

RUN FOR YOUR LIFE



WHEN WE DEAD AWAKEN

Poster No. 3 from Daria Stermac's series, *When We Dead Awaken*. See story page 11.

FEATURE

PORN LAW: *Broadside* presents two views on the anti-pornography by-law known as the "Minneapolis Ordinance." Mary Lou Fassel argues that the ordinance, a civil law, can work in a Canadian context. Reva Landau calls for a stronger Criminal Code to deal with the problem of porn. Page 8.

NEWS

MANLY SPORTS: Girls just wanna play soccer, and not get involved in the complicated struggles over girls' place in the world of athletics. Helen Lenskyj reports on various developments in school sports. Page 4.

STRIKE AGAIN: Another local of the Retail Workers and Department Store Union went on strike: this time at the World's Biggest Bookstore in Toronto. Like the Eaton's strike, this first contract struggle concerned wages, contract duration and benefits. Ingrid MacDonald reports. Page 7.

COMMENT

MYTH-OGYNY: Greek patriarchal myths do have their modern counterparts. Consider, as do Lisa Freedman and Susan Ursel, the similarity between the he-goddess Athena, daughter of Zeus, and *Playboy's* Christie Hefner, daughter of Hugh. Page 4.

CAPITAL GAIN: What's happening on the Hill, now that King Brian is firmly ensconced? *Broadside* presents an insider's view of the tenuous relationship between the Tory rulers and their retinue, the bureaucracy, and what it means for the rest of us. Page 5.

MANIFESTO! The "Liberation" got left out of the Women's Movement, as feminist politics were watered down in the 70s to suit lobbyists and politicians alike. A Vancouver group calls for renewed activism from women doing feminist work. Page 6.

INSIDE BROADSIDE

ARTS

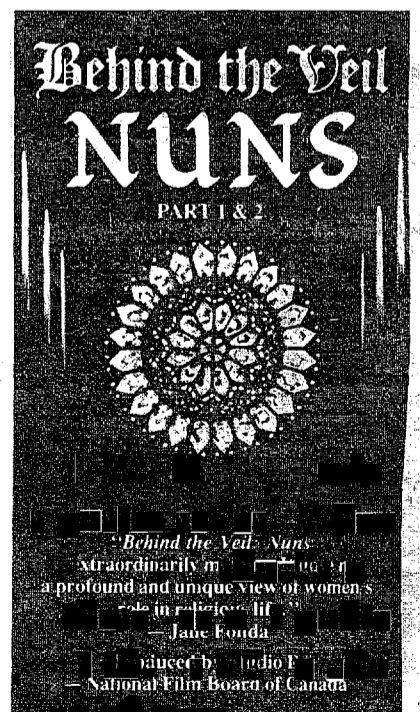
POSTERS AWAKEN: Daria Stermac's poster series, *When We Dead Awaken*, shocks and educates - these are not polite pictures, but they strike a chord with women all over. Randi Spires reports. Page 11.

BEYOND SCARLETT: Southern US women are not all "belles." Melanie Dugan reviews *Speaking for Ourselves*, a collection of prose and poetry by and about Southern women past and present. Page 12.

FIVE ALBERTINES: Michel Tremblay's play, *Albertine, In Five Times*, explores one woman's life at different points, a metaphor of the Quebec socio-political situation and, incidentally, recent feminist history. Reviewed by Amanda Hale. Page 14.

OUTSIDE BROADSIDE: Don't miss this month's calendar of Toronto women's events, for May 1985. Page 15.

SISTERS! *Behind the Veil: Nuns*, a new NFB Studio D documentary, looks at the turbulent history, the achievements and the current reality of women in religious orders: running the gamut from cloistered sisters to inner city nuns. Reviewed by Susan G. Cole. Page 13.



EDITORIAL

Editor, Philinda Masters
Advertising/Circulation,
Ingrid MacDonald
Distribution, Susan Cole
Books, Eve Zaremba
Calendar, Catherine Maunsell

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE:

Susan G. Cole
Lisa Freedman
Donna Gollan
Amanda Hale
Carroll Klein
Philinda Masters
Catherine Maunsell
Deena Rasky
Eve Zaremba

THIS ISSUE:

Brett Dawson
Rebecca Dunne
Rowesa Gordon
Alexandra Horsky
Lynne Patterson
Sarah Sheard
Randi Spires

Address all correspondence to:

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

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

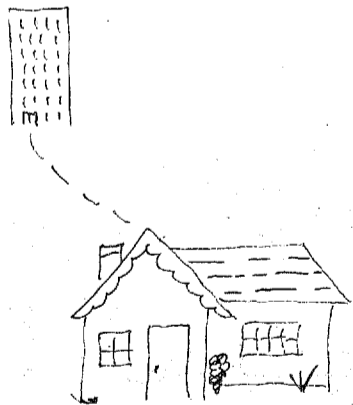
Broadside is published 10 times a year by the Broadside Collective, P.O. Box 494, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1. (416) 598-3513. Member: Canadian Periodical Publishers' Association. This issue: May 1985; Vol. 6, no. 7

Typesetting: Merv Walker Design
Alphabets

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

Broadside receives funding support from The Ontario Arts Council.

Next production date: May 25, 26
Copy deadline: May 6
Ad closing date: May 17



Moving?

Send *Broadside* your
subscriber's address label
with your new address.
Please give us 4 to 6 weeks
advance notice.

renew
for two

Get a two-year
subscription to
Broadside for
\$25—save money
and trouble.

Niggings expressed

Broadside:

Let me express my excitement and relief to have read Susan Cole's article "Sexuality and its Discontents" (April 1985).

