.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Evelyn Torton Beck, editor, *Nice Jewish Girls* Persephone Press 1982; *Common Lives, Lesbian Lives* (Spring 1982) 42-6; Letty Pogrebin, "Anti-Semitism in the Women's Movement," *Ms* (June 1982); Regina Schreiber, "Copenhagen: One Year Later," *Lilith* 8 (Fall 1981)

² *Lilith*, p. 10
³ *Nice Jewish Girls*, p. 193
⁴ Coleman Romalis, "Rights and Wrongs: The Endangered Falashas," *The Canadian Forum* (April 1982). See also *The Lost Jews* by Louis Rappaport.
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37
⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38
⁷ Reb Moshe Shonfield and Neturei Karta, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse* (1977), p. 27.
⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25
⁹ *Ms*, p. 65
¹⁰ Sarah Feinstein, "It Has to do with Apples," *Lesbian Inciter* (July 1981)
¹¹ Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, *Shahak Report* (Tel Aviv 1973). This document contains the names of each of the 385 villages destroyed and indicates their original locations.
¹² Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (Vintage Books 1980), p. 248
¹³ *Ms*, p. 49
¹⁴ Rachel Katznelson Shazar, *The Plough Woman*; Ada Maimon, *Women Build a Land*; Lesley Hazelton, *Israeli Women*; Natalie Rein, *Daughters of Rachel*. See also *Broadside* (April 1982) and Tzena U'rena (Israeli women's centre)
¹⁵ *Our Roots Are Still Alive, The Shahak Papers*, Fawaz Turki, *The Disinherited*, Leila Khaled, *My People Shall Live*
¹⁶ Felicia Langer, *With My Own Eyes* (London 1975)
¹⁷ *Venus* (Hebrew magazine) (Fall 1981), p. 17
¹⁸ Marcia Freedman, a leading Israeli feminist. See also *Nice Jewish Girls*, p. 211
¹⁹ *Nice Jewish Girls*, p. 211
²⁰ Rosemary Sayish, *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries* (Zed Press 1979), pp. 39-46
²¹ Yigal Allon, *The Book of the Palmach*, vol. 2, p. 286, cited in *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*, p. 77
²² *Ibid.*, p. 75

Lilith Finkler is a Jewish radical feminist and non-Zionist. She spent six months of 1981 in Israel.

• PENSIONS, from page 3

job, and many women think it is, then women should be proud of it.

Treating a married woman as the employee of her husband has a number of advantages. It allows us to bring all wives into the CPP, not just those with children under six, and not just those who work only in the home. Inasmuch as it makes husbands pay for their wives' domestic services, it makes keeping their wives in the home slightly less advantageous economically. To some extent it may encourage women to stay at home, but any scheme that compensates wives for their domestic labour would so encourage them. Inasmuch as husbands, rather than "society," pay for their wives' pensions, it encourages women to stay at home less than a scheme where the costs were borne by society. And inasmuch as it compensates both women who work full-time and part-time outside the house, it does not encourage women to stay at home as much as a scheme that compensates only women who work full-time in the house.

One of the scheme's great advantages is precisely the feature that will arouse the most criticism. This plan demystifies the

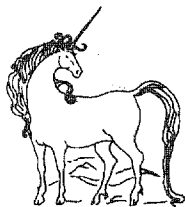
husband-wife employer-employee relationship. Women cannot begin to demand the just and appropriate compensation for their domestic services, or begin to demand policies that will lead to an equal distribution of house labour between men and women, until they recognize not only their oppression, but who is oppressing them.

We must work towards a society where women and men earn equal salaries, and where they have equal responsibilities inside and outside the house. As long as men earn twice as much as women, and, not coincidentally, do a quarter as much housework, women's pensions will be much lower than men's.

But, in the meantime, we must recognize that women do have far greater household responsibilities. The proposed pension scheme should compensate women for these responsibilities in a way that breaks, rather than reinforces, the sexist pattern of household and childcare work in our society.

Reva Landau is an active member of Toronto Area Caucus for Women and the Law (TACWL).

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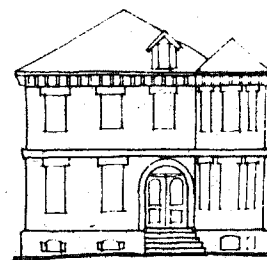


INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
 COMMITTEE
 PO Box 70, Station F, Toronto
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 Touch

**Caroline Duetz -691-5459
 Anne Wolfish - 964-0396**



Happy Birthday Broadside

May we be able to wish you many more.
 From the women at Nellie's.
 275A Broadview Ave., Toronto

Happy Birthday
Broadside

From the
**Gay Community Appeal
 of Toronto**

The 1982/83 Appeal Fundraising Campaign has begun! We have a new a/v show — a story of how lesbian and gay communities have grown in Toronto — and a goal of 1000 donors. Join us! Watch for further details or call 869-3036.

