

# Broadside

A FEMINIST REVIEW

Toronto Women's  
Calendar Inside.

Volume 4, number 3

Dec. 1982/Jan. 1983

\$1

Courtesy Frances Rooney



Victoria Hayward, friend of photographer Edith Watson, from Frances Rooney's slide show 'Finding Lesbian Herstory'.

**Telling  
Pictures?**  
See story page 11.

## INSIDE BROADSIDE

### FEATURES

**ZIONISM REVISITED:** In the continuing controversy around Zionism/anti-semitism, *Broadside* presents three responses: from Jewish feminist Fay Nemani, lawyer Reva Landau, and US feminist Zionist group, Di Vilde Chayez. Page 8.

**STUDENT STRUGGLES:** High school feminist Wendy Wine explores the trials and tribulations of being a political activist in a high school setting, where discussions for her school's International Women's Day celebrations culminated in 'The Penis Bread Incident'. Page 5.

### COMMENT

**HOW BILL C-127 WAS PASSED:** For the past decade feminists have been monitoring revisions to legislation concerning rape and sexual assault which have led to the current government's Bill C-127. A Vancouver working group reports on the historical developments, and questions the role of two lobby groups, NAC and NAWL, in the process. Page 4.

**IS YOUR BOYFRIEND INTO PORN?** How do women, particularly feminists, deal with a close male friend who has hard-core porn stashed under his bed? For Marcela Pap, the fight against pornography comes close to home, and she asks for responses from other women. Movement Comment, page 14.

**CALENDAR:** Don't miss 'Outside Broadside', our Toronto women's events calendar for December and January. Page 15.



'Red Berets' sing at Abortion Clinic open meeting.

### NEWS

**ABORTION DEMAND:** Health Minister Larry Grossman could, without any legislation, OK the existence of free-standing abortion clinics. But since he hasn't, Ontario women have been forced to set one up illegally. What's more important, sticking to the letter of the law, or protecting women's health and sanity? Susan G. Cole reports. Page 3.

### ARTS

**MQII:** The music lives on but the band is gone. Deena Rasky reviews Mama Quilla II's recently released album and comments on the irony of the band's folding. Page 10.

**LESBIAN IMAGES:** Barbara Halpern Martineau reviews Frances Rooney's slide show, "Finding Lesbian Herstory" and asks whether we really have to find lesbianism in every woman-identified woman's life? Page 11.

**BOOKS:** June Callwood reviews the Women's Press anthology, *Still Ain't Satisfied*; Amanda Hale reviews Jonathan Schell's book about nuclear madness, *The Fate of the Earth*; and Jean Wilson provides an idiosyncratic booklist for good holiday reading. Pages 11-13.

# LETTERS

## Broadside:

The kind of awkwardness created by the man who tells a Black, "I'm not a racist," or tells a woman, "I'm not sexist," or "I'm a Feminist man," is an unfair, extra burden to place on a Black or a woman. I presume, however, that Judy Fudge ("Kiss Me, I'm a Feminist Man," *Broadside*, Oct. 1982) prefers the guilty and self-conscious male to the "normal," guilt-denying, thoughtless male.

The awakening man has few, if any, men to turn to, and so will be inpinging awkwardly on the woman "veteran" for understanding. Even if the woman and her male friend go on feeling it's worth while to hang in there, impatience and misunderstanding will be generated by their encounters from time to time. As with racism, there are levels and layers echoing behind the issues of sexism that you are dealing with on the surface; the larger misunderstandings sometimes obscure the many smaller misunderstandings until the smaller draw the larger into a tangled knot that only the most loving or hardy or patient can loosen.

To cite one of these side misunderstandings which can begin in a moment and grow into a month-long fog: The "feminist male" may see that his woman friend is facing some crucial life-problem — a confrontation with relatives, for instance; he may try to draw her out, thinking it will help if she talks about it. If she seems reticent, he may draw

back, assuming that she is trying to find her way without interference from any male interpretation — it being so often the case that one of her chief problems is that she has never been free of some male's interpretation and what she needs most is to *not* hear him or his advice. If he has read the moment wrong, she may interpret his behaviour as his having a half-hearted interest at a time when she needs her friend's support.

In other words, the situation of sexism like the situation of racism sets us up for an endless number of misunderstandings that will occur no matter how sophisticated we try to be. Those who haven't given up entirely on gender-to-gender communication had best tell each other right away to be prepared for several good quarrels and a couple of fallings-out before they can get through the first wall of fire which is anger, resentment, hatred, and fear. After that there might be some hope for quick, honest responses and questions at the moment you are relating.

The burden of patience and tolerance should fall toward men (so don't bother with any male who is not willing to take on these qualities which are now so toxic to most women who know that men have used them to keep women down). I assume that by attempting such a friendship, a woman is already exercising a considerable degree of patience and tolerance. Denial of guilt is so common a defence; the male who has stopped saying, defensively, "But I'm a Feminist male," is one who is at last ready for true dialogue with a woman in that he may be ready to see that she too has something to gain from this encounter, for the layers of sexual stereotyping, male and female, are in both of them.

When some of her "male" roles — picked up from father or brothers or media — are resented by him and she quarrels with some of his "female" roles, both are weeding out the ghosts of that patriarchal nuclear family that has engendered so much of their confusion. He too has an oppressed woman in-

side longing to be free and not abused — not abused by himself as well as by other men. She too has an oppressive male fearful that feelings will drag her into the fatal pit of mothering and the home. (Even the words I've just used are snares for misunderstanding when taken out of the context of real people working through their special, individual variations on these roles.)

I've written so much when what I meant to say to Judy Fudge was simply this: The next time a man tells you in a nervous, defensive, denying or intimidated way that he's a "Feminist," ask him if he says the same thing when he's alone with other men. As he stammers and blushes (hopefully, he won't) you might say, "That would be the place for your fervent declarations. No need for you to preach a cause at its source. Preach it to those who are still blind to it."

It occurs to me now that we are all at first too proud to admit our ignorance, and the man who says, "I'm a Feminist male," is probably asking, "How do I become a Feminist male?" He's waking up — annoying, superfluous, and much too late for you to care. If you have such a male friend, you may prefer to show him this letter and save your breath. There are so few of us males who are sufficiently awake to be even annoying that I am grateful to hear about the annoying. Where you have no cause to celebrate, I do, and I would be glad to hear from any of them for the sake of the separate little grove of understanding that might generate — not to mention the lessening of alienation. We are, as a group of women I know call it, "the male sodality" of the women's movement. Yes, once in a while — quite often, in fact — one can find a sense of humour about and in the midst of "The Struggle."

Onward, in contradiction, with the Great Wave, and its undertow — may *Broadside* prosper!

Jim Eilers  
San Francisco

## Broadside:

I am pleased that other Jewish women have taken the time and effort to begin this dialogue regarding Zionism. I only wish it was based more on information sharing and less on name calling and general accusations. Just what is the Jewish feminist group referring to (see "Letters," *Broadside*, November 1982) when it cites half truths, distortions, quotations out of context and arrested in time? My article is not, as Otlie Lockey suggests, a political diatribe nor a piece of P.L.O. propaganda. I provided accurate, accessible sources for every single point I made. In fact, of the 23 publications mentioned, all but five were written by Jews.

The accusation that it was "unbalanced" does not acknowledge the power structure now existing in the middle east. It is the Palestinians who are the victims! My personal politics are anarcho-feminist. As such, I do not support the existence of any state mechanism since it serves as a vehicle of oppression no matter who is in control. I adhere to the statement by Emma Goldman in her essay, "The Individual, Society and the State": "Political government and the state are a...development growing out of a desire of the stronger to take advantage of the weaker, of the few against the many." How can feminists who chant "Not the church and not the state" also maintain their support for the state of Israel?

Lockey concludes her article with the statement, "To join forces with the enemies of Israel is to join a war against the Jews." How then does she analyse the actions of the Israeli government which joins forces with the enemies of the Jews (i.e. Argentina and Ethiopia)? Some protesters against Israel are indeed anti-semitic, just as there are women who demonstrate against pornography, but also oppose abortion and lesbian rights. Presence at a public protest does not always mean a comprehensive understanding of the issue!

Continued page 6

## Broadside

### EDITORIAL

Philinda Masters, Editor  
Jean Wilson, Books Editor

### PRODUCTION

Philinda Masters, Co-ordinator  
Amanda Hale  
Carroll Klein  
Maureen Phillips  
Gail Van Varseveld  
Wendy Wine

### DISTRIBUTION

Susan Cole, Co-ordinator  
Elaine Johnson  
Otlie Lockey  
Judy Lowry

### CIRCULATION

Catherine Maunsell, Co-ordinator

### ADVERTISING

Judy Stanleigh, Co-ordinator

### COLLECTIVE MEMBERS:

Beverley Allinson, Susan G. Cole,  
Philinda Masters, Catherine  
Maunsell, Layne Mellanby, Deena  
Rasky, Judy Stanleigh, Jean Wil-  
son, Eve Zaremba.

### Address all correspondence to:

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

The *Broadside* Collective does not necessarily share the views contained in any article, even if the byline belongs to a collective member. Views of the Collective are expressed **only** in editorials, and essays signed by the Collective.

*Broadside* is published 10 times a year by Broadside Communications Ltd., P.O. Box 494, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1. (416) 598-3513. Member: Canadian Periodical Publishers' Association. This issue: December 1982/January 1983; Vol. 4, no. 3.

Typesetting: PinkType  
Kornagraphics  
Printing: Delta Web Graphics  
Second Class mail registration no: 4771  
ISSN: 0225-6843

Next production date: January 22, 23  
Copy deadline: January 5

## EDITORIALS

### Support Your Local Clinic

Contrary to popular belief, contrary to the intent of the Criminal code for that matter, abortion is still not available to women in our own communities. Disadvantaged women in particular have discovered that even in Toronto, where abortion services are greater than anywhere else in Ontario, women are having to wait up to eight weeks for abortion procedures. To add to that, women outside urban centres are being forced to travel long distances, sometimes to the US, to find the means to terminate their pregnancies. These delays increase the risk of complication in an abortion procedure, and are a risk to women's health. *Broadside* believes that it is the provincial government's responsibility to improve access to abortion services.

The bureaucracy that creates the dangerous delays can be eliminated without changing the legislation. Health Minister Larry Grossman has the power to approve free-standing abortion clinics that would operate within the framework of the law and cut down on the delays caused by hospitals. The

Ministry has been lobbied on this possibility before (see Susan E. Cole's article, 'The Miscarriage of Justice', on the following page), and the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics has begun another campaign. We urge you to support the coalition.

You can begin by writing the Health Minister, insisting that he carry out his responsibility to deliver abortion services to women across the province. Larry Grossman is aware of what he has to do. Write: The Hon. Larry Grossman, 10th Floor, Hepburn Block, Queen's Park, Toronto, M7A 1R3.

As the pressure on the minister builds, the coalition is supporting the establishment of an illegal abortion facility that will be opened by a local physician and staffed by experienced and sympathetic health care workers. Attorney General Roy McMurtry will decide whether the clinic will be allowed to operate without being prosecuted. Women are legally entitled to abortion services. Mr. McMurtry can do his part to ensure our legal rights by not prosecuting the

professionals who have chosen to do abortions. Write him and tell him so, at 18 King St. West, 18th Floor, Toronto, M5C 1C5.

If you would like copies of sample letters or need any more information, write to: Coalition for Abortion Clinics, Box 935, Station Q, Toronto, M4T 2P1; or call 961-1507.

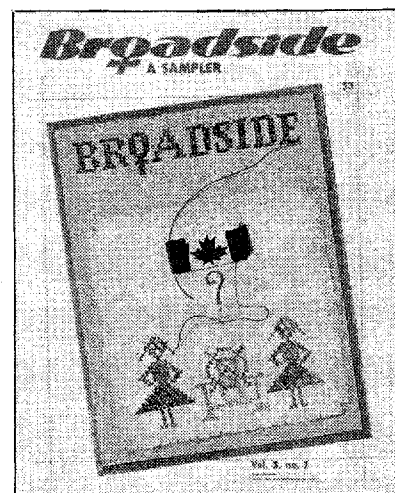
If the Attorney General decides to use the full force of the law, the Coalition will need funds badly. But even as we await the opening of the clinic and the decision of the Tory government, the coalition is organizing public meetings and trying to reach out to pro-choice advocates. The last Gallup poll says that 72% of Canadians believe abortion ought to be a matter between a woman and her doctor. That means there are plenty to reach.

We cannot afford to allow a small minority of anti-choice fanatics to hold women's health for ransom. The government of Ontario should realize that its credibility decreases by the day as long as they ignore the majority of Ontarians who believe that a woman has the right to choose.



### Broadside T-shirts • \$8.50

S-M-L-XL: Navy, green, black,  
maroon. Logo tastefully placed.  
Send cheque and particulars to:  
Broadside, PO Box 494, Stn. P,  
Toronto M5S 2T1.



### SAMPLE THE 'SAMPLER'

Broadside's 'Sampler' — a collection of articles from our first two years — is an ideal present for birthdays, Christmas, surprises. Send \$3 (plus 60¢ handling) with your name, address and postal code to: Broadside 'Sampler', PO Box 494, Station P, Toronto M5S 2T1.

# The Miscarriage of Justice

by Susan G. Cole

As health care activists and a local doctor prepare to open an illegal abortion clinic in Toronto, concerned citizens, editorial writers at the dailies, and even feminists who don't have enough information are wringing their hands with indecision. Why, ask many of them, do we have to break the law? The Committee for the Establishment of Abortion Clinics (CEAC) can safely assure those timid naysayers that they can stop beating their breasts. When is it appropriate to break the law? Why, when all else fails, as it has with the abortion struggle in Canada.

Before 1969, when simply purchasing an oral contraceptive was illegal, Parliament was systematically lobbied by health activists who claimed that regardless of the content of the Criminal Code, pregnant women were procuring abortions. In front of a Parliamentary Committee it was revealed that poor women were having to resort to the back streets or knitting needles; wealthier women could plug into an existing network of hushed physicians who performed the procedures under the guise of D and C's "for medical purposes." This last, the business of the availability of abortion to privileged women so embarrassed the Canadian Medical Association that it adopted a reformist position on abortion, almost all of which was adopted by Parliament as part of an omnibus bill that legalized the sale of birth control, decriminalized certain sex acts between consenting adults and legalized abortion — sort of.

The bill established what became a mammoth abortion bureaucracy forcing women seeking abortions to wait for approval by a Therapeutic Abortion Committee (TAC) set up in an accredited hospital. The pregnancy had to be deemed by TAC members (doctors, naturally) to be dangerous to the woman's life or health. This tangle of red tape served two crucial functions for the Liberal government. First it worked to convince the relentless Right To Life faction that the state wasn't offering women "abortion on demand". Second, the legislation took the responsibility of administering abortion policy out of the hands of the government and into the hands of the hospitals.

The hospital boards became most adept at skewing policy to make abortion inaccessible. Now, even wealthy women who couldn't rely on the old boys network to procure a procedure had to wait for a TAC to pass judgement — provided the hospital had set up a TAC in the first place. The failure to establish Therapeutic Abortion Committees was the most effective means of closing down the abortion option to women after abortion was ostensibly legalized. In 1977, in Ontario, only 110 out of 240 accredited hospitals had established abortion committees.

In Toronto, where access to abortion was supposed to be greater than anywhere else in Ontario, 63 out of 101 doctors who performed abortions performed first trimester abortions and only 25 performed procedures in the second trimester. The doctors who took patients on began to demand payment for abortions up front, a practice considered unethical even by the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

And so, a woman seeking an abortion took a good deal of time finding a doctor, finding the hospital that had established a TAC and finding the funds for the procedure. Having managed all of that, her problems were far from over.

Finding a hospital with a TAC hardly meant instant approval for the application. In fact, in 1977 there were 21 hospitals with TACs that had not approved a single procedure. Other TAC idiosyncracies could hamper the luckless applicant. She may have found her application in the hands of a Committee whose rotation had placed on it three doctors personally opposed to abortion. Or she might have encountered a committee which narrowly interpreted the phrase "life or health" and would not approve a procedure unless the woman's life were at stake. Or she might have encountered a committee that had met its quota. There is no other medical procedure for which quotas exist in any hospital. Indeed, no other procedure requires the prior approval of anyone but an adult patient and his or her doctor. Finally, she might have met up with a TAC that would not meet for weeks. Particularly during the summer, TACs tend to meet infrequently, leading many to believe the golf games of various physicians to be more important than the lives of pregnant women.

This is no hyperbole. What many people, particularly those wondering why this radical and illegal action of setting up a clinic has to take place, have failed to grasp is that all of this waiting, wondering and pleading with the medical establishment was not only degrading, it was dangerous to women's health. Every one of the obstacles thrown up by hospitals was working to create a serious delay between the time a woman found out she was pregnant and the scheduled time of her abortion procedure. The risk of terminating a pregnancy it should be noted, increases with the length of the pregnancy.

In 1973, Dr. Henry Morgentaler was charged with performing illegal abortions in his Montreal clinic and was hounded by the Liberal government of Quebec for years after. During the campaign against Morgentaler, the federal Liberals tried to deflect criticism by setting up the Badgely Commission to study the abortion law. The commission reported what feminists had been saying for years — that women, particularly in small towns, did not have equal access to abortion; that there was an average delay of eight weeks between a woman's first consultation with her doctor and the time her procedure was performed; that the abortion law was simply not working.

The facts surrounding the unavailability of abortion were well-documented but the government would not move, even at the behest of one of its own commissions. The law was just not going to change. It was too controversial, the right wing was too noisy. In spite of the pro-choice lobby and well-organized campaign to support Morgentaler, the Liberals did not budge. They continued to persecute and prosecute Henry Morgentaler and would not tamper with the abortion law.

The situation, even in Toronto, worsened. At various points, Women's College Hospital decided it would not perform abortions in its gynecological clinic because the chief resident was personally opposed to abortion. Gynecologists began their flight from the OHIP plan, leaving the city with just a handful within the program. The price of abortion went up and was still demanded upfront. The Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL) was making no headway with the Feds.