The small niggings in the back of my mind which never get confronted in the conscious, everyday world (except displaced in my outbursts of anger and frustration) were certainly expressed by Cole.

A compliment is due her, for her style is completely engaging, non-confronting and speaks with a love for women.

Sexuality is a tough area to see clearly into, but articles like Cole's make a damn good place to start.

Dale McDonough
Toronto

Exclusive Events

Broadside:

I would like to briefly comment on a letter published in the March 1985 issue from the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre. In this update, Deb Parent mentions that a significant number of women in the "women's community" reacted negatively to a proposed mixed dance. For this reason, the dance was reorganized and became a "women-only-dance."

My initial reaction to this newly organized exclusivist event is identical to the way I react to male club dinners: that is, I can no more support a female-only function—especially one that concerns a major societal issue—than I can support patriarchal male functions. By excluding males from these kinds of events, these "feminist" events, we create our own exclusive society, judging others on the basis of their sex! I firmly believe that patriarchy is no more the answer to society's ills than patriarchy. Does that mean I am not a feminist? I am no longer a member of the women's community? I wonder.

The Toronto Rape Crisis Centre event was a fund-raising dance, not an intimate group counselling session. I would have hoped that, especially during Rape Crisis Week, females

would welcome all interested parties, inform them of the stature of the problem, accept any offered help (including monetary), and allow those males who have worked for this and other "feminist" causes to share in the festivities. Do we wish to invite only some, or perhaps all; we can celebrate with our supporters and dialogue with the doubtful.

We as females must not attempt to create a new second-class citizen, the male. Rather, we—both sexes—must work together to develop a society we can share as equals.

Monica Vogler
Cambridge, Ont.

PC vs. TLC

Broadside:

To: Feminists Who Scorn

I would like to address a recurring situation. The situation seems to extend beyond myself and I invite comment from others on the phenomenon of women who strive to be "politically correct" and yet at the same time exhibit in their daily lives judgmental, hate-inspiring attitudes.

I cannot count the number of conversations during which I once sat mute, listening while "politically pure" feminists would hold scorn for their "sister," for the movies she watches, the style of her clothes, the job she holds, the money she makes or doesn't make, the political party she votes for, the s&m in her life, or lack of it, and so on.

The joy of feminist discovery can be spoiled by the accusational, incredulous tones used by feminists who scorn. It is hard to imagine world "sisterhood" when the neighbourhood "sister" has her mouth and ego in gear and her ears and compassion turned off. I wish women who want to perpetuate dogma would do so as individuals and not under the banner of being "politically correct" feminists.

To love my womanhood I need not hate others, to promote my sisters I need not measure their worth by the illness in men, to articulate my protests of social injustices, I need not sit as judge.

Kathy Vance
Ottawa

Defying Description

Broadside:

The following letter was sent to the chairperson of the Department of Sociology at York University in March 1985:

We are writing in reference to the course description for AS/SOCI 2110.06B (Conformity and Deviance) which is contained in the recently issued Sociology Supplemental Calendar for 1985/86. That description reads in part:

Many of you are doubtless intrigued by the exotic world of pimps, pervers, queers, nuts, and sluts. Descriptive and explanatory material on these "unique" creatures and their "unusual" activities is contained in the text.

... it is the stuff of which scintillating party conversations are made.

This course will be taught by Ian Gomme, who wrote the course description, and we understand that Prof. Gomme did not mean any harm by his words, writing them in a light-hearted and cheerful spirit. Nevertheless, we consider his choice of words to be both harmful and highly objectionable, as they are a slur against women and other minority groups. It is interesting that Prof. Gomme feels entitled to use pejorative words to refer to homosexuals, women and psychiatric patients and go on to suggest that discussing the lives of these people is entertaining (i.e., not to be taken seriously). We doubt that Prof. Gomme would feel as free to refer to "creatures" such as "kikes" or "niggers" since these references, which are anti-semitic and racist, would not speak well of York University's public image. Also, York's commitment to women's studies is seriously undermined when faculty members are allowed to reinforce prejudices which devalue women.

The fact that this course description was able to appear in print and be distributed throughout the campus raises questions of a broader nature regarding the credibility and academic respectability of the Sociology Department. Specifically, how can the department be committed to the advancement of learning when it offers courses which are

EDITORIALS

Torts and Tribulations

April 17, 1985 marked the official adoption of the equality clause of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. According to the plan, all provincial and federal governments were to have brought all existing legislation in line with the principles articulated in the Charter and were to have eliminated any discriminatory language from the law. We doubt that the bureaucrats left to scrutinize the laws would know equality if they saw it on the face of the law, and while they were popping champagne up on Parliament Hill, women are left with a sobering thought. Our constitution, born out of some intense labour pains that have not yet subsided, needs work, much of it legal, before we can be sure that equality is anywhere close to guaranteed.

Unfortunately the inequities of funding policies developed by those in control of the pursestrings in Ottawa may not be changed by Charter strategies, even though according to Section 15 of the Charter, women are guaranteed equal protection under the law. But do women really have equal protection when rape crisis centres and homes for assaulted women are underfunded? Or when women's work is undervalued?

This year the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women is reclaiming the Bake Sale. Calling for this to be the bake sale to end all bake sales, the Committee is trying to call attention to the underfunding of agencies that deal with violence against women and with the economic disparity between the sexes. On May 12, Mother's Day, the Committee will be on the Legislature grounds selling their goods and urging other groups to commemorate this day of protest.