Happy Birthday Broadside
 from

**Mary Hassard,
 Chiropractor
 (416) 922-8817**

Week of Oct. 10

• **Wednesday, October 13:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), a self-help group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs, meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7 pm. Information: 961-7319.

• **Wednesday, October 13:** Theatre Passe Muraille presents "Satin Thighs" a play by Liberty Jane Carter about black lesbian prostitutes. 16 Ryerson Avenue, 363-2416. To October 31.

• **Wednesday, October 13:** Alliance for Non-Violent Action film series: "Women's Pentagon Action," "You Have Struck a Rock" and "With Babies and Banners." 7:30 pm. Harbord Collegiate. \$3.

• **Thursday, October 14:** Workshop discussion with Holly Near and panel of activists. "Why are we working together? Coalition politics in the '80s." Bloor United Church. 8 pm. \$2 donation.

• **Friday, October 15:** "Affirmative Action for Minorities in the Workplace" conference, sponsored by Urban Alliance on Race Relations. Caribbean Catholic Centre, 862 College St. 7 pm. Information: 598-0111. Also Saturday, October 16.



• **Friday, October 15:** Womynly Way Productions presents Holly Near in concert at Convocation Hall, U of T, 8:00 pm. \$7.50 advance, \$8.50 door.

• **Saturday, October 16:** Third Annual Women's Press "Slightly Damaged Book Sale". Discounts: 50 to 90%. Free refreshments. 16 Baldwin St. (at McCaul), 10 am — 5 pm. Information: Margie Wolfe, 598-0082.

Week of Oct. 17

• **Monday, October 18:** The Women's Group, support and consciousness raising group for lesbians meets at 519 Church Street, 8 pm. For more information contact Raechel: 690-9410 or Diane: 483-4490.

• **Monday, October 18:** Lesbian/Lesbienne: National Lesbian Newsletter meeting at 7:30 pm. For more information, call Kerry: 367-0589.

• **Tuesday, October 19:** International Festival of Authors. Authors from twenty five countries read from their work. Harbourfront York Quay Centre, 8 pm. To October 24.

• **Tuesday, October 19:** Lesbians Against the Right (LAR), general meeting. 340 College St., 3rd floor. 7:30 pm. Information: 960-3249.

OUTSIDE BROADSIDE

TORONTO WOMEN'S EVENTS CALENDAR

October 10 — November 6, 1982

• **Wednesday, October 20:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), a self-help group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs, meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7 pm. Information: 961-7319.

• **Wednesday, October 20:** International Women's Day Committee (IWDC) meeting 7:30 pm. Information 789-4541.

• **Thursday, October 21:** Lesbian and Gay Academic Society at the University of Toronto presents "Passionate Romantic Love: A Feminist Critique" with Johanna Stuckey. Rhodes Room, Trinity College, Hoskin Avenue, 8 pm.

• **Thursday, October 21:** Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) meets at 519 Church Street, 7:30 pm. Information: 536-5666.

• **Thursday, October 21:** Charlotte Bunch speaks on 'Global Feminism.' Sponsored by Women's Studies Program, U of T. Room 524, New College, 20 Willcocks (corner Huron). 4 pm. Free. Everyone welcome.

• **Friday, October 22:** *Broadside* presents Charlotte Bunch — Sex, Freedom and Violence: A Lesbian Feminist Perspective. 7:30 pm. Trinity United Church, 427 Bloor Street West. (See ad in this issue).

• **Friday, October 22:** Women and Ptolemaic Egypt," a lecture by Sarah Pomeroy at the McLaughlin Planetarium, 8:30 pm, 100 Queen's Park.

• **Friday, October 22:** Operation Dismantle's second annual conference, "Disarmament: The Emerging Global Mandate." York University. Registration and information: 367-0432. To October 24.

• **Saturday, October 23:** "Time Warp," a dance sponsored by the Gay Community Dance Committee. Concert Hall, 888 Yonge Street. Upstairs disco, downstairs women's music. \$7.

Week of Oct. 24

• **Sunday, October 24:** 'To Live in Freedom,' Anglo-Israeli film (1974) about the lives of Palestinians within Israel and in the occupied territories.

tories. Sponsored by Emil Gartner Lodge of the United Jewish People's Order and the Committee for Concerned Canadian Jews. Childcare on request (call 789-5507). 585 Cranbrooke Ave. (east of Bathurst, north of Lawrence). 8 pm. \$3 (students and unemployed \$1.50).

• **Monday, October 25:** The Women's Group, support and consciousness raising group for lesbians meets at 519 Church Street, 8 pm. For more information, contact Raechel: 690-9410, or Diane: 483-4490.

• **Monday, October 25:** Lesbian/Lesbienne: National Lesbian Newsletter meeting at 7:30 pm. For more information, call Kerry: 367-0589.

• **Monday, October 25:** Vinnie Burrows — One woman show, Sister, Sister.: Sponsored by Women's Commission, U of T. Faculty of Education Auditorium, (Bloor & Spadina), 7:30 pm, Tickets \$3.