One option still remained. The existing legislation contained a loophole that could

be exploited by the Province with relative ease. Under the new law, the provincial Minister of Health had the right to approve a hospital for the purpose of administering the abortion legislation. Put in clearer terms, with a stroke of the Minister's pen, a free-standing abortion clinic could have been legalized. The Women's Health Organization (WHO) developed a proposal for such a clinic and submitted it to the Minister of Health in 1977.

The facility would have had associated with it physicians who rotated on a Therapeutic Abortion Committee that would meet once a week instead of once every two weeks or once monthly. The clinic would have provided supportive counselling services to help women deal with the experience of terminating a pregnancy (instead of making her feel guilty, as happened in many hospitals) and to make sure that women were adequately informed about birth control. Based on the data supplied by clinics similarly modelled in the U.S. (minus the Therapeutic Abortion Committees), the procedures would have been performed under safe and controlled conditions, in fact 2 1/2 times safer than in hospitals.

As it stood at the time, women were being given the runaround by physicians who refused to help but still billed OHIP. Either way, women found they had to visit at least two doctors before their procedures. In some hospitals where the procedure was performed, women were required to stay two, three, sometimes five days, putting added pressure on the health care system. The beauty of the clinic was that in an outpatient setting, women would have received good medical service and valuable counselling and the proposal would have saved the province hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The whole thing could have been legal. All the minister, Dennis Timbrell, had to do was make the facility an "approved hospital".

Timbrell said no. He said no in spite of the fact that saving money was the mandate of every Minister of government. And unlike most politicians who fall to their knees in front of Gallup polls, he wouldn't take Gallup's word that 72% of Canadians believed that abortion should be a matter between a woman and her doctor.

Timbrell said no, in spite of the fact that the briefs were meticulously researched. WHO had done original studies of doctors and hospitals and the brief included data from gynecologists that helped to show the lack of standards in the delivery of abortion services. Doctors charged varying fees, hospitals had varying quotas and demanded different lengths of stay.

By coincidence another group, lawyers this time, submitted a proposal nearly identical to WHO's. The Women's Health Clinic group worked together with WHO to persuade the Minister that support for the proposal came from different quarters, from more radical nurses, community workers and doctors in WHO and from apparently more reform-minded and sensible lawyers. The strategy did not work.

Since then, the crisis in abortion has worsened. Former WHO members confess that in 1977, when they approached Timbrell, at least the situation in Toronto was bearable. But recently a woman called Wellesley Hospital and was told she'd have to

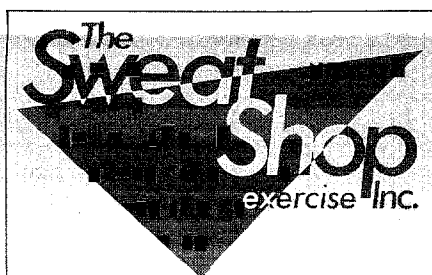
wait six weeks for an abortion. Mississauga Hospital is making it easier for women in their second trimester to get abortions if they agree to be sterilized at the same time. At Toronto General, where abortion policy is the most progressive in the city, the gynecological clinic books an average of six appointments a day for every 75 calls from abortion patients.

Just before CEAC and Henry Morgentaler announced their intentions to support an illegal clinic, CEAC updated the WHO brief and urged Minister of Health Larry Grossman to legalize abortion clinics. Mr. Grossman couldn't decide.

Women's health is being put at risk by a medical establishment which has seized the right to judge women and the right to make the experience of getting an abortion a punishing one for women. And we have a pig-headed government that, via the polls, via hard research, via the clear-thinking of committed health professionals, has been given ample reason, and a way, to provide abortion services.

We've been through the system. We can watch the situation worsen for so long. Then it's our responsibility to operate outside the law. Dr. Morgentaler taught us that.


Remember that the tactic has worked before. Scores of doctors in the 60's were breaking the laws that applied to abortion then. (The law was changed in 1969 to bring the abortion law in line with current medical practice.) Maybe it will work that way again. If not, the existence of an illegal clinic will guarantee to women the medical services to which they are legally entitled. ●



☐ COMPREHENSIVE WORKOUTS  
TO MUSIC  
FOR MEN AND WOMEN

18 ADELAIDE STREET  
WEST ☐ THIRD FLOOR  
TORONTO ● M5H 1L6  
■ (416) 947 1110

NO JOB TOO ODD!!  
Phone Morgan or Ruth  
**961-1768**  
24-HR ANSWERING SERVICE  
HOUSEWORKS  
BY WOMYN FOR WOMYN  
JOINS  
**LUGEM & LEEVUM**  
Painting, Renovations, Carpentry and Moving

Antiques & Collectibles  
  
1936 Queen St. E. (Beaches)  
690-5152

# Lobby Logistics: Bill C-127

by the Bill C-127 Working Group

## The Early Days

The Canadian Women's movement began addressing the issue of rape in about 1972. In that year Vancouver Rape Relief opened its doors and within the next six years there were more than thirty rape crisis centres operating in Canada. The anti-rape movement gained momentum as women began to recognize the violence in our lives. The injustice perpetrated upon the victims of rape by the courts (or the second rape as we called it) sparked discussions around rape law. We came to realize that male attitudes to rape were enshrined in the law, and the law in no way served to protect the physical and sexual autonomy of women.

During this time period, some feminists, notably Diana E. Russell, Susan Brownmiller, and Debra Lewis and Lorenne Clark, began to do research in the area of rape. Generally these authors suggested the law be reformed to provide for gender-free offences of sexual assault to replace the existing offence of rape.

Brownmiller's 1975 book, *Against Our Will*, suggested that the law be reformed to include "a gender-free, non-activity specific law governing all manner of sexual assaults." Clark and Lewis in their 1977 book, *Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality*, took this a step further, proposing "the creation of new assault offences to define prohibited behaviour on the basis of principles which acknowledge the full equality of men and women." They also suggested that, with respect to future laws relating to sexual assault, "it is irrelevant whether the act is perpetrated by a male on a female or a female on a male."

The various books and articles which had surfaced, coupled with the loud voices of the "grassroots" anti-rape movement (e.g. Rape Crisis Centres, Women Against Rape) prompted various national bodies to take notice of the issues being raised. Indeed, as early as October 1974, the Advisory Council on the Status of Women had decided that one of its priority concerns would be sexual offences in the Criminal Code.

In 1976, Bill C-71 was passed, which was intended as a step towards giving protection to victims of rape. It became very clear that the changes only affected procedure in rape trials and that the substance of the law remained the same. Certainly reporting of rapes did not increase and rape victims continued to suffer degradation at the hands of the law.

Meanwhile, there was some discussion among women's groups as to what form a new law should take. There appeared to be general agreement that the whole area of sexual offences should be overhauled, that rape should be considered an "offence against the person" (and not lumped together with offences of public morals), and that the violent nature of the act must be stressed. (There was even some discussion that the sexual aspect could be left out altogether.) This represented the state of consensus reached when the National Association of Sexual Assault Crisis Centres met in Victoria in 1978. They adopted policy recommending that new assault offences be created to prohibit all acts of forcible sexual contact and that there be no differentiation on the basis of the gender of the parties to the offence.

Thus, by 1978 this position regarding *how* rape laws should be changed was established, although there had not been extensive debate regarding degenderization or the effects of using the term "sexual assault" instead of rape. Attention shifted to the federal government's proposals to change rape laws.

## Government Moves

The federal government's first move was to introduce Bill C-52 into the House of Commons — the day after the national conference of Sexual Assault Crisis Centres. No mention of the bill had been made by the government's representative who attended the Victoria conference. The bill, proposing the substitution of "indecent assault" and "aggravated indecent assault" for the offence of rape, was seen merely as a bone thrown to placate the anti-rape lobby.

The bill did not come close to the more progressive Law Reform Commission work-

ing paper on Sexual Offences which appeared three weeks later. In fact, as was suspected would happen, the government allowed Bill C-52 to die on the order paper. The Law Reform Commission's final recommendations came out in November of 1978 favoring the removal of husbands' exemption from prosecution for rape and suggesting that the offences of "sexual interference" and "sexual aggression" replace the crime of rape.

In January 1981, the federal Justice Minister introduced Bill C-53. According to staff in his department he wanted to contradict charges that he had only been working on issues related to Canada's new constitution. C-53 proposed replacement of rape by the two-tiered offence of "sexual assault" and "aggravated sexual assault" and represented some movement towards the positions developed by national feminist groups. The debates about government legislation did not focus on such key issues as definition of sexual assault — which were left to the discretion of the judiciary. Instead, the discussions centred on legal terminology, technical details and their ramifications: Should "bodily harm" be "serious"? Should belief of consent be "reasonable" or merely "honest"? Were the penalties adequate? — with sentences for sexual assault (supposedly covering everything from "bum-pitching" to "rape with a minimum of violence" ranging from a possible fine to 10 years imprisonment. The government's moves were centre-stage. Women's groups were asked to put their energy and trust in tinkering with the criminal justice system — the very system which has come under so much criticism over the last ten years for its anti-women bias.



Once the government got into the act, basic assumptions about sexual assault went largely unchallenged. A 1980 article by Constance Backhouse and Leah Cohen in *Canadian Women's Studies*, which could have served to re-open the debate, was effectively stifled by the momentum to entrench in law the 1978 positions. In absence of any concerted effort by Backhouse and Cohen to communicate directly with women's groups around the need to "take another look," what could have been a grand interruption appears only as a minor blip on the graph charting the progression towards Bill C-127.

## The Practice of National Women's Organizations

The two groups that have been most visible recently in lobbying for changes in rape laws are the National Associations of Women and the Law (NAWL) and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC). (The Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres was not as visible. The departure, in the Summer of 1979, of the National Assister of the NASACC and her replacement by a between-conference governing body of Regional Representatives decentralized rape crisis centres' work around legal reform. This work was later delegated to the Ontario Coalition. However, for whatever reasons, CASAC does not appear as a prominent force in the debate around legislative change.) NAWL is a group made up mostly of lawyers and law students. They are educationally qualified and strategically located (including having members in key positions in the federal government) to be advocates for the concerns of local women's groups who have neither the time nor the opportunity for concerted lobbying. It is logical that government officials would prefer to work with a national group having such expertise. And, it is understandable that women's groups tended to defer to

NAWL as a group with expertise that is particularly valuable in efforts to change legislation.

However, questions have to be asked about the wisdom of deferring to women who are, in the case of NAWL, actually part of or working to become part of the system that needs to be changed — the system that has not traditionally served women's best interests. In the women's movement we've had ample evidence of the difficulties women face in working from within the system to change it. And we've tried to avoid letting the state or the media set up some of us as "experts," knowing that isolation of such women and often unfair resentment of them can result. A further problem is that once we embark on a course of letting feminists who are removed from the daily realities of rape victims, for example, speak for us it is harder for grassroots concerns to be heard. Unfortunately, it is also true that the decision-making procedures of national groups compound this problem.

Groups such as the Vancouver Association of Women and the Law (VAWL) and the Toronto Area Caucus of Women and the Law (TACWL) prepared and distributed their own analyses of Bill C-53 which differed — in TACWL's case, substantially — from NAWL's positions. However, as far as the federal government was concerned, it is clear NAWL's statements carried the most weight.

In reviewing the role of the National Action Committee, the concerns we've raised about undue deference to experts and less than fully democratic internal decision-making procedures are apparent. NAC is Canada's premier national women's organization, with member groups as diverse as the Communist Party of Canada and the United Church (and including NAWL), and claims to represent millions of Canadian women. Lobbying is a focal point of NAC's work and a regular adjunct to its annual general meeting which is held in Ottawa each March precisely to afford access to federal politicians. It is significant that after NAC's 1982 lobby, members were outraged by the low representation of Liberal MPs — particularly when women's groups had been asked to advise the government about C-53. It is obvious now that the Liberals did not bother themselves by meeting with women who'd come from across Canada to lobby them because they had already established a working relationship with key members of NAC (and NAWL) more conveniently located in Ottawa and Toronto. Thus, the government could later claim — as it already has — that it gave us women what we wanted, and it will therefore make any future efforts to change the legislation even more difficult.

Unfortunately NAC, in particular, cooperated — perhaps unwittingly though, no doubt, with good intentions. For example, in 1982 NAC forwarded its brief to the Parliamentary Committee on C-53 prior to its annual general meeting in March. Participants in the justice workshops at the meeting remember having to insist that the contents of that brief be made available to them. The brief was *not* put forward for approval by NAC members. Further, it is noteworthy that the NAC brief deferred to NAWL and endorsed fully recommendations NAWL had presented. This perpetuated and re-inforced the dominance of those few women who had taken responsibility for developing NAWL's position. In addition, when NAC actually sent a delegate to appear in person before the Parliamentary Committee on C-53, its representative — a feminist author/researcher who had previously been consulted by the Justice Department on drafting rape legislation — spoke at times as an individual and contradicted some points in the policy on which NAC's brief was based. Later, when NAC was continuing to lobby for improvements in C-53, its executive and consultants found themselves in the difficult circumstance of having to take positions that would not undermine NAC's credibility by contradicting what its representative had said to the Parliamentary Committee.

A final example of the problems of responding to government is the eleventh hour activities surrounding passage of C-127 (the abridged version of Bill C-53). Amendments were flying from all sides in the House of Commons and women across Canada were trying to fathom what was really being

proposed. We had to rely on our representatives in the east. Unfortunately, the NAC executive apparently gave no thought to refusing to play by so-called "parliamentary rules" and take time for careful consideration of the amendments. Instead, local NAC members were urged by the executive to send telegrams supporting a bill they had not even seen. As it turns out, NAC's executive support for passage of the legislation contravenes policy passed by delegates to its own annual general meeting in 1982.

It is important to appreciate how insidiously demands from government, for input and response, work to compromise organizations and individual advocates — particularly when the stakes are as high as rape and assault legislation that can affect so many Canadian women. It is neither useful nor valid to blame the individuals involved. Also, the difficulties of being a national women's organization in a country the size of Canada and the pressure to respond to government, to play by the government's rules and schedules, can make checking with local members seem cumbersome and inefficient. No one would charge that NAC or NAWL deliberately disenfranchised and alienated its members — however, that is one result.

## Questions for the future

The account and analysis of process we've presented is not meant to undermine or devalue the work of the women who have researched and written or lobbied in NAC and NAWL for changes in rape and assault laws. Without their contributions the legislation would be even worse than C-127. But C-127 is not good enough. And the process by which we got it raises serious questions we must all address if we are to learn from these experiences for future work.

- How do we in the women's movement define "experts" on particular women's issues? How can we balance the tendency to value more highly the expertise acquired through academia, research, and writing, with the importance of expertise obtained in direct work with women and the problems they face in their every day experience?
  - Should the "rape debate" be reopened? What does "sexual assault" really mean (there are no definitions in C-127)? How can we cut through the legalistic jargon and deal with the problems rape victims and battered women will face as a result of C-127?
  - How do we want to make legislative change? Do we see legislative change as an end in itself? Shouldn't we be pressuring for needed reforms in such a way as to empower and politicize women in the process? In terms of a strategy for legislative change — do we accept that change must come about gradually; that we must respond to governments' language, time tables, and rules; that some change is better than none; and, should we tailor our demands to what is "feasible"?
  - How can national women's organizations be more effective advocates for the concerns identified by feminists working with women at the grassroots/community level? Can the decision-making structure and practices of national groups be revised to respect local groups more and minimize eastern domination? Can local groups find ways of participating more fully in national organizations so that women working at the federal level are less isolated and better supported?
- The years preceding the passage of Bill C-127 provide us with a "case study" of a recurring problem — how do we best integrate the efforts of women working at all levels and simultaneously resist pressure to play by the government's rules. If discussion of the issues raised here provides us with a better blueprint for our future work, we will have made significant gains from a bad situation. •

*The 'Bill C-127 Working Group' is a Vancouver collective consisting of Kate Andrew, Jan Barnsley, Megan Ellis, Debra Lewis, Hilarie McMurray, Joanne Ransom and Jillian Ridington. This article was written by Megan, Jan and Joanne, and a version was printed in Kinesis, October 1982.*



Lynn Spink

# High School Confidential

High school feminists at International Women's Day, Toronto, 1982: (from left) Rachel Cox, Wendy Wine and Emma Hewitt.

## by Wendy Wine

Every element of the high school atmosphere, from textbooks to adolescent social life, is an obstacle for young women wanting to learn about women or feminism. For this reason, the term "high school feminist" is almost self-contradictory. The great majority of high school students are angry and resentful, but they are typically not aware of feminist issues.

During the 1975-76 teachers' strike in Toronto, a small group of students at North Toronto Collegiate Institute produced a report called, "Is Anybody Out There Listening?", a detailed examination of high school textbooks, guidance materials, and physical education programs, which found, to no one's surprise, that all of these educational facilities were blatantly sexist. Given that very little has changed in the time since the report was written, high schools are still, in all probability, reproducing sexist attitudes and turning out young women with a very limited view of their place in the world.

I "came of age" in the Toronto alternative school system, where I spent most of my high school career. The Toronto Board of Education sponsors a network of about twenty alternative elementary and secondary schools, each with a unique philosophy and educational program. The schools vary widely in size and design, ranging from purely independent study programs to more highly structured environments. Although I know of no alternative school that is an ideal learning environment (if there is such a thing), none of the alternative high schools could be as stifling as a regular high school.

My perspective on "high school feminism," as it were, is regrettably narrow, due to the scarcity of self-identified feminists in the high school system. A strong sense of isolation runs through the stories of young feminists. They are few in number, and for good reason. Those of us who have come to call ourselves feminists have done so in spite of our education, be it "normal" or non-traditional. The high school atmosphere is not conducive to heightened feminist awareness in students and even though many alternative school students are politically conscious, they are not feminists.

Conditioning and typical adolescent social games are not confined to the regular school system. In alternative schools, high degrees of student responsibility and personal attention tend to foster more cynical, if not always more challenging, thinking and attitudes; outwardly most people are fairly open-minded. But feminism is a funny thing: it tends to bring out defensiveness in even the most open-minded people.

My own feminism did not develop as a result of anything I learned in school, except possibly as an angry reaction to some of the material I was exposed to and *not* exposed to, in my classes at Inglenook school. I began to complain, about the teachers' use of sexist language, biased textbooks, and about the general lack of content dealing with women in the courses I was taking.