Elsewhere in Manitoba, the feminist publication *HERizons* is experiencing new difficulties. Having survived an offensive from

anti-choice activists who attempted to sabotage *HERizons* relation with its advertisers, the magazine is now under fire from the St. James School Board librarians, some of whom have refused to keep the magazine—purchased with government grants—on the library shelves. The librarians have complained that *HERizons* is anti-male and promotes lesbianism. While it is tempting to make the distinction between promoting a lifestyle and accepting it as a valid choice, this kind of hairsplitting misses the point that choice in sexuality is a fundamental issue for feminists, and an attack on that choice is an attack on feminism itself.

Every once in a while *Broadside* receives a

letter from a reader who wonders why we carry any lesbian content at all. The women's movement has developed over the past decade, but obviously not far enough to have dealt with the relationship between lesbianism and feminism in such a way that all feminists make the connection as a matter of course. Setting the record straight, as it were, on the relationship between feminism and lesbianism should become a priority for feminists and for feminist publications in general. We may not end the harassment, but at least we will be clear about our values.

And when we can express them without coming under attack, then we might get some inkling of what equal rights are really about.

Interfacing with the State

It's been eight months since the federal general election and the coronation of our King Brian. Whatever the Tory victory has meant to date for the country as a whole, the effect of the new regime on the nation's capitol has been traumatic. In this issue, *Broadside's* "insider's report" (see page 5) has provided us with a glimpse of the Ottawa happenings.

It seems that the current government and party in power can best be characterized as ignorant, mistrustful and insecure: ignorant of issues and the repercussions of its policies, mistrustful of the bureaucracy and anyone knowledgeable, and insecure about their hold on power and most important, their chances of re-election. This is quite a change from the rule of the Liberals, whose primary characteristic was arrogance on all these counts.

Reading between the lines it seems clear

that we cannot count on the thoroughly spooked bureaucracy to do our work for us. We will have to educate our masters directly. Not only must they hear from us about issues but they must be persuaded that good policies make good politics.

This appears to be an era where the involvement of feminists in the political process at all levels is more essential than ever. And, as is suggested in the article by the Vancouver Working Group on Sexual Violence (see page 6), we must make the politicians aware of the many "grassroots," feminist concerns—lobbyists, those closest to the seat of power, will not necessarily have the time or inclination to do it for us. We must learn to organize our power effectively. It will not be easy but it could be rewarding, both politically for all women and personally for those who take on these tasks.

meant to entertain with sensationalist tactics? Surely, the goal of the department is not to pander to the pre-existing prejudices of students in an unscientific, unprofessional and pedagogically unsound manner, but is rather to question and hopefully remove prejudices.

To a great extent, the damage has already been done. We demand, nevertheless, that you acknowledge responsibility for the offensive course description, by issuing a public apology and retraction (perhaps in the *Excalibur* and/or the *University Bulletin*), and by immediately withdrawing the calendar from circulation until the course description is rewritten.

Meg Luxton and 28 others
York University
Toronto

Computer Control

Broadside:

I am writing in response to a statement in "CWMA: Collective Collections," (*Broadside*, March 1985) in which the Women's Movement Archives made a public announcement. They said they intend to incorporate the work of all "independent archives" into a nationally co-ordinated scheme, run from Toronto, aided by computer. They announced this plan without any prior consultation on it with the "independent archives" that they are talking about "co-ordinating." We assume this plan includes us.

The imperialist reflexes of central Canadians are not new. Western Canada was originally subdued by the "Fathers of Confederation" via a railway, an army & high tariffs. But it is a sad day indeed when Toronto feminists plan to follow in their fathers' footsteps. They will be doing just that if they start planning to use a computer without first getting approval from women whose work and lives they intend to compute.

I wonder why it has never occurred to them that we "independent archives" have some very good reasons for being "independent," that we might not be at all happy to be "co-ordinated" by someone else, and that we have some important security reasons for retaining control of access to our archives and to our holdings. We are a *lesbian* archives, not a *women's movement* archives. Every lesbian on this planet will know why we need to retain control of access.

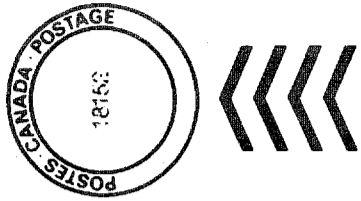
This particular lesbian archives exists as a part of a very limited lesbian presence and support network in a very red-necked part of the continent (our nearest city is Winnipeg-enough said!) It is indeed discouraging to find urban feminists so cynically insensitive to the needs and wishes of the few rural lesbian activists who can manage to be out publicly in this region.

To my knowledge, the first large feminist project involving a computerized list of women's activities was the National Women's Mailing List from San Francisco. They set a very important ethical precedent by stating that registration in their computerized directory was strictly voluntary. I have reason to know they stand by those words.

In March 1982, someone entered a *Voices* (Kenora lesbian newsletter) listing in the San Francisco based NWML computer without our knowledge. When I received NWML's notice confirming that registration, I protested vigorously to them. Within days I received a two-page reply from Deborah Brecher apologizing for the incident and assuring us they had removed our information from their directory and that it would not be entered again without our permission. Deborah's letter pointed out the steps they take to be sure they catch this kind of error before any harm is done: "We have a firm policy that no woman or women's organization is included in our network without their consent. We accept no donations of organization mailing lists, and we send a confirmation to every registrant to confirm her registration. This policy prevents anyone from registering someone else, who does not want to be in the network." (emphasis mine). The NWML stood by this policy. We've received no mail that we could identify as coming from that route.

I have had no contact with the Canadian equivalent of NWML, the Canadian Women's Mailing List in Richmond, BC, but their literature assures us that they, too, operate on a strictly voluntary basis.

Thus the public announcement by the



Women's Movement Archives in Toronto, made without prior consultation with their "target groups," represents an alarming move away from the ethical precedents already established for computer use within our movements. I can assure those feminists that I will offer vigorous resistance to any plans or fantasies they may have of "co-ordinating" or "computerizing" me or my work. But it would be much pleasanter and less work if some ethical groundrules were forthcoming from our community/movement to protect us from such invasive planning by our "sisters." A retraction of this statement and an apology from the Women's Movement Archives in Toronto would make a good beginning.

Isabel Andrews
Kenora, Ont.

"Hookers" film falls short

Broadside:

We are writing this letter to express our concern about Janice Cole and Holly Dale's *Hookers on Davie*. We are two women who started the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes in Calgary in 1984, with the help of ASP Vancouver. We have been involved in feminist and lesbian organizing in Calgary for the past five years.

This film does not help feminists working on the prostitution issue, trying to promote a better understanding of the issue amongst both feminists and the general public. The filmmakers set out to make a film about hookers on Davie Street, a street in Vancouver which is pimp-free and where a large percentage of the prostitutes are transvestites and transsexuals. This choice brings to light questions about who decides which films are to be made, and what the focus of films is to be. The National Film Board provided a large grant to help cover costs for this film. It is unlikely that another similar amount of money will be forthcoming in the near future for a film about prostitution, so it is unfortunate in our view that the filmmakers chose to focus solely on Davie Street instead of on prostitution generally.

The film could have overcome many of the shortcomings caused by the narrow focus if time had been given to the two women involved in the Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes to analyze the situation, to talk about what it is like for women who work with pimps, and to explain the alternatives to the present system and their consequences. Many people who do want to do "the right thing" would have benefited from a discussion of legalization, decriminalization and prohibition. It is too bad that this excellent opportunity was missed. Why are the voices of these two women, one of whom has worked as a hooker for twenty years, any less valuable than the other voices in the film. In fact, footage was shot containing this analysis, then edited out. Why? When you are in a position of such power, we feel you should be very careful that the decisions you make further the goals of the people on whose behalf you are speaking.

It is very hard for prostitutes and "straight women" to trust each other as it is. Prostitutes, who are fucked over by anyone who feels like it, don't automatically trust feminists or others who say they are on their side. The hostility now felt on the street in Vancouver hasn't made this situation any easier, opened up new doors, or increased understanding. In fact, it has had a negative impact on the connections that are beginning to be forged between prostitutes and other women, feminists included.

It is unfortunate that a film which could have been such a powerful tool both for educating the public about prostitution, and for opening doors for further discussion, has fallen so short.

Lynn Fraser and Cheryl Kehoe
Alliance for the Safety of Prostitutes
Calgary

DeWiel reviled

Broadside:

Re: Alexa DeWiel's poetry review (April 1985):

DeWiel's "endless thirst for writing in the 'black idiom'" betrays her equally endless appetite for biases which are "peculiar to the middle-class Caucasian population." In lusting after writing in the "black idiom," DeWiel misses the point. We can thank her, however, for providing us with so blatant an example of a white, middle-class, ideologically-fixed bias, which jumps off the page of her reviews of Claire Harris' "Fables from the Women's Quarters," and Dionne Brand's "Chronicles of the Hostile Sun." It gives us a focus for discussion. There is a serious gap in analysis and understanding of key issues debated currently among white, middle class women where those issues impinge on the lives of Black women. Alexa DeWiel's review of Dionne Brand's poetry represents a form of censorship, for example, that has not been addressed by the women currently debating that issue.

It is not a "black idiom" that distinguishes Black writers from the rest of us, but their historic experience. Included in this is the censorship of that experience, sometimes in the form of reviews such as DeWiel's. DeWiel expects from Black women writers a particular idiomatic form of expression, one which fits her notions of good "black writing." This "idiom" apparently exudes "tactile" and "olfactory" imagery. There is, of course, no particular "white idiom" against which to judge the talent of white poets. "White" is not a part of the mosaic. It is the norm, the given, the sanctifier, and it defines everything in relation to itself. Therefore, a "black idiom" does not exist unless white critics, writers and readers conjure one up.

DeWiel makes a dangerous assumption in reviewing Dionne Brand's poetry. She assumes that she is knowledgeable enough about Black experience to effectively criticize a profound expression of it. Or are we to assume that poetry is above experience, beyond the ordinary aspects of reality, elevated to some extra-terrestrial plane to which only an elite few can aspire?

Regarding the particulars of DeWiel's review of Dionne Brand's poetry, we would like to address the following: "*War breeds few good poems... Let newspapers, journals, novels and movies provide the world with limb by limb descriptions of the killing fields...*"

May we remind DeWiel that, in Nicaragua, government soldiers, both men and women, carry around with them notebooks, where they inscribe their responses and deep convictions in poetic form during whatever respite they get from the killing fields, fields drenched in their blood, led by henchmen paid by the same government that decimated the revolution in Grenada; and that there are many of us out here who consider what they experience more than ample motivation for poetic expression.

"In this, her third collection of poetry... Brand struggles with a fierce love-hate debate about the justification of poetry itself."

Art doesn't justify itself. It becomes justified, or not, through its interaction in the real world. It is a profound activity for a poet to question the justification of poetry and the writing of poetry. Nothing is carved in stone. As for Dionne's subject being "essentially hostile to the process of living in an unjust world," we can only wish that more people were hostile to the idea of living in an unjust world.

As it is, Brand sees politics in every aspect of her environment."

Politics are in every aspect of Brand's environment, as they are in every aspect of DeWiel's environment.

"On eavesdropping on a delegation of conventioners at Barbados Airport" is about a collection of white males travelling south. They are easy pickings for derision at the best of times."