CHARLOTTE BUNCH: October 22



• **Tuesday, October 26:** YWCA presents the Women of Distinction Awards Dinner. 7:30 pm at the Royal York Hotel, \$50.00. Information: 961-8100.

• **Wednesday, October 27:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), a self-help group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7 pm. Information: 961-7319.

• **Wednesday, October 27:** International Women's Day Committee meeting 7:30 pm. Information: 789-4541.

• **Thursday, October 28:** Toronto Lesbian Network, a forum for contact and exchange of information with lesbians and lesbian groups, 7:30 pm. 519 Church Street. Information: 533-6824.

• **Saturday October 30:** Toxic Substances conference: Practical strategies, health vs. the economy, working together with labour and environmental groups. Ontario Legisla-

tive Bldg., Room 228, Queen's Park. 9 am. Information: (days) 978-6155; (evenings) 463-2862.

• **Saturday, October 30:** Non-violent Persuasion Workshops, with Marshall Rosenberg. \$60/day (negotiable). Advance registration: OXFAM, 175 Carlton St., Contact: Arlene Anisman, 469-2726. Also Sunday, October 31.

• **Saturday, October 30:** Toronto Rape Crisis Centre sponsors "Come as You Were or Want To Be," a dance. Dress is optional. Information: 964-7477.

• **Saturday, October 30:** "Refuse the Cruise" rally in Ottawa. Toronto Disarmament Network and Women's Action for Peace have chartered buses leaving Toronto at 6:30 am to join rally protesting Canadian testing and parts production of American cruise missiles. For more information, call 469-1306 or 923-4215.

Week of Oct. 31

• **Monday, November 1:** The Women's Group, support and consciousness raising group for lesbians meets at 519 Church Street, 8 pm. For more information contact Raechel: 690-9410 or Diane: 483-4490.

• **Monday, November 1:** Lesbian/Lesbienne: National Lesbian Newsletter meeting at 7:30 pm. For more information, call Kerry: 367-0589.

• **Tuesday, November 2:** Lesbians Against the Right (LAR) meets at 7:30 pm. Information: 964-7477.

• **Wednesday, November 3:** Toronto Addicted Women's Self-Help Network (TAWSHN), a self-help group for women addicted to alcohol and other drugs, meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario Street, 7 pm. Information: 961-7319.

Wednesday, November 3: International Women's Day Committee meeting, 7:30 pm. Information: 789-4541.

• **Thursday, November 4:** Premiere of 'Recorded Live,' a music fantasy feature film with bands Hamburger Patti and the Helpers, Mama Quilla II, and TBA. 9:30 pm. Bloor Cinema. Information: 365-1103.

• **Thursday, November 4:** Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) meeting at 519 Church Street, 7:30 pm.

• **Thursday, November 4:** Heather Bishop and Charlie King in concert, Convocation Hall, U of T. Benefit for the Alliance for Non-Violent Action. Produced by Womynly Way and Cruise Missile Conversion Project. 8 pm. \$7 advance, \$8 door.

• **Saturday, November 6:** The Gathering, a dance and party at the New Pauline McGibbon Centre, 86 Lombard Street. Admission \$10. 961-6762.

Sponsored by **Women's Information Centre**

with help from **Gay Community Appeal** and **Toronto Women's Bookstore**

Compiled by Layne Mellanby

'Outside Broadside' is a monthly feature of the paper. To help make it as comprehensive as possible, let us know when you are planning an event.

In explaining your event (see coupon), keep it short — max. 25 words. Copy that is too long, or with incomplete information will not be printed.

We need to know well in advance: two weeks before the month your event's happening.

Fill in the coupon below and send it to *Broadside* or drop it off at the Toronto Women's Bookstore, 85 Harbord St., Toronto.

Calendar Information

What: (type of event) _____

Who: (sponsor, telephone) _____

Where: _____

When: _____

Cost: _____

**THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE
FEMINIST PARTY OF CANADA**



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PARTI FEMINISTE DU CANADA
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Toronto: M5A 2K3

Name: _____
Address: _____
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I would like to purchase membership in the Feminist Party of Canada at \$5.00. _____

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Are you willing to help organize (or meet with) FPC-PFC members in your area? Yes: No:

Do you wish to be on our mailing list? Yes No

Non-members are requested to contribute \$5 annually for the FPC-PFC Newsletter.

I would like to participate in committee work. Please contact me. _____

Donation: _____ Total: _____

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VICTORIAN ROW HOUSE for rent, semi-renovated, 3 bedrooms. \$475/mo. plus utilities. Pape and Dundas. Available November 15. Call: (home) 416-461-3413, or (work) 416-867-2800.

LESBIAN/FEMINIST couple, professionals, living with two lesbian/feminist Dobermans seek lesbian to rent large, quiet, private one-bedroom apartment in their house. 416-482-0038 (evenings).

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Contest closes November 13, 1982 (revised date)

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