At first, I was taken lightly, labelled and teased. I was obviously expected to come to my senses and drop it. Instead, I sought the material I was looking for outside of the school. (It is not insignificant that my mother is also a feminist.) Unfortunately, the women with whom I would later form alliances were in different classes and different schools, and the support I received from women in my classes around such issues as sexist language was not very strong.

One young woman who was also becoming impatient with academic and social traditions at Inglenook school was Rachel Cox. In the fall of our third year, in response to our complaints, the staff asked us to assume jointly the positions of Women's Studies and Affirmative Action Representatives to the Board of Education, a job that turned out to be vague in its definition of responsibility.

We accepted without hesitation. It appeared to be the solution to our problems. "I expected, because there was a title, because it was connected to the Board of Education, that my unofficial position as a feminist would be recognized," says Rachel. Indeed, we became the resident feminists.

Rachel and I already had status as high-profile students. The staff, having finally found a place for us (like square pegs), were talking about us excitedly. During the first few weeks in the position, our ideas and opinions were publicized widely throughout the school, and opposition began to build. "Initially, everybody took the whole thing as a huge attack by the two of us, as women, upon everybody and everything else," says Rachel.

The first month was a crash course in arguing skills and retention of important facts. We were asked a lot of questions, and in order to preserve our credibility, we had to be able to answer them. "I found myself being approached by people saying, 'I read something you really would have liked in the newspaper, Rachel. You know what it said?' It was about this sexist ad. Don't you think that's awful?" I think we provided an ear for women who were just beginning to think about things and wanted support.

Another reason for our visibility was our enthusiasm. We were excited that we had actually been asked to do what we probably would have done anyway, albeit less systematically. It seemed that the word "feminist" suddenly had credibility. Or, as Rachel puts it, "People realized that women's studies was more than 'Wendy and Rachel and their eccentric beliefs'."

My predominant emotion during the first few weeks was fear; it gradually became disillusionment. The people whom I had called my friends became noticeably wary around me. Staff members in particular feared my disapproval. The fear, of course, was reciprocated; we could not accomplish anything without the approval of the staff. But the dynamics in the school at the time were such that high-profile students played very influential roles in the running of the school.

Tension between the staff and Rachel and me manifested itself in arguments, constant bids from the staff for our approval for things they did not wish to change, and our refusal to grant it; desperate attempts made by a threatened staff member to embarrass us; and occasionally, full-scale battle. "It turned into a personal war just because the nature of women's studies is so personally threatening to many people," says Rachel.

The complicated nature of our relationship with the staff is illustrated by our prolonged battle with one staff member over a course he planned to teach in the second semester, titled "Women in Literature." Out of a total of seven or eight books on the reading list, two were written by women. And so ensued an endless series of "meetings." We stressed the inaccuracy of the "Women in Literature" title and requested that the reading list be altered to include at least half women authors. The teacher stood firm: the course was adequate as it was (he'd been teaching it for years and no one had complained before). When we received support from other students and staff, the teacher accused us of attacking him personally. After several months of heated debate disguised as reasonable discussion, the teacher triumphantly announced that he had come up with a solution: he had changed the name of the course from "Women in Literature" to "Women as perceived in Literature." We were too exasperated to point out that he still based the title on the assumption that only men write literature (with a few exceptions.)

Both Rachel and I now think we focused too much attention on trying to solicit cooperation from the staff. We probably could have accomplished more in terms of

personal and curricular change had we tried to breach the gap between ourselves and other students, female students in particular.

We didn't realize until much later the extent of our influence on the school. Though we rarely spoke at school meetings, never held shouting matches or even spoke to students at any length about what we were doing, our very presence brought the issues to the fore in a way that didn't happen when we were simply ordinary students. Everyone began to discuss our work, the classes we criticized, items they had seen posted on "our" bulletin board. Because of the high rate of theft of books from the school library, we had to lock Women's Studies books in a closet (which I suppose is rather symbolic), but we advertised their existence and female students began to approach us tentatively, asking to borrow them. Rachel says, "In terms of what we set out to do, we ended up accomplishing very little, but as a by-product, we sparked a lot of discussions, we provided a forum for all of the issues to be discussed, and we educated some people."

"There were two camps of people. One was the people who were threatened and reactionary, and it included both men and women. And then there were the people who didn't necessarily speak out in public, but who indirectly supported us, and that group was all women. For whatever reasons, people were not willing to take us on face-to-face, and when they did, it was not as if there was hope for common ground."

Unfortunately, the small group of women who supported us was never strong enough, vocal enough, or committed enough for us to be able to count on them. There were very few flat-out blood-and-guts confrontations with our opponents, but we certainly could have used more support than we got. Emma Hewitt, another feminist student at Inglenook, says, "The support is fickle. It comes and goes erratically."

Male students in particular were very defensive around us. "Men felt as if they were being attacked for being men, and a lot of men friends of mine panicked, because they didn't know what was sexist and what wasn't. They were constantly in fear of offending me," Rachel says. "I felt like I had to begin every conversation by saying: 'No, no, I do still like you, and I do like everything that you do.' I didn't like everything that they did at all, but if I didn't reassure them, then we couldn't have a conversation about something else, because they were too busy trying to counter-attack."

"I ended up spending some time trying to educate men at the school," she says. "They would agree and support me, I guess because they knew that they could not win an argument against me. Afterwards, they would blow with the wind if there were people in the room who didn't agree with what I was saying. If I had to do it again, I would spend less time reinventing the wheel. My instinct is to

go for the women. If you get help from men, great, but don't count on it."

Female students were fearful of us. Perhaps they recognized our defiance of not only traditionally non-threatening female roles, but of the subtly enforced harmony so integral to the image of an alternative school. Staff and students watched us rock the boat with consternation. In such a close environment it is important, both for one's own social survival and for the maintenance of outward appearances, not to make enemies. But to stick to principles often necessitates a certain amount of alienation.

Margo Fairburn, a student who took the Women's Studies/Affirmative Action position at Inglenook the following year, found that it was no more effective to be quiet and diplomatic. "I expected that perhaps if a different approach was taken, then maybe we might get a few things done. That's where I made a major mistake. I've always believed that if you go softly and compromise a lot, you may get something done. I'm learning that there are some cases when you really have to stick to your guns."

For various reasons, not the least among them my despair over my "failure" as Women's Studies/Affirmative Action representative, I did not go back to Inglenook the following year. Emma, Rachel and I chose to go to the City School, another alternative school, for our last year in high school. Resolving to focus on our studies and avoid the censure of the student body, we all decided to keep low profiles as feminists. It wasn't easy. It had become habit to respond to sexist remarks and to make occasional references to the existence of women. Luckily, blatant sexism was mitigated by the presence of Myra Novogrodsky, the social science teacher and a feminist. Rather than being eliminated, however, sexist remarks were simply made outside of classes (and often at Myra's expense).

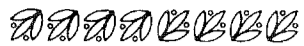
"For me, the fact that Myra identified herself as a feminist was good, because it allowed me to speak," says Emma. It was a relief to hand in essays to a teacher who didn't mark them well in spite of their feminist content; and it was a relief not to be continually offended by a teacher's sexist language or by the lack of acknowledgment of women's existence during a certain time period or in a certain country. Nevertheless, I remember several instances when Emma (the bravest among us) would make a comment about women during a class discussion and an odd thing would happen. There would be a moment of absolute silence, while everyone looked at her in disbelief, and then, in an instant, the class discussion which only a moment before had been cohesive would break into a dozen conversations about what people did on the weekend. It was as if Emma's mentioning something as "irrelevant" as women was licence for the whole class to stray from the discussion.

Continued next page.

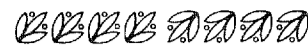


Lynda Nakashima

Sex-Role Stereotyping Day at City School, 1982: No penis bread this year.



# Holiday Greetings...



## CLAY DESIGN STUDIO GALLERY

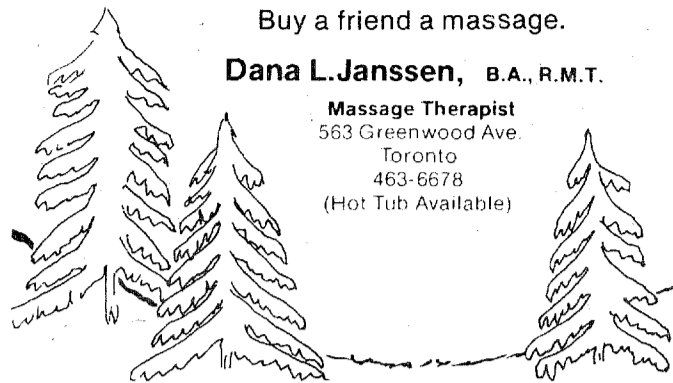
170 Brunswick at Harbord  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2M5  
Telephone (416) 964-3330

F•I•N•E C•O•N•T•E•M•P•O•R•A•R•Y  
C•E•R•A•M•I•C  
Gifts for Christmas  
2 blocks west of Women's Bookstore

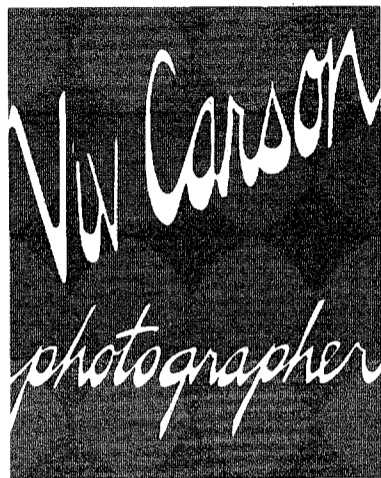
Buy a friend a massage.

Dana L. Janssen, B.A., R.M.T.

Massage Therapist  
563 Greenwood Ave.  
Toronto  
463-6678  
(Hot Tub Available)



give character  
studies for the holidays



593-4413

just east of Yonge and College

2nd Anniversary Sale  
December 1 - 15, 1982

change gear  
BOUTIQUE

*gently used fashion for women*

72 GERRARD W.  
AT BAY  
M5G 1J5

TRISH HADDAD  
595-1387

Urran  
graphic

Promotion and  
Image Making

Illustrator and  
Watercolourist

Karen Curran  
25 Napoleon St., Carleton Place, Ont., K7C 2X4  
(613) 257-7176

Cate Smith, RN  
Shiatsu Therapist  
307 Melita Avenue  
Toronto 537-9391

## HIGH SCHOOL, from previous page.

The previous year, Emma, Rachel and I had attended and International Women's Day celebration at City School, organized by some of Myra's students. We were eager to be involved in the organization of the next celebration. But a vocal minority of the City School population had made it clear that another Women's Day would be unacceptable. The men (staff and students) had felt neglected, even attacked, the year before; they saw no reason to devote another whole day "just to women."

Their fear was exemplified by the Penis Bread incident. For the feast, which was the close of the celebration, the organizers had ordered bread from a local bakery; some of it had been baked in large juice cans. To me, and to the other women I spoke with, the loaves looked like large mushrooms. But alas, many of the men attending were personally affronted by those seemingly innocuous loaves of bread: to them, the bread was penis-shaped. In fact, a good portion of the evaluation meeting held the next week was devoted to discussion of the Penis Bread, which some of the men felt the organizers had ordered "on purpose." One man even confessed that it was "painful" to watch a knife cutting into the bread.

The meetings held to organize what was later called the Sex-Role Stereotyping Day instead of Women's Day never sank to such a level, but the opposition to another Women's Day was fierce. The lines of the battle were clearly drawn from the beginning: Emma, Rachel and I against everyone else. Rachel says: "the year before it went so well that the next year, they said, 'Tone that thing down, Myra, or you can't have it at all.' My frustration is that when something is a success, then automatically there's another obstacle. If you take one step forward, then people are going to make sure that you'll take two steps back."

We lost; we still had a "day" but it was a totally different, less offensive concept. Fifteen women and one man organized a day designed to "reach out to everyone." We complied with the group discussion, resentfully at first. "We had to get back into the 'oh, well, it's all in the environment, there's nothing we can do about it, we are helpless for our socialization' bit" says Rachel. But, to our credit, it was an International Women's Day celebration by any other name. It

was a success, despite the somber title, Sex-Role Stereotyping Day, and we counted it as a victory. "There were a lot of first steps taken. The fact that we had two lesbians talking in a Toronto public school was miraculous. The reason that day could happen was that there was a staff member who would support it," says Rachel. "You would never have a Sex-Role Stereotyping Day at Northern Secondary." Emma says.

After the International Women's Day struggle, I slipped as far as possible back into political obscurity; it was too exhausting being prominent. It was easier to be relatively invisible at City School than at Inglenook, because it was larger (120 students as opposed to 60) and because students held less influence there. I graduated last June, with a sigh of relief.

I don't regret going to alternative schools. I know I made more progress as a feminist in alternative schools than I would or could have anywhere else. But students seeking an alternative to the regular school system should keep in mind that an alternative school does not rely on an elaborate bureaucratic structure to keep it going; it is only the sum of its parts. For students and parents checking out alternative schools, I would recommend asking a few direct questions about policies and attitudes. Talk to Affirmative Action and Women's Studies representatives (usually the same person); ask the teachers how they deal with sexist reading materials in their classes; look for women's studies content in course outlines. Another important factor in alternative schools is the degree to which there is room for student involvement in decision-making. For instance, City Schools's staff is intent on fulfilling the desires of the parents, sometimes to the exclusion of student autonomy; this can be stifling as well as frustrating, since (informal) staff approval, which is, not surprisingly, very subjective, is needed for most activities. Most of the power held by students in alternative schools is power that the staff has chosen to relinquish.

"Young people don't lack hostility or intelligence. Young men are just as aggressive as older men. Young women in high schools suffer just as much as older women: they get raped, they get abused, they get screwed around. It happens in high schools just as it does everywhere else. Being in high school is

just like being in the 'real world,' except maybe that the social groups are more exaggerated," Emma says.

"Having tried to change things and having learned how fierce the resistance could be, I realized that not having women's studies and using sexist language and ignoring women are very fundamental things in high schools," says Rachel. "They must be. Otherwise they wouldn't be so hard to change."

In high school, we learned as much about political activism as we did about math, English or history. We learned how deeply patriarchal attitudes are entrenched in the system; so much so, that it is not possible to challenge a single detail without threatening the whole structure. But we also learned how desperate is the need for change. My experience has been frustrating, but I am stronger for it and I intend to keep on fighting.

Wendy Wine graduated from City School last June.

## LETTERS, from page 2.

I resent the implication in Lockey's article that I am a self-hating Jew. Self-hatred is a psychological phenomenon based on internalized oppression. My politics around Zionism are the result of an extensive involvement spanning nearly fourteen years. I am currently involved in academic research in the Jewish Studies program at York University. I am one of many radical Jews who reject nationalism as the strategy of liberation.

Lockey's references to synagogue attacks show a clear lack of political analysis. She believes that the existence of the Jewish state presents a psychological deterrent to anti-semites. Parallel logic would indicate that blacks should be free from racism because there are already numerous independent countries run by blacks.

Anti-semitism is not some rampant disease festering in every non-Jewish heart. It is a means by which the rulers of this society maintain their control. Instead of challenging the system, the oppressed are encouraged to vent their frustrations on other more visible minorities. Women, Jews, blacks and gays are all marginal and vulnerable populations. That is why I speak out against anti-semitism, sexism, racism and homophobia.

These oppressions are all interconnected. None of them will be resolved by having the victims retreat to their own territory. We must fight the patriarchal system that instituted the original form of oppression.

To answer two specific criticisms of the Jewish Feminist Group: No, threats of violence are *not* a new form of consciousness-raising. The consciousness-raising I referred to occurred when Jewish women were forced to listen to Palestinian women after they had stacked the meeting and gained control of the speakers' list. In the sentence following, I did in fact acknowledge the other more painful anti-semitic incidents in Copenhagen.

None of my sources are questionable. Neturei Karta is indeed an extremist religious group but their opposition to the state of Israel is based on Zionist inaction during World War II, as well as the belief in Messianic redemption. When I visited their home in Mea Shearim (a religious sector of Jerusalem) I saw a Star of David sprayed on the wall as an extension of a swastika. It was drawn, I was told, to remind the Zionists of their role as passive spectators to the murder of their own people.

However, Neturei Karta is not the only source of Zionist condemnation. Ben Hecht, a secular Jew and a Revisionist Zionist, chronicles in his book *Perfidy* the lurid tale of the Hungarian Zionist establishment and their collaboration with the Nazis. This book is based on a trial that took place in the mid 1950's in Jerusalem and was one of the main factors in the fall of the ruling government. References to this particular case are available in the mainstream Jewish press and in *Encyclopedia Judaica*. And lest the written word remain unconvincing, there is also the celluloid version: *Who Shall Live and Who Shall Die!* It is a film detailing the inaction of the American government and the Zionist establishment during World War II.

Lilith Finkler  
Toronto

## MOVING?

Are you moving? Don't miss a single issue of *Broadside*. Send us your change of address now.

# MOVEMENT MATTERS

## Open House



Judy Stanleigh

The 'Dove', sculpture donated by artist Maryon Kantaroff, was presented to contest winner Nancy Sheldon (left) by *Broadside's* circulation manager, Catherine Maunsell, at the gala Open House.

On Sunday, November 14, *Broadside* held an open house at its downtown Toronto offices. It was attended by about 40 women, famous and infamous, many new faces on the *Broadside* scene. To be seen sipping cider and nibbling home-made cookies were, in alphabetical order (and not including their spouses as Zena Cherry might say): NAC president Doris Anderson, novelist/journalist Sylvia Fraser, Judy Chicago pamphlet-writer (the inexpensive one) Margaret Frazer, Pink Ribbon and Butterfly committee organizer Linda Ryan Nye, lawyers Susan Ursel and Lisa Freedman, and terrier Chip Kenney.

The main entertainment of the afternoon was the draw for Maryon Kantaroff's sculpture, "Dove". The silver pendant was won by Nancy Sheldon, a longtime reader and supporter of *Broadside*.

The open house was also part of our "Support *Broadside*" fundraising campaign, and we are pleased to announce that as of November 14, we had raised \$3500 in pledges since the campaign's start at the end of September. Contrary to popular rumours, *Broadside* is not on the verge of bankruptcy, in large part because of our many supporters. We thank you.