White men as they are presented in the context of the above-mentioned poem are "easy pickings for derision" for good reason. They represent the power base that manufactures killing fields around the world. DeWiel's review does not support an anti-imperialist position. Rather, it belittles Brand's experience of white males as oppressors; denies the political context in which they operate; and by implication suggests that poetry need not be a part of the solution to race/class op-

pressions. Thereby, the review contributes to the problem.

"Rage and despair come off sounding like moral indignation which recklessly pops off the page like the thoughtlessly shot bullets that hit and killed some of the most progressive and compassionate men and women working for Free Grenada."

To suggest that Brand's rage and despair "pops recklessly" off the page and to compare her expression of rage to imperialist bullets is a dangerous misuse of DeWiel's mandate as critic. Here it is clearly DeWiel who is reckless and she hides behind her class/race privilege to express what is essentially a political opinion: that the bullets were "thoughtless" rather than murderous and genocidal and that Brand's "reckless" expression of her rage and despair are equally culpable. It leads us to ask DeWiel, "Which side are you on?"

We want to quote from Brand's poem 'Anti-poetry' which DeWiel takes out of context to illustrate what she calls Brand's "scorn":

If I tell you what most concerns me
You would think my poems not high
enough,
You would forget my metaphors
and cultivate a scorn for me,
you would kill the last word
on your lips about my imagery.
It's hell to find pretty words
to describe shit, let me tell you,
I may get beaten up and left for dead
any moment, or more insultingly
to the point
ignored.

Brand might well have written these words to DeWiel. It is DeWiel's scorn that is the issue. And can DeWiel find any more tactile or olfactory description of "shit" than shit?

DeWiel says that Brand's book "does little but spit at its readers" for living the kind of lives that allow them to read poetry. She admonishes Brand for teaching little about the "ethics of liberty." We encourage DeWiel and any others who hold her views, to take stock of the ethics involved in the struggle for liberty.

Finally, we would like to ask *Broadside*: Did you collectively agree to print DeWiel's reviews? If you agreed to print them as a collective, did you recognize their racist implications?

Janice Acton, Gay Bell, Sheila Block,
Pat Daly, Amy Gottlieb, Réjeanne Guay,
Marie Lorenzo, Peggy McDonough,
Noni Wall, Linda Yanz
Toronto

(Alexa DeWiel responds: I assume there's a debate going on in Toronto about racism in the women's community and that's good. However, my review does not warrant the heavy personal indictment I received from my finger-wagging sisters. Spare me the contests as to who's less racist than whom.)

Dionne Brand has gained justifiable stature in the literary community. She has set her own high standard, her own personal best as I have written in my reviews of her two previous books (*Broadside*, February 1984). I admire her. For that very reason, I cannot swallow the disclaimer in her third book as quoted in the letter above from her poem "Anti-Poetry". My view simply is that she is capable of better.

Many people chronicle their experiences, including guerilla freedom fighters in war zones, civil servants in Ottawa, and politically correct feminists in Toronto. Writing, in and of itself, may or may not be satisfying artistically or memorably.)

(Eve Zaremba comments: Opinions expressed in a review are of course those of the writer, but as book review editor, I take responsibility for the inclusion of Alexa DeWiel's review in *Broadside*. Readers have every right to disagree with anything that is written and to express their opinions, to make alternative suggestions and corrections. However, this should not extend to making personal attacks on the writer and questioning her integrity, as this letter appears to do.)

Born Again Athena

by Susan Ursel and Lisa Freedman

Athena was the ancient Greek goddess of war, justice, wisdom and the creative skills. She was the patron of architects, sculptors, potters, spinners and weavers. Her symbols were the owl and the olive branch. Her temple in Athens was famous throughout the ancient world.

She epitomized the essential masculine virtues in a newly burgeoning and aggressive patriarchy. Drawing on the charismatic power of the older matriarchal goddesses by virtue of her sex, she was none the less not of them. She was part of the new Olympian order. She was not even of woman born.

The story of the creation of Athena is a paradigm for the patriarchy's usurpation of matriarchal images of strength and empowerment. Originally the parthenogenetic daughter of Metis, the Goddess of Wisdom, Athena's birth through the normal channels was pre-empted by Zeus, the patriarchal head of the Olympian hierarchy of gods and goddesses.

Furious with his wife Metis, whom he believed had conceived a son who would eventually supplant him, he swallowed the pregnant goddess whole.

Later, caught in an awkward situation with an angry and axe-wielding opponent, Zeus astounded not only his attacker, but virtually everyone else with an elementary knowledge of biology, by giving birth to Athena. Springing from Zeus' head, fully grown and fully armed, Athena was born not of woman's body, but of man's imagination.

Athena was the perfect goddess for a patriarchy struggling to shed the tenacious cultural vestiges of an older matriarchate. While she *was* female, for the most part she went around talking like a man, acting like a man, and in general confirming men's high opinions of themselves. She was, in sum, the Total Token.

The enduring quality of myths, though, is not just that they make interesting stories. Their survival through centuries of telling and re-telling lies in their continuing relevance and usefulness to later cultures. In Athena's case, her spirit lives on in such modern female figures as Margaret Thatcher, Phyllis Schlafly and the now departed but soon to be deified Indira Gandhi. But no one has better personified the modern-day Athena than Christie Hefner.

Christine Hefner, born in 1952, the daughter of Millie and Hugh Hefner, is today the president of *Playboy*. Her early life is rather shadowy, as is that of her mother. We know, for instance, that her father left his family shortly after Christie's birth, intent on pursuing his own playboy philosophy without the encumbrances of a wife and children.

From that point, until Christie's rather dramatic entry into the *Playboy* hierarchy in the mid-70s, not much else is documented. But what does it really matter? Christie Hefner's importance lies not in how she led her life before being "re-discovered" by her father, but in what her father has made of her since then. Without her father, this modern media star would probably have remained among us other mortals. But as the product of her father's genius for capitalizing on his assets, she became, truly, his brainchild.

Christie, like Athena, is a defender of her father and the "order" her father represents and has helped create. And, like Athena, she is an especially effective weapon against those who criticize her father's empire on the basis of its clear and unmistakable anti-woman message. Who better than a woman to propagandize for *Playboy*? Billing herself as a feminist and the president of *Playboy*, Christie is able to toss off such arrogantly blatant reversals as, "It has never seemed a conflict to me. *Playboy* has been more supportive of feminist politics and philosophies than most other companies I know."

She could not have more thoroughly denied her consciousness if she had been Athena herself. Speaking in judgement of Orestes, who was guilty of killing his own mother, that older goddess said (in the words of a greek playwright):

No mother gave me birth. Therefore the father's claim and male supremacy in all things, save to vic myself in marriage, wins my whole heart's loyalty. Therefore a woman's death, who killed her husband, is, I judge, outweighed in grievousness by his.

In other words, men are more important than women.

But, at least in part, Athena's stature and credibility as a goddess of wisdom and war depended on a separation of her physical and sexual nature (decidedly female) from her intellectual capacity (decidedly male). Her modesty in that respect is, so to speak, legendary. When Athena discovered Teiresias spying on her in her bath, he was blinded for his troubles.

Christie, with perhaps more foresight, has simply never been caught naked - that is, in the pages of her father's magazine. One does well to ask why not? The answer, immediately obvious, points out the hypocrisy of Christie's defence of *Playboy*. Like the immortal Athena on the question of matricide, Christie Hefner is safe from her own ideas. It won't ever happen to her.

But Christie Hefner's ultimate betrayal of women is not just her consent to the perpetuation of a particular aspect of patriarchal ideology. It is her active participation in mak-



ILLUSTRATION BY INGRID MACDONALD

ing the "Playboy philosophy" and its various derivatives - virtually the *only* paradigms of human sexual relations available in mass culture that is so contemptible.

Athena was, among other things, the patron of weavers, an essential skill in ancient Greece. She prided herself on her ability in that field. But she was not alone in her talents. Arachne, too, was skilled in this art. One version of the myth states that Arachne challenged Athena to a contest of skills. Arachne's weaving of scenes of Olympian love was so flawless that Athena flew into a rage and ripped the cloth to shreds. Arachne, terrified of the enraged goddess, hung herself from a rafter, where Athena turned her into a spider, the insect she detested above all, to weave webs for all eternity.

Just as Athena maintained her weaving supremacy by destroying both her competitors and their works, Christie Hefner has turned all her energy to ensuring that her father's vision of human sexuality is the dominant one in this culture. Her skills and pride are turned to ends that are destructive of the very politics and art she claims to support.

Like Athena who claimed the title of patron of weavers, Christie claims the title "patron of feminists," yet poisons the culture of which we must try to "weave" our alternatives.

Comparisons between old myths and contemporary culture often enrich our vocabulary, providing colourful descriptions and analogies we would not otherwise have. But mythology does more than that; it is a ready made framework into which current events can be plugged, giving them a sense of order and timelessness. Like so many other models of human behaviour thrown out by the patriarchy though, old mythologies and their modern re-creations hide other meanings and messages. Writers like Mary Daly and Kate Millet have begun the process of decoding these messages.

We can carry the process on in our everyday lives by understanding the way in which the mythologies of patriarchy are invented and reinvented even now. To see them is to see through them, and beyond.

Susan Ursel is currently articling in Toronto.

Locker Room Lobbying

by Helen Lenskyj

A few months ago, two Toronto girls, Katie and Justine, decided they wanted to play on their school hockey teams, while a third elementary school student, Rachel, was eager to try out for the soccer team. When it was announced that interested *boys* should come to the office, Rachel figured she would join them - after all, the boys who were lining up were the same boys she played with in the community soccer league. She could not believe the official response to her request to try out: "You can't play - you're a girl." Katie and Justine had the same experience.

By age ten or eleven, this message is no doubt familiar to most girls, but the messengers are probably their male peers, or perhaps their parents - teachers or principals rarely make such explicit prohibitions. In this particular instance, the obstacle came in the form of a ruling of the Toronto Public School (Boys') Athletic Association (PSAA), enshrined in its 1901 Constitution, which excludes girls from PSAA interschool competition. The result is an inequitable distribution of funds as well as the obvious inequality of access: this year, the Toronto Board of Education allocated \$150,000 - about \$100 per team - to interschool competition, but there were many more boys' teams than girls' teams, since the "manly" sports of hockey and touch football were open to boys only. Although the PSAA recently considered a constitutional change which would "allow girls to

play on boys' teams," PSAA men voted by a narrow margin against the motion. For its part, the Public School Girls' Athletic Association (PSGAA), having developed a delicate balance of power with the PSAA over their 70 years of mutual history, took the same stand against coeducational competition.

When trustees, PSAA and PSGAA members and concerned parents first met to discuss the problem, the result was a session of name-calling and personal insults more suited to the men's locker room. However, in response to parental pressure, Toronto Board is now examining the issue. As trustee Fiona Nelson observed, it is not a question of "letting girls play on boys' teams." Board policy requires "genuinely equal access for all children to all activities," a policy which the anti-discrimination provisions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms support.

In response to the problem in elementary schools of a predominantly female teaching staff and predominantly male volunteer coaches, the Toronto board is planning to make funds available for inservice training, to prepare teachers to coach coeducational teams. This strategy, however, assumes that lack of coaching expertise and experience is the only barrier confronting female teachers, and overlooks the problem of the double workday faced by those who have domestic and childcare responsibilities after school and on weekends. In a recent survey of athletics in

Ottawa schools, the importance of female role models was noted and it was suggested that "volunteer" coaches be paid for their services, reimbursed for expenses associated with attendance at coaching clinics, and/or relieved of their regular supervisory duties during the coaching season.

A problem not addressed by either Toronto or Ottawa boards to date is more deeply rooted in a society which uses team sports as a rite of passage - a way of turning boys into men. Women often lack the advantages enjoyed by the large numbers of male teachers who have developed coaching skills through a lifetime of informal participation in team sport. Like the adolescent girls whom they teach, many female teachers, no doubt, dropped PE and abandoned team sports in high school, thus establishing a pattern of inactivity and low fitness level which, as adults, they find difficult to change. A consequence, in Ottawa secondary schools, was that, whereas 72% of male coaches were drawn from outside the PE department, only 43% of female coaches were not PE teachers; the figure for male coaches represented nearly one-quarter of all male teachers in the system, compared to only 10% in the case of female teachers. Additionally, male teachers and coaches predominated in boys-only and coeducational teams and even instructed some girls-only teams, whereas few women instructed boys-only on coeducational teams; clearly, sport

within the Ottawa school system was, for the most part, controlled by and identified with males, whether in the role of PE teacher, coach or participant. There is no reason to believe that the situation in the Toronto school system is better; in fact, given the PSAA/PSGAA stand against integration, at an age level where there are no valid physiological or psychological reasons for separating boys' and girls' competition, it may well be worse.

As noted in an earlier *Broadside* article ("Recommendations on Ice," February 1985), I recently researched the integration/separate-but-equal issue for the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport (CAAW&S), a national feminist organization. A five-page summary of the research project may be obtained by writing to CAAW&S, and a limited number of copies of the full discussion paper, *Female Participation in Sport: The Issue of Integration Versus Separate-But Equal* (116 pages) are also available free of charge from CAAW&S. Copies have been sent to university and college libraries across Canada, using funds provided by Fitness and Amateur Sport Women's Program.

(For more information on women and sports in Canada, write to CAAW&S, PO Box 3769, Station C, Ottawa, Ont. K1Y 4J8.)

Helen Lenskyj is writing a book on women and sports.

Blue Boys and Red Tape

The Terrain

Has anything changed in Ottawa now that the civil servant population works for a different master on the Hill? After the initial post-election flurry of moving vans and "For Sale" signs in front of posh homes, accompanied by a sudden proliferation of blue three-piece-suits men wandering around with clip boards, the real action is to be found behind locked doors.

As echoes of cruise missiles whisper overhead, and Brian Mulroney seems seduced by his sure fire camaraderie with Ronald Reagan, Ottawa is in the midst of surviving the first real transition of government in eighteen years. After Joe Clark's short-lived religious experience as leader, a time viewed as having been too soft on the "Liberal identified" civil service, the Mulroney brand of Conservatism leaves no one wondering who the King is. The school boy facade and the old boy smile is here to stay.

Ottawa was once Bytown, where French and Irish would meet to fight to their death. Some said it was the way of the lumber-jack, but all knew it was for power and a shaky toe hold in an English dominated economy. What has changed in 1985 is that the new boy in town is Irish, from Québec and leader of the most monarchist party in Canada. The fight is now within.

In no better forum was this phenomenon displayed than in Quebec City this spring. There we witnessed the king of the English speaking world, Ronald Reagan, on St. Patrick's Day, in the French capital of Québec, greeted by the regional hero. Some might have thought this to be the most anti-monarchist group of Conservatives ever assembled. Not so. They've simply appointed a new king and mother country (USA) - a more palatable one, we might add, to Quebecers than Britain could ever be.

Ottawa used to be an industrialist pulp and paper town. This industry was moved out to clean up the air, but they left the paper. In this town, if you don't know how to push the paper around, you're lost. Which brings us to the politicians and the bureaucrats. Many a dining table debate in Ottawa revolves around whether the bureaucracy stirs the elected officials or vice versa.

Basic to all that is discussed here is whether the country voted for the Conservative view of life or against the old power-drugged Liberals. The answer to this fundamental question will determine the extent to which life will change for Canadians and whether anything will change for the civil servant population in Ottawa. The master at the helm will not steer his blue boat into water that becomes politically murky at election time. Appetites have their priorities.

Serving the Prime Minister and the Queen, we have a bevy of rookie ministers, eleven of whom have never seen the corridors of power before now. Their every move is geared towards re-election. It is expected that none of them will make the same mistake made by David MacDonald under Joe Clark. It was widely held that MacDonald was a good Secretary of State, representing the needs of Canadians. So enthusiastic was he in his federal duties at Sec. State, he largely shelved the concerns of his constituency in PEI. The electorate voted this man with the "wide view" out of power in the following election. With this sense of history, the new team of hot shots seems fiercely aligned with the aspirations of their home turf and the folks who put them here.

Mother always said, don't trust a politician who smiles all the time. But "nice" seems to be the order of the day. So when you write to your MP (Conservative especially) or more particularly a Minister, your letter will be read (by an aide - you don't think the Minister reads the daily mail?, or do you?) and sent to the appropriate bureaucrat for response. It will be a nice response. After it is re-written several times by several people for political correctness, the letter returns up the tube to the appropriate aide who places the official signature machine for an automatic John Henry and your response is in the mail. The government responds to the wishes and concerns of the people as matter of factly as white sliced bread is served up in your local store.

A closer look at MPs reveals six women in Cabinet, twice as many as have served in any previous government. Initial indications call them more Tory-identified than women-aligned. However one is tempted, it is too early to comment substantially on their performance so far. One note for the record is that once again the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women is male, and at that a man who seems to have been appointed as an after-

thought. The press release announcing his appointment followed the naming of Cabinet by a day.

The Writing on the Wall

Members of anti-reproductive choice groups who were once viewed as a lunatic fringe are now viewed as being within the realm of the constituency of the Conservative decision makers. Touted as a Tory who is left of centre, Walter McLean hardly had time to settle in before a massive contingent of well organized REAL women converged on his office with countless letters requesting funding. Does a ruling party without a perspective on the evolution of governments' history in the granting of funds to women's services run a strong risk of falling at the feet of the right wing element of its constituency? We suggest that on women's issues the feds will get together with the provinces. The host province will say, no way, and that will be the end of discussions on women's services. Tory talking with Tory may promptly eliminate "hot issues" from funding (day care, rape crisis centres, etc.) on the grounds of federal-provincial cooperation. How does a businessman in the Conservative side of things cope with a woman who has children, who has had an abortion, who believes in day care, equal pay for work of equal value, etc? The answer is that business school hasn't prepared him for this situation, the party espouses several shades of blue response, and his wife, who may have never worked a day in her life, and who may be a "nice lady," can't shed much help. Only the willingness to learn and an articulate and powerful population can begin to turn the wheel of alignment. Young feminists who insist that the revolution is over, get ready. You're about to be called to the front lines.

We can see the writing on the wall. It's only a matter of time before the Ministers responsible will start backing off when their provincial counterparts complain about wanting these advocacy groups off their backs, and it will be 'auld lange syne' to rape crisis centre funding. This government does have a grasp on the current reality of social programming. The emphasis is on the entrepreneurial sector. We may well see the day arrive when the familiar names of social programs have so changed their orientation that they will cease to represent the real needs of Canada.

How can we make statements of a government as yet untried? Let's conduct a reality check on the interaction of bureaucracy (those who administer programs), and the Ministers responsible for these programs, and how decisions are being made:

A Reality Check

During the first months after the election, there were numerous stories circulating about the rude treatment of bureaucrats by politicians and their political staffs. A trigger-happy, offensive atmosphere created unprecedented paranoia. Free-floating anxiety could be cut with a feather. If the long held myth that the bureaucrats could sabotage and defeat any government were to be true, the

new boys in town wanted to firmly establish who was signing the cheques now. The general implication was that government workers were ripping off the public by being under-worked and overpaid. Officers with responsibilities all over the country were confined to work within Ottawa. The pious assumption was that travel equates with joy rides. Just as Ministers should return to their ridings to keep in touch with their constituencies, national program officers should travel to keep in touch with client groups' concerns. In this case, the political interests grounded those of the bureaucracy.

Another message that came down the tubes from Ministers' aides in no uncertain terms was that no government officials were to talk to the press about anything. Curious. Remember who answers your letters? Bureaucrats aren't to talk: Ministers aren't to talk without clearance from the Prime Minister. And so the lid remains on. (This dictum has been tempered recently to read that no comments should be made to the press concerning policy in the making.)

No matter who the master is, decisions have to be made, cheques must be sent out. Lobby groups once wooing the Liberals are now writing congratulatory letters to the new boys and girls in town. It's true that there is a kind of laconic cynicism in the government, as civil servants are well aware that the place would shut down without them. Dedicated civil servants will live to see several transitions in power, followed by times of streamlining, decompartmentalizing, prioritizing and all the other wild attempts to put order into mess. Many in government are suffering badly. They stifle all day in the bad air of hermetically sealed buildings, and, contrary to public opinion, work hard and often miss lunch entirely. In the present climate of suspicion, those personalities given to officiousness give full reign to their affliction and make entire offices and departments hell to work in.

Bureaucracy and Prima Donnas

Now that we have posed the surprising spectre of the hardworking civil servant, let's take a look at the prima donnas of the system:

Senior advisors make up part of the upper crust. These are a nervous bunch of pit terriers who are paid up to \$80,000 annually to guard their master's public images and sniff out insurrection in the civil service. They spend a lot of money on clothes that never wrinkle or collect lint. They work twelve to fourteen hours a day, seldom see their families, and, if gay, they're very much in the closet. They don't know how to save, spending most of their money on lifestyle luxuries, and in the case of women, they always put their makeup on before going to the market on Saturday mornings lest they meet that all important VIP. A skittery, illusioned bunch fiercely attached to patriarchal madness, they are the human sacrifices in the political game. If these people hold any vision of the world it is usually the vision forecast for them in the Main Estimates and by whoever issues their pay cheque. Think of a lacquered hand puppet wearing the same intense face day in, day

out and you've got the picture. Crisis of conscience? No way!

The bureaucracy is almost defined by its ability to endure and survive change, seemingly without missing a beat. It was of course the civil service which kept the gigantic maze of government clicking during the first period of transition. One of the most interesting events that occurred early on after the Tory takeover was the final dismantling of the Ministry of State for Social Development (MSSD). This used to be a central agency that was interestingly enough established by Joe Clark's government but actually carried over from a Trudeau initiative. MSSD was a checkpoint for all departments that deal with social development issues, providing thoughtful analysis on, for example, women's, multicultural, health, native, and employment related subjects. Whenever new proposals were developed, departments would go to MSSD analysts for assessments on the value of the proposals. It was the only substantive feedback available to bureaucrats before the developing policy hit the political level. John Turner wasn't in power long enough to indicate the reasoning behind his dissolution of MSSD, but the place was still "winding down" when Mulroney came along. Anyone in the parking garage of the MSSD building could see bags and bags of paper being loaded into the shredders. The shredders were eating up paper day and night. All documents went into the shredder. The Liