

Toronto Wamen's Bookstore

SEE STORY PAGE 6

FEATURE

BORDER CROSSINGS:

Feminist politics in the US and Canada are separate but connected. Susan G. Cole and Eve Zaremba look at the differences and similarities, and warn us of the dangers of taking on imported causes without prior analysis. "If the US catches cold," says Cole and Zaremba, "we sneeze." But Canadian historical and social conditions have often not developed along the same lines. Page 8



FRIENDS OR FOES? Reva Landau writes about the need to discuss how feminist activists should connect to progressive struggles in other countries. In doing so she defines feminism, and makes distinctions between nationalist and political struggles. Are their territorial struggles non- or anti-feminist? Is their revolution *our* revolution? We must answer these questions before we give our support. Page 4. LETTERS: Readers respond to the Bookstore fire; to the changes at Partisan Gallery; to a "Women & Words" article (August/September 1983); to "The Nurturant Suffragists" (July 1983); and to the "Sisters: Steppin' Out" music festival.

WOMEN OF COLOUR:

Annette Clough reviews *Fireweed's* special issue on Women of Colour, and finds it a well-designed, representative collection of stories, poetry and graphics, a testament to the strengths of the women whose lives fill these pages. Page 11.



NEWS

MOVEMENT MATTERS:

Broadside looks at the Toronto Women's Bookstore; the Red Hot Video trial in Victoria; the Donna Smyth defence; the Colleen Crosbie defence; the Men's Curfew; and more. Pages 6-7

COMMENT

PSYCHIC WEAPONRY: Mary Meigs muses on the process which produces mental rigidity, and reflects on how the rigid mind reacts to the changes needed for political consciousness: the ammunition of the narrow-minded she calls 'thought-stones.' Page 5.

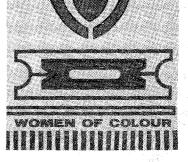
REPRODUCTIVE RESPONSIBILITY: Are prochoicers really satisfied with abortion as a solution, asks Vivian Harrower, while abdicating responsibility for birth control? Aren't there more choices, which cover the whole range of women's need to control reproduction? And what is the connection between the abortion debate and the pornography debate? Movement Comment, page 14 Pages 2-3.

ARTS

ACCIDENTAL CHARM: Frida Kahlo, one of Mexico's best surrealist painters, was seriously injured in an accident at the age of 18, and took to painting as a result. Amanda Hale reviews a biography of Kahlo, this child of the Mexican revolution of 1910. Page 10.



OUTSIDE BROADSIDE: Don't miss this month's calendar of Toronto women's events, for October 1983. Page 15.



SUBVERSION LURKS: In Mad Women & Crazy Ladies, Sharon H. Nelson's latest collection of poems, women submit to oppression and many turn to madness, but in so doing often learn the means of survival. "Acquiescent on the surface, subversion lurks in the hearts of these... women," says reviewer Carroll Klein. Page 12.

LETTERS

Women and Words

Broadside:

As members of a feminist press who attended the Women and Words conference in Vancouver, we would like to make an additional comment to Eve Zaremba's article "Women and Words: The Writing on the Wall" (Broadside Aug/Sept. 1983). She specifically refers to "The Relationship between Writer and Publisher" session. We felt that the format of the session (and of most panels) necessitated that all panelists (both publishers and writers) make generalizations. However, we were disappointed and frustrated that feminist writers, who were panelists at that session, did not make a distinction between mainstream and feminist publishers (or between Mc-Clelland and Stewart and Women's Press, who were represented on the panel).

We at Women's Press feel that we are very different from mainstream publishers like McClelland and Stewart. First, we have a commitment to publish feminist writers. Second, we operate as a feminist collective. As well as the work of paid staff, there is the unpaid, entirely invisible collective labour of about twenty women that goes into the editing, production, design, marketing and distribution necessary to turn a manuscript into a book. For these two reasons, we believe our relationship with the feminist community—



Editor, Philinda Masters Ad. Mgr., Donna Gollan Circulation, Catherine Maunsell Distribution, Susan Cole

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE:

Beverley Allinson Susan G. Cole Donna Gollan Amanda Hale Carroll Klein Philinda Masters Catherine Maunsell Layne Mellanby Deena Rasky Jean Wilson Eve Zaremba

THIS ISSUE:

Sandy Alexander Elaine Berns Harriet Eisenkraft Ottie Lockey Maureen Phillips

Address all correspondence to: Broadside P.O. Box 494 including writers—has an additional dimension and involves a complex working-out of shared goals. Although we, like all publishers, have some different interests from authors, this does not mean that the relationship of writer and publisher is necessarily antagonistic.

In her article, "Feminist Press: Front Page Challenge" (*Broadside*, Vol 4, no. 8), Philinda Masters raises some interesting questions about the combination of feminist politics and publishing projects. "The attempt to live our politics also results in a good deal of soul searching as we try to deal with the contradictions of purity vs. poverty, of efficiency vs. exactitude, of co-operation vs. competition." Many other contradictions and questions could be raised, including the relationship of feminist publishers to writers.

We would like to propose that the next Women and Words Conference include a session on "The Relationship of Feminist Movements, Feminist Writers and Feminist Publishers" to allow the links to be made between feminism and publishing, and to focus on the sort of questions raised by Philinda Masters.

Maureen Fitzgerald Connie Guberman Lois Pike Daphne Read Women's Press, Toronto

Broadside:

We read with interest and amazement your account of the Women and Words Conference (Eve Zaremba, "The Writing on the Wall," Aug./Sept., Vol. 4, no. 10). We make specific reference to the paragraphs on the participation of women of colour, immigrant women and native women. We would like to note that we are critical of this article and not the conference. The article is a misrepresentation of the participation of women of colour (indeed, we are not even mentioned),

tive and immigrate women and the issues we raised, issues which, by the way, were widely discussed both formally and informally at the conference.

It is patronizing and patriarchal to state that "it was not just that native and immigrant women from many backgrounds attended or even that they spoke up. What matters is that they were heard." This stinks. It stinks of men paying lip service to women so that they will not be accused of sexism. This is exactly what Zaremba is doing if we substitute the word sexism for racism and the word men for women.

Speaking up is a "courtesy" extended to

EDITORIALS

Who Benefits?

Beverley Allinson, Margaret Atwood, Rosemary Barnes, Deborah Bartlett, Bitsy Bateman, June Callwood, Sherrill Cheda, one's social inferiors, minors, and women in the patriarchal mode of discourse. We gather from Zaremba's analysis that what we had to say was of little importance. What was important for her was that white women granted us the courtesy of "hearing" it.

"Admittedly," she writes, "it will take much more than patience and courtesy to break through the cultural chauvinism of the majority whose roots are in the dominant culture and whose ignorance of all else is often difficult to distinguish from racism." Difficult for whom? Patience by whom and with whom? Pray tell!

This dominant culture business. Please! The dominant culture in Canada is capitalism and white skin privilege plays no small part in propping it up. We belong to the majority women—and our roots are not in the dominant culture, neither are Zaremba's if she takes the time to check.

It is not only "cultural chauvinism" which needs a breakthrough but also, and more importantly, the political analysis of Zaremba's so-called majority.

Zaremba is not alone in her rather shaky analysis. It brings to mind an encounter we had with a white middle class feminist critic who told us that we should not mistake dominant behaviour for racism. What crap. Are we also to think that rape is only a matter of dominant behaviour?

Give Zaremba her due, she does continue: "But those distinctions must be made and those qualities of mutual respect cultivated if we hope to go on and get anywhere." But her appeal here to "mutual respect" belies her paternalism on the subject. Given those terms of reference, who needs it?

We trust you appreciate our "speaking up" again. Please grant us your "attentiveness and good will" in having the courtesy to print this letter in its entirety.

In sisterhood nevertheless, Makeda Silvera and Dionne Brand Toronto

Suffragist Ploy?

Broadside:

Have to take a moment to tell you how angry I'm getting reading Mariana Valverde's article "The Nurturant Suffragists" (July 1983), which attempts to discredit early feminist struggles for the vote as classist and racist ploys. True, that feminism hasn't always encompassed all of the politically correct dogma of Marxists, but then again, who defined Marxist principles as being the be-all and endall of 'correctness'?

I noticed that when making references to support the idea that working class women weren't wanted in the Suffrage Movement, an 'anonymous letter' and an unnamed '1909 writer' are cited as representatives of this apparent 'bourgie' bunch of women who only sought power over working class people and immigrants.

True though, that Nellie McClung sought the vote in order to ban liquor, but was her underlying motive of stopping abusive drunken husbands from beating their wives and children not a noble one? (albeit a tad naive).

And further, the fact that someone recently arriving in Canada had more political rights than she and other women born in Canada—is this not a valid political observation based on reality? Were they not simply saying if immigrant men can vote, so should we? I don't recall ever hearing a suffragist declare that immigrants shouldn't be allowed to vote.

Penni Mitchell Winnipeg

Bookstore Lives

Broadside:

The following is an open letter to the Women's Community:

On July 29, 1983, a fire was deliberately set at 85 Harbord Street that gutted the Toronto Women's Bookstore. Most of the stock and shelving was destroyed by the fire and/or water damage. The intended target of this attack was not the bookstore but the Morgentaler Clinic, located above the store.

When the Morgentaler Clinic opened the Bookstore was supportive of both the clinic and the work of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC). OCAC's defence of a woman's right to choose, work around legalizing free-standing abortion clinics and removing abortion from the criminal code was aided by the Bookstore on an ongoing basis. This support continues.

The Women's Bookstore is determined to reopen as quickly as possible. In order to do that, \$35,000 is needed. Immediately after the fire OCAC organized a rally on behalf of the bookstore which raised in excess of \$2,500. OCAC as an organization is committed to helping the Women's Bookstore reopen as soon as possible. While still co-ordinating the

What made this such a unique event is that both the idea and the execution came from outside the Broadside collective. That is, those of us who put ont the paper did not also have to hustle the bread. Ottie Lockey had the

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.

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Broadside , ,

Lillian Ciamaga, Susan Cole, Carolyn Duetz, Lynn Fernie, Sue Findlay, Maureen FitzGerald, Svlvia Fraser Shelley Glazer, Donna Gollan, Sheila Gostick, Bernitta Hawkins, Merle Hudson, Gina Jones, Joanne Kates, Patti Kirk, Billie Laskin, Darlene Lawson, Ottie Lockey, Cath MacNaughton, Joyce Matthews, Philinda Masters, Catherine Maunsell, Layne Mellanby, Cherie Miller, Sheila Miller, Betsy Nuse, Mary O'Brien, Penny Patterson, Susan Power, Deena Rasky, Judy Rebick, Janet Rogers, Mary Rowles, Charlene Roycht, Daphne Rukelow, Annette Salem, Joy Slater, Judy Stanleigh, Clara Tiscoe, Judith Weisman, Jean Wilson, Eve Zaremba

What do these 49 women have in common? Well, among countless other attributes, they all plonked down their money to participate in *Broadside's* Benefit Dinner at Crispins Restaurant on August 22, 1983. Not everyone on this impressive list managed to make it to the dinner itself (their loss) but together they enriched *Broadside* by over 500 much-needed dollars. The 40-plus women who did attend had a tasty meal and an up-beat good time, complete with a much heckled (short) speech by one Susan G. Cole. idea of a benefit dinner and with the support of Darlene Lawson put in time on the phone, selling enough \$25 tickets to make it all happen.

Just the two of them did it. Which surely means that any two smart, energetic, persistent women can organize a similar event any time they choose. of dinner, drinks and dazzling dialogue. All it takes is two women with phones. Should you need friendly advice on how to go about it call Ottie Lockey, at 920-9797. She will inspire you.

Thanks to all who came, bought tickets or promised to make it next time. Special thanks to Ottie and Darlene.

-Broadside Collective

This is Broadside

Item: The bad news. Broadside's price has gone up. It's the first time our newsstand rate has increased, and the second time our subscription price has increased, in all our many years. The new price may seem a bit stiff at first, but what with inflation and, you know, other stress factors, the new price is more in line with what it actually costs us to print the paper.

Item: The good news. You can save money by using your old Wintario tickets to buy a new subscription to *Broadside*—up to half the cost. It's a real deal. (See back page for instructions.) You can also use Wintario tickets

to renew your sub *if* you also buy a gift subscription for a friend.

Item: With the Toronto Women's Bookstore temporarily out of commission, readers won't have access to one of our major newsstand sellers (it sold close to 200 copies a month). In the meantime, there are several other places in the immediate area who will have more copies than usual on sale: SCM Books, DEC, and Book City, all on Bloor St. West between Spadina and Bathurst. The Women's Bookstore will also have some copies on hand at their temporary office, 296 Brunswick Ave. (at Bloor). efforts of the pro-choice movement in Ontario and organizing for the October 1st "Day of Action for Choice," individual members of OCAC have made it a priority to assist the Bookstore in any way possible. This support between both groups will continue in terms of working together to help each other achieve our goals.

The Women's Bookstore is now located in temporary office space at 296 Brunswick Avenue, Suite 201, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2M7: Telephone (416) 922-8744. The Bookstore will kick off the opening of the temporary office with a large fire sale of those damaged books salvaged from the original store. This sale begins September 26. Personal donations will also help the bookstore reach its goals so that Toronto will once again have a thriving bookstore in our community.

Toronto Women's Bookstore

Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics Toronto

Broadside:

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The availability of the literature of the women's movement is often our main source of power and for 9 years the Toronto Women's Bookstore has been the primary source of this vital material.

Many of you may know that the Bookstore has recently become a victim of the chaos surrounding the quest for reproductive choice in Ontario. Fire insurance coverage will account for the stock lost but a fundraising effort for \$35,000 shortfall to cover relocation is underway.

We have committed ourselves to this effort by providing the funds to print and mail 2,000 letters.

We ask you to consider the high quality service and support that the Toronto Women's Bookstore has provided in the past on a non-profit basis, and to send as much money as you can afford to: The Toronto Women's Bookstore Relocation Fund, c/o Sasha McInnes Hayman, 28 Elmwood Place, London, Ontario N6J 1J2.

Please be generous. Thanks for your support.

Sasha McInnes Hayman London, Ontario

Partisan Politics

The following letter is a public statement from the Women's Perspective collective of Partisan Gallery in Toronto:

Broadside:

We are the women who initiated and organized the Women's Perspective '83 Show, and the Partisan Gallery women's collective. Some of us have been long-time Partisan activists, others were new to the gallery as a result of the Women's Perspective Show.

Our collective, which had been operating as part of the gallery, decided at a meeting on June 29, 1983 to leave Partisan and establish the collective as an independent cultural force in Toronto.

This decision resulted from months of tension between Women's Perspective and the gallery Steering Committee. We see the situation as having been a classic case of sexism in action.

At issue was a fundamental lack of trust and lack of respect, on the part of some steering committee members, for the women organizing the gallery's largest-ever show.

We experienced constant badgering over how the show was being organized, nitpicking over minor issues, and the personal harassment of some of the collective members. Compared with other shows (in terms of the right to organize the show with some degree of autonomy) Women's Perspective was subject to double standards. Other shows would be given carte blanche goahead, while we were constantly being questioned as to our motive and means.

In our view, these were all manifestations of what we had all read about in 60's essays on sexism in so-called progressive organizations.

After months of writing copious progress reports to the Steering Committee, attending monthly meetings and engaging in rancorous debate, and listening to innuendo unparalleled in much of our political/cultural organizing experience, we have come to a position of total lack of faith in the current Steering Committee. We think that it would be impossible for us to carry out our work given the situation in the gallery at present.

We must say that there are members of the Steering Committee and the membership-atlarge who have been totally supportive of our work and our right to exist. However, we do not believe that Partisan is being run in a democratic fashion. This lack of democracy, which is a result of undue power and control being assumed by some gallery members, stifles healthy debate and hinders any possibility of growth. Until this changes, we believe our situation will be but one of a series of political/organizational feuds. Without underplaying the sexism which has been a crucial element in terms of the problems Women's Perspective has had with Partisan, we do not limit our criticism to this issue.

We wish to stress that this has been a painful decision to make and that we sincerely regret having to take this action. We had a great deal of hope for working within a progressive art gallery to develop women's cultural activity. However, we believe the direction of the gallery is a long way away from the original Partisan manifesto, which we would heartily have endorsed.

We demand the right to organize as women around the issues we define and in ways we see as important. This would not he possible if we were to stay within the gallery, which is a sorry comment on the state of Partisan.

At this point, we look forward to the future with a great deal of enthusiasm. Women's Perspective is a dynamic and diverse group committed to the creative spirit of women in Toronto. We will continue, under the name Women's Perspective, to work actively to promote women's culture. We welcome the participation of any women in the community interested in working toward this goal.

Women's Perspective Collective Toronto

Broadside:

I wish to make it known to the public that immediately following the Partisan Gallery Steering Committee meeting of August 17, 1983, I resigned from my position on that body.

The illegal and unconstitutional termination of the memberships of women members of Partisan who had signed a public letter declaring autonomy for the Women's Perspective collective will bring a justly-deserved disgrace upon the name of the gallery.

Despite its many good works in the past, Partisan is no longer deserving of support from Toronto's progressive community. Since the remaining active members of the Steering Committee have so disgraced our good name, I can no longer associate myself with any of its future activities.

Wally Brooker Toronto

Sisters Slippin' Up

Broadside:

The following letter was addressed to Womynly Way and printed in the "Sisters: Steppin' Out" music festival program:

Tonight (Friday) is Erev Yom Kippur, the evening of the beginning of the most signifi-

cant day in the Jewish Calendar. Yom Kippur is the time of atonement and reflection for Jews throughout the world. Each Jew honours this day in her own way. For some it will be in synagogue or with family. For others it will be spent in solitary thought or with close friends. And still others will enjoy nothing more than celebrating with other women at this music festival.

Unfortunately, many Jewish women will not attend this evening. On the surface it would appear that this decision is each woman's personal choice. We disagree. For many women the commitment of family and religion prohibit their attendance tonight. For others, it is the recognition of a need to affirm themselves as Jews, particularly in a Christian society.

We, as a group, take exception to the scheduling of such an exciting important event on Yom Kippur. We hope that in the future, organizers of women's events will show more awareness and concern for the various cultures that make up our society. In sisterhood,

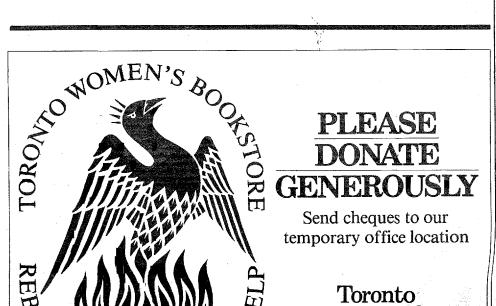
Elaine Berns, Deborah Feinstadt, Shelley Glazer, Patti Kirk, Ottie Lockey, Cherie Miller, Sheila Miller, Annette Salem, Ellen Wexler Toronto

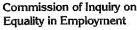
Womynly Ways responds:

As bookings co-ordinator for Womynly Way Productions, I would like to personally apologize to other Jewish feminists who are hurt by the placement of our fall festival, "Sisters: Steppin' Out" on Yom Kippur. This error was made because of the long lead time needed to make a weekend booking at Harbourfront (in this case, the space was initially booked last November). By the time I realized my mistake, it was too late to change the dates.

I will do everything in my power to avoid this kind of error in the future. Again, my apologies.

Ruth Dworin Womynly Way





Judge Rosalie S. Abella

Commissioner



La Commission d'enquête sur l'égalité en matière d'emploi

On June 27, 1983, the Government of Canada established a Commission of Inquiry to study discrimination in the workplace against women, native people, disabled persons and visible minorities. The Commission is to report by the end of the year on the most efficient, effective and equitable ways to promote equal employment opportunities, eliminate systemic discrimination, and assist all individuals to compete for employment opportunities on an equal basis.

Interested organizations, groups or individuals are invited to make written submissions to the Commission by October 15, 1983. Please address inquiries to:

> Commission of Inquiry on Equality in Employment 264 Adelaide Street East Toronto, Ontario M5A 1N1 (416) 369-4722

BUILDING WITH

Women's Bookstore 296 Brunswick Ave., #201 Toronto, M5S 2M7

Vol. 5, no. 1

FIRE SALE

Help us kick off the opening of a temporary office at 296 Brunswick Ave., #201(just south of Bloor) with a large fire sale of damaged books. Come and visit us and help yourself to some fantastic bargains!

Sale begins Sept. 26 For more information call 922-8744

Choosing Sides Wisely

by Reva Landau

In order to enter into a meaningful discussion of the relationship between feminism, imperialism, the peace movement and any other political movement it is necessary to define feminism.

Feminism is a movement that has as its base the belief that women are oppressed by, and for the benefit of, men, and that this oppression will be removed, not by individual efforts alone, but by structural changes in our society. The forms of this oppression may vary in different cultures but a key identifying mark of sexist oppression is that the harm is borne only, or almost only, by women, and that the benefit is enjoyed only by men. A hardship borne equally by men and women (e.g., polluted air) or borne by women to a slightly greater degree only because male oppression has confined us to lower-income groups is not sexist oppression.

A feminist struggle is therefore one that seeks to eliminate one or more of the ways in which men oppress women. For example, seeking affirmative action for women in hiring is a feminist struggle. Fighting for higher employment for everyone is not, even if women have a slightly higher unemployment rate. A higher employment rate may be a good goal, but without affirmative action it will not necessarily help women nor will it reduce job segregation and other hardships suffered by women from which men benefit.

There is also a broader form of feminism. Adherents of this wider philosophy would maintain that sexism also means that values ascribed to men, such as aggression, militarism, elitism and non-emotionalism, are valued in our society and that traits ascribed to women, such as co-operation and caring, are not. Therefore a feminist revolution must also seek to change society so that aggression and elitism, and societies built on these values, such as capitalism and state socialism, are overthrown.

I do not think that this broader philosophy has been developed as fully as it should be, but I wish to make two points. The first is that proponents of the broader philosophy do not say that we should not struggle against specific forms of sexism, but that in addition to the specific struggle we must not lose sight of the wider perspective. The second point is that capitalism and state socialism may also be opposed from non- or even anti-feminist points of view. Just because Ronald Reagan opposes the USSR or Andropov opposes the US does not make either of them feminist. By this broader definition, a feminist perspective is one that analyses movements to see whether they are trying to destroy male elitist militaristic, aggressive values as well as specific sexist structures. A feminist struggle is therefore one that seeks to change not only specific forms of oppression but the philosophical system behind this oppression.

What special insight, if any, can feminism offer on imperialism, the peace movements, or employment?

Classical colonial imperialism is the complete political formal control by one state over the territory of another. The controlling power runs the upper echelons of the controlled territory's administration, holds the final civil authority, and traditionally stations troops in the controlled territory. The controlled territory has no vote in international bodies such as the United Nations. This form of colonial imperialism has almost disappeared.

Various forms of domination by one country

ECON and by the use of military might, as shown in the invasions of Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia. France stations troops in seven former French African colonies and gives most of its foreign aid to its former colonies, which aid must be used to buy French goods and pay French administrators and technicians. But the extent of domination can vary greatly. Countries such as India and Yemen have received aid from opposing Great Powers at the same time, thus giving them more independence. Syria and Israel often seem to exercise more influence over the Middle East policy of their military suppliers, the USSR and US respectively, than vice versa.

Some people do refer to all forms of influence, however indirect and relatively unimportant, as imperialism. But this makes the term meaningless. To call the varying American influence over Guam, Guatemala and Canada, and the varying Russian influence over Poland, Cuba and Finland, imperialism tells us nothing. It leads to poor analysis. For example, the conservative anticommunist theocratic dictatorship of Iran is supported to some extent by Russia. But to call the struggle of the muhjaddin against Khomeini anti-imperialist is to completely deny the support Khomeini has in Iran and distorts the main focus and nature of the struggle. As feminists should have very different attitudes towards military struggles depending on their feminist content, it is important for us in particular not to lump all military struggles into one amorphous category.

If most of the military struggles going on in the world today are not anti-imperialist, what are they? They may be roughly divided into nationalist and political struggles. Nationalist struggles concern which ethnic or racial group will control a territory; political struggles concern which political-economic system will control a territory. Feminist analysis requires different perspectives on these two very different struggles.

Nationalist struggles may be divided into wars of expansion, wars of secession, and wars of competing nationalism.

In wars of expansion one country tries to completely absorb another country in its political unit. Conquests resulting from past wars of expansion are Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania by the USSR, the Golan Heights by Israel and Goa by India. The Vietnamese-Cambodian war and Iranian-Iraqi war appear to be current wars of expansion. Wars of secession occur when one section of a political unit tries to establish a separate political existenee. Current secessionist struggles are the Basques versus Spain, Tamils versus Sri Lanka, and Eritrea versus Ethiopia. In wars of competing nationalities one or both sides maintains that it is essential for their right to self-determination that they occupy the very territory that the other side needs in order to establish its right to self-determination. The IRA vs Great Britain and PLO vs Israel are current examples. Nationalist struggles do not always fall neatly into one category, but what is important for our purposes is that in nationalist struggles, political programs are only a secondary issue compared to the major concern of which ethnic group will control the territory.

Therefore, there are various problems for feminists in taking sides in nationalist struggles. Because the struggle is primarily nationalist rather than political, both sides may be equally democratic or non-democratic, socialist or non-socialist, feminist or nonfeminist. For example, in regard to the Vietnamese overthrow of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, neither side can be supported on feminist or democratic grounds.

Even if one side is more feminist, there are still difficulties. For example, at the Toronto 1983 International Women's Day workshop on "Imperialism, Disarmament and the Women's Movement," Niginska Hinsach, from the National Union of Eritrean Women, gave undoubtedly the most feminist analysis of the evening. According to her, not only does her movement, in theory, believe in an end to such sexist practices as polygamy and unilateral divorce but enforces this program in the area under their control. But suppose an Ethiopian woman had been at the workshop. She could have said that she agreed with these principles but rather than Eritrea separating, all women should work together for justice for women throughout all of Ethiopia. Or suppose we supported Eritrea on the grounds it had feminist principles and after its independence it reneged. What would we dodemand that it return to Ethiopia? Should we support the USSR in Afghanistan on the ground that they support the removal of the veil or oppose them on the ground that as feminists we oppose all forced expansionism?

We must also remember that women in Canada come from different national, ethnic, and racial groups. According to the 1981 census, of the over 2 million people in Metropolitan Toronto, 66 percent had English as a mother-tongue, 8 percent had Italian, 3 percent had Portuguese, 3 percent had Chinese, 6 percent had Eastern European languages, 2 percent had Greek, 1.5 percent had French, 1 percent had Spanish, and 1 percent had Indo-Pakistani. Within the Spanish-speaking groups alone there is further great diversity. Taking sides in a struggle between ethnic or national groups can split women along ethnic lines. There may be times when we have to do this, but it should only be for good feminist reasons.

As Mariana Valverde said in her letter to Broadside (May 1983), we must acknowledge and deal responsibly with the real contradictions among women. I was surprised that, in view of this statement, she did not condemn the March 8th Coalition for taking only the Palestinian position in the Middle East struggle. Either they were not acknowledging the real difference among women, or they didn't care. Either way, hardly a feminist attitude. Therefore, even when one side is far more

feminist than the other in nationalist struggles, we should think carefully about which side we should support, and to what extent.

But, when one particular side in a nationalist struggle is not even theoretically dedicated to the overthrow of sexist oppression, as in the case of the PLO and IRA, there is no reason for us to throw our support to their side. I judge their lack of feminism by the words of their own speakers, who concentrate only on nationalist issues and not on the specific forms of oppression which women and not men suffer in their own areas of the world. Not only are we supporting non- or even antifeminist movements but we are unnecessarily splitting our own movement.

Political struggles, such as those in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, are much easier to discuss. Because the basic argument is over issues rather than over territory, there is no reason why as feminists we should not support struggles that seek to change the specific ways in which women are oppressed in their area, be it by lack of control over reproductive rights, job segregation, polygamy, etc.

The problem arises when we are confronted with a struggle that does not seek to address the special problems of women. This is the "how can we talk to women who are in fear of their lives... who do not have enough food to eat or a decent place to live, how can we talk to these women about abortion, or about pornography" question.

In the first place, one of the reasons women don't have enough to eat is that they are exhausted by unwanted child-bearing and the double burden that the customs of their area may reserve the most nutritious food for men, and that they are confined to low-paying jobs. In the second place, women in countries such as Iran and Pakistan have specifically called on us to support them in their struggles against sexism. Third, there are various women's groups in other countries, just as there are in Canada; not all women are telling us the same thing. But, finally, I recognize that women in some countries may, as many women in many countries have done, decide that their oppression is unimportant compared to some other struggle and that their own freedom will have to wait until "after the revolution." In that case they are telling us, rather than us telling them, that their revolution is not feminist. If the goals of their revolution are not to change the ways in which women are oppressed to the benefit of men, then it is not feminist. Individual women who support these revolutions may be feminist but the movement as a whole is not.

This does not mean that the revolutionaries are not nice people or that the revolution is not a good thing. Even if all a revolution does is spread the wealth from the males of 14 families to the males of 1000 or even 100 families, then it is a step forward. It is even worthy of being supported. The 14th Amendment in the US gave the vote to black males, but not to black, or white, females. It was an improvement. But it was not feminist.

Therefore, from the narrower perspective, we should support, on International Women's Day, only those movements which are opposing the oppression of women by men. In regard to the broader perspective, the lack of a feminist analysis on the issue of peace, disarmament and revolutionary movements seemed even more missing on IWD. The traditional male attitude towards violence is that it is bad except when it is in a cause in which the man believes. Then it becomes wonderful and glorions. Nothing said on IWD made me think that the speakers had any different perspective.

There may be those who think that there is no particularly feminist perspective on violence, and disarmament. In that case, it should not be an issue on IWD. If it is to be an issue, it must be approached from a feminist point of view.

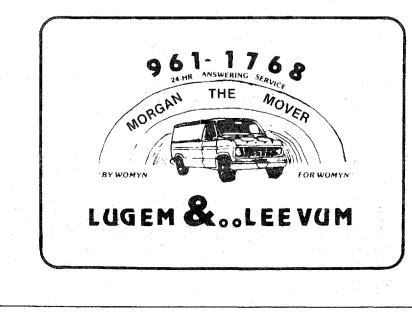
I agree that we can only build a feminist movement by dealing with the issues that divide us. Should we say that we do not care which ethnic patriarchy rules a region? Should we acknowledge that feminism cannot overcome all barriers, including those of nationalism? We won't find out unless we start discussing these issues. But the emphasis must be on "discuss." We should not invite only one speaker on a highly divisive issue; we should not shout chants that support only one side of an issue. We must decide when and where we should explore our differences.

Finally, wherever and whenever issues are discussed, they must be approached from a feminist point of view. As Mariana Valverde said in her *Broadside* article ("The Nurturant Suffragists," July 1983), the suffragist movement suffered because there was no autonomons women's movement. We must

over another still exist, of course. The USSR dominates various Eastern European countries through economic ties such as the COM-

not repeat that mistake.

Reva Landau is a Toronto feminist and lawyer.

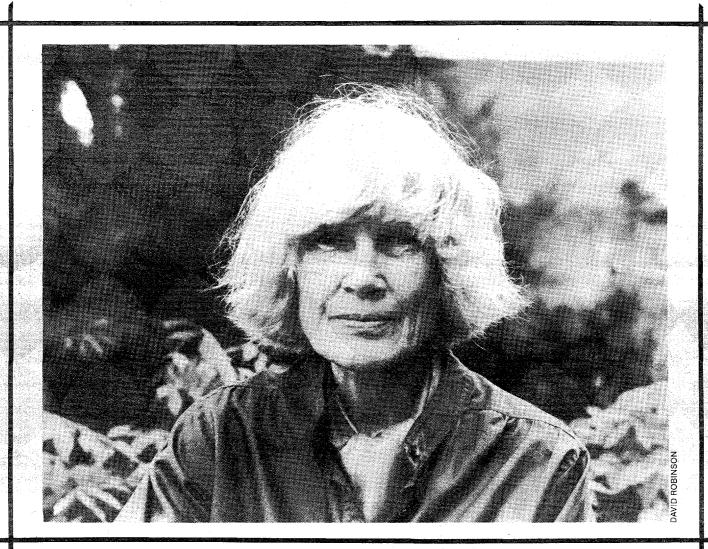


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Food for Thought-stones



by Mary Meigs

There is a secret and autonomous corner of the mind, not the part that guards its secrets but the part of the mind that amazes by creating something quite unexpected. Each of us has a creative mind different from every other creative mind, even though sparks may leap from one to the other. The creative sparks from thousands of women's minds are leaping and flying; they contain the contagion of the women's movement.

Why are they deflected when they come in contact with closed minds? How does a closed mind operate? The closed mind can belong to anyone, including me; it can be a mind in an ordinary humdrum state, not creating, passive but ready to spring to action, or rather to reaction. I have noticed that even when it seems absent or half-asleep, the closed mind reacts with unbelievable speed, as though the reaction were waiting to be used, and I have noticed how it seems to have taken a shape that suits its particular needs, fears and pleasures, a habitual and comfortable shape that it likes and wants to keep at all costs. The possibility of change is blocked by a sense of well-being in this shape and no other.

Before the mind is ready to admit new ideas, it is fixed in its shape (I know from experience), composed of the more or less congealed matter of what we have read, heard, been told and accepted without questioning, the thoughts we live with in psychic comfort. The weapons that defend these thoughts are our reactions, which we keep stored in handy piles, like a pile of small stones, each one with the wonderful power to come back after being used, as though there were elastic bands attached to them; they eome back, fall into place, and are ready to be used again. They are useful as weapons, as a medium of exchange, even as art to be displayed, for they are often decorated like Easter eggs, and these, too, are retractable and can be used over and over again. Our congealed thoughts and reactions do not even need to be used. They do not deteriorate in the depths of the mind but can lie there waiting to be activated, like a dormant tick waiting for a sheep or a dog to walk by. One has to admire the patience of the tick that is willing to wait for years for its host animal, just as one admires the thought, acquired perhaps in childhood or adolescence, which waits patiently to jump out in symbiotic relationship to some outside provocation or prey. Symbiosis. "In a broad sense," says Webster's Dictionary, "the term symbiosis includes parasitism, or antagonistic or antipathetic symbiosis, in which the association is disadvantageous or destructive to one of the organisms, but ordinarily it is used of cases where the association is advantageous, or

often necessary, to one or both, but not harmful to either." The symbiosis of congealed reactions (each the offspring of a congealed thought) can be either advantageous or disadvantageous. Each springs to a kind of inorganic life as a weapon, an Easter egg, only in relation to something that is said or seen or done. Each reaction is attached to whatever will activate it, or father it is dependent in a parasitic way. In a sense, it is formed in response to the thing which activated it, the thing said, but once formed, it keeps its perfect shape, is drawn back by its elastic band and is ready to fly out again and, if necessary, annihilate the thing said. This is probably the most common use of congealed reactions-to prolong a state of psychic comfort by eliminating the threat to it.

Let us suppose, for instance, that A brings up the subject of hard-core pornography with B. B immediately says, "I don't believe in censorship of *any kind*." This is a case of advantageous symbiosis, for B needs A, almost wills A to talk about hard-core pornography so that she (or he) can declare her or himself against censorship of any kind. B's declaration, moreover, is an authentic belief attached to an authentic fear, the fear of censorship, but it is used now to suggest that A believes in censorship, to conjure up the spectre of totalitarianism, to paralyse any attempt to talk rationally about ways of limiting hard-core pornography. For A now has to defend herself against the implication that she believes in censorship. Sometimes I observe a glint in B's eves, as she (or he, and it is frequently he) dares me to talk about pornography, and I observe in myself the need to provoke the exchange that B wants, that will increase his or her feeling of well-being, and reduce mine. For if almost all reactions have been formed to keep the menace of menaces at bay-that of perhaps having to change one's mind about something, the ideal reaction is one that makes you feel good as well. One can say, in fact, that one's reactions seek a relation with whatever makes one feel good, whether it is an exchange of identical thoughtstones, or an exchange with an adversary whose thought-stones can be neutralized or disintegrated. The subject of pornography has produced an extraordinary arsenal of offensive and defensive congealed reactions. Here is another A talking to another B. A has seen a shop window display featuring a naked mannequin, the upper half of which (or whom) is stuffed into a garbage can. On her feet she wears a pair of elegant shoes, and a sign below says, "I'd kill to have them." A is shocked and baffled when B says this makes her laugh. B, in fact, has used one of the most effective of all reactions, laughter, linked in symbiosis to seriousness, which attempts to disarm

seriousness, which in a still more developed form might become mockery by B of A's prudishness, of her absence of sense of humour. This time, however, B's laughter simply attempts to dissolve A's seriousness, to render it helpless, to make it less dangerous, to say, "You can't make me take this seriously; therefore it isn't serious." B has not realized that one of the purposes of the mannequin was to make her laugh; that this was part of the softening-up process, by making the message so grotesque and farcical that it could be seen almost as anti-pornography, or at least as harmless. Didn't it serve, too, as a teasing provocation that would provoke a ritual response? It was bait, for there were pickets and demonstrations, followed by expressions of regret on the part of the department store, with the subsequent removal of the mannequin in deference to feminist sensibilities, and booming sales of the elegant shoes. And B laughed some more, this time at the demonstrators, who, as usual, she thought, were making much ado about nothing.

Here is another example, of a woman who says she is not a feminist, who is determined to have her own perfectly balanced opinions, whose thought-stones have been polished and perfected in order to keep her in her state of suspicion that she is being brainwashed, or being asked to take sides. C sees Of Woman Born by Adrienne Rich in my house, asks me if I liked it; I say it must be particularly fascinating for mothers (she is a mother). I begin to talk about the invention of forceps, the change from midwifery to obstetrics. She immediately becomes angry; she says that one of her babies was delivered by forceps and there was no damage whatsoever. She has sinelled a feminist issue; her defence is to point out that in a majority of cases, forceps don't damage the baby. She says she hates exaggeration. I am silent since I see that it is I who have walked into a trap, a symbiotic trap. C needs exaggeration to eliminate the feminist threat. But suddenly she begins to talk about the impersonality of the delivery room-the lights, the machines, the masked people in white. So she is a sort of feminist, in her own way, with her own unpleasant experiences of the patriarchy. But. There is a big but, the defensive but of her instant anger, which springs out in response to what she sees as an exaggeration or a cliché. Later something may provoke her to say all over again, "I'm not a feminist," with the same anger. Without meaning to, I keep pushing buttons that provoke her. She is angry with all lesbians, though she is one herself, because they've made her feel badly about having had a husband whom she still likes, about having had children. According to her, lesbians are mean and treacherous and two lesbians can be

more horrible to each other than any heterosexual couple. She has lived this horror, therefore it is universal.

page five

The individual experience is the first step in every kind of racism; it forms a thought-stone made of hate, pain, suspicion; there is no defence against the directness, the swift and deadly flight of these thought-stones. They contain a sense of one's own virtue, they have the power to cross boundaries, erase political differences, merge with other thought-stones composed of hate and virtue. C's anti-lesbian, anti-feminist thought-stones can be exchanged with those of countless women who slip like double agents between the worlds of men and women. The most tempting use of thought-stones is as a medium of exchange with those of like mind. That is part of the problem, that the use of thought-stones is so agreeable, so stimulating to the ego, whether in exchange or as an effective defence. For C, the excitement of the game lies in her determination not to be caught in any fixed position, to refuse all moral traps; it lies in a game of skill like fencing which she is determined to win; her well-being depends on her winning it. She even enjoys her anger, for she has discovered that anger, or impatience with the simplistic position of her adversary (any other person is seen as an adversary), is a useful form of defence.

The most durable and unbreakable thoughtstones have virtue in their composition. It is extremely difficult to alter the composition of a virtuous or superior thought-stone. Lesbians, for instance, who have turned the practical necessity of secrecy (the real fear of losing a job) into a virtue, pride of discretion, do not agree that this discretion is a concession, and that the construction of their inner sanctum has society's stamp of approval. Perhaps the congealing of necessity into virtue is essential to inner peace; at any rate, the process often seems to be irreversible. C, too, battered by misfortunes, has turned her cynicism into a kind of impregnable morality: the virtue of saying neither no nor yes, or never saying yes because one has found so much to say no to; the pride of seeing the other side, of seeing all sides, of leaping nimbly from side to side depending on the stance of the adversary. But we must try to see the other side, you will say, or I will say, since I believe that the mind can change only when we look fearlessly at the other side without immediately sending out a volley of thought-stones. The point about C is that she has made a thought-stone of every side; the side she takes is never a belief, it is merely a reaction, and therefore automatic. Her aim is not to arrive at the truth by considering every side; for her, there is no truest, there is not even a truer. Everything is

CONTINUED PAGE 13

MOVEMENT MATTERS

Red Hot Trial

page six

by Women Against Pornography

VICTORIA-On May 30th, in Victoria Provincial Court, Judge Darrell Collins convicted Red Hot Video Ltd. on three counts of obscenity under Section 159 of the Criminal Code. His decision has been hailed by some anti-porn activists as a victory for women, if only a symbolic one. Several Women Against Pornography (WAP) members were present throughout most of the proceedings, and we saw no victory for women in what took place in that court room. It is understandable that news of the verdict could be superficially interpreted as a victory. One had to be present at this three-ring circus to fully comprehend the inadequacy of the criminal justice system to address feminist concerns about porn.

We believe this decision could represent a potentially serious blow for women's and gay rights, given the prevailing politically rightwing climate in Canada.

Feminist concerns about pornography were not addressed in this trial; in fact, it became quickly apparent that women ourselves are considered irrelevant in terms of input into "community standards" (upon which the definition of "obscenity" was predicated). The primary consideration throughout the trial, and illustrated in the decision itself, was the imperative that the "moral welfare of the state" must be protected. What Judge Collins ultimately found offensive about the three films in question was not the fact that they demean, exploit, and violate women, but their sexually explicit nature. At one point in his decision, he recited a litany of the unacceptable sex acts he observed in each of the films. Itemized together with intercourse, fellation, ejaculation, group sex, etc., were nakedness, masturbation, and lesbian sex. Rape and brutality received only passing mention. The very wording of the obscenity law makes it near impossible to deviate far from this perspective.

We have for some time harboured serious reservations about the recommendation some feminists have advanced to simply add the word "degradation" to Section 159. After experiencing the trial, we are firmly convinced this is no solution, and that the energies of the anti-porn movement should be directed toward hate propaganda legislation. We should not further encumber an already antiquated law. We fear that—as with rape laws previously powerful feminist lobbying groups and highprofile individuals are not receiving enough grass-roots input before acting.

WAP, more than any anti-porn group we are aware of, has had first-hand experience with the legal route, both through Victoria's short-lived by-law and, more recently, the Red Hot trial. We have gained many insights from the experience of monitoring the trial, many of which we have shared here. We think our observations are important and we want to share them, and receive feedback.

We realize feminists can, and will, differ on strategy, but it is essential we begin to get together to explore these differences in more depth.

A longer version of this article, detailing the issues before the court and the "phenomenal leaps of logic," was printed in Kinesis, (July/Aug '83) and is available from Kinesis, 400A W. 5th Ave., Vancouver, BC, V56 1J9.

Donna Smyth Defence

TORONTO—Women's Action for Peace and the Women's Press co-sponsored a September benefit for the Donna Smyth Legal Defence Fund. Donna Smyth is the author of several short stories, two plays and the novel *Quilt*. She teaches at Acadia University in Wolfville, NS, is active in the disarmament movement and is one of the most articulate opponents of uranium mining in the province. Smyth has been named as defendant in a libel action brought by Leo Yaffe, Prof. of Chemistry at McGill University.

In January 1982, Prof. Yaffe toured the Maritimes as President of the Chemical Institute of Canada promoting nuclear power in a lecture entitled "The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear." Smyth responded by writing an opinion piece, "That desperate attempt to sell us nuclear," which appeared February 15, 1982 in the Halifax Herald.

As a consequence of her public criticism, made without malice, on a matter of public interest, Yaffe pressed for damages in January 1983. The publisher of the *Halifax Herald* is not named in the suit.

The trial date for Yaffe vs Smyth is expected to be scheduled for this fall. Because libel actions are notoriously expensive and because we agree that this poses a threat to legitimate expression, we organized a Speak Out on nuclear power and freedom of the press. The benefit was hosted by June Callwood of the Writers' Union and was an evening of readings from Donna's works, speakers, music, and a showing of "If You Love This Planet."

If you wish to contribute to Donna Smyth's Legal Defence Fund, send cheques, payable to Nuclear Critics' Defence Committee, to T. Flemming, Treasurer, Nuclear Critics' Defence Committee, 5264 Morris St., Ste. 1604, Halifax, NS, B3J 1B5

Woman Facing Abortion Charge

TORONTO—On the twentieth of June, Colleen Crosbie, who has been involved with the women's health movement, was picked up off the street and charged with procuring (performing) an abortion—a charge which upon conviction carries a possible maximum life sentence.

The charge followed a police investigation into the political activites of other members of her household. Colleen was pressed to give information (of which she had none) in return for the charge being dropped. This charge represents not only police harassment of politically active individuals but also indicates the desire of the state to interfere with the privacy of women's decisions regarding their own bodies and health needs.

Colleen faces a possible jail term and the loss of her job, not to mention the personal difficulties associated with criminal charges, as a result of her concern for women's issues. Contributions are *urgently needed* for the legal defence. Make cheques payable to David Cole in Trust, Colleen Crosbie Defense Committee, 11 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto, Ontario M5R 1B6.

Colleen is a responsible and caring person, well respected by her peers. Her case will provide an opportunity to voice our demand for accessible, quality health care. The preliminary hearing begins October 24, 1983, 10:00 A.M., at the East Mall Court, 80 The East Mall, Etobicoke, Ont. Come to show your concern and support. For further information contact the Colleen Crosbie Defense Committee, c/o Ruby & Edwardh, 11 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto, M5R 1B6, or call (416) 537-2959.

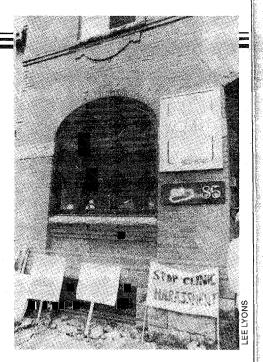
-Colleen Crosbie Defense Committee



The Parachute Club (above) and The Clichettes entertained a full house at the Toronto Women's Bookstore benefit, September 19, at the Brunswick House.



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Victim of Arson

TORONTO—In the early hours of Friday, July 29 an arsonist set fire to the Toronto Women's Bookstore located at 85 Harbord Street, near Spadina. The fire was apparently intended to damage the Morgentaler Clinic located above the Bookstore. The Clinic had opened in June 1983, offering therapeutic first-trimester abortions. The fire itself and water damage destroyed most of the stock and fixtures in the bookstore.

The Bookstore now faces the job of rebuilding. Insurance will cover about 80% of the inventory loss from the fire and about 70% of ongoing operating expenses such as salaries, rent, etc. The Bookstore will have to make up the difference. There will also be moving and renovation costs since the decision has been made to find a new location for the Bookstore. Reconstructing the first floor of 85 Harbord would be a huge task, and the Bookstore had been finding the space there too crowded for its needs anyway. In addition, it now seems unlikely that the new store will be able to open before the end of 1983. This extends the period of time without income and means that the high income of the new holiday season will be missed. Because of all these factors, it is estimated that the Bookstore will need to raise at least \$35,000 to cover the costs of reopening.

The fund-raising campaign began almost immediately after the fire. Michelle Landsberg appealed for donations for the Bookstore in her column in the *Toronto Star* on Monday, August 1. The following Wednesday, the Ontario Coaliton for Abortion Clinics organized a rally in support of the Bookstore. The large crowd contributed over \$2500 that night. Altogether over \$10,000 has been raised to date. Plans are underway for a series of benefits throughout the coming months—dances, reading, concerts, and other events. Writers, artists, and performers have been volunteering their services.

In the meantime, Bookstore staff have been working out of a small office. Many files and back records were salvaged from the basement of the store, making it possible to cancel outstanding orders and to make interim financial arrangements with publishers. As of September 1, the Bookstore office has been located on the second floor of 296 Brunswick Ave., on the southwest corner of Brunswick and Bloor. Any stock worth saving will be moved to that location, with plans for a fire sale starting on September 26. Marie Prins and Patti Kirk, co-managers of the Bookstore for the past nine years, are actively searching for a new permanent home for the Bookstore in the Harbord/Spadina neighbourhood. The Bookstore has been, and continues to be, organized as a non-profit corporation. There are currently one full-time and two part-time staff working along with the comanagers. Over the past nine years the Bookstore had built up one of the best collections of books of interest to women in North America. All along, the Bookstore has made the effort to work with small feminist presses, to obtain books and records unavailable to women in mainstream book stores, and to support Canadian writers and artists. The Bookstore has also served as a kind of community centre for women, providing publicity and selling tickets to women's events. When the Morgentaler Clinic opened on the two floors above the Bookstore in June. 1983 Bookstore staff expressed total support for challenging the limited accessibility to abortion in Ontario. Dr. Henry Morgentaler

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Health Funds Cut

VANCOUVER—The Social Credit government has withdrawn a \$100,000 grant from the Vancouver Women's Health Collective.

For 10 years, the Health Collective has been providing information and services to women to increase women's control over our bodies.

The cutback constitutes a political attack against women.

In one year the Socreds have withheld all money from the BC Coalition of Rape Centres, Post Partum Counselling, Vancouver Transition House, and now the Health Collective.

These feminist services were developed ten years ago and have been maintained by the dedication of some women for the protection of all women.

The BC Federation of Women (BCFW) joins with progressive people throughout the province to demand an end to this Socred rampage.

Broadside

-BCFW

Media Images of Violence Against Women

KITCHENER-A special issue of Hysteria, a feminist magazine, is being planned which will focus on media images of violence against women. We want to publish this special issue in time for International Women's Day 1984. We want to produce a magazine that examines some of the issues that have arisen about media violence and brings together a wide range of information about resources and strategies that women can use to fight these images of ourselves as victims. We need your help-we're looking for articles, bibliographies, informative short pieces about the work your group is doing, illustrations, samples of offensive media images, and we'd like especially to hear about the strategies that individuals and groups are using to remove offensive and violent stereotypes from the media and from public access.

Some specific plans we have for this issue (feel free to suggest others) are the following:

• a discussion of the ways in which media create and maintain social stereotypes

- a report on the work different groups, especially in southwestern Ontario, are doing
- a resource list of audio-visual and print materials on media violence and information on how to obtain them
- a special section on strategies which have been proposed and experimented with; their implications and their results are of special interest. Some strategies we'd like to report on are Media Watch activities such as lobbying the federal regulatory agencies; community-oriented strategies such as bylaw lobbies proposing restricted access to pornography; demonstrations, boycotts and other visible protests; discussion of proposals to increase or amend censorship guidelines; and extra-legal actions such as vandalism of pornographic video outlets
- we'd like our Community Resources section this time to provide a listing of services for victims of violence

We hope you'll be interested in contributing to this issue of *Hysteria*. We'd love to hear your ideas, suggestions and proposals for contributions. Our copy deadline will be January 1st, 1984.

-Hysteria

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succeeded in establishing the legality of abortion clinics in Québec in the early 1970's by fighting charges against him under the Criminal Code of Canada. He has now opened clinics in both Winnipeg and Toronto. Both clinics have been raided by provincial police and charges have been laid against Dr. Morgentaler and other clinic staff. The cases will be coming to trial this fall. Public debate about the abortion issue is more widespread than it has ever been in Canada. The Ontario Coaliton for Abortion Clinics is co-ordinating the efforts of pro-choice groups, focusing especially on the Morgentaler case now. Members of the OCAC have also done all they can to assist the Bookstore in raising money and in making the move from the old building into temporary quarters.

The feminist community in Toronto and southern Ontario will have opportunities to attend various fund-raising events for the Bookstore in coming months. Two scheduled events: a successful dance with music by the Parachute Club held on September 19 at the Brunswick House, and a Christmas book sale at Harbourfront on December 11. We hope that people in other parts of Canada and the United States will contribute by having benefits or by simply sending whatever donation possible to: Toronto Women's Bookstore, 296 Brunswick Ave., Suite 201, Toronto, M5S 2M7. For more information call: (416) 922-8744.

International Rights

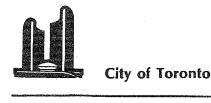
NEW YORK—The International Women's Tribune Centre is pleased to announce the publication of *Rights of Women*, a compilation and summarized version of 44 selected United Nations, UNESCO and ILO conventions considered to be of special significance to women. Few women are aware of international conventions, which legally commit ratifying countries to specific actions and of their potential use as instruments for change. We have prepared this workbook because we believe these conventions could prove to be *useful* weapons women activists can use to improve living and working conditions in their countries.

Rights of Women is a workbook with a "question and answer" worksheet for each convention to enable individuals or groups to relate each international convention to conditions within their own country. In addition, the introduction to the workbook includes background information on the convention process with a focus on women's concerns and highly visual charts and diagrams.

There are a number of different ways in which *Rights of Women* can be used. For example, a completed set of worksheets would form a Manual of UN Conventions Relating to Women tailor-made to one's own country. Such a manual could be a useful reference guide in reviewing the activities of the UN Decade for Women and planning for the decades ahead.

Rights of Women is free to groups in Third World countries (sent surface mail), and costs \$8 (US) to groups elsewhere. Write: IWTC, 305 East 46th Street, 6th floor, New York, NY 10017.

–Anne Walker, IWTC



PUBLIC NOTICE

Notice is hereby given that at the request of the Council of the City of Toronto, The Mayor has declared a

CURFEW

between the hours of 10:00 p.m. and 7:00 a.m. effective immediately for

ALL MEN OVER THE AGE OF THIRTEEN YEARS

This measure has been deemed necessary because:

• Last year in the City of Toronto men over the age of thirteen committed 500 rapes

	murders
1823	assaults

- Seventy percent of rapes committed go unreported in Toronto.
- Every 17 minutes a woman is being raped in Canada. Every minute a woman is being sexually harrassed. Every second a woman is being verbally abused.
- Periods of economic hardship trigger an increase in violence against women.

It is intended that the CURFEW FOR ALL MEN OVER THE AGE OF THIRTEEN YEARS be a first step in a continuing programme to eliminate the public and private forms of violence in women's lives.

Mr. Roy McMurtry 965-9111 Attorney General	•		Mr. Art Eggleton Mayor	947-7001	
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Men's Curfew

TORONTO—We, 'Women, Persons Unknown,' claim responsibility for the Men's Curfew postering action that took place on the evening of Sunday September 11.

We are angry and frustrated. For years, women of the city of Toronto have been pressuring our government to take action against the ever increasing violence against women.

The government continues to use band-aid methods instead of reaching to the source of violence against women. In effect, they are actually only one aspect of an integrated, and larger political system, that uses power and violence to maintain and reinforce itself.

The violence that women face is not always perpetrated by isolated individuals. Institutional violence plays a major role in misogynistic practices of cultures throughout the world. Forced sterilization as a means of controlling third world populations, unsafe and ineffective birth control methods, chemical and surgical experimentation by the male

Part-Time Workers

TORONTO—The YWCA of Metropolitan Toronto has released a new publication: *Part-Time Work and Women: A Practical Guide*. This is intended for use by women who are presently working part-time or contemplating the possibility of part-time employment.

The material contained in the kit is designed to: develop an awareness of the problems part-time workers face; to familiarize workers with some of the working conditions, rights and legislation affecting part-time employees; to offer some suggestions that part-time workers can use immediately for their protection in the workplace; and to outline ways in which part-time workers may improve their working situation in the future.

The 20 page guide, which is written in point form and question and answer format, pulls together information about part-time employment which had previously not been available from a single source.

Judy Campbell, YWCA Social Action Coordinator, emphasized the particular significance of part-time employment for women, as they comprise 72% of the parttime work force. Most of these women are faced with special conditions such as low hourly pay, few opportunities for training and advancement, few benefits and lack of job security.

Part-Time Work and Women: A Practical Guide is available at the cost of \$3 (plus \$1 for postage and handling) from the YWCA, 80 Woodlawn Avenue East, Toronto M4T 1C1, 416-961-8100.

Pom Abuse

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VANCOUVER—We are supporting a woman who has been charged with civil disobedience against a pornography store. We are looking for women who have had actual experience of being abused because of pornography. Video pornography is of special interest, but any account of pornography related violence towards women will be useful to us. For example:

- a man who brings home pornographic tapes, and wants a woman to act out what they have seen on the tapes
- pornography left at the scene of a rape
- women who have been abused while employed in the pornography industry

These actual experiences are essential in order to establish the relationship between pornography and violence against women.

We are looking for women who might be willing to testify in court as to their experiences, but more than that we would like letters describing their experiences to present as evidence.

Cable or send special delivery letters, as trial date is imminent. Remember it could be any one of us!! Thank you. Vancouver Rape Relief, 77E 20th Ave., Vancouver, BC, V5V 1L7.

-Vancouver Rape Relief

Margaret Randall in Canada

TORONTO-Feminist author Margaret Ran-

Squamish Five

VANCOUVER—The trial of the "Squamish Five" has begun in Vancouver. Ann Hansen, Juliet Belmas, Gerald Hannah, Brent Taylor and Douglas Stewart were arrested January 20, 1983 and charged with a variety of charges including the bombing of a hydro station in BC, the bombing of the Red Hot Video Stores in Vancouver and the bombing of the Litton Systems plant in Toronto.

Media coverage of the arrest has been extensive and the defence presented several motions to the judge about the difficulty of the "Squamish Five" receiving a fair jury trial. Dr. Jay Schulman was brought in as an expert witness and testified to the general public's reaction to the media's excessive use of words such as terrorists, extremists and anarchists. He felt that the unconscious effect would form a prejudgement or at least a predisposition in most people. Supreme Justice Martin Toy suggested that if they felt the jury would not be fair and unbiased, they could opt for a judge only trial.

The selection of the jurors will begin September 26, 1983.

-Marty Crowder

not sincere in their supposed efforts to eliminate this violence. The whole issue of violence against women is not taken seriously. When we take action against this violence we are told that we are over-reacting, and are ignored. But facts can not be ignored.

Women have been systematically targeted for persecution and violence for centuries. In Canada, a woman is raped every seventeen minutes. One in five women are raped in their lifetimes. The majority of rapes are committed by someone who is an acquaintance of the woman. The majority of rapes go unreported.

We are told that we, ourselves, are responsible for this male violence, because of the way we dress or behave. As women we are told to take 'preventative action.' This is unrealistic. It is men who rape, it is men who must change.

Women live under a curfew. We don't go out at night, we walk on the street in groups, we lock our door and live in fear and distrust of men who should be our brothers.

However, the purpose of this action was not to imply that violence against women happens only on the streets, or only in Toronto. Violence against women is a continually escalating aspect of our personal and public lives. The violence that women face on the streets, is medical profession, and the incarceration into prisons and mental institutions of women who resist this exploitation and lack of choice, are some of the more visible aspects of violence against women.

Banning men from the streets is no solution to a problem that is so deeply rooted in this society. This action was intended to educate the general public on the issue of violence against women, and to urge men to take collective responsibility and action in the struggle to eliminate this violence from our lives.

We acted on Sunday night with a sense of sisterhood and strength, and we will continue in our resistance.

Like my sisters before me, I fight back; --women, persons unknown

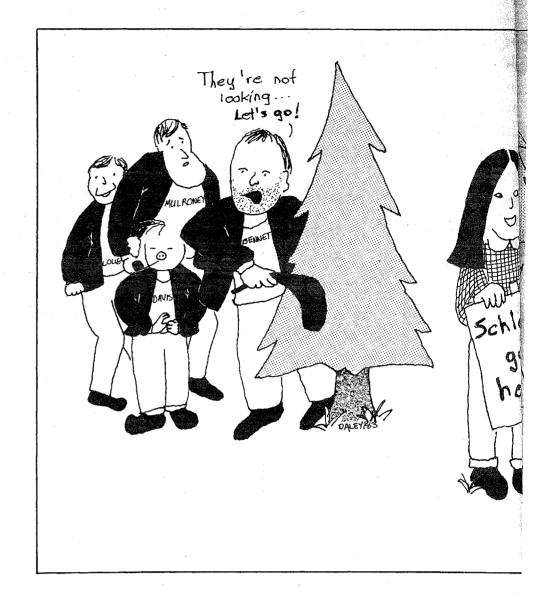
"Once in a Cabinet, we had to deal with the fact that there had been an outbreak of assaults on women at night. One minister... suggested that... women should stay home after dark. I said 'But it's the men who are attacking the women. If there's to be a curfew, let the men stay home, not the women'."—Golda Meir dall (Sandino's Daughters; Inside the Nicaraguan Revolution; Cuban Women Now) will speak in Toronto on October 3 and October 5. Currently living in Nicaragua, Randall has witnessed the revolutionary transformation in women's lives in this developing country.

Randall's new book, *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution* (Vancouver: New Star, Oct. 1983), will be released concurrently with her cross-country tour of 23 cities.

The role of religion in Nicaragua's revolution was observed first-hand by Randall in her work with the Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture. As in *Sandino's Daughters*, in her new book she sets about to record the personal accounts of Christians who were both directly and indirectly involved in the overthrow of dictator Somtoza. These testimonies feature the voices of 'ordinary' believers as well as those who have become well-known, including Ernesto Cardenal and Tomas Borge.

A photographer, journalist and social critic, Randall is well acquainted with the state of affairs in Nicaragua today. Her experiences with Nicaraguans in all walks of life allow her to comment incisively on the status of women, the objectives of their revolution, and the current political/military crisis.

Life with th



by Susan G. Cole and Eve Zaremba

The subject we have chosen to tackle is obviously an enormous one. To deal effectively with the relationship and differences between the Canadian and American women's movements requires description and analysis not only of these movements but of both countries.

This is our first stab at this formidable task; we are able to touch upon only a few general areas and only once-overlightly at that. Sometime in 1984, we intend to produce a companion piece in which we will compare and contrast the US and Canada on issues of culture, race relations, language. We also hope to be able to expand and clarify our position on the areas mentioned below.

All our readers are invited to comment on any aspect of this topic and on our way of handling it. Letters and articles are welcome: anything which will help us all to understand who and what we are and where we go from here.—SGC, EZ

We all know that when the US economy catches cold, ours in Canada sneezes. But not vice versa. In the same way, what happens in the women's movement south of the border affects us, but virtually nothing we do affects American feminists. Our movement was seriously influenced by women who came to Canada with US war resisters; by the writings of secondwave American feminists like Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, Shulamith Firestone, by the Furies and Redstockings; by the concepts like woman-identified-woman; by example of protest and action.

The initial reaction to second-wave feminism of Canadian women, the majority white, young and urban, was *not* unlike that of the American counterparts. It was initially a rejection of the passive middle class ideal of women, a role and a burden these Canadian and American women shared. Although this has long ceased to be an adequate description of either of our movements, we Canadians continue to get our issues prepackaged and we tend to accept analyses, vocabulary and priorities made in the USA.

If the issue is raised, the common response is that sexism, male chauvinism, patriarchy and misogyny are international phenomena and feminism is a global movement, so what's the problem? It is considered natural that there should be one feminism, applicable throughout the world like a chemical formula. But feminism is a social movement, not a chemical formula. Certainly, feminism proposes a system of values which all women (and ultimately all men also) can share. Certainly the philosophical underpinnings and issue-by-issue analysis is useful no matter what the geographical source. But that does not mean that we have to accept US reality as our own. As women we have long taken men's definition of reality as *the* reality. As Canadians we too often allow American definitions to become ours.

As feminists we should know better.

Movements for social change operate in very specific conditions and in finite time and space. As time and experience have matured the American and Canadian women's movements, they have naturally taken on more of the colouration of the country in which each was rooted. This divergence is not a sign of weakness, divisiveness or a lack of solidarity. It is a sign of health ord authorizing drban hubs to move ideas and strategies. The snowball of an idea hatched in Saskatoon, a feminist community with a growing influence, would barely make its way to Winnipeg and would be total slush by the time it reached the eastern provinces and the country's media centres. Getting to the media centres is crucial to the successful organization of any movement. That's something we Canadians have to get used to, and, not incidentally, why the Canadian feminist press is so vital to Canadian feminism.

But while we work at developing our own networks, we continue to be plugged into the American network and to get American input predigested via American media, whether it's *Off Our Backs* or *Time* magazine or *The Guardian*. Rather than develop our own analysis of major issues in our own good time and sequence, rather than arrive at our own position, suitable and relevant to local conditions, we are "spared" the hard work involved in thinking things out for ourselves, between ourselves. Our American sisters have done it all for us and we accept not only their definitions, language and priorities, but also their divisions, quarrels and problems.

Think carefully about a list of recent movement issues: anti-Semitism, pornography, racism, lesbian separatism, s/m. There is not one which does not reverberate differently in Canada than it does in the States. Yet there is not one which we did not "receive" from the south. Our movement heroes and experts are always American.

Obviously, American feminists do not mean to interfere with our work at developing a movement attuned to our needs and conditions. Most Americans do not even know we exist. Much of this type of insidious intellectual imperialism is a wholly unintentional consequence of the disproportion of power. US women have a national, broadly-based political organi tion like the National Organization for Women (NOW) a we do not. Our closest attempt at a membership-bas feminist organization was the Feminist Party of Canawhich never really got off the ground. (This is a story yet to told.) The National Action Committee (NAC) on the Status Women does much good work in lobbying and in resea especially, but it is not based on individual membership. I an umbrella organization of women's groups across the cor try, groups which have other, mostly local priorities.

None of this is likely to change in the immediate futu even though we know have that one institution that has me so much to the creation of intense activism in the Uni States—a constitution.

Life with the State

The powerful force of feminism, its sheer common sense, potential for social change, combined with the typic American yearning for activism within the polit mainstream, has created a ready-made membership for NC The American women's movement owes its consciousness a much of its theory to radical feminists, but its most effec organizing tool has been NOW, a body that grew, literall' leaps, developing chapters all across the country.

But NOW could never have dotted the American polit landscape with chapters were it not for NOW's special r sion. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was the per vehicle for the fledgling organization. Civil rights conce ways been the bottom line of American polit culture, offering a political language that was insta recognizable to all women in the US. Equality, or civil rig as enshrined in the American constitution, is at the hear Americans' understanding of precisely what America is. Here we can see an instance of how an issue so crucia American consciousness, so much a part of American id ism, cannot be parachuted into Canada and mean the s: thing; no matter how many headlines the Canadian const tion was able to garner, it is simply not as important on a level to Canadians as the American constitution is to neighbours. Like it or not, the Canadian constitution, spe cally Sections 15 and 28 which deal with equality and won has floated down into our laps, and we haven't been abl grasp its significance, let alone make it a mainstay of our t tical values. (To understand why we have to change our tude toward the constitution, see Sheila McIntyre's "Jour through Unchartered Territory," Broadside, Vol. 4, no. And even if we were to appreciate its importance, constitution and the equality clauses play a different ro. our political process and can't ever be lumped into the s category as America's. Penny Kome put it best (Satu, Night, January 1983): "The ERA would have modified th terpretation of two centuries of case law history which gov the public life of an entire society. Section 28, by contrast, instruction to the courts to look to sexual discrimination primary factor in decisions regarding civil rights." (See the soon-to-be-published Women and the Constitui Women's Press.)

health and authenticity.

Life with the Media

There are some geographical and political facts of life to consider, conditions which exist and tend not to change, and which have an important influence on the initiatives we or our American sisters take in the political arena. It is useful to recall some of these factors, since in many cases, our successes, failures and especially our choices will hinge on these essential elements of political culture.

Canadians have always had to face the fact that the physical barriers a huge country like Canada has make it extremely difficult to organize. The US is admittedly not that much smaller, but its population is ten times the size of ours, and that makes it a bit easier for American organizers to get the message across the country. The American movement seems to grow quickly and to develop media attention almost the moment an issue surfaces.

Americans have the advantage of organizing through large city centres on the east coast megalopolis, for example, which are able to operate in concert with the smaller intellectual and academic centres for feminist thought. An idea developed in the bosom of one of the Seven Sisters schools can scoot through Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington in the time it takes to hold a conference on the east coast.

The snowball doesn't develop so effectively here in Canada. There aren't enough small and vital centres between Canada's

Life with History

But neither geography not the clout of the US plays as important a role in how we practise our politics as do historicallybased differences. Americans gained their independence through a popular revolution, whereas Canadians shook hands politely with our colonial masters. In the American political tradition, there is a much greater wariness about ceding authority to the state. Americans fear the intrusion of government in their lives, and long for a life of rugged individualism, mythical or not. In the US, there is an assumption, even in the middle of the road, that each individual has a political responsibility to safeguard her individual rights and must be prepared to enter the political arena to do so.

In Canada, the majority of citizens tend to view political action as something beneath their station. In the end, Canada is a small-c conservative country, prone to rely on tradition and authority. We tend to trust governments, we are more cautious, less optimistic about our power to effect change, less adventuresome and more inclined to choose order over freedom. Consequently Canadians are less likely than Americans to get their hands dirty in politics; we tend to be complacent, even about our civil rights.

This all may sound like a pack of clichés but there are truths in these stereotypes. These differences go far to explain why



rganiz key role of the constitution in American public life is DW) ated in the awesome task demanded by amendment proip-base. The National Organization of Women needed a na-Canadeffort of huge proportions to achieve success in getting yet to RA passed. Membership in NOW had to be hefty in Status to convey clout throughout the lobbying procedures. resear had to get Senate approval in Washington and then hip. Itation by at least two-thirds of the state legislatures. he coulobbying individuals in the Senate and House represen-

, American women had to repair to the state capitals to turevery single member there.

is mealle much of the Canadian process has been buried and : Unitstimated, it's safe to say that our efforts to make sure omen's rights were enshrined in the constitution involve

In the set of the set

ness ane becomes a crucial factor in lobbying for constitutional sffective. The process for American feminists was an agonizing erally hat sapped the energy of activists involved and made it

politice that was the backdrop for their efforts. By the time ial mi members had churned through the state by state properfethe opponents of the ERA had had time to organize. oncerdians struggling for a constitution with meaningful arpolitic concerning equality never had to meet a challenge like nstan he that faced American feminists. the Right has in the States: Our business-oriented reactionaries are interested in "freeing free enterprise" and in their profits, and do not worry much about social issues like abortion, gay rights or threats to the family. These are central to the American Moral Majority, but of only fringe interest to our right wing. There is no equivalent to the Family Protection Act on the federal level in Canada nor is there likely to be.

It has been very difficult for progressive forces to mobilize against anything as vague as "the right," at least the way the term is used in the States, because economic and social issues don't come in a tidy package up here. To give you a sense of how muddy the terms can become, consider that there really is very little difference between Ontario's very successful Progressive Conservative Party and the NDP government in neighbouring Manitoba. Both would be regarded as Commie by the US New Right, in spite of the fact that both these governments are anti-abortion and have a bad track record on rights for French-speaking citizens and Natives.

Moreover, we have the seeming anomaly of our Right-to-Life contingent actually coming on as progressive on disarmament and socialism. Our political climate leaves so little room for KKK organizers that the police prefer to harass them as disruptive and dissident rather than defend their freedom of speech.

When you consider that reactionary Americans consider Trudeau a card-carrying Communist, you can see how it is that we cannot use the US language to describe our situation. The we come so far to an ideological right is in British Columbia. The conservative parties in Canada have traditionally been pragmatic in their political approach, leaving ideology to the left wing. Now Bennett's odd collection of small-time free enterprisers seems to have latched onto elements of right wing ideology in a most un-Canadian exhibition of extremism. There can be no doubt that the budget measures introduced last July in BC are ideologically based on, and have as much to do with reaction to, social changes as with the bad economic situation in the province. In other words, feminism. gay liberation and rights of other social and racial minorities have been targeted specifically by the Social Credit government. Hopefully, the opposition NDP and the civil service will not settle for fighting merely the Draconian economic measures aimed at their members, but will understand the necessity of defending social and civil rights gains and the need for broadly based coalitions as they aim to meet the Social Credit head on.

Can you imagine a US state government even nominally socialist? Marxism is not the dirty word here that it is in the US, where it's considered un-American by definition.

While traditional economistic socialism has been a stronger force through our political history, the sixties New Left, and with it, social issues, had a greater impact on Americans than it did on us. We have no Kent State, no 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, no history and legends of violence, few heroes and martyrs from those years. The only near equivalent is the War Measures Act. But whereas Trudeau's authoritarian measure may have helped to politicize Québec feminists, civil rights and anti-Viet Nam struggles politicized a whole generation of American feminist activists across the entire country. These issues were 'native' to them. For us they were second hand, more symbols of what was wrong with the world than everyday reality. Nothing we could do in Canada could have affected the course of the war or the fight for black civil rights in the US. We were spectators, not participants.

The history of the influence of the revolutionary or radical left on the Canadian women's movement and vice versa has yet to be written. (For a beginning, see Myrna Kostash's Long Way From Home). A number of Trotskyist formations made concentrated efforts to co-opt our movements in the early years, and later have tried to live off feminist energy. These unprincipled attempts did damage, intimidated unsophisticated women, frightened and alienated some, but also in the process, trained and educated many others. Ultimately it was the leftist groups that suffered, wrecked by internal sexism and an inability to deal with feminist issues. Women left them in droves and many of these groups just disappeared. Now, ex-Trotskyists can be found in autonomous socialist-feminist, radical Lesbian and unhyphenated feminist groups and activities. They are at work in women's services like hostels and rape crisis centres and organizing and lobbying for abortion and day care like the rest of us.

In the US, where the political cultural traditions create a clash between reformists and socialists and between socialists and other radicals with ideas that are not so "unamerican," the women's movement ends up being more polarized than ours is in Canada. Political lines blur here. Although we disagree often and sometimes bitterly, radical feminists still work and talk with socialist feminists and with so-called liberal reform feminists. There is contact with and between women in government, social services, the professions and academia on issues concerning women. It has never been a downplaying of political differences to state that those of us who share an essential commitment to the liberation of women and to making women a political force can work together.

But our relationship with the left is not good at all. Ultimately the task both here and in the US is to develop some sort of working coalition between progressive elements on the left and feminists. Before that can happen, left-wing men will have to accept the crucial historical importance of so-called secondary social issues and the centrality of feminist analysis. In this, partly because of the social issues orientation of the left, Americans seem well ahead of our Canadian lefties, at least judging by the content of their press. (See for instance, Socialist Review, Vol. 67, "Remaking the American Left" and Vol. 69, "Socialism and Beyond.") In Canada, neither the trade union movement, nor among academics, nor in the Left wing press, is there much indication that leftist men have abandoned their arrogance enough to listen to us and to read feminist writing. Unless it starts taking the women's movement seriously, there is little hope for the left in Canada.

heart with the Right

uctal scaped the clutches of a committeed opposition on the n ide san tutional issue, while the Americans did not, for a onstituer of reasons. The most obvious is that Americans have on a geanized New Right to contend with while we do not, as to onlyway.

specinservatism in Canada has a long and respectable history. womeninant tendency has not been of the extreme, red-neck, able imentalist variety. In fact, we have no Reagan, no moral ur pority, no Phyllis Schlafly, no Falwell, no PAC's, no antiur arequivalent of even remotely similar power and influence. Iourn we persist in taking on the anti-New Right rhetoric from no. 5 states we prevent ourselves from analysing how antice, cuism works in our political climate.

role is is not to say that Canada is without reactionaries. But he sair these forces have tended not to target feminism the way aturd

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st, is Canadian amending formula for the constitution is not nearly as ion a anding as the American. For example, we need the approval of 7 see all ten premiers, and *not* the legislatures, for ratification. These 7

itutioners must represent 50% of the population, meaning one of them be from Quebec or Ontario.

Life with the Left

The virulence of the American right and the apparent placidity of similar fundamentalist forces here have very specific contexts. As long as there still exists in the American mainstream a collective hysteria regarding communism, the American right will always be able to generate modern variations on the Red Scare. In Canada, on the other hand, socialism has had a legitimate (if minimal) place in the political mainstream.

We have had parliamentary left wing parties of the social democratic and respectable variety for decades and some of them have actually formed governments on the provincial level. While the progressive elements get their act together, we could probably learn more about ourselves from our francophone sisters than by gazing longingly at the American women's movement, wondering what it's up to so that we can do it next. Feminists in Québec have made remarkable strides by developing community health clinics complete with abortion services and by producing the kind of writing and art which could form the bedrock of women's culture.

The fact that we haven't forged these bonds is the most eloquent testimony to the influence of our American sisters, with whom, admittedly we do share a language and more than a bit of pop culture. But still, the American women's movement has its own style. It seems to be way ahead of us, more aware, more exciting, and varied, harder edged, tougher and more extreme, richer, louder and more successful. In a word, more American. We will always learn from that movement, but it is at our peril that we Canadian feminists uncritically accept issues, problems, analyses, and solutions made in the US, or anywhere else outside our borders.

No one can do our work for us.

ARTS



Frida Kahlo, in hand-painted plaster corset, with Diego Rivera, 1950.

Hayden Herrera, Frida: A Biography of Frida Kahlo. New York. Harper & Row, 1983. \$29.50.

Reviewed by Amanda Hale

Frida Kahlo was a Mexican-born painter, of Jewish-Hungarian origin on her German father's side, and of Spanish-Mexican Indian origin on her mother's side. She considered herself a child of the revolution, giving her date of birth as 1910 when the Mexican Revolution started, instead of 1907 when her actual birth took place. Hayden Herrera is a New York art critic who spent much of her childhood in Mexico. In this biography she presents a sharply focused image of Frida Kahlo as a passionate woman of tremendous energy and magnetism. Frida involved herself wholeheartedly with the Communist Party, with painting, teaching, travel, and with various lovers, including Leon Trotsky and the sculptor, Isamu Noguchi. She was the third of Diego Rivera's four wives. It was a stormy liaison-they were married and divorced and remarried—lasting a total of almost twentyfive years, finally broken by Frida's death in 1954 at the age of forty-seven. Diego Rivera was the best known of the Mexican muralists, a group including men such as David Alfaro Siqueiros and José Clemente Orozco, who recorded Mexico's history on a gigantic scale on the walls of public buildings, using images from pre-Columbian times, through the colonial period following the Spanish conquest to the modern revolutionary era.

Frida Kahlo's work consists largely of selfportraits and records of events in the Mexican retablo tradition, often worked with oil on metal. She paints with an honesty and originality which are quite startling. This book contains some excellent illustrations (35 colour, 96 black and white) of Frida's paintings, as well as photographs of her with family and friends. "I suffered two grave accidents in my life," Frida said. "One in which a streetcar knocked me down... The other accident is Diego." At the age of eighteen, Frida almost

Frida Kahlo's Two Grave Accidents

died when a trolley car ran into the bus in which she and her boyfriend were passengers. Her spine and pelvis were each broken in three places, a collarbone and two ribs were broken, her right leg sustained eleven fractures, her right foot was crushed, and a steel handrail skewered her body, entering on the left side of her abdomen and exiting at the vagina. She survived to endure a lifetime of pain, during which she had thirty-two operations on her spine and right leg, finally undergoing a spinal fusion and, shortly before her death, amputation of the leg. Months of hospitalization and boredom drove Frida to painting, which was to become one of the great passions of her life. She did not study painting, although she would later become a teacher at the Esmerelda School of Art in Mexico City where she was adored by her students for her fresh and unpretentious approach. She was self-taught, and quickly developed her own unique style, strongly influenced by Mexican folk art.

The first part of this biography is somewhat tedious in that Herrera has included almost 40 pages of Frida's letters to Alejandro Gomez Arias, her childhood sweetheart who was with her on the bus and who sustained only minor injuries. Nevertheless, in sharp contrast to the precocious adolescent reflected in this onesided correspondence is the enforced maturity which emerged out of Frida's suffering as a result of the accident. Her spirit was tempered but never broken. She maintained a devilish and provocative streak throughout her life and her "black humour (was) a characteristically Mexican kind that relishes horror and laughs at death."

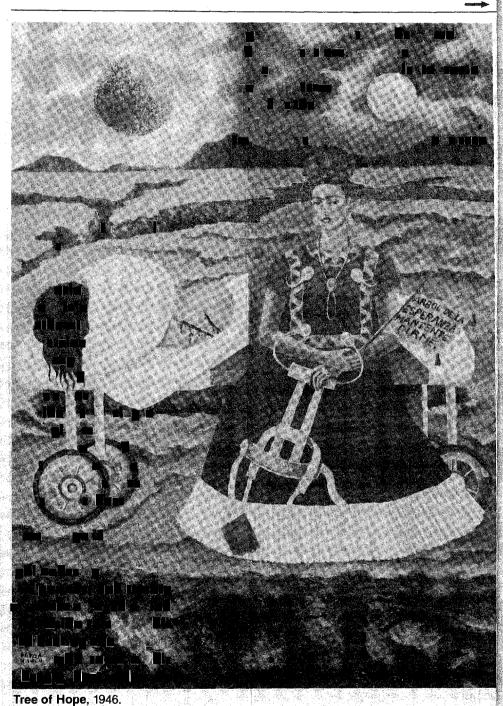
The second accident was Diego Rivera, who Frida loved "more than her own skin" despite his incurable philandering. An enormous man weighing 300 pounds, and twenty vears older than Frida, Rivera enjoyed a kind of Falstaffian amorality. Frida tolerated his affairs and even enjoyed hearing about them, forming close friendships with some of his lovers, but she was deeply hurt when he started an affair with her sister, Cristina. She moved out and consulted a lawyer. Although they were not to be divorced until four years later, in 1939, this was a decisive betrayal for Frida and one which forced her into a pattern of self-reliance. "Just as the accident transformed Frida from a madcap girl into a young woman with a deep vein of melancholy as well as a ferocious will to combat sadness, Rivera's affair with Cristina changed her from an adoring bride into a more complex woman ... She had to learn to be ... her own source... she kept on shining and reflecting in the dazzle and glow of Diego's orbit. . . but more and more, the light that attracted people to Frida was her own.'

Frida supported herself by selling her paintings and retaliated with many affairs of her own. Her powerful sensuality is evident in her paintings and Herrera interprets her bisexuality as "a hunger for intimacy so urgent that it ignored gender." Frida was quite open about her attraction to women and is said to have "teased and flirted with Georgia O'Keefe at Stieglitz's gallery," but Rivera's double standard forced her to be secretive about her male lovers. There is an account of a melodramatic bedroom scene where a fleeing lover is threatened with the gun that Rivera habitually carried.

Frida Kahlo's paintings are allegories of pain: the physical pain she suffered as a result of the accident, the emotional pain caused by Diego's infidelities, and the pain of being female. There is an obsessive preoccupation with powerful images of her own ruined reproductive system. She was desperate to bear a child but was unable to sustain a pregnancy to term, suffering several miscarriages. After the first miscarriage in 1932, and the death of her mother two months later, she did two extraordinary paintings—one recording her experience in the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit, and one of her own birth.

Frida spent some time in the United States during the early part of her marriage, accompanying Diego on his commissions to paint murals in California, Detroit, and New York City, where his notorious RCA Building mural was destroyed when he refused to remove the face of Lenin. Frida was amused by what appeared to her as the eccentricity of the Americans and their obsession with such things as telephones and toilets, and she recorded her observations in paintings.

As a critic specializing in twentieth-century American and Latin American art, Hayden Herrera has tendency to overanalyse Frida's paintings, which are straightforward and





& GLORIA NAYLOR & ANAÏS NIN & EDNA O'BRIEN & FLANNERY O'CONNOR & TILLIE OLSEN & CYNTHIA OZICK & P.K. PAGE & GRACE PALEY & DOROTHY PARKER & MARGE PIERCY & SYLVIA PLATH & BARBARA PYM & JEAN RHYS & MARILYNNE ROBINSON & JUDITH ROSSNER & GABRIELLE ROY & BERNICE RUBENS & JANE RULE & FRANÇOISE SAGAN & GEORGE SAND & NATALIE SARRAUTE & MAY SARTON & ANNE SEXTON & TESS SLESINGER & ELIZABETH SMART & STEVIE SMITH & SUSAN SONTAG &

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without artifice. There is a childlike clarity of vision, which includes both wit and subtlety. Frida paints herself and, by extension, the world around her, with which she sought constantly to be connected, to counteract the isolation of her pain. Rivera, who had an almost awesome respect for her work, said, "We are all clods next to Frida. Frida is the best painter of her epoch... the greatest proof of the renaissance of the art in Mexico." Picasso also respected her work, and André Breton and the Surrealists claimed her as one of their own and whisked her off to Paris for an exhibition, where one of her paintings was purchased by the Louvre. Frida disarmingly remarked, "I never knew I was a Surrealist until André Breton came to Mexico and told me I was one," and later, "They thought I was a Surrealist, but I wasn't. I never painted dreams. I painted my own reality." Surrealism made little impact in Mexico because, as Herrera observes, "The self-conscious search for subconscious truths that may have provided European Surrealists with some release from the confines of the rational world and ordinary bourgeois life offered little enchantment in a country where reality and dreams are perceived to merge and miracles are thought to be daily occurrences.'

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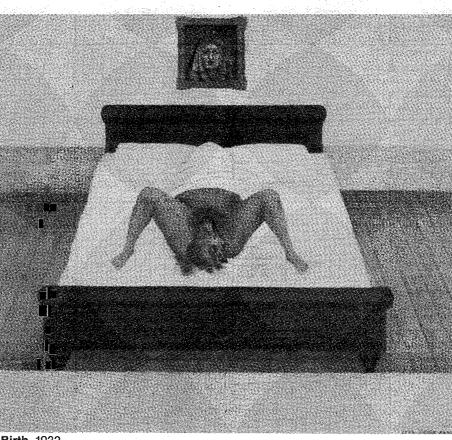
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Outside the art world, Frida was inevitably condescended to by the media as a dabbler, dabbling in Rivera's huge shadow. On the occasion of her first one-woman show in New York City in 1938, Time magazine referred to her as "black-browed little Frida... famed muralist Diego Rivera's German-Mexican wife." But in a way, Diego's shadow and her own gender afforded protection for her work. She struck a kind of serio-comic pose, with an ironic view of herself as amateur, which allowed her to work freely without the pressure of critical opinion. This attitude was an extension of her unpretentious character. "No matter how much admiration... she received she did not think in careerist terms-she never pushed for exhibitions, patrons, or reviews.... Her paintings expressed, in the most vivid and direct way possible, her reality; making them was only part of, and no more important than, making and being Frida Kahlo.3

Interest in Frida Kahlo's art has been growing in the past decade. There was a retrospective of her work at the Belles Artes in Mexico City in 1977, another retrospective which travelled to six United States museums in 1978/9, and a show at the Whitechapel Gallery in London in 1982, featuring Kahlo's paintings together with the photography of Tina Modotti, a contemporary of Frida and a comrade in the Communist Party. The Whitechapel show subsequently travelled to Germany and the United States.

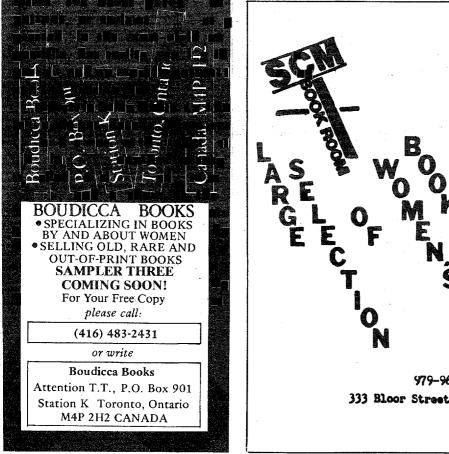


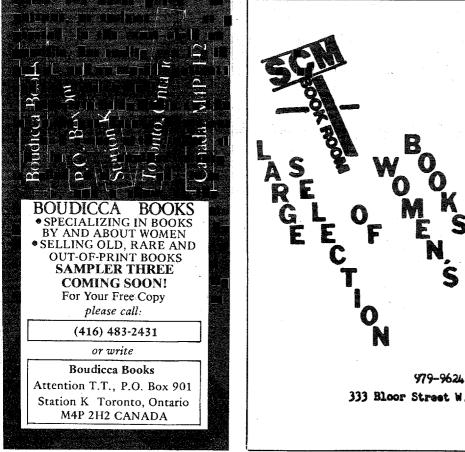
My Birth, 1932

Herrera provides a broad background to Frida's life, conveying the heady flavour of the revolutionary era when Mexicans were reclaiming their native origins and unearthing the rich layers of their culture. The Riveras amassed a magnificent collection of pre-Columbian artifacts which are on permanent display in Diego's Mexico City studio, an extraordinary structure, built in the style of an Aztec pyramid. They were politically active. They brought Trotsky to Mexico, where he



Frida Kahlo with Trotsky, 1937.





Fireweed Spreads Out

Reviewed by Annette Clough

fireweed, n.: a hardy perennial so called because it is the first growth to reappear in fire-scarred areas; a troublesome weed which spreads like wild-fire invading clearings, bomb-sites, waste land and other disturbed areas

An apt image for a journal of feminist women's writing. An even more apt image for Issue 16, Fireweed: Women of Colour. This issue is the first work of its kind to be published in Canada and is a testimony to the myriad ways in which women of colour, Canadianborn and immigrant, are challenging the barriers of racism, sexism, classism and homophobia in this society.

The theme which recurs in most of the contributions is that of breaking the silence and making visible the invisible. The creation of the Women of Colour issue of Fireweed is part of breaking the silence and making visible the lives, ideas and talents of the least recognized group of Canadian women.

It took two years for the Fireweed collective to be ready and willing to hand over complete control of the issue to the guest collective, the women of colour who solicited material, edited, designed and produced it. In the pro cess, the Fireweed collective learned something about unintentional racism and the power their privilege as white educated women affords them. It is to their credit that they have committed themselves to understanding and fighting racism, their own and society's. It is of course more to the credit of the guest collective that they undertook to struggle with the Fireweed collective to make the issue a reality and they they pursued their vision through ten months of unpaid labour, while continuing their commitments to families, jobs, studies and other political work. They have many reasons to be proud of their achievement: Issue 16 is handsomely designed and laid out, and the contributions of poetry, fiction, essays, book reviews, interviews, photographs and graphics come from a rich variety of women-immigrants from the West Indies, Africa, Asia, women of colour of African and Asian descent born in Canada, native women. The writings are angry, poignant, passionate. Over and over the question of how race, sex and class intersect and how this affects women's lives is addressed. There are many challenges to the sectors of the women's movement which see sexism as the only struggle and whose definition of feminwas finally murdered after several attempts on his life by Stalinist extremists and anarchists. They arranged the exile of four hundred Spanish refugees from the Spanish Civil War. Both magnetic personalities, Frida and Diego drew many interesting and talented people to them, counting among their friends Louise Nevelson, Nelson Rockefeller, Clare Boothe Luce, Pablo Neruda, Marcel Duchamp, Wassily Kandinsky.

The final years of Frida's life were a tragic confusion of pain, drugs, alcohol and a suicide attempt, when the accident that shaped her life finally overcame her. The house in Coyoacán, a suburb of Mexico City, where she was born and lived during the latter part of her married life, is open to the public as a museum. It is a magical place, filled with Frida's paintings and belongings.

Herrera's book is an interesting and informative biography, revealing many facets of a complex woman who is inseparable from her country and her time, both artistic and political. It also raises important questions on the pathology of illness and emotional masochism. Most of all it is about Frida Kahlo's tremendous courage and her creative handling of the two great accidents in her life.

Amanda Hale is a Toronto artist and poet who recently returned from several months in Mexico.

ism does not include an analysis of racism, classism and capitalism. There are challenges to white feminists who think they have no racism in them and who continue to discount the concerns and priorities of women of colour by their own ethnocentric and self-interested version of feminism. And there are challenges to heterosexual women of colour by lesbians of colour who experience homophobia in their own communities. To be a lesbian of colour is to be in a particularly vulnerable position: on one hand is the very strong possibility of rejection by one's own community and on the other hand the lack of support and acceptance in the predominantly

white lesbian community.

Despite the pain, hardship and alienation experienced by many women of colour in this society, which is well documented here, there are sources of power for women of colour to draw from. There is the strength that comes from being outside of the dominant culture and being more able to see through its corruption and cultural poverty. There is the opportunity to retain soul-nurturing elements of cultures brought from other lands, or native to this country before the white people came; their value is perceived more clearly when one has seen through the farce of trying to gain status by assimilating into the dominant culture. There is the freedom, yes despite the double and triple oppressions, to define oneself and move and grow according to one's vision of what could be, rather than limiting oneself to what society says one should be. These are the themes I hope future writings by women of colour will explore more fully. It is necessary to define and articulate, for those who can hear, the suffering that racism and erhnocentricity have caused many people. It is also necessary to build in the joys and strengths we do possess if we hope to have a role in transforming society. As valuable and necessary as the Women of Colour issue is at this point, I hope in the future we won't need special issues for women of colour (or working class women or lesbians). I hope feminist journals like Fireweed will represent the concerns and aspirations of all women, with the voices of minority women getting equal time along with those who have so far had more opportunities to make their voices heard.

Annette Clough is a Jamaican/Canadian of mixed African, British, French and Portuguese Jewish descent. She has spent the latter half of her life in Canada.

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Sharon H. Nelson, *Mad Women & Crazy Ladies.* Dewittville, P.Q.: Sunken Forum Press, 1983. Pp. 67

Reviewed by Carroll Klein

Sharon Nelson is a busy woman. She has infuriated the male-dominated poetry establishment by organizing a feminist caucus within the League of Canadian Poets, an effort that sparked a number of vicious attacks against feminist writers in such august periodicals as *Quill & Quire* and *Books in Canada*. She has produced several insightful papers among which one, entitled *Bemused, Branded, and Belittled: Women and Writing in Canada*, was recently reprinted in *Fireweed*, No. 15. She edits and travels and organizes and talks,

Self-fulfilling Prophecies

with literary and feminist enthusiasm. And somehow, she finds the time to produce volumes of spare, elegant poetry.

The most recent of her five books, *Mad Women & Crazy Ladies*, is yet another journey into the world of women who are teetering on the edge, driven to despair and madness and sometimes to the discovery of the means of survival. There can be little moderation in the lives of Nelson's women for they are caught in worlds that both draw and repel them, worlds of sticky cereal bowls, betrayal, obsessive housewifery and clipped dreams. Trapped, unfocussed, they descend into madness.

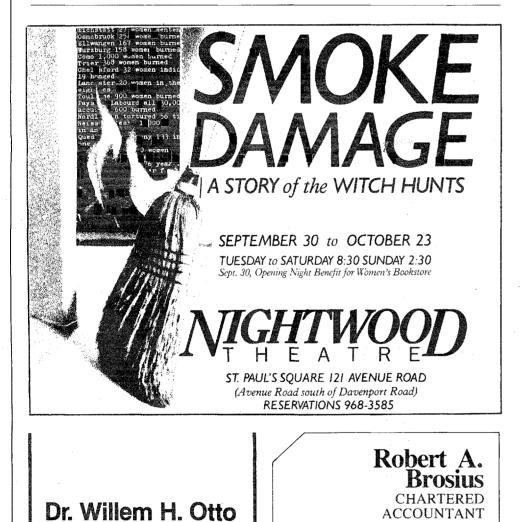
We are mad, mad as hatters, mad as headless chickens, mad. We will be cloaked in madness, wrapped like butchers' packets in our own clean

sheets and carted off like sides of meat.

("Mad Women & Crazy Ladies")

Possessed by images thrust upon them, these women try to strangle the spirit and creativity within themselves by submission, by the attenuation of their dreams and desires. In doing so, they lose their tenuous grip on reality; madness and death follow, a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The men whose expectations inform the lives of these women are conspicuously absent in physical presence; their impact, however, is overwhelming, a metaphor in Nelson's poetry for oppression, a symbol of the power of church and state. In "A Footstool in Heaven," a Jewish wife rails, obsessively, silently, against her husband who sits in his chair, master of the household:



I count everything: hairpins, toothbrushes, boxes, grapes, apples, insults. I do not lose track of anything and I do not stop counting.

Lucky for him that she continues to count. Should she stop, she might well stick a knife into his uncomprehending heart. In "Meditation," a good Catholic wife and mother, abused by a drunken brute who "hated/ what this marriage had done to her/ hated the marred perfection, and its cause,/ despoiler of his icon, himself" sees herself trapped by god and man, both of whom would eat her alive. The images are not reassuring.

These shadowy, sinister figures conspire to rob women of their strength. Caught up in men's images of what they should be, women starve themselves, diminish themselves in countless ways. In "Rites of Passage," Nelson explores the ritual of cutting the hair of Jewish brides, an ironic reversal of the Samson and Delilah story that symbolizes the loss of female power, independence and pride so central to the maintenance of patriarchal systems. Acquiescent on the surface, subversion lurks in the hearts of these shorn women:

I dream a daughter

strongnecked

long haired

In "All the Dead Dears, a biography" the title of which Nelson borrows from Sylvia Plath, (and we all know what happened to her), the woman gradually loses her sense of reality in images of dripping diapers, the smell of cheap meat, untended gardens. In desperation, she tries to pull herself back into her work and fails, unable to bear the ugliness and boredom of her life. She is "a drumhead/ stretched too tight/ she thins/ at the edges." Exhausted, mad, she chooses to die because

no one, not even those she cares for, can prevent

the closing in of winter.

Nelson's vision of women's fate is not so unrelentingly grim as these images suggest, however. There is hope, muted, imperfect, but within reach. "Farm Report" is a transitional poem, straddling despair and possibility. The narrator leaves her emotionally dead life, leaves her husband and children, for the isolation and loneliness of the city, for the constant fear of her man's retributive anger. Choosing one solitude over another,

you get used to it, get used to almost anything.

used, almost, to the idea of anything;

it's the idea that hurts

Somewhere in this world that offers women so little there is survival. The effort of holding up the sky "grinds us to dust and to water" ("Three Sky Images: Two") but the effort itself is an affirmation of strength, a denial of the absolute power men seek over women. And,

Somewhere there the words.

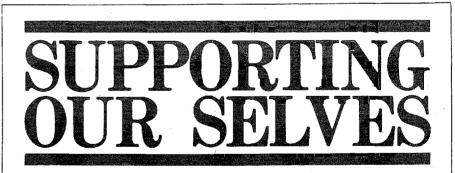
Like storm winds off the Nova Scotia coves they voice all things we're made too mute to say too graceless to believe.

("Spring in the Maritime Provinces")

Nelson's work is always interesting and often remarkable; she effectively uses repetition and unhinged monologues to draw us into the worlds of her man-made madwomen. There is a technical ease and surety that provides a nice contrast to the dis-ease and uncertainty she explores in her poems. She draws a dark world, filled with pain, but she can envision escape for the lucky and the strong. Women are like the plants of her final poem, "Winter Solstice":

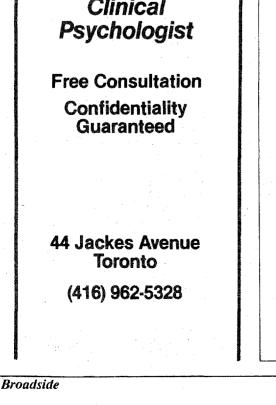
Straggly, half-leaved, they loomed through fall, persistant. Now they grow full, each lengthening day a benediction.

It is time to start feeding; the cycle has begun anew. This is their room now.



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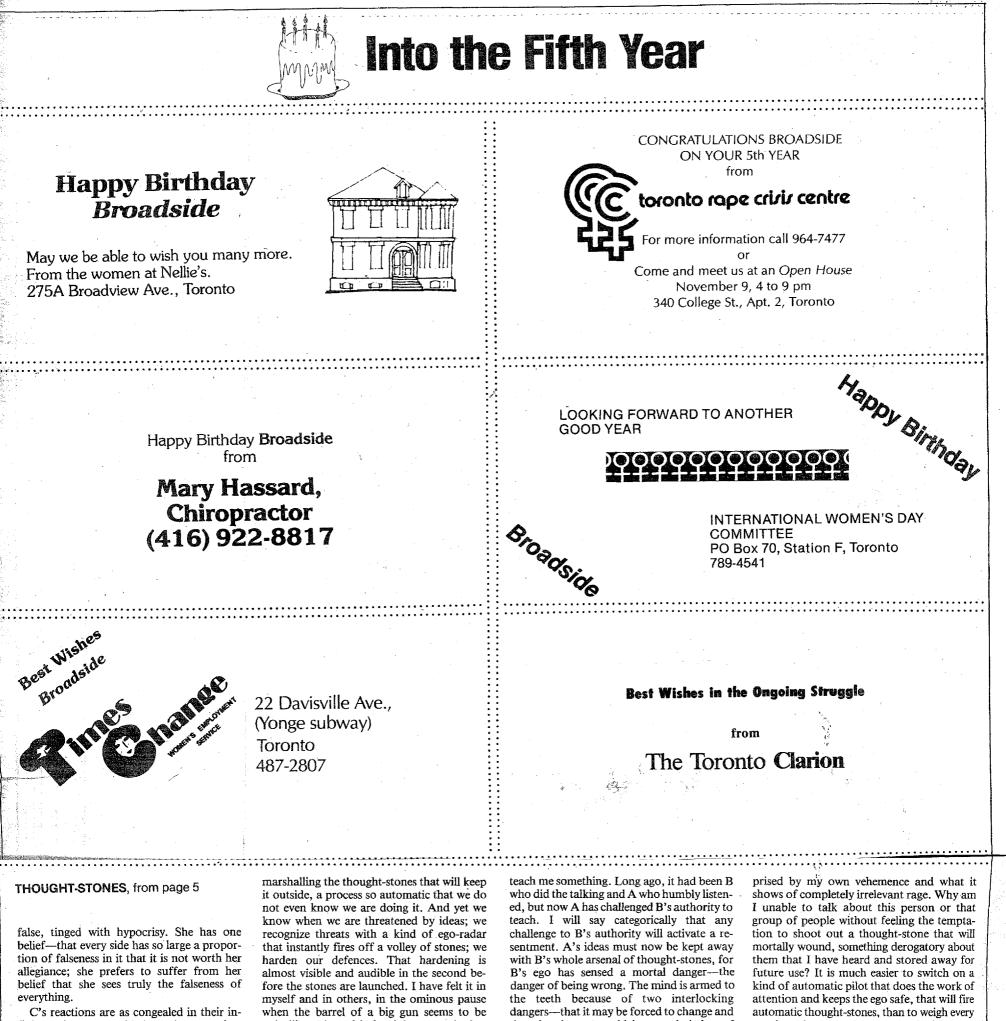
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GAY COMMUNITY APPEAL OF TORONTO

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finite variety as one-sided reactions, yet they do not make her happy. The mechanical use of thought-stones gives a kind of satisfaction, but never the happiness the mind knows when it feels ready to change, the sense of amazement at having opened itself to an idea from outside without hostility. As one familiar with the state before the mind changes, I consider myself an excellent example. I know intimately the bland, comfortable and ignorant state in which one sees no need to change. I can testify to the fact that it is possible to live in this state without any feeling of discontent; it is possible to live a two-dimensional life without the slightest sense of privation or any curiosity about what lies beyond it. It is also possible to come into contact with new ideas without being changed by them, possible to read Millett's Sexual Politics and de Beauvoir's The Second Sex and still remain essentially the same. Many women's lives have been changed by reading those two books: mine required years more of reading, of listening, of co-existence with pacifists, with feminists, and finally with radical lesbians, to change. Once the process starts, once the hardened material that is plugging up one's mind, with which one is perfectly satisfied, admits an idea, there is a hope that the process will continue. Looking back at my unreceptive years (for instance, I was able to live through the most terrible war in history without considering the pacifist position, and I was able to witness the crime of segregation without seriously questioning it), I ponder on the difference between admitting an idea, that is, letting it into the brain to work there, like water in hardened clay, like yeast, like anything that acts organically, and

swivelling; I have felt the violence required to keep the idea outside. The most innocent conversations between friends are often like miniature wars, with fixed positions, with light and heavy weapons; every ego is in a perpetual state of readiness for war.

The mind changes when it declares peace, when the ego realizes that it does not need to be in a state of perpetual readiness for war. It must also realize that it is not less ready for war just because it has changed, for the change may give it an excuse to manufacture new thought-stones, to be used in service of the new cause. Just to stay in the state of peace requires endless practice and vigilance; it means recognition of the exact moment at which an organic and pliant thought has hardened into a reaction for offensive and defensive use. It means recognition of the pile of special flinty stones in the depths of every ego, waiting for their signal to fly out, to put a brutal end to dialogue. They are resentments; they kill useful organic life and yet they have a horrible life of their own. It is a case of antipathetic symbiosis, in which the association is disadvantageous or destructive to one or both of the organisms. They lie dormant but alive, each enclosed in its stone at the bottom of the ego. Say that A and B are talking again; A is determined to change B's mind about feminism. For years A has been trying to do this, has given B feminist books and articles, has patiently stated her own convictions. But B, who laughed at the naked mannequin, has for a long time been inhabited by a stony resentment. A, says B's resentment, thinks she knows more than I do, she thinks she can

that the change would be an admission of having been wrong. The throwing down of arms of the mind is a willingness to admit that one can be wrong. Of course, one is sometimes right, or at least less wrong, like A, whose resentment is born of her frustration, because B won't even listen and is using all her teacher's skill to win a specious argument. B is fighting A with the arguments of her entire life, with the stones that are her personal mixword, one's own and the words of others. It is much easier to play the game, the game of not getting hurt.

How I hate the ego sometimes, its horrid watchfulness, its lightning reactions, the words that each mind manufactures, identical reactions which diminish the other, accuse the other, deflect organic thoughts. B thinks that her mind is open and flexible and that all her ideas are all her own, and yet her reactions are like bullets made in a mould: the same laughter, the same put-down, or the same affectionate dismay. That A should have come to this! The same alarm. A and her kind are threatening. Enemies. B will never stop yearning for the time when A listened humbly to her; these yearnings and the defences attached to them fill the spaces of attention and make the work of change more difficult. A will fail again, and in exactly the same way, for B's defences have been perfected in response to A's threat to the whole structure of her mind. which cannot be changed without all the choices of her life being put in jeopardy. Her mind loves the shape it has taken, and to change, it would have to take a fearful risk-the risk of metamorphosis into a new shape that is porous, cellular, admits new ideas instead of automatically repelling them, a mind that listens without instantly seeking the symbiotic answer, the ego-necessary one that isn't a real answer. The real answer is not a prepared reaction but the non-violent response of a mind which has declared peace.

ture of truth, resentments, dissatisfaction, with a little fillip of envy because A is so free and fearless and lives her own life.

Often resentments are born not because B feels she knows more than A but because she knows less, the resentment that lurks in a sense of inferiority. A is showing off her knowledge, says B to herself, and this accusation feels morally right. There is an accusation that feels morally right attached to every resentment, attached to its hoard of stones, tied to the presumed insult, for every self-defence contains its accusation of the other, its element of racism, its polarization of me versus you. Haven't we all known the difficulty of having any kind of dialogue or general conversation that does not stir up what is extraneous to the subject but is part of the ego-arsenal of every participant? We must learn to recognize reactions that are used as defensive or offensive weapons, those whose form is unchangeable, those that have petrified and died.

Racism, sexism, all prejudices, come from an accumulation of petrified stones waiting to be used; a resentment born of a single humiliating experience is enough to form a life-long racist thought-stone. Each of us has her own example; I, at least, am often sur-

Mary Meigs is a Montréal artist and writer, author of Lily Briscoe: A Self-Portrait (1981) and The Medusa Head, soon to be published.

MOVEMENT COMMENT

More Choices for Pro-Choicers

by Vivian Harrower

In the 1982 Canadian ferninist anthology, *Still* Ain't Satisfied (Women's Press, 1982), Kathleen McDonnell raised questions for the abortion debate which are not being addressed. Instead, we have today what appears to be a hardening or radicalization on the part of both anti-abortion and pro-choice groups. That radicalization of the forces opposing legalized abortion was most recently demonstrated in Toronto by a fire at the Women's Bookstore, which shares a building with the Morgentaler abortion clinic. The radicalization of the prochoice side appears to me to be its reduction of the abortion issue to a woman's decision to abort or carry a fetus to term.

I find myself returning to McDonnell's article, because she acknowledges the moral ambiguity of an abortion decision, rather than sidestepping the whole notion of the potential life represented by the fetus. "Do we really wish to argue that abortion is the moral equivalent of a tonsillectomy?" she asks. "What do we have to say about couples who choose abortion after learning via amniocentesis that the fetus is the 'wrong' sex?... Is the cheapening of the value of human life a real possibility with widespread abortion, or is this just a scare tactic of the Right to Life? If we

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Dinah Forbes Development Education Centre (DEC)

The People's Classifieds is an annual directory serving two good causes: political/social change and building a progressive economic network. In The People's Classifieds you'll find everyone from community action groups to the family law specialist, from the carpenter-for-hire to the dentist, from the musician to the sign painter, from the independent auto mechanic to labour consultants. It's an important networking tool you won't want to be without! fight efforts to enshrine the 'human rights' of the unborn in law, do we also run the risk of undercutting efforts to ensure the protection of the fetus against environmental and occupational hazards?"

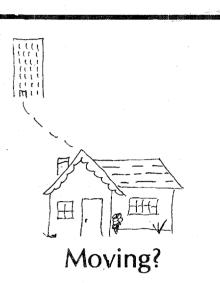
As upsetting to me as the 'pro-life' rhetoric which came out of the Borowski trial has been the 'pro-choice' rhetoric surrounding the opening of the Morgentaler clinic in Toronto. Like most feminists, I favour woman's control over her reproductive capacities. I would support many women's decision to seek an abortion.

However, if we are talking of a woman's reproductive rights, we must also talk of woman's responsibility for her sexuality and her reproductive capacity. I hear or see little mention of birth control in the abortion debate. Do we feminists wish to claim responsibility in a decision to end a pregnancy, but abdicate responsibility for preventing pregnancy? A study of 50 women referred for abortion by a Toronto birth control centre in 1981 showed that more than half were using no form of contraception, and that almost one-third had had previous abortions. Where is the women's responsibility being exercised in this case? (The study findings were summarized in "The Abortion Question," a report issued by the Anglican Church of Canada.)

Recognizing there are many factors why people do not practise birth control, what steps might be taken to alter that and thereby reduce the apparent widespread use of abortions as birth control?

I do not favour outlawing access to abortion in Canada, but I would like to hear more from the 'pro-choice' side about choices other than abortion. Perhaps a more vocal articulation of the need for support services for young unmarried women, an articulation of the link between mothering and poverty. I would also like to see more feminists addressing the whole question of human sexuality and the pressures within our society on women to be available as sexual partners (and objects). This would entail examination of the whole commercial exploitation of women, which has so far been addressed within the pornography debate but not linked to the abortion debate as far as I am aware.

Women do have to make choices, and I support the claim that women need to be able to take charge of their own lives. But to support abortion-on-demand so as to suggest that women are victims of pregnancy is to continue to be victimized. Women need to take charge of their sexuality to as great a degree as possible before pregnancy can occur, and not after, if they are not prepared for motherhood at that time.



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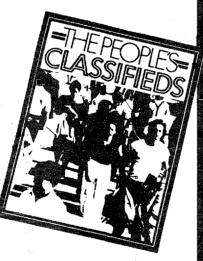
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• Friday, September 30: "Finding Lesbian Herstory," expanded version of Frances Rooney's slide show. All women welcome, discussion follows. 730 Bathurst Street. Tickets \$5. Information: 487-8534

• Friday, September 30: "The Maids" and "My Sister in this House" two plays based on the Papin sisters, whose tale inspired Genet's play. Performed at the Mercury Theatre, 296 Brunswick Avenue. Info: 927-9533. To Sunday, October 9.

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• Friday, September 30: Nightwood Theatre presents "Smoke Damage," the story of the Witch Hunts. St Paul Centre, 121 Avenue Rd. To Sunday, October 23. September 30 performance is a benefit for the Women's Bookstore. Information: 862-0659.

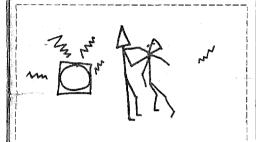
WEEK OF OCTOBER 1

• Saturday, October 1: Pandora's Productions presents Alix Dobkin at Innis Hall. All women welcome. Tickets: \$7 advance, \$8 at the door. 8 pm. Info: 598-9838.

• Saturday, October 1: "Letters Home," thirteen years of correspondence from Sylvia Plath to her mother. To Sunday October 16. Adelaide Court Theatre. Reservations: 363-6401.

 Saturday, October 1: "The Widening Sphere: Women in Canada, 1870-1940." Exhibit of photos, letters and documents from the Public Archives and National Library. OISE, 252 Bloor Street West. 9 am to 9 pm, daily. To Friday, October 21. Info: 923-6641.

• Saturday, October 1: Galerie Dresdnere presents prints and drawings by Kathë Kollwitz. 12 Hazelton Avenue. To Wednesday, October 26



· Saturday, October 1: Gallery Nine-Forty, the gallery for feminist art, presents "Facts and Artefacts," work by Ana Santos. To Saturday, October 8. 940 Queen Street East (at Logan). Wednesday, 3-9 pm; Thursday-Satur-day, 3-7 pm. Info: 466-8840. Free.

Saturday, October 1: Day of Action for Choice on Abortion: rally and demonstration at City Hall. 1 pm. Information: 961-1507 or 532-8193.

 Saturday, October 1: Bazaar/rummage sale-food, plants, books, toys and more. Women's Action for Peace (Toronto). MCC, 730 Bathurst St. 10 am to 4 pm. Info: Ross, 466-9378.

· Sunday, October 2: Womyn Out of Doors (WOODS) Fall Colours Day Hike. 9 am. Info: 530-4007. Newsletter available: Drawer WOODS, c/o Box



TORONTO WOMEN'S EVENTS CALENDAR October 1983

Compiled by Layne Mellanby

• Tuesday, October 4: Scarborough Women's Centre's fall courses start with "A Time Together for Immigrant Women." Other courses starting this week: "Surviving Incest," "Assertiveness," and "Teen Rap." Info: 431-1138.

• Wednesday, October 5: International Women's Day Committee (IWDC) general meeting. 7:30 pm. Trinity/St Paul's, Fireside Room, 427 Bloor St. West. Also Wednesdays, October 19 and November 2. Info: Amy, 977-6854.

• Wednesday, October 5: Toronto Addicted Women's Self Help Network (TAWSHN) meets at Central Neighbourhood House, 349 Ontario St. 7 pm. Info: 961-7319. (Meets each Wednesday.)

• Wednesday, October 5: Lesbian Phone Line meeting; interested women, prospective volunteers welcome. 7 pm. 3rd floor, 348 College Street. Info: 960-3249.

• Wednesday, October 5: Womyn Out of Doors (WOODS) general meeting to plan November and December events. 519 Church Street. 7:30 pm.

• Thursday, October 6: "Introduction to Socialist Feminism," weekly course given by the Marxist Institute. 8 pm. Info: Cynthia Wright, 465-5992, or 463-4041.

• Thursday, October 6: Choreographer, dancer Terrill Maguire presents an evening of her own work "Cutting Losses," presenting different sides of a woman's persona. Toronto Dance Theatre, 80 Winchester Street, 8 pm. Info: 967-1365. To Sunday, October 9.

· Friday, October 7: Gays and Lesbians at U of T present Chris Bearchell of *The Body Politic* as a guest speaker. 8 pm. 33 St. George Štreet.



• Friday, October 7: Women's long weekend at Camp Tapawingo near Parry Sound. Canoeing, hiking, food. \$75. Information: Susan, 921-4755.

Friday, October 7: "On the Border," theatre from Guatemala, with Nancy White and Friends. 8 pm. Harbord Collegiate, 286 Harbord St. \$5.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 9

• Wednesday, October 12: Positive Alternatives to Pornography, an evening of dramatic story telling with Helen Porter. 7:30 pm. YWCA, 80 Woodlawn Ave. East (2 blocks north of Summerhill subway). \$5. Info: 961-8100.

• Thursday, October 13: Gay/Lesbian Action for Disarmament, meeting for final preparations for October 22 demonstration. 519 Church Street. 7:30. Information: 921-1938.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 16



· Sunday, October 16: Womynly Way presents Group Raiz and the Wallflower Order at Harbourfront. 2:30 and 8 pm. Childcare provided. Tickets BASS or Harbourfront. Info: 925-6568

· Sunday, October 16: Womyn Out Of Doors (WOODS) Fall Zoo trip. Bring lunch. 12 noon. Info: 530-4007.

• Tuesday, October 18: Donna Marchand, feminist singer/songwriter. Free Times Café. 9 pm. No cover.

• Thursday, October 20: "Authority, Conformity and the Policing of Citizens" a three day double conference with "Control, Technological Change and Hard Times," focussing on issues

• Thursday, October 20: Lesbian and Gay Academic Society sponsors "The Social Construction of Gender and Sexual Identities in the Formation of Power Relations," a talk by gay activist Bob Gallagher. 8 pm. Rhodes Room, Trinity College. Info: 924-6474.

• Friday, October 21: Women's Independent Thoughtz (WITZ) A seminar/discussion group for the exchange of ideas and creative endeavours in art, literature, philosophy and political thought. 7 pm. Info: 766-9496 or 536-3162.

· Saturday, October 22: Gay Community Dance Committee presents "Tricks and Treats." The Concert Hall, 888 Yonge Street. Tickets: \$8

• Saturday, October 22: UN Disarmament Day Demonstration. Information: 921-1938.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 23

• Sunday, October 23: CBC FM presents "The Young in One Another's Arms" Anne Cameron's adaptation of Jane Rule's novel. Continued on Sunday, October 30. 4:05 pm.

• Sunday, October 23: WOODS day at Exhibition Stadium for an Argos/Ottawa football game. Info: 530-4007.

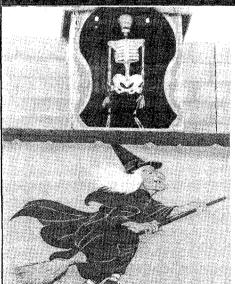
• Tuesday, October 25: Donna Marchand, feminist singer/songwriter. The Literary Argument Club, Brunswick House. \$1.

 Thursday, October 27: Rivoli Women's Band Series features Moral Lepers, a band from Vancouver, plus several women's films. 334 Queen Street West.

• Thursday, October 27: Pol Pelletier in "Night Cows," readings by Marian Engel and Susan Musgrave. Part of "Facets of Feminist Criticism" seminar, McMaster University. Info: Audrey Alexander, 525-9140, local 4732.

• Friday, October 28: Public Forum on legislated affirmative action, sponsored by a coalition of trade union, community and women's groups. Info: Ann Porter, 537-8651 or Sue Genge, 593-4891 (IWDC), or Shelley Atcheson, 441-2731 (OFL). Also Saturday, October 29.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 30



7289, Station A, Toronto, M5W 1X9.

- Sunday, October 2: Lesbian Mother's Potluck Brunch. 1-4 pm. Info: 465-6822.
- Monday, October 3: Margaret Randall speaks on Women in the New Nicaragua. 7 pm. Bloor Street United Church, 300 Bloor Street West. Donation.

• Monday, October 3: The women's group, a support group for lesbians, meets at 519 Church St. 8 pm. Raechel 926-0527. (Meets each Monday.)

• Tuesday, October 4: "If You Lived Here — You'd Be Now," a performance work by Frances Leeming and Joanna Householder. Museum Without Walls series. Music Room, Hart House, U of T. 7:30 pm.

• Tuesday, October 4: Lesbian Phone Line open tonight for calls from women. 7:30 to 10:30 pm. 960-3249. Every Tuesday evening.

Margaret Randall in Toronto, Oct. 3.

confronting women. University College. Information: Carol Robb, 978-8746.

• Thursday, October 20: Rivoli Women's Band Series features Angel Staccato and Friends. 334 Queen Street West.



October 31: Hallowe'en-Uppity Witches Unite!

> Vol. 5, no. 1

'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.

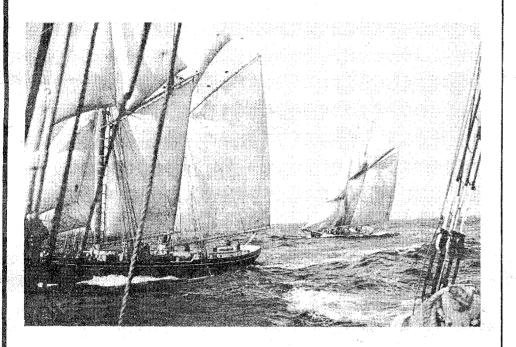
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