## Signatures Invalid

Teresa Hibbert was arrested last summer in Toronto while spraypainting a Sanyo ad on TTC property, and charged with damage to public property, trespassing and mischief. Her case comes to trial on December 13, with Clayton Ruby representing her. Hibbert is asking for support — call her at (416) 665-1078.

Hibbert and friends formed a committee (Coalition Against Sexist Advertising), petitioned in the downtown and U of T area, and got 2500 signatures objecting to the Sanyo ad (nearly naked woman and stereo) displayed prominently and ubiquitously on TTC buses and subway cars.

After writing many letters of complaint concerning that and other ads, the committee met with 9 representatives of TTC and Sanyo to present their case, a slide show and the signatures. The reps called the signatures "invalid" as complaints "because they were solicited," and refused to withdraw the offensive ads, saying that the contract was expiring within several days anyway.

## Women of Colour

We are a group of women who have been invited by FIREWEED, a Feminist Quarterly to edit a special issue on *Women of Colour in Canada*.

We ask that you submit pieces of your work to us. This does not have to be theoretical. We are interested in you, your life experience, your creativity, your work inside and outside the home and also how you view the world, etc.

Send us articles you've written — whether of a political, social or cultural nature — pictures you've painted — photographs you've taken or personal stories about yourselves as women of colour in the Canadian society.

We want to share records of our own experiences that have previously been articulated by others. We want to talk about our sorrows, celebrate our victories — recount the good and bad experiences. *We want women of colour to speak out.*

We hope you will submit an article and share a part of your life with other women of colour like yourself.

Our deadline is December 31, 1982. Please contact us if you need an extension.

— The editors, Women of Colour Issue, Fireweed

## North York Women's Shelter

(TORONTO) For far too long many of us have been sitting in silence...the silence that condones...condones the actions of those who abuse women and children, driving them from their homes. We know full well the economic strains of today's recession and what it is doing to families. We know full well the difficulty of finding employment, and how difficult it is for women to return to the workforce. How will they exist? How will they continue? How will they cope? What awaits them if they do dare to leave an abusive situation? Who will care enough to have answers for all of these questions?

North York Women's Shelter was formed to help answer these questions — it is now in the final stages of securing a property. As soon as plans are approved and finalized we will announce complete details.

The shelter's staff, board members and volunteers are all extremely pleased at the community's support and response to shelter needs. To the homeless and desperate women and children, this shelter is the hope of the beginning of a better future.

North York Women's Shelter will be the first shelter for women and children in crisis to be built in the city of North York. It will be an all-encompassing program. Its objectives are:

- 1) to provide a residence in North York
- 2) to provide a warm, safe and supportive environment for women and children.
- 3) to assist and to support the women in assessing their situation and in making realistic decisions concerning their future.
- 4) to assist women in implementing decisions made about their future.
- 5) to provide information on services, assistance and rights and to make referrals where appropriate.
- 6) to provide trained staff 24 hours a day, seven days a week.
- 7) to develop a volunteer team.
- 8) to encourage community awareness and on-going support of the service.
- 9) to develop a data base which would facilitate evaluation of the service.

There will be much to do and many needed to do it. Many volunteers will be needed to take part in sharing and caring for those who will be needing this shelter. For more information, please call Isabella Meltz at (416) 663-2733.

## Constance Hamilton Co-op

The Constance Hamilton Housing Co-operative is proud to announce the opening of the Constance Hamilton transition house at Christie and Davenport, in Toronto. This transition house is unique in that it is planned as part of the co-op, providing a supportive surrounding community.

The Constance Hamilton transition house is a minimal support, post-crisis facility for women over 25 who have no children in their care at the time. The aim of the transition house is to provide a living situation which is longer term than that provided by hostels. There is space for six women any one time, the length of stay varying between six months and one year. It is intended that the women will have sufficient counselling, support and time during their stay to enable them to live independently. The house is staffed twenty hours a week by a staff woman who will be there for both individual and group counselling, volunteers will be involved in house activities and as back up sup-

port for the six women.

We are excited about the opening of the house and see it providing a much needed place for women in this city. While there is always a need for affordable housing for women, as the economic situation in Canada worsens, it is women who will be hardest hit. The result will be an increased need for crisis and long term housing for low-income women. While the Constance Hamilton transition house is only a small step, it is one which we believe to be useful and deserving of your support.

We hope to obtain referrals from as many agencies and groups as possible, so please put us down on your referral list. As well, as have a great need for donations of such items as dishes, cutlery, pots and pans, blankets, pillows, curtains, lamps, etc. Cash donations would also be gratefully accepted. If you would like more information and/or have a donation to make, please phone Ellen at 535-4862 (Monday to Friday 1-4pm).



Judy Stanleigh

'Refuse the Cruise' was an event worth notice! At least 20,000 protestors converged in Ottawa, October 30, from Ontario, Quebec, the Maritimes and the US, to object to the Canadian government's cruise missile testing in Alberta.

## Applebert

The work of the Federal Cultural Policy Review Commission (Applebert) was recently released. The following points represent the total references to women in a report that stresses decentralization and support to individual artists:

- "Women are often prevented from making a greater contribution to arts and culture because they are inadequately represented at all levels of the cultural agencies, including juries and other selection committees." (p 2, summary)

- "Attention is drawn to the fact that the present inequitable access of women to all levels of responsibility and activity in the cultural sector deprives Canadian society as a whole of a vital dimension and artistic experience." (p. 2)

- "The situation is critical for women artists, who constitute about one-third of the artists in the visual arts field. Half of the women artists surveyed in 1978 reported earnings from their art to be less than \$2000." (p. 7)

## The Dinner Party

Judy Chicago's *The Dinner Party* will be on view at The Glenbow Museum in Calgary, December 3, 1982 to January 27, 1983.

Tickets are limited and should be purchased in advance. Tickets are being sold by the day and hour, the museum will be open Monday-Saturday 10 am — 6 pm (Wednesdays 10 am — 8 pm). Admission: \$5 (pre-booked groups \$4, seniors, handicapped and children \$3). Contact Irene Stewart, Glenbow Museum, 130-9th Avenue SE, Calgary, Alberta, T2G 0P3; telephone (403) 264-8300 x 279.

Get a two-year subscription to *Broadside* for \$18 — save money and trouble.



Canadian  
*Still Ain't Satisfied* Women's Press anthology, 1982 \$9.95

**Autobiography**  
*Zami, A New Spelling of My Name* Audre Lorde Persephone Press, 1982 \$9.95

**Fiction**  
*Folly* Maureen Brady Crossing Press, 1982 \$9.95

*Between Friends* Gillian E. Hanscombe Alyson Publications, 1982 \$7.95

**Re-issue**  
*Lesbian Images* Jane Rule Crossing Press, 1982 \$8.95

## Zionism and Feminism

by Fay Z. Nemani

I found the article "Zeroing in on Zionism" by Lilith Finkler (October 1982) anti-semitic, and Finkler's definition of anti-Zionism erroneous. To define anti-Zionism one has to have a clear definition of Zionism and Finkler's definition is very limited even though she may be aware of part of Israel's history. The "Law of Return" itself is Zionist and expressing opposition to such law may be termed as anti-Zionistic, but without analyzing the development of such laws one falls into the error of equating the law with Israel's right for self-determination. As desperately as Finkler tries to separate Zionism from Judaism, she still sounds anti-semitic because her separation is not done in logical terms. Today, the State of Israel exists and no one in Israel questions this fact nor does anyone ask for permission to do so. It is a fact of time and reality that ignoring such facts and debating whether such facts have a right to exist is generating a smoke screen in front of the real issues.

Israel exists as a nation and as a people, and to the chagrin of many women who like to ignore facts, many Israelis are indigenous to this land exactly as the Palestinian people are. Replacing the present Israeli patriarchy with a Palestinian one cannot be a radical feminist solution. Denying the right of Israel to exist at the present stage is to ask Israel to dismantle itself, uproot all the Israeli people and give them the status of refugees — this is an eye-for-an-eye solution.

We who have a claim to the label of radical feminists may envision the world as stateless, a world in which demographic diversity flourishes. Our present task is to agitate and raise consciousness against any structure which is founded on patriarchal schemes and is expressed today through the many forms of capitalist democracies or socialist dictatorships. If our fight is to be meaningful it has to be directed against the present belief systems which are perpetuated by the patriarchy. By changing the conceptualization of these patriarchies we may also have to change the power structures; as such we are against all states and their repressive machineries. Israel is no exception as it is an extremely repressive patriarchy in which biblical laws still dominate all personal lives.

Why, then, should Lilith Finkler ask for a replacement of one patriarchy by another which is equally repressive? The only explanation that can be given to singling out Israel is its Jewish content and as such her stance is anti-semitic.

Zionism was a movement founded in the early 20th century by Jews who saw the solution to anti-semitism in the creation of the Jewish state (at one particular point Uganda was

considered). This movement accomplished its task in 1948 and should have died then as all its members should have immigrated to Israel. However, its ideology that a Jewish state is the only place for Jewish people did not die because there were many states who did not allow their Jews to emigrate or created anomalous situations in which the autonomous Jews were driven out *en masse*. Another reason that this ideology survived is the Arab refusal to recognize the State of Israel. The Israeli governments played with this ideology because it brought them financial benefits from the guilt they imposed on those Jews who did not practise this ideology. Zionism is a simplified ludicrous solution to anti-semitism in that it believes anti-semitism will die once all the Jews are concentrated in one location.

It is important to understand, though, that many Jews firmly believe that the existence of the State of Israel is a powerful deterrent to anti-semitic prejudice. This view is illusory and has proved itself untrue: the existence of Israel did not eradicate anti-semitic biases and prejudice. This belief also accepts anti-semitism as inevitable and puts the responsibility on the Jews themselves to solve this problem. Such views lead to the defensive attitude by which Jews defend Israeli policies whatever they may be.

Israel also believes quite firmly that it is the only home for Jews and as such it patronizes every Jew in the world — we are supposed to give and sacrifice everything we have for Israel and we certainly do not have the right to criticize Israel because we are not there "suffering with the rest of the Israelis who sacrifice their blood to defend the country."

This relationship based on guilt and myth I will not tolerate — the Zionist myth. The state of Israel did not and does not abate anti-semitic sentiments. The imperialistic activities of the government of Israel, which are camouflaged by the notion of home for Jews, use this excuse cleverly to mask sheer greed and financial calculations. Where will the Israeli economy be if it were not for the wars and the generous financial support of the world's Jewry? Israel is a repressive state which does not tolerate political deviants like myself and such a government will always be repressive of any minorities — it is a capitalistic state. It is also racist, as it places the lives of Jews somewhere on a "higher" level than any other lives which are somehow dispensable. Furthermore, the discrimination against "black" Jews is quite pervasive.

Zionism as an ideology is dead; today it is a mere tool which the Israeli government waxes to extract sympathy and support for its misdeeds. Jews who do not immigrate to Is-

# Zeroing Zio

rael are non-Zionists by definition. Furthermore, the substantial numbers of Israelis who emigrate out of Israel to other countries prove that Israel is not the home for which every Jew yearns.

However, calling for the abolition of the state of Israel just because its governments failed in their mandate and because it is repressive of the Palestinian people is anti-semitic. I did not hear Lilith Finkler calling for the abolition of the states of El Salvador, Philippines, Nicaragua, Pakistan and many more repressive regimes.

I find it most distressing to read that a Palestinian feminist prefers to ignore at present the plight of the Palestinian women who are beaten by the Israelis *and* their husbands and directs all her energies to the reinstatement of the Palestinian men in power. I do not see it as a feminist stance but a national one reinforcing patriarchal myths and ideologies. It is the fight against all forms of repression and violence which distinguishes the feminist movement from other "liberation" movements and specifically our rejection of any form of violence against women which is inherent in all patriarchies.

Christians, Muslims and Jews should be able to live in Israel as in any other part of the world they choose. Palestinians and Israelis are entitled to equal or proportional representation in the power structures — women and men. The cultural and religious backgrounds should be allowed full expression. This should not contradict the existence of the state of Israel as both people are entitled to self-determination. A peaceful solution can be found if both sides are willing to work at it. I do not hold much hope for such solutions be-

## Zionism and Its Complexities

The following is an open letter to all progressive peoples and movements from *Di Vilde Chayez*, a Jewish, feminist, Zionist group whose members are Evelyn T. Beck, Nancy K. Bereano, Melanie Kaye, Irena Klepfisz, Bernice Mennis and Adrienne Rich. It is reprinted from *New Women's Times*, October 1982.

We are a collective of lesbian/feminist Jews, Zionists — committed to the existence of Israel — who are outraged at Israel's attack on Beirut and are equally outraged at the worldwide anti-Semitism that has been unleashed since the invasion of Lebanon. We do not accept any ideological or historical justifications for the killing of civilians in Lebanon, nor do we accept any justifications for the recent killings and harassment of Jews. While condemning the military actions of Begin and Sharon, we continue to affirm Israel's right to exist, affirm our commitment to the survival of the Palestinian Arab people, and affirm our determination to resist all forms of anti-Semitism.

Our position cannot be simple.

We deplore Israeli censorship of the news, the bombings of hospitals, the use of cluster bombs, the refusal of admission to Red Cross personnel, the turning away of emergency supplies and cutting off food, water, electricity to West Beirut, the arrest and detention of thousands of Palestinians in prison camps and the continued devastation of civilians in Lebanon. We condemn these acts because as women and as Jews we are opposed to wanton destruction, to the punishment of civilian populations in time of war, to rampant militarism. That most countries at war perform like acts does not excuse these acts, and we condemn the Israeli government as we will condemn all governments which pursue such policies. We also condemn these acts because we know that only a political solution can ultimately resolve the problems in the Middle East. The attacks on Beirut will not solve the problems of either the stateless Palestinian Arabs or the threatened Israelis.

Why then — despite our abhorrence of the Israeli aggression in Beirut — have we not joined the protest activities — statements, demonstrations, speakouts — mobilizing in the U.S.?

First, these protests contain no recognition of historical context — British and French imperialism in Palestine (what is now Israel and Jordan), Lebanon, and other Middle East areas; the near-extirmination of European Jewry and persecution of Jews in Arab nations; the profit garnered by the USSR as well as the US, France, and others from arms sales to the embattled Middle East; continued Arab hostility and non-recognition of Israel's right to exist; Palestinian attacks on Israeli civilians and the danger in which Israelis live every day; the role of the PLO and the Syrian army in the destruction of Lebanon; and the complicity of Arab nations in the oppression of the Palestinian Arab people. Distorted information gathers to point a heavy finger of blame *only* at Israel. Thus anti-Israel sentiment is fueled.

Second, these protests present Israeli policy as monolithic. They fail to differentiate among Begin's and Sharon's policies, the Israeli people, and, often, Jews in

general. They ignore groups of Israelis and Palestinians who have for years been trying to work out a policy which would allow for two states, each recognizing and respecting the other.

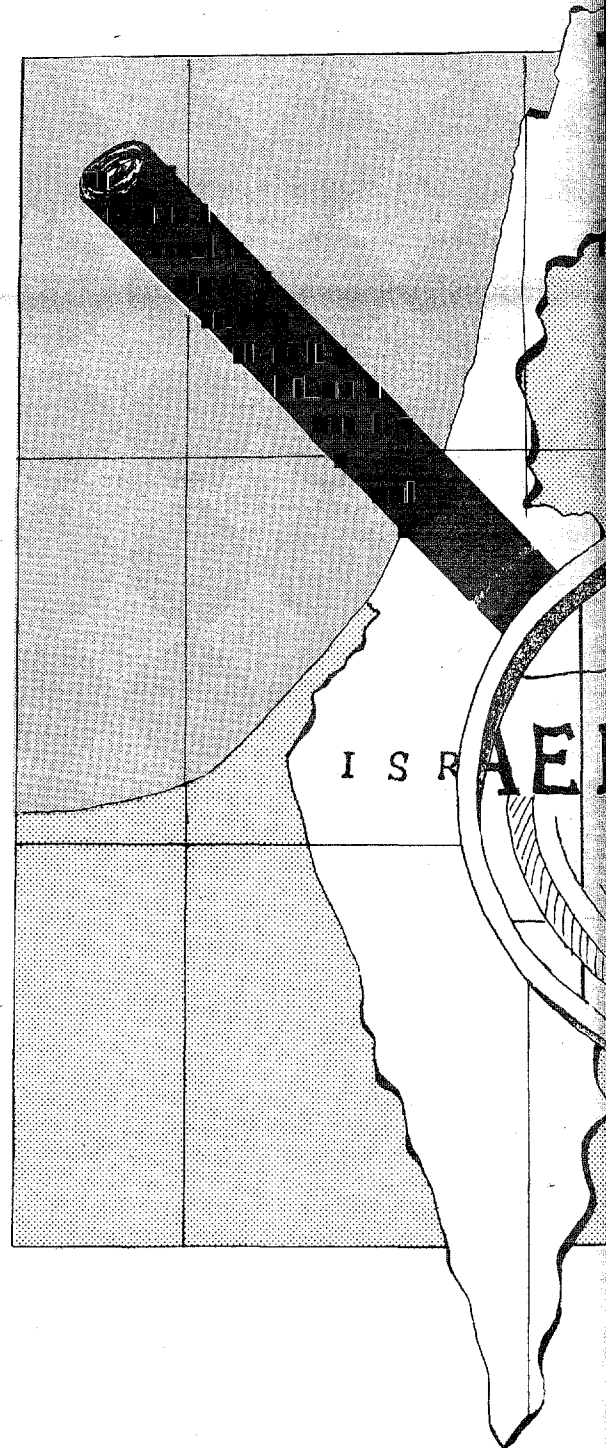
The omission of history and denial of diversity have led to a cartoon-like simplification of Israel as an imperialist, exploitative, inhuman Jewish machine — the devil Jew with horns — that only destroys. This dehumanization, which frequently passes for analysis, is an anti-semitic mechanism or strategy which demands the annihilation of Israel for the good of the world. It is destructive to all, including the Palestinians and the Lebanese, for it further postpones the possibility of making a just and lasting peace.

All too often, the vehement anti-Israel stance translates — sometimes blatantly, usually subtly — into a channel for a long-standing vicious hatred of Jews. Anti-semitic jokes, graffiti, illustrations, and perspectives, stereotypes of Jews as the "eye for an eye" people (as opposed to Christians and Moslems), and violent acts against Jews are suddenly more acceptable. Many people claim that Israel's actions cause this eruption of Jew-hating, or that anti-semitism is somehow justified because of Israeli policy. The notion that Jews deserve to be killed (or that Israel has no right to exist) is unequivocally anti-semitic.

Even our oppression is used against us. We are told that the Israelis are just like the Nazis, that the invasion of Lebanon is genocidal, that Beirut is another Warsaw Ghetto. We do not deny the reality of suffering in Lebanon. But what is being said through the choice of images and words is not that the Lebanese, the Palestinian Arabs are suffering. What is being said is not even that Israel is acting in an aggressively militaristic manner, showing little concern for this suffering. What *is* being said is that the Holocaust and the centuries of persecution and pogroms preceding it are now equalled and cancelled out and, therefore, that Israel, founded on the Holocaust's grief and need, is no longer in order.

In the past we have been pushed to choose one part of our identity at the expense of another as if they are, of necessity, mutually exclusive. We have been pushed to choose between our existence and our moral beliefs. We have been told that we could not be both lesbian and Jew, Jew and anti-racist, anti-racist and Zionist. We are now being asked, yet again, to make false and, for us, impossible choices.

We refuse these fragmentations, refuse to be trapped by choices that are both personally and politically destructive. We know that a just solution is possible between Arab and Jew in the Middle East. So, too, we know that our survival as Jews depends on Israel's existence. We claim our right as Zionists to condemn Israeli aggression in Beirut and at the same time we claim our right as Jews to confront and resist all forms of anti-Semitism, including anti-Semitism which exploits criticism of current Israeli policy. And we ask Jews and allies of Jews who feel as we do — distraught at what is happening in Beirut, protective of Israel's existence, supportive of the Israeli peace movement, and committed to fighting anti-Semitism — to join with us. ●



## Zionism and

by Reva Landau

Discrimination and racism exist when what is acceptable for one group is not acceptable for the discriminated against group. For example, strong men are forceful; strong women are domineering; forceful male WASPs are leaders; forceful male Jews are pushy.

Jews see the criticism of Israel as anti-semitic when Israel is criticized by standards that are not applied to any other group. Condemning the bombing of Beirut is not anti-semit-



# g In On ism

cause both sides see the solution in the destruction of the other side — which is typically patriarchal — a win or lose situation. As long as these patriarchies fight we will see blood spilled on both sides and atrocities committed on both sides. (The Israeli belief in the "purity of the arms" is illusory and contradictory — arms get stained with blood and stains of blood are impure by any Jewish definition.)

We as feminists should never remain quiet, but condemn and reject any act of violence directed at the lives of children and women be they Palestinians, Jewish, Israeli or other. In every patriarchal fight for property we are the first victims; we are considered to be valuable chattel and it is us who propagate a race or a people. At present we should strongly criticize the government of Israel for its activities and withdraw any form of support from it; but we do not have the right to question the right of the Israeli people for self-determination as we do not have the right to question the Palestinian right for self-determination. Whatever form this self-determination may take should be open to debate and discussion and I call on Palestinians and Israeli feminists to raise their voices on such issues in a realistic feminist appraisal of the situation. I condemn any effort by any patriarchal representatives to create a rift within the women's movement on the basis of nationalities or religions. Our interests as women are different from theirs and quite often in total opposition. Israeli and Palestinian feminists should work together for a common solution — where are their voices? •

Fay Nemani is a member of a Toronto Jewish feminist group.

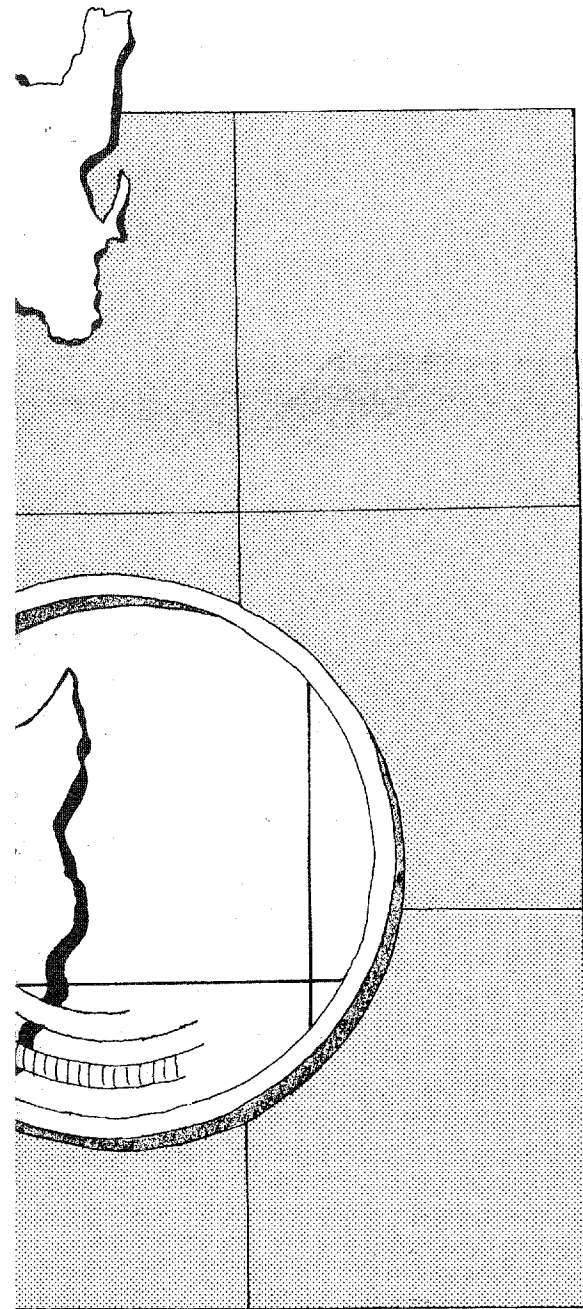


Illustration by Ramona Devonshire

Damour,<sup>1</sup> is anti-semitic.

When France and England sell arms to Argentina, or Cuba, Nicaragua, and Russia support Argentina during the Falklands war, excuses can be made. No excuses are allowed for Israel. Even the most ardent Zionist did not think that Israel could single-handedly prevent anti-semitism in Argentina, Iraq, or Russia. Israel was established so Timmerman could have a refuge, as he did. Prior to 1948, Palestine was controlled by Britain, and any statement by Zionists about the number of Jews coming to Palestine was made with knowledge of that constraint. Far from being willing to allow even 2 million Jews to enter Palestine, the British imposed quotas on Jewish entry, actually *reducing* them in 1939 to 15,000 a year, when millions of Jews were being slaughtered in Europe. Within six months after the establishment of the state of Israel, 100,000 Jews entered Israel, including 25,000 from the British detention camps in Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> Within four years, 684,000 immigrants arrived, including 70,000 from displaced persons camps in Europe.<sup>4</sup> Israel was, and is, needed as a refuge for Jews fleeing persecution.

A brief history of Palestine is necessary. From 1517 to 1917 the area known as Palestine was part of the Ottoman Empire. Control passed from Turkey to Britain as a result of World War I. In the Balfour declaration of 1917 Britain approved the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.<sup>5</sup> The League of Nations Mandate for Palestine also approved the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.<sup>6</sup> At this time, Palestine included what is now known as Jordan. In 1922, to settle conflicting promises made by the British and the French to different Arab leaders, Britain cut off 4/5 of Palestine, and gave what is now known as Jordan to the son of the Hashemite Emir.<sup>7</sup>

In 1947, the United Nations voted to divide what remained of Palestine into two states, a Jewish and an Arab one.<sup>8</sup> Zionists accepted the partition; the Palestinians and all the Arab states did not; they wanted the entire area. Yet it is the Zionists, who accepted partition, who are accused of founding their state on the destruction of the Palestinians; the Palestinians who did not accept partition are not accused of founding their state on the destruction of the Jewish people.

After the War of Independence, Jordan annexed the West Bank which was supposed to be the foundation of the Palestinian state.<sup>9</sup> Few, if any, Palestinian or Arab leaders protested. Until 1967, Jordan retained control of the West Bank. No one accused Jordan of basing its state on the destruction of the Palestinian people.

There are different versions as to why about 600,000 Palestinians fled Israel during the War of Independence. Incidentally, not all were native Palestinians as about 100,000 Arabs entered Palestine between 1920 and 1948.<sup>10</sup> The official Israeli version is that the Arab leaders told the Arabs to leave in order to facilitate mass destruction of the Jews without hurting the Arabs, but that the Israelis told them to stay.<sup>11</sup> There is documentary evidence that Jewish leaders did tell the Arabs to stay.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, rich Arabs had been leaving for months previous to the war,<sup>13</sup> the Arabs feared that the Jews would retaliate for the massacres of Jews by Arabs,<sup>14</sup> and the Arab leaders themselves spread tales of real or alleged massacres of Arabs without any concern for how it would affect the Arab population.<sup>15</sup> However, it does seem true that some, at least, of the military Zionist leaders did spread stories in order to make the Arabs flee.

While such terror-spreading was wrong, the situation must be understood: Jews in Palestine had been subject for years to attacks by the Arabs: 133 Jews killed in the August 1929 riots, 16 Jews killed in Jaffa in April 1936, etc.<sup>16</sup> The Arabs rejected the partition and immediately after the UN vote began attacking Jews; 104 died in the first week after the UN announcement.<sup>17</sup> A convoy of 77 nurses, doctors, and medical technicians on their way to the Mount Scopus hospital were killed.<sup>18</sup> On May 15, 1948, the day after partition was to take place, the armies of Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq invaded Israel. Azzam Pash, then secretary-general of the Arab League stated: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades."<sup>18</sup>

After the war, Israel offered to negotiate the return of the Palestinian refugees, but only in the context of an overall peace settlement.<sup>19</sup> To accept the return of the refugees without an overall peace settlement would have meant committing national suicide.<sup>20</sup> These offers, and subsequent ones involving compensation, all foundered because the Arabs insisted that the refugee question be settled *before* a peace settlement.

Israel absorbed about 650,000 Jews fleeing persecution in Arab countries.<sup>21</sup> Exchanges of population have occurred before, about 2 million after the 1922 Greek-Turkish war and about 15 million after the Indian-Pakistan war that resulted after India received its independence.<sup>22</sup> The reason 15 million refugees are not in camps on the borders of India and Pakistan is that *both* countries were willing to accept refugees.

The massacre at Deir Yassin was condemned by Israeli leaders, and an apology sent by the leaders to King Abdullah of Jordan.<sup>23</sup> The civilian losses in Lebanon were condemned in Israel even before the Sabra massacre, and Israel's indirect involvement in the massacre was protested by the largest demonstration in Israeli history, 10 percent of the population. I have never seen any interview with any Palestinian, leader or follower, or read a book by any Palestinian, where any attack on civilian Israelis, be it a mother and two children in October 1953,<sup>24</sup> the Munich massacres, or the Jews killed in the 1929 riots, has been criticized, or even regretted. (There may be a book that I have missed which does criticize civilian deaths.) Yet it is the Jews who are accused of founding their nation on the destruction of the Palestinian people, not vice versa.

Racism and sexism are of concern to all feminists. Arabs in Israel are undoubtedly discriminated against, as are Sephardic Jews, as are minorities in all countries including, regrettably, Canada. However, just to clarify the record, both male and female Israeli Arab citizens have the right to vote.

They can hold public office — there are 6 or 7 Arab Members of Parliament in every session;<sup>24</sup> there has been an Arab Deputy Minister,<sup>26</sup> and there are Arab university professors,<sup>27</sup> heads of local authorities,<sup>28</sup> members of the Histadrut (trade union confederation) executive committee, etc.<sup>29</sup> The pass-laws were abolished in 1966.<sup>30</sup> Arabic is an official language and Arabs have the legal right to observe their own religious holidays.<sup>31</sup> The only legal (as opposed to non-legal) discrimination is that Jews and Druzes must serve in the army; Arabs can, and some do volunteer, but are not drafted.

Security problems obviously don't help the discrimination situation. For example, it is understandable why Arab students at Israeli universities refused to perform the protective guard duties required of all students,<sup>32</sup> but it is also understandable that such actions don't combat discrimination in a very security-conscious nation.

Iraq barred Jewish doctors and pharmacists from practicing, expelled Jewish students from universities, denied Jewish merchants import licenses, seized Jewish property.<sup>33</sup> Iraqi official discrimination does not justify Israeli unofficial discrimination. But no one (even the Ayatollah) says Iraq does not have a right to exist.

Israel, like Canada, is a patriarchal society. However, to say that women in Israel, where women have the vote (I admit no one has the vote in any Arab country except Lebanon), a right to maternity leave, an Equal Pay for Equal Work law since 1964, and a Woman's Equal Rights Law since 1951 which, among other things, abolishes unilateral divorce against the woman's will, and where child-marriages have been abolished,<sup>34</sup> are as oppressed as in any other Arab country, is grossly misleading.

This is not just a "my patriarchy is better than your patriarchy" argument. Women must understand who oppresses us, and why, in order to combat oppression. Palestinian women are oppressed not just by non-Arab Israeli society, but by their own society. If women state that the gains they have made are trivial in comparison to other male-designated (nationalist) values, men will assume these gains are unimportant to women. Women have a long history of supporting nationalist movements that then sell them out, like Algeria and Iran. Personally, I think feminists should refuse to actively support any revolutionary movement that, for example, sees wife-abuse as a trivial issue and that does not combat sexism within its own society, but this area is one where many feminists disagree.

I think that the simplest solution would be for the Palestinians, who make up 65 percent of the population of Jordan, to overthrow the monarchy, and establish a democratic state in which they would be the majority. However, as both the right and the left seem determined to preserve the Hashemite monarchy, this solution is obviously unrealistic. Therefore, a separate Palestinian state either on the West Bank or in a federation with Jordan seems to be the best solution. It is highly unlikely such a state will be democratic, socialist, or feminist, or even anywhere near as socialist, feminist and democratic as Israel. But that does not mean that it does not have a right to exist.

I have noticed great similarities in attitudes towards Jews and women. We both get sympathy as long as we are victims; we are both attacked when we struggle for equal rights and equal power. Both as a Jew and as a woman, I have decided that I will struggle for rights based on equal power, and for a society in which all have such rights, rather than be content with receiving sympathy as a victim after I am dead. Those who support me only as long as I remain a victim I see as sexist and racist.

## NOTES

1. Bulloch, John, *Death of a Country: The War in Lebanon*, p. 104-105 but see whole book.
2. Bethell, Nicholas, *The Palestinian Triangle*, p. 65
3. Israel Pocket Library: *History from 1880*, p. 147, and Sachar, H., *A History of Israel*, p. 396.
4. *Ibid.* p. 148
5. Sachar, H., p. 109
6. Dodd, C.H. and Sales, M., *Israel and the Arab World*, p. 67; Excerpts from the Mandatory Instruments of Palestine, 1922, Preamble, Art. 2, 4, 6
7. Gervas, F., *The Case for Israel*, p. 28
8. *Ibid.* p. 75
9. *History from 1880*, p. 139
10. Sachar, H., *A History of Israel*, p. 167
11. Gervas, *supra*, p. 91
12. Wolff, Richard, *Israel Today*, p. 133
13. Cameron, J., *The Making of Israel*, p. 46
14. *Ibid.* p. 47
15. Sachar, H., *supra*, p. 334
16. Bethell, *supra*, p. 23, 26
17. Gervas, *supra*, p. 82
18. Cameron, *supra*, p. 61
- 18a. Gervas, *supra*, p. 94
19. Peretz, Don, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs*, p. 33, 49, whole book
20. Halpern, B., *The Idea of the Jewish State*, p. 398
21. Gervas, *supra*, p. 109
22. Sachar, *supra*, p. 440
23. Sayish, R., *Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*, p. 75
24. Sachar, p. 444
25. Smooha, S., *Israel, Pluralism and Conflict*, Table 84, p. 351
26. *Ibid.*
27. Mar'i, Sami Khalil, *Arab Education in Israel*, p. 23
28. Smooha, *supra*, Table 84, p. 351
29. *Ibid.*
30. Israel Pocket Library: *Society*, p. 198 (Keter Books: compiled from material originally published in the Encyclopaedia Judaica)
31. Smooha, *supra*, p. 134
32. Mar'i, *supra*, p. 128
33. Sachar, *supra*, p. 399
34. Kamerman, Sheila, *Family Policy in Fourteen Countries*, p. 423; see also *Society, supra*, p. 225

## ts Opponents

ic; refusing to condemn the PLO for locating military supplies and its garrison among civilian populations after inviting retaliation by its attacks and threats against Israel is anti-semitic. Condemning Israel for its indirect responsibility for the Sabra massacre is not anti-semitic; condemning the indirectly-involved Israelis more than the directly responsible Phalangist Christians, and ignoring the whole cycle of violence in Lebanon, the slaughter of Muslims by Christians in Karantina, the slaughter of Christians by Muslims in

## ARTS



by Deena Rasky

I like to imagine Mama Quilla II on stage, in a dark and crowded hall. A huge floor-to-ceiling banner of red and black satin shimmers behind them. A crazy, rhythmic carnival swirls around the band — pink flamingos, furry dice, percussion toys and hundreds of women dancing ecstatically. This image is only a memory, since the band recently split up. Yet the mind (and the feet) can still be stimulated by listening to their first and only album. The music lives on — danceable, toe wiggling, finger clicking, head swaying stuff — but the band is gone.

That Mama Quilla II folded right after this album came out is a tragedy. When the original band formed at New Year's 1977, there was a real need in this country for feminist rock 'n roll. There was hardly any music then. What was available was mainly imported from the US and most of it was pure folk. Great politically, but nothing to shake your bootie over.

Mama Quilla II went through a variety of musical and personnel changes over the years. At one point, there were two percussionists adding a definite Latin flavour. The band worked hard at doing things collectively. Feminism was always a priority. MQII wanted to play primarily for women's benefits and celebrations, so much so that they even produced a "How-to Produce Benefits" booklet for interested groups. Still, the expenses of running a 7-piece band caused them to play more clubs and bars. Pressure mounted both inside and outside the group as they straddled the

women's community and the commercial mainstream. It became a juggling act with compromises. The band had to convince cigar-chomping club owners that they were more than an "all girl band," made-to-order by some male music manager's fantasy. Fortunately, no matter what club they played at, no matter how small the town, word spread quickly and invariably women would fill the joint for most of the gig.

Although Mama Quilla II gained critical respect — Robert Christgau and Peter Goddard have given them positive reviews — they needed a wider audience in order to be self-sufficient. Winning CFNY-FM's Home Grown contest helped get them airplay but the station wasn't too good on follow-through. No record company deals materialized. The band took on the difficult task of producing their own EP (extended play album). Financing the record was an agonizing, time-consuming process that ate away at MQII's unity. There were other burdens. Some of the musicians were going to school or working part-time or had other projects up their sleeves. After five long years, what musician can survive physically and spiritually on maybe \$50 a week in a band plagued with burn-out and cabin fever?

The making of this album on their own is a testament to collective strength and determination to stick it out at all costs. This album is definitely an important part of Canadian cultural 'herstory.' It is all the more painfully ironic that now the album exists as

## MQII Leaves Us Dancing

an ideal vehicle for getting bookings to pave the way for a full-scale tour, Mama Quilla II is no longer together as a group.

The lyrics on this extended play album are top notch. The political messages are 99 1/2% pure feminism. The band has a song named after itself, a joyous chant to the Goddess with a Latin beat. This track impressed me with its effective over-dubs. Even though MQII had shrunk from 7 musicians to five, this piece comes closest to duplicating their trademark full rhythmic band sound.

Another cut, *Angry Young Woman*, can easily be called the Feminist National Anthem.

"This life has been a lesson  
I'm not a 'little girl'  
Gonna change my living  
Gonna change the world  
Cause I'm an...  
Angry Young Woman"

This hit is rock at its finest. You can't help but feel good about yourself after listening to it. It contains some exciting Ramones-like riffs with machine gun staccato phrasing and cymbals splashing along with the distorted guitar to punctuate the statements made in the bridge section: punk rock (now called new wave) when it first appeared on the scene four or five years ago was refreshing because it spoke with an inkling of social consciousness. But it never grew up. *Angry Young Woman* is punk with integrity, punk in full heady bloom.

Then there's *KKK*, a funk tune with blatant political overtones. The background vocals by the MQ Tips is both clear and crisp. Their overall sound lingers long after the music ends. Laurie Conger on keyboards brings us music that's polished and tasty, leaving the listener hungry for more.

The mixing is occasionally poor, with dead sound in places. Mama Quilla II's music has filled halls and bounced off countless dancing bodies for years in live performance. It seems as though little attempt has been made to achieve this on vinyl. It only adds to the sadness of the listener not being able to hear them live again. The drums are a tad too loud. It is acceptable practice to focus on the drums when there's a solo or complicated rhythms are being offered, here it seems to be metronomic pounding all the way. To be fair — this is dancing music and the emphasized drums could be an attempt to compensate for the two missing percussionists. Also, the album

was produced by Billy "Beans" Bryans, the band's drummer.

Lorraine Segato's voice is now at peak form, strong, playful and creative. At times it feels as though you've entered a magnified cavernous version of her mouth; dimly lit and damp but you stay, drawn by the flirtations of her vocal chords. A small criticism is that her diction needs more work. It's a shame because the lyrics are worth better articulation. Then again, the lyrics are provided for on the jacket for the "deeper" listener.

Why are there no photos of the band on the record jacket? There is a white space 2 1/2" X 2 3/4" just begging for a small pic at least. The ladies on the cover are charming, the concept is very clever, but not everyone has seen the band live. Nancy Poole, "manager," or more accurately "camp director" as the album jacket defines her, explained this omission by saying the main emphasis the band wanted to project was on collectivity, that MQII speaks as a group. They intentionally avoided the usual hype of rock and roll, so photos would only be exploitive. Susan Sturman, guitarist, major lyricist and cover designer for the band adds that the decision had to do primarily with money considerations.

Only an alive-and-well-performing rock band can give this album the promotion it so richly deserves. The EP isn't flawless, but it's music that the community desperately needs to hear. How long do we have to put up with going to a woman's event to boogie to the same old Supremes' hits of the 60s or some sympathetic male music? Sure, it's danceable, but we're gathered together for a reason. The music should, indeed must, reflect our common political beliefs. How can one expect us to dance freely to lyrics that subtly paint a reinforcing view of women's oppression, regardless of how infectious the beat is?

Mama Quilla is, or unfortunately was, a good band. Again, because of money, only 1,000 albums have been pressed and already each and every one has been accounted for. Ladieslipper Records in the US is clamouring for more and there aren't any records to send to fans on the east coast. If you're a part of the women's movement and like to dance, I would strongly advise you to rush over to the nearest record store or women's bookstore to pick up a copy before it's too late. And if you are a DJ or tape maker for any woman's event and neglect to include cuts from this album... shame on you. ●

**Gemini**  
Communication Products

~Give Your Messages Meaning~  
**Feminist Notepaper**

Available in a variety of bright colours.  
50 sheets per pad.  
5 1/2" x 8 1/2"

NOTES  
memo

**Correspondence Stickers**

Stick at a touch labels to place anywhere.

package of 20 \$1.25  
package of 100 \$5.00

Postage, handling and tax included. No C.O.D.  
Send check or money order to:

**Gemini**  
Communication Products  
r.r.4, Perth Ontario  
k7h 3c6

Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.

**Womanly Way**

Presents  
**Fumerist (feminist/humourist)**  
**KATE CLINTON**

Friday, Jan. 14, 8.00 pm.  
Innis College Town Hall, 2 Sussex (at St. George)  
Toronto

Tickets: \$6.00 advance, \$6.50 at door  
Available at: Toronto Women's Bookstore/ 85 Harbord  
SCM Books/333 Bloor St. W.  
DEC/427 Bloor St. W.  
Free Childcare provided (call 961-1768 to reserve)  
Interpreted for the Hearing Impaired  
Wheelchair accessible  
This event is part of the Reaching out on the Environment Series

FINE ART CASTING  
IN BRONZE  
EXCLUSIVELY  
CANADA'S MOST COMPLETE  
SERVICE FOR  
SCULPTORS

64D MERTON STREET  
TORONTO • ONTARIO  
CANADA • M4S 1A3  
TELEPHONE (416) 488-1676

**The Art Foundry**

# Telling Pictures?

by Barbara Halpern Martineau

Two recent events in Toronto have shown by the enthusiastic response they received that there is a fair-sized audience for lesbian culture in this city. I use the term loosely to cover any cultural event self-defined as relating to lesbians, and I am referring specifically to Frances Rooney's slide show "Finding Lesbian Herstory," presented at the Metropolitan Community Church, November 5, and to Barbara Hammer's film program at the Funnel Theatre on November 10. In the case of the Hammer films, the audience was drawn from the experimental film community as well as from lesbian and feminist sources. I hope to devote a future column to the significance of Hammer's ten years of film making. This month's column is about the Rooney slide show and some issues it raised for me.

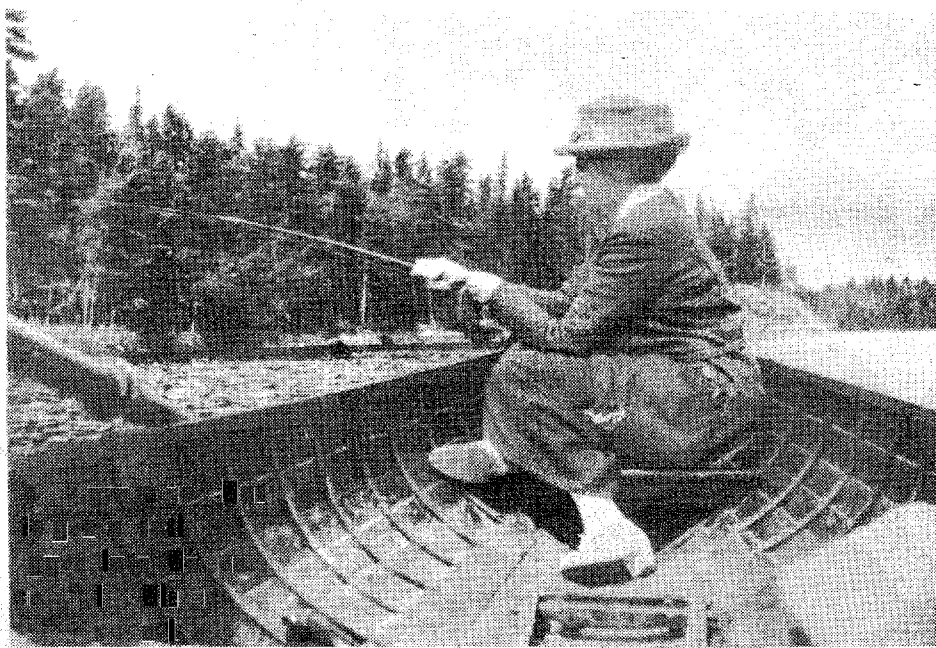
First, I was struck by the magnitude, on a local scale, of the event, in the sense that it really brought out the community. Lesbians and their friends ("lesbian-positive" women, women who don't identify themselves as lesbians but who find a great deal in common with lesbians) turned out in anticipation of a treat and packed the first, woman-only screening (a second screening was open to everyone). After all, how often do we see images of lesbians in a positive context? The photograph used to advertise the event, of a woman wading at the beach, dressed in a straw boater and a "mannish" jacket, promised more delights, and it was clear from the audience reaction to Rooney's presentation that she had delivered the goods. Lots of images of women, some well-known, from books or postcards available in women's bookstores, others not so well-known or never seen publicly, such as the family photos of Rooney's mother and her female friends. Lots of opportunity to lament the general suppression of lesbian images, positive images, and to enjoy the feast now being spread before us.

But. (There is a big "but" in my mind, one that emerged during the show and was clarified in discussions with other women afterwards.) I was disappointed by the structure of the show and the narration, and kept wishing for a more incisive use of the visual material. Because I know that this simple form of slide presentation, using a single projector and "live" narration, is wonderfully flexible and can be reordered, added to, changed indefinitely, I'd like to suggest some ways in which I think this show could grow

and develop its own major premise, that we deserve the best possible presentation of lesbian history. (While I appreciate the creative redefinition of "herstory," in this context I prefer to use "history" as derived from "histoire," or "story," because it is her story that interests me here.)

The first step would be to ask and answer the question why? What does lesbian history have to offer? Rooney's description of a tickling at the base of her skull, the thrill of tracking down and identifying women as hidden lesbians, does not constitute a sufficient response for me. I enjoy uncovering hidden history in order to make links with my past, present and future, to see what was done and felt, and imagined in the past about things which are meaningful to me. Hence, the war and government-centred histories of the patriarchy have little meaning for me; personal histories which touch on feelings and ideas, and socio-economic studies which reveal the forces that act on individual lives have a lot of meaning. I would like Rooney's images to be placed in a more meaningful context. For example: Rooney presented a number of photos of Frances Loring and Florence Wyle, pointing out that these two women lived together for many years, producing many sculptures of women, including each other, that they were known to the bohemian Toronto community in which they lived as "the girls," a phrase which became the title of a biography of the two of them by Rebecca Sisler. Rooney pointed out that Sisler tells us the two women were "accused" of being lesbians, period, theorizing that we are thereby given information by Sisler that the two were indeed lesbians. Perhaps. Another way of reading the book is that Sisler discounted the "accusation" and was uninterested in following through. However, Rooney does not discuss the possible impact the "accusation" had on the two women or on their work, or the influence their relationship had on their work, nor did she include the devastating information from Sisler that when the two women grew old and unable to live on in their house, they were separated in the nursing home, which refused to recognize their long-term relationship. These are the things I need to know — these are the issues that still burn.

In her discussion of the relationship between photographers Edith S. Watson and writer Victoria Hayward, Rooney develops, in detective-story fashion, the narrative line of her slow realization that these two women who lived, worked, and travelled together



Photographer Edith Watson, fishing at Bark Lake.

Courtesy Frances Rooney

were indeed lesbians. The clinching piece of evidence is a card proclaiming birthday love from one to the other. In the light of the compelling thesis of Lillian Faderman (*Surpassing the Love of Men*), that lesbianism should not be defined or dealt with "primarily as a sexual act," Rooney's need to "prove" that these two were indeed lesbians is puzzling to me — without further discussion I can only say, so what?

I thought about a recent conversation I had with my mother about the vice-principal of my high school. I asked my mother, who worked at the school, what she knew about this woman's home life — had she lived alone? "Oh, no," said my mother, and she went on to explain that the vice-principal had lived for years with the woman who taught Spanish, until they quarrelled, and the Spanish teacher left. Then the vice-principal was lonely, said my mother, until she found another female companion who moved in with her. Now frankly, I don't care whether my high school vice-principal engaged in sexual activity with the Spanish teacher. (What my gym teacher did is another matter!) What matters to me is that I never knew those two women lived together, or that adult women could live together without shame or ridicule. What also matters to me is that my mother is capable of accepting that they lived together, and stopping her thought process right there. It is important for her *not to know* that they might have engaged in sexual activity.

These are issues which still burn. What does suppression do? What do women who are suppressed do, and what can we learn from this? By showing us pictures of her own mother and discussing her mother's repressed passion for her female friends, Rooney provides the basis for such thinking, but by not articulating the questions, or making the connections, she misses a chance to make concrete and to build upon the valu-

able work already done by other women, women who've been writing and making slide shows in the same field. (Some other shows: JEB's; Francis Dougherty's "A Family of Friends: Portrait of a Lesbian Friendship Group"; the Lesbian History Archives' show about being lesbian before the 1960's; Tee Corinne's "Lesbian Erotica in the Fine Arts"; Gayle Rubin's "Natalie Barney and Her Circle.") The images and the identification of lesbians, I'm suggesting, are not enough — we need to explore our grounds for definition, the connections between sexuality, friendship, creativity, work and the outside world, the effects of responses and the solutions to repression and oppression.

I'm grateful to Frances Rooney for having stimulated this train of thought about the significance of lesbian images. I'd very much like to see the visual material she's collected arranged into a more coherent and provocative whole, to understand more about the connections she makes with her mother's repressed love for other women, and how she relates that to the other women, some more open than others, who have chosen to live out their desire for the company of women, and to make art based on that. I could stand not to see images of Katharine Hepburn or other living women who are choosing to hide their private lives, and instead to see and hear more detailed analysis of the work and lives of women whose choice of other women as friends, companions and/or lovers has clearly been connected to their creativity, support, and general being in a patriarchal world. Why, I want to know, is it important for me to know that this woman is or was a lesbian? The question lingers.

*My thanks to the women whose discussion and input helped me to formulate these thoughts, and who encouraged me to write them here.*

## Satisfaction Guaranteed

**STILL AIN'T SATISFIED: Canadian Feminism Today**

edited by Maureen Fitzgerald, Connie Guberman, and Margie Wolfe. Illustrated by Gail Geltner. Toronto Women's Press 1982. Pp. 320. \$9.95

by June Callwood

The Women's Press, a sturdy collective which for ten years has been a quality publisher of pro-women authors and topics, is celebrating its tenth anniversary with *Still Ain't Satisfied*, which provides a panorama and a platform for feminists in the eighties.

The quality of *Still Ain't Satisfied* is a testament in itself of the progress of women. Liz Martin's cover and design are confident and stunning, Gail Geltner's tender, powerful illustrations stop the show, the editing is top-of-the-line professional, and the contributors responded to their commitment by researching and writing their heads off, plus providing bibliographies. There's a sureness about the tone throughout which flows from the jaunty title and gives several of the writers the nerve to push back the boundaries of conventional feminist wisdom.

The Women's Press collective's existence almost exactly spans the current era of women's liberation which began with the

oceanic euphoria of the early all-women conferences, workshops, and consciousness-raising groups. Women found they liked women, and therefore could like themselves; we all felt invincible because we perceived that we had logic and numbers on our side. *Still Ain't Satisfied* explores the gaps, errors, and gains since those heady days.

Notable in this parade of observation and analysis is Kathleen McDonnell's chapter on abortion, "Claim No. Easy Victories", in which she attempts to deal with the rigidity which has seized both sides of the bitter debate. She makes an offering, a confession, that there is much pain and ambivalence within the pro-choice movement. "It is possible by *not* acknowledging women's mixed emotions about abortion," she reflects, "we are skipping over some very important steps in helping them come to terms with it, both personally and as a political issue."

That's a major statement of principle that is overdue. In our anxiety not to give the opposition a morsel to make into a meal, many of us on the pro-choice side have kept secret that vast relief we will feel when unwanted, unplanned pregnancies no longer occur. McDonnell suggests a beginning of *détente* by working with the left-wing of the self-styled pro-life movement in such common causes as family education and daycare.

Myrna Kostash examines another divisive topic, pornography. Her crackling style and clarity of vision make her one of the country's most consistently interesting writers. This time out she marches right up to the topic, kicks it soundly in very sensitive places, and refuses all easy solutions. Joanne Kates, another who has congenital inability to stand back from reality, gives one of the most remarkable pieces of her writing career in the chapter on the conflicts that rage when a heterosexual feminist is in love. Similarly, Eve Zarembo with honour and insight explores the various shapes of lesbian sexuality and relationships.

There are fine, well-documented chapters on daycare, sexual harassment, hazardous jobs, rape, collectives, and women in unions. Naomi Wall has the opening spot with a comprehensive historic review of the feminist movement in the past decade and Nancy Adamson co-ordinated a rousing final chapter which pulls together some thoughts on strategy. Between those two buttresses there are such good deeds as Meg Luxton's examination of housewives, whose jobs are shown to be hazardous to their health but whose commitment is mainly to anti-feminist undertakings. And Susan G. Cole contributes a treasure about the national pastime of woman-battering.

The introduction mentions that space did

not allow for articles on such topics as "the special problems of welfare, older, adolescent and disabled women." The decision is understandable because no one volume could present solidly all the issues that gross feminists, but women make up the majority of the poor and the omission is sad. The lack of interest some feminists show in women who live below the poverty line is unattractive.

Still, as *Still Ain't Satisfied* amply demonstrates, women are gathering at last into the political force that we fondly believed ten years ago was at hand. A politician, Lloyd Axworthy, saw his leadership hopes destroyed when he tangled with the now-worthless federal Advisory Council on the Status of Women. And women, in a fast, furious, and brilliant campaign, rewrote the constitution in the eleventh hour.

*Still Ain't Satisfied* chronicles all such good news, doesn't flinch from the agony of the process, and gets the documents in order so that feminists can see where they have been and where they are going. There's a shoulder-to-shoulder feel about the collection which is pure heaven. The Women's Press collective has done itself, and all of us, proud.

*June Callwood is a writer and long-time activist in the abortion, women's shelter, and other movements.*

# Schell Shocked

by Amanda Hale

**The Fate of the Earth** by Jonathan Schell, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1982. (paperback: \$2.95)

Fritzjoff Capra, author of *The Tao of Physics* and, most recently, *The Turning Point*, has identified the four major areas of relevance to our lives today: nuclear disarmament, feminism, ecology, and human potential for spiritual growth. These issues bleed into each other, but the question of nuclear disarmament subsumes all, as is made clear by Jonathan Schell's brilliant analysis in *The Fate of the Earth*. If the nuclear powers fail to disarm, a nuclear holocaust, whether accidental or intentional, is inevitable and, according to Schell, who provides chillingly convincing evidence to support his claims, there will be no survivors, no more issues; the human race will be extinct and the earth will be at most 'a republic of insects and grass.' The necessity to rid the world of nuclear weapons is both urgent and vital; everything hangs on it.

Schell was born in 1943, two years before the nuclear age was launched with the detonation of the first atomic bomb in New Mexico on July 16, 1945, a dry run for the Hiroshima and Nagasaki attacks of August 1945. Schell is a staff writer for *The New Yorker*, in which the three essays which make up this book were first published. He writes with sensitivity and integrity, managing to convey the absolute horror of our dilemma without resorting to shock tactics. Despite the subject matter, the book is a work of beauty and profundity, the reading of which engages all one's faculties at a level of passion which challenges one to think the unthinkable, and to feel and imagine accordingly. *The Fate of the Earth* is a revolutionary work. Schell calls not only for nuclear disarmament but also for disarmament of conventional weaponry by all powers. "If we accept both nuclear and conventional disarmament, then we are speaking of revolutionizing the politics of the earth . . . The task is nothing

less than to reinvent politics: to reinvent the world." (p.226).

The first essay, *A Republic of Insects and Grass*, provides a calm and detailed account of the scientific facts concerning the nuclear age. The results of the bombing of Hiroshima are described; an extremely small bomb was used by today's standards, having only 1/80th the explosive power of a one megaton bomb, and we now have them in sizes up to sixty megatons, although: "There is basically no limit to the size or yield of a thermonuclear weapon. The only limits on a bomb's destructive effect are the earth's capacity to absorb the blast" (p. 17). Schell estimates the magnitude of destruction caused by the explosion of a one megaton bomb on New York City, both airburst and groundburst, and the same for a twenty megaton bomb. He lists the waves of destruction which occur in the wake of the explosion. There is the initial nuclear radiation which, in the case of an airburst one megaton bomb, would kill people within an area of six square miles. Simultaneously there is the electromagnetic pulse — a surge of voltage caused by gamma radiation acting on the air. Now a fireball forms and the thermal pulse occurs — a wave of blinding light and intense heat lasting ten seconds in the case of a one megaton bomb, twenty seconds for a twenty megaton bomb. As the fireball expands it causes a blast wave which flattens buildings within a radius of 4 1/2 miles per one megaton bomb. Finally there is the radioactive fallout which is intensified in the case of a groundburst bomb due to the crater from which tons of dust and debris will be sucked into the mushroom cloud, and subsequently fall as radioactive particles.

People would die in a variety of ways: crushed or irradiated by the initial blast, incinerated in the fireball, picked up and hurled to death by high velocity winds. Hit by a twenty megaton bomb, "New York City and its suburbs would be transformed into a lifeless, flat, scorched desert in a few seconds" (p. 53); people within a twenty-three mile radius of ground zero (the ground on or above which the bomb bursts) would burn to death, the fireball would reach 4 1/2 miles in diameter (6 miles for a groundburst bomb), and the mushroom cloud would measure seventy miles in diameter. Survivors would be faced with irradiation sickness, lethal levels of blinding ultraviolet light due to destruction of the ozone layer, starvation, exposure, attack from other survivors, injuries, epidemics of disease spreading from the rotting of millions of corpses. People in shelters would be roasted, as were the victims of the Dresden fire bombs of World War Two. But worse than the individual deaths would be the fact that damage to the earth would render it an environment hostile to life. The most devastating global aftereffect would be the partial destruction of the ozone layer which surrounds the earth, and which is crucial to life in that it shields the planet from solar ultraviolet radiation. It has been estimated "that in a holocaust in which 10,000 megatons were detonated in the Northern Hemisphere, the reduction of ozone in this hemisphere could be as high as 70% and in the Southern Hemisphere as high as 40%, and that it could take as long as thirty years for the ozone level to return to normal" (p. 20). Given this level of reduction, one would suffer blindness and severe skin burns after less than ten minutes' exposure.

In tracing the chain of destruction set in motion by a nuclear holocaust, Schell reveals the exquisite harmony of nature, so delicately balanced that the disturbance of any part can throw the whole into chaos. It is not only the direct effects of nuclear destruction we should contemplate but the indirect consequences which would attack the natural support systems of planetary life. The perfection of nature renders it peculiarly vulnerable to human ignorance. As Schell points out, at a certain level knowledge becomes ignorance, as we learn enough to realize how little we know — and at this point one must become humble in the face of mystery or suffer the consequences of blundering on arrogantly into the dark.

The second essay, entitled *The Second Death*, deals with the extinction of the human race, not as a possibility, but as a certainty if we continue on our current course. "Those . . . who speak of 'recovery' after a holocaust or of 'winning' a nuclear 'war' are dreaming. They are living in a past that has been swept away forever by nuclear arms" (p. 73). Schell points out that there is no going back on knowledge once gained; destroyed weapons can be recreated. He

quotes Einstein: "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophes" (p. 88). Schell goes to the very roots of our dilemma in this metaphysical investigation into survival and emerges with the only real solution to the nuclear threat which is to change ourselves, to change our thinking. Knowledge is the deterrent, and it is precisely this knowledge that humanity resists. He documents the circumstances which have led to a situation where "denial of reality becomes a habit . . . and unresponsiveness . . . a way of life" (p. 152), where our lives are corrupted and degraded by the anticipation of the unthinkable — extinction — which ultimately has no meaning, which cannot be experienced, which is no loss because there is no loser. The revolutionary theme expands as it becomes clear that nuclear technology necessitates global politics; that the defence of the sovereign state is an anachronism when the weapons of defence are likely to destroy the very ground on which that state rests and the populus who inhabit it. *Metanoia* (change of mind) — global disarmament, nuclear and conventional — the creation of a new and appropriate form of politics. Not as utopian by half as the hope of surviving on our current course.

But, and here is the crux of a problem which Schell touches on but does not seem to be fully aware of, survival is not the desire of a patriarchal pornoculture whose bedrock is suicidal self-hatred. "The male likes death — it excites him sexually and, already dead inside, he wants to die," says Valerie Solanas in her *SCUM Manifesto*. Ironically, the very splitting of the atom is exemplary of the familiar pattern, on which our culture is based, of splitting one part of an organic whole from another. Nowhere is this process better described than in Susan Griffin's *Woman and Nature*. (The parallels in Schell's book between the fate of the earth and the fate of a woman are tacitly clear). Griffin goes further in *Pornography and Silence*, providing a brilliant analysis of the pornoculture in which we exist, and which is characterized not merely by the split between mind/body, head/heart, thought/feeling but by the complete absence of emotional response, which is precisely the non-reaction in the face of inevitable extinction of the human species that Schell recognizes as effect without divining the cause. Griffin describes how the fearful, self-hating pornocultists must perpetually control and deform their emotional life force, which they do by projecting this aspect of themselves onto females and the natural environment, then victimizing and abusing accordingly. The sadist and the masochist are one; it is the whipper who receives the whipping and, unfortunately, when the nuclear bomb replaces the whip the logical conclusion is death. Given this cultural framework, Schell utters a truism when he states that "we have begun to live *as if* life were safe, but living *as if* is very different from just living. A split opens up between what we know and what we feel" (p. 152). Awareness demands that we challenge the mass insanity whereby things continue as normal "in the face of overwhelming danger as though everyone had been sedated. . . Their placidity has the appearance of an unnatural loss of normal human responses — of a pathetic and sickening acquiescence in their own slaughter" (p. 151). It becomes the responsibility of those who have not succumbed to necrophilia, who do indeed love life, to back their vision, no matter how futile it may seem. And it is to these people that Schell, an optimist and a lover, speaks.

The leaders of the death culture are death incarnate but "death is only death; extinc-

tion is the death of death" (p. 119). All pales in the face of this fate. Man has become a kamikaze cancer, destroying that off which he feeds. Cancer is the characteristic disease of the nuclear age and we have all become it, every last one of us, male and female, powerful and powerless — criminal accomplices, accessories after the fact, passive witnesses at the scene of the crime. Bertrand Russell warned, at the very beginning of the nuclear age, of what would come to pass. But it will not come to pass, as Schell points out, because nothing can pass after the extinction of the human race — nothing can pass when time has stopped and there is no-one to witness it. No more trees will fall in the forest. Few people can countenance the magnitude of the nightmare of extinction, not because we would feel anything — it would be over in a second — but because it would rob us of immortality, perhaps the issue of greatest importance to humanity. There would be no one to remember that we had existed, no remnants to be excavated centuries from now, no one to excavate them. All would be dust; every painting, every poem, every carefully kept ledger, every letter, sculpture, every last scrap of evidence of human activity.

The third and final essay, *The Choice*, analyzes war and comes to the conclusion that "there is no need to 'abolish war' among the nuclear powers; it is already gone. The choices don't include war any longer. They consist now of peace on the one hand, and annihilation on the other. And annihilation — or 'assured destruction' — is as far from being war as peace is" (p. 193). The fact that war has become an anachronism, and that there could be no such thing as a limited nuclear war, is explained by Schell's analysis of war as a situation which ultimately depends on the weakness of one party, which is revealed only in the extremity of violence to which all wars must be carried. There must be a victor and a vanquished for the encounter to qualify as war, and the outcome is subject to a decision by arms. In a nuclear war the arms would remain plentiful long after both powers were annihilated. As far as the notion of a limited war is concerned, therefore, we are asked to believe that one or the other participant in a nuclear war would accept defeat while still in possession of bombs to reverse that defeat. Not only has our thinking deteriorated to the point where we accept such naive concepts as 'limited nuclear warfare,' but any serious thinking is so isolated by the general pattern of the split which has fractured our culture, as to be completely distorted and meaningless.

In discussing strategic thinking whereby "the strategist must incessantly plan for: future attacks and counter attacks whose prevention is supposedly the planning's whole purpose," Schell concludes that "not only is morality deliberately divorced from 'thinking' but planning is divorced from action. The result of all those novel mental operations is a fantastic intellectual construct . . . in which ratiocination, unrestrained either by moral feelings or by facts, has been permitted to run wild in a riot of pure theory. . . The divorce of thought from feeling, of strategy from morality, and of planning from action are all only manifestations of the more fundamental divorce between the pre-nuclear basis of our whole approach to political life and the reality of our nuclear world" (p. 195).

That brings us back to the revolutionary call for re-establishment of a wholeness which may only be a dim memory from the matriarchal era. Since the pornocultist patriarchs took over, everything has led systematically and predictably to this crisis point where we are faced with a choice between peace and annihilation, between the inevitable but joyous suffering of being alive and the ultimate drug of extinction. The least that anyone could do at this point is read Schell's book — it is galvanizing. ●

Amanda Hale is a Toronto poet and painter.

Boudicca Books

P.O. Box 901

Station K

Toronto, Ontario

Canada, M4P 2H2

## BOUDICCA BOOKS

- SPECIALIZING IN BOOKS BY AND ABOUT WOMEN
- SELLING OLD, RARE AND OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

### HAVE YOU BEEN TOLD "IT'S OUT OF PRINT?"

I may have a copy or will look for one free of charge.

To request a search or to obtain more information please call:

(416) 483-2431

or write

Boudicca Books  
Attention T.T.  
P.O. Box 901  
Station K  
Toronto, Ontario  
M4P 2H2 CANADA



## The Boulevard Cafe

COME AND HAVE A TASTE OF PERU  
Open everyday. Sunday Brunch 11-3

Lunch and Dinner Specials

Licensed

161 Harbord St. Toronto (between Spadina & Bathurst)  
961-7676

# Book Bounty

by Jean Wilson

ATWOOD, MARGARET, *Second Words*. Toronto: Anansi 1982. This is a collection of 50 essays on sexism, Canlit, the creative process, politics, power, and various writers. (cloth)

AVISON, MARGARET, *The Dumbfounding and Winter Sun*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1982. This is a reprint of two classic collections of Canadian poetry, long o/p.

BERNIKOW, LOUISE, *Among Women*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside 1981. This is an examination by a poet and scholar of the associations women make among themselves: mother-daughter, sisters, friends, lovers, enemies.

BERSIANIK, LOUKY, *The Eugélonne: A Triptich Novel*, translated by G. Denis et al. Victoria, Toronto: Press Porcépic 1982. This is a funny and revolutionary book by one of Quebec's most original feminist writers.

BRADY, MAUREEN, *Folly*. Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press 1982. Black and white working women in a Carolina mill town is the subject of this new book by the author of *Give Me Your Good Ear*.

CALLAHAN, SEAN, ed., *The Photographs of Margaret Bourke-White*. Boston: New York Graphic Society 1978. This is a marvellous collection of black and white photos ranging from the 1920s to the 1950s by a pioneer in documentary photography and one of the best woman photographers in the U.S.

CAMERON, ANNE, *The Journey*. New York: Avon Books 1982. Anne Cameron's rollicking tale of Anne and Sarah, who overcome all odds (including all men), on the Canadian frontier.

FERGUSON, MARILYN, *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980s*. Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher Inc. 1982. The "Aquarian Conspiracy" is a network of individuals in the U.S. who are working to create a different kind of society based on a new concept of human potential. Ferguson published a few years ago a fascinating book called *The Brain Revolution*, describing recent research and discoveries concerning the human brain.

FIREWEED, ISSUE 13. This is an entirely lesbian issue.

FOWLER, MARIAN, *The Embroidered Tent: Five Gentlewomen in Early Canada*. Toronto: Anansi 1982. This is a critical collection of biographies of 5 leading 19th-century Canadian women: Elizabeth Simcoe, Catharine Parr Traill, Susanna Moodie, Anna Jameson, and Lady Dufferin.

GALLANT, MAVIS, *The Pegnitz Junction: A Novella and Five Stories*. Toronto: Macmillan 1982. This is a reprint of a book originally published in 1973 and o/p for several years. Post-war Germany and the Germans is the common subject.

HANSCOMBE, GILLIAN E., *Between Friends*. Boston: Alyson Publications, Inc. 1982. Written as an epistolary novel, this book explores many current lesbian and feminist issues, and has been highly praised by Jane Rule, Barbara Deming, Lillian Faderman, and Elaine Berns, among others.

HEBERT, ANNE, *Héloïse*, translated by Sheila Fischman. Toronto: Stoddart 1982. This is a recent novel by one of Quebec's pre-eminent poets and novelists. (cloth)

JAMES, P.D., *The Skull Beneath the Skin*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys 1982. James's newest mystery features Cordelia Gray, star of *An Unsuitable Job for a Woman*. (cloth)

KOGAWA, JOY, *Obasan*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys 1982. If you haven't read this haunting novel yet, then make it a must. It concerns the Japanese-Canadian expulsion from the west coast in World War II.

LORDE, AUDRE, *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*. Watertown, MA: Persephone Press 1982. Lorde creates a new form, biomythography, combining history, biography, and myth.

MINER, VALERIE, *Movement*. Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press 1982. This is another story about a young woman coming of age in the 1960s and 1970s; some of the action happens in Toronto.

MORRIS, JANET, *Dream Dancer, and Cruiser Dreams*. (sci-fi) New York: Berkeley Books 1982. These books are the first two of a trilogy about a young woman who is the unwilling heir to a vast empire.

MUNRO, ALICE, *The Moons of Jupiter*. Toronto: Macmillan 1982. This is a new collection of 12 short stories by another perfectionist of the form. (cloth)

NEULS-BATES, CAROL, ed. *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside 1982. If you attended the Lost Women Composers series in Toronto last winter, or even if you didn't, this book looks like a good follow-up.

PARKER, ROZSIKA AND GRISELDA POLLOCK, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art, and Ideology*. New York: Pantheon Books 1982. This is a book of feminist art criticism.

PARTRIDGE, FRANCES, *Memories*. London: Robin Clark Ltd 1982. This is a new first-hand account of Bloomsbury.

RULE JANE. With the recent reprinting of *Lesbian Images* (The Crossing Press) and *This Is Not for You* (Naiad Press), all of Jane Rule's prose is now in print. Catch up with what you may have missed or reread it.

SALMONSEN, JESSICA AMANDA, ed., *Amazons II*. (sci-fi) New York: Daw Books Inc. 1982. This is a fantasy anthology of stories about women heroes.

SARTON, MAY, *Anger*. New York: W.W. Norton 1982. Sarton's latest novel explores the inner landscape of a marriage.

SCOTT, GAIL, *Spare Parts*. Toronto: Coach House Press 1981. Scott is a freelance journalist living in Montreal, where she's a contributing editor to *Spirale*. This book is a collection of stories about growing up in small Canadian towns and coming to maturity in a provincial city in the 1960s.

SHOSTAK, MARJORIE, *Nisa: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*. New York: Vintage 1983. This is a true story of a 50-year-old woman from the !Kung tribe of hunters and gatherers in the southern Africa Kalahari desert.

SMART, ELIZABETH, *By Grand Central Station I Sat Down and Wept*. Toronto: Deneau 1982. This is a novel about a consuming and life-long relationship, originally published in 1945 and until recently ignored in Canada, though Smart is a Canadian. She is writer in residence at the University of Alberta this year.

SMYTH, DONNA, *Quilt*. Toronto: Women's Press 1982. This is Smyth's first novel. She is the co-ordinating editor of *Atlantis: A Woman's Studies Journal* and teaches creative writing, English, and women's studies at Acadia University in Wolfville, NS.

STEIN, GERTRUDE, *Blood on the Dining Room Floor*. Berkeley, CA: Creative Arts Book Co. 1982. Originally published in 1948, this is a reprint of Stein's only attempt at detective fiction.

THOMAS, AUDREY, *Real Mothers: Short Stories*. Vancouver: Talonbooks 1982. Thomas writes some of the best short stories in Canada.

TROFIMENKOFF, SUSAN MANN, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec*. Toronto: Macmillan 1982. This is a one-volume synthesis of Quebec history ranging from the 1500s to 1980. (cloth)

WEBB, PHYLLIS, *Talking*. Dumvegan, Ont.: Quadrant Editions 1982. This is a collection of essays, reviews, literary criticisms, and discussions of the poetic process by one of the best poets in Canada. Webb also will have a new book of poetry out soon.

WILSON, BARBARA, *Thin Ice and Other Stories*. Seattle: The Seal Press 1981. This is the latest collection of stories by an excellent short story writer. An earlier book of stories is *Talk and Contact* (1978). Wilson also has just published her first novel, *Ambitious Women* (Argyle, NY: Spinsters Ink).

For something completely different for the word freaks among you. I recommend: SIMON, JOHN, *Paradigms Lost: Reflections on Literacy and Its Decline*. New York: Penguin Books 1980. This is a funny and provocative look at how language is abused and why it needn't be. After reading this book, catch up with CASEY MILLER and KATE SWIFT, *The Handbook of Nonsexist Writing for Writers, Editors, and Speakers*. New York: Lippincott and Crowell 1980. These two women previously published the excellent *Words and Women: New Language in New Times* (1976).

**THE NEW VOICE**  
OF LESBIAN/GAY  
TORONTO

DIRECTED BY PETER SCHAFFTER - first season  
PURPOSE & PHILOSOPHY

The members of this choir have joined together as a non-profit organization to promote gay/lesbian unity and pride in our community through the performance of music for the education, enjoyment, and cultural enrichment of our audiences and ourselves.

REHEARSALS,  
First rehearsal will be on Jan 5, 1983.  
7:45 pm sharp,  
519 Church Street,  
Community Centre  
COME OUT AND SING WITH US - GET INVOLVED!

# MOVEMENT COMMENT

## Porn-Again Male

by Marcela Pap

I am writing in part in desperation, and in part to share my experience, hoping that someone else out there can offer comment. I am going to speak very personally, on the one hand, but on the other, I want to speak to the much wider issue of the position women take on pornography, an issue which I feel is, much like sexual harassment, still in the closet, leaving someone like me who has had a lot of political experience in the women's movement, without a strategy, and with a tarnished spirit.

I have had little contact with pornography, or with men who read it (or so I thought). Until quite recently I assumed that, yes, pornography does exist, some of it must be violent, certainly it is corrupt, and supports a humiliating and degrading industry. But most of all I thought it was "their" industry; executives', managers', my father's friends, and not mine. My friends are feminists, often socialists, and pretty conscientious about their personal politics. That filth did not exist in my circles.

Not too long ago I inadvertently uncovered mountains of violent hard porn in an intimate friend's bedroom cupboard. This friend, my companion, is a renowned

professional with an impeccable reputation for defending labour and women's rights. He is so respected in his field for being "principled" that he has often been asked to act in an "official" (I think the official part is very important here) capacity for women's groups. He has had intimate relationships with at least two other committed feminists, and the dates on the magazines would indicate (never mind the amounts, suitcases full, all of them saved) that he has "used" it throughout these relationships. Before I discovered the stuff, he had always winced at the prospect of even looking at *Playboy* (which is no epitome of virtue, I realize).

The worst part of it all is my own pain, my hysterical responses to it, my shame, my embarrassment to discuss it (who would listen?), my utter shock, and my anger. The anger is the political part of me — I do not encourage our movement to rely on official bodies of representation much, and I am shocked that this man in particular maintains such a split between who he is and who he stands for, and what he does in his private and very secret office life.

I have been trying to read everything I can find on the subject, and now realize (with personal experience to back me up) that pornography is such a deeply rooted part of

our culture that the pornographer, when "found out", becomes enraged. Writer Susan Griffin suggests that he releases his own self-hatred on the woman he may even love, but whom he has to now hate. The pictures in the magazine are sickening to me. The quantities represent an addiction. And yet I know that the addiction is only symptomatic of something much more hideous, misogyny perhaps, but a terror of intimacy for sure. He is "of woman born," and can never allow himself to have it, because one can only be intimate with real women, and with their woman-ness.

My friend is very proud of his "progressive" views, and the free work he does for those in need, many of them sex criminals, and many of them poor women who have themselves been tortured by men and their world. Yet he violates me and my sisters without remorse and continues to spend inordinate amounts of money on the stuff. The breach in his two lives horrifies me. One or two lines from Susan G. Cole ("Confronting Pornography", *Broadside*, November 1981), and from a much earlier article written by Myrna Kostash in *This Magazine* (1978) echo in my mind. Cole says:

The pornographer is no rebel. He reinforces images already prevalent in our culture. He is the absolver of the sexually dysfunctional male's guilt as he informs his consumer that the desire to violate women is not only acceptable but has its own rewards. With the possible exception of the advertising executive, he is our culture's most effective propagandist, designing as he does this vicious hate campaign. *His success depends on our silence* (emphasis mine.)

This last line rings over and over in my head, because in my particular case, the pornographer depends on my silence, while women still depend on him to voice their concerns. How hopeless I feel. Who are our allies, and how much "official" power do we grant them? What are their credentials?

Are there some women's issues which constitute "credentials" and others that don't?

Kostash does not mince her words. She says,

"Men need pornography because they are incapable of relating to liberated women."...There is an education of men as well through pornography. It teaches them that their honest, humane wish to have their sexuality legitimized, to have it shorn of its ashamed and guilt-ridden associations, will be met by images of themselves as fuck artists 'liberated' from their feelings and their responsibility to another person. In pornography, a person is no more complex than his or her orgasm, and sexual behavior no more engaging of the person than a job at an assembly-line. Pornography takes the need-to-be-with-another and turns it into sexual self-service. "It destroys our connectedness," says an American feminist film-maker, "and educates us to be alone."

Kostash says that pornography becomes especially useful to men when women get "too uppity."

Have other women had similar experiences? Do male "users" help themselves, or are they eternally addicted? Is Susan Griffin right when she says in *Pornography and Silence* that "the nude woman in the pornographer's mind is really only a denied part of himself which he refuses to recognize," a part of himself that he must "control"? My own experience has led me to believe that hard core pornography is a metaphor for the social culture in which we still strive to cultivate intimate relationships with some men, and ultimately, for the place we have been forced to assume overtly in the workplace, in the home, on the streets. And covertly, it expresses our culture's secret directives to us, lodged, however, only in the minds, the private minds, of its bearers, *those whom we have borne*. This conclusion is untenable to me; it is too bleak. Self-expression has not been limited to one sex. Or has it?

COME HEAR THE ORIGINAL "MESSIAH"!

Dec 16, 17, 18  
8 p.m.  
\$17, \$12, \$9, \$7

Trinity  
United Church  
964-6337  
427 Bloor St. W.

Tafelmusik's 3rd Annual MESSIAH on baroque instruments and in baroque style.  
"A fresh living Messiah from first to last" — Toronto *Globe & Mail*

**\$1 OFF ANY TICKET WITH THIS AD**

# crispins

Enjoy the good company of our congenial crowd for a fifth year of imaginative, modestly-priced, fun dining.

Present this ad for a 10% discount on the food portion of your bill.

Reservations: 977-1919



## SUBSCRIBE NOW!

**Broadside** P.O. Box 494, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1.

\$10/10 issues  \$18/20 issues  \$40/20 issues (sustaining)  
(Add \$2 for out-of-Canada subs. Institutional rates: \$16/10 issues, \$30/20 issues.)

New subscription  
 Renewal

Gift, from \_\_\_\_\_ (full name)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Code \_\_\_\_\_

## Broadside CLASSIFIEDS

**HOLIDAY GIFTS:** Feminist jewellery — labryises, women's symbol rings and pendants, IWD pins and pendants. Silver or gold. Contact Gail Kenney, 71 The Lindens, 100 Bain Ave., Toronto, M4K 1E8. (416) 469-0184.

**LESBIAN HOUSE** has large room with bay window for rent. Share with two others. We have piano and relaxed atmosphere. (416) 537-5753.

**SUBLET ROOM** in a large flat, share with one feminist and dog. No cats' please. Feb. 1 - Oct. 1. Ossington and College, Toronto. \$175/month. Call Ruth 925-6568 (days), 532-7963 (nights).

**FEMINIST WRITING WORKSHOP:** Woman interested in joining an existing workshop or starting a new one. Daria (416) 532-8426.

**DO YOU HAVE** a closet full of clothes and nothing to wear? Fashion co-ordinating in your home. \$35. (416) 595-1387.

**LESBIAN SELF-HELP** problem solving group has space for two more women. We work according to the principles developed by Hogue Wyckoff, and meet bi-monthly. If interested, leave message at (416)469-0659 or 537-7541.

**WOMEN'S CAMP** at Tapawingo near Parry Sound. Winter sports — bring skis. Friday evening to Sunday, January 21-23. \$55. For information, call Susan (416) 921-4755.

**WOMEN'S HOUSING CO-OP:** 1 bedroom apts. available now, \$375 + util., waiting list for 2 bedrooms (\$505-540) and 3 bedrooms (\$570) open. New project, townhouse-style, Christie/Davenport, Toronto. For info. call Constance Hamilton Co-op, 532-8860.

**PIANO TUNING AND REPAIR:** Don't let your piano become an old clunker: Protect it with regular maintenance. Jim Tennyson (416) 533-9804.

- Costs are 25¢ a word (\$3 minimum)
- The first word will be printed in **bold type**
- Ads accepted by mail on the 20th of the month *before* they are to appear
- All classified ads must be *pre-paid*.
- Fill out the coupon below and send it, with cheque or money order, to: Broadside, PO Box 494, Stn P, Toronto, M5S 2T1.

No. of words \_\_\_\_\_ Name \_\_\_\_\_

Amount \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

Cheque \_\_\_\_\_

Money Order \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

AD COPY: \_\_\_\_\_  
(type or print clearly)

**Week of Dec. 5**

•**Sunday, December 5:** Lesbian Mothers' Defence Fund potluck brunch. Bring food to share and thoughts on raising children. 465-6822.

•**Monday, December 6:** *Lesbian/Lesbienne*: National Lesbian Newsletter meeting at 7:30 pm. 367-0589. (Also December 13, December 20, December 27.)

•**Tuesday, December 7:** Lesbians Against the Right (LAR) meets at 7:30 pm. 964-7477. (Also Tuesday, December 21.)

•**Tuesday, December 7:** Peggy McCann and Dancers perform "Ladies Home Journal" and look at four generations of women and a series of humorous sketches about women. Theatre Passe Muraille. 363-2416. To December 12.

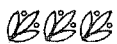
•**Wednesday, December 8:** Gay Collective for Disarmament. Meeting for training and planning for future non-violent action. 923-BLOT.

•**Wednesday, December 8:** International Women's Day Committee (IWDC) meeting, 7:30 pm 789-4541. (Also Wednesdays December 15, December 22, December 29.)

•**Wednesday, December 8:** 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.

•**Thursday, December 9:** Lesbian and Gay Academic Society, and Gays and Lesbians at University of Toronto celebrate Christmas, 7 pm. University College Union, 79 St. George Street.

•**Thursday, December 9:** Rough Trade in concert at the Concert Hall, 888 Yonge St. Advance tickets: 698-2277. (Also Friday, December 10.)



**CONTINUING**

"What Is To Be Done?" Mavis Gallant's play about two women in wartime Montréal. Tarragon Theatre until December 19. 531-1827.

**The Canadian Craft Show:** artisans from across Canada demonstrate skills and sell crafts. Queen Elizabeth Building. Exhibition Place. Continues to December 5.

"The Little Foxes" Play by Lillian Hellman at the Alumnae Theatre, 70 Berkeley St. 364-4170. Continues to December 11.

"Passages" play by Patricia White, revised and restaged. Actors Lab Theatre, 366 Adelaide East. To December 18.

"Set in Motion" Contact improvisation dance, by TIDE dance company. Theatre Passe Muraille, 16 Ryerson Avenue. Information: 596-8384. Continues to December 5.

Sponsored by  
**Women's Information Centre**

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

Compiled by **Layne Mellanby**

**OUTSIDE  
BROADSIDE**

**TORONTO WOMEN'S  
EVENTS CALENDAR**

**December 1982-January 1983**

•**Friday, December 10:** Gwen Hauser and Krisantha Sri Bhaggiyadatta, poetry reading. Refreshments. Admission free. 8 pm. New College (Willcocks & Spadina).

•**Friday, December 10:** Women's Independent Thoughtz (WITZ). A seminar-discussion group for the exchange of ideas and creative endeavours in art, literature, philosophy and political thought. Meets every third Friday, 7 pm. 536-3162.

•**Friday, December 10:** Benefit dance for *The Clarion*, with Arlene Mantle, \$6. 867 College St. 8 pm.

•**Saturday, December 11:** CCCJ Chanukah Party. Committee of Concerned Canadian Jews. Dinner, singing, dancing. Everyone welcome. International Student's Centre. 33 St. George St. 7 pm Tickets: \$7 (\$4 students/unemployed).

•**Saturday, December 11:** Gay Community Dance Committee presents "Winter Fantasies" at the Concert Hall, 888 Yonge St. disco, new wave and women's music. \$7 at Toronto Women's Bookstore, Glad Day Bookstore, and at the door.

•**Thursday, December 16:** (Every Mushroom Cloud Has A) Silver Lining, directed by Robin Belitsky Endres. Pelican Players Neighbourhood Theatre, 496 Rushton Rd. 8:30 pm. \$4. Information: 656-7075. (To December 18.)

**PELICAN PLAYERS  
NEIGHBOURHOOD THEATRE**

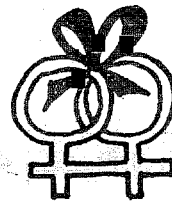


•**Thursday, December 16:** Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) meets at 519 Church St. 7:30 pm. 536-5666.

**Week of Dec. 19**

•**Sunday, December 19:** Maureen Forrester performs at Roy Thomson Hall. 2 pm. 593-4828.

•**Tuesday December 21:** Happy Solstice to all.



**Week of Dec. 12**

•**Sunday, December 12:** Jane Blackstone and Ruth Kazdan, duet and solo piano. Heliconian Hall, 35 Hazelton Ave. 3 pm. \$4.



**piano**

•**Monday, December 13:** Liona Boyd performs at Roy Thomson Hall 8 pm. 593-4828.

•**Tuesday, December 14:** Toronto Lesbian Network meeting. 964-7477.

•**Thursday, December 16:** Tafelmusik and Tafelmusik Chamber Choir presents Handel's "Messiah": 8 pm. Trinity United Church, 427 Bloor Street West. 964-6337. (To Saturday, December 18.)



Kate Clinton, fumerist, performs at Innis, Jan. 14.

'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) \_\_\_\_\_

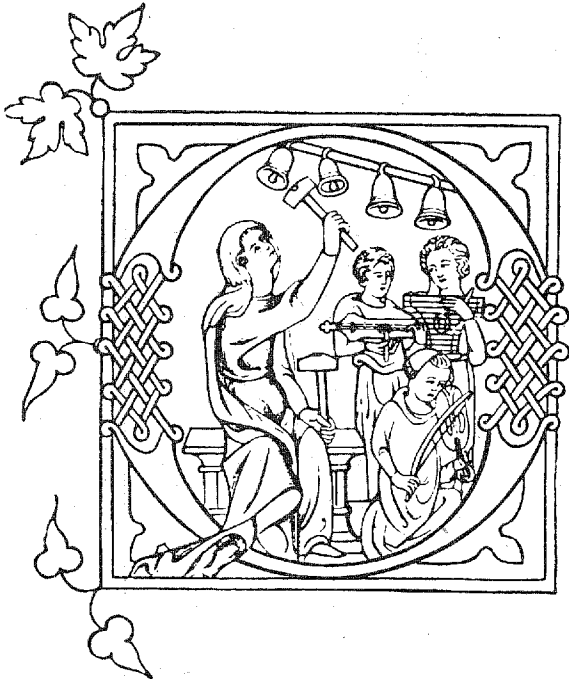
**Who:** (sponsor, telephone) \_\_\_\_\_

**Where:** \_\_\_\_\_

**When:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Cost:** \_\_\_\_\_

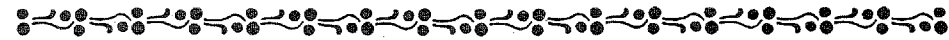
Offer expires December 31, 1982



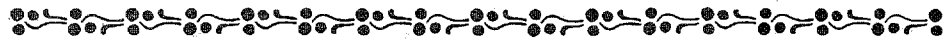
For yourself  
and/or friends

# Holiday Special

Gift subscriptions  
to *Broadside*



*3 for only \$25*



**Limited offer...**  
**for unlimited reading pleasure**

Regular subscription form on page 14.

**1.** \_\_\_\_\_  
Send me/my friend a one year  
subscription to *Broadside*.

- New subscription  
 Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Province \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Gift from \_\_\_\_\_

**2.** \_\_\_\_\_  
Send my friend a one year  
subscription to *Broadside*.

- New subscription  
 Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Province \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Gift from \_\_\_\_\_

**3.** \_\_\_\_\_  
Send my friend a one year  
subscription to *Broadside*.

- New subscription  
 Renewal

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

Province \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Gift from \_\_\_\_\_

*Just \$25*

Make cheques payable to Broadside (add \$2 for each US or  
Overseas sub)  
Send to: Broadside Communications Limited, PO Box 494, Sta-  
tion P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1

## **Broadside Communications Ltd.**

P.O. BOX 494, STATION P.  
TORONTO - ONTARIO - CANADA - M5S 2T1

Second Class Mail Registration No.: 4771

ISSN: 0225-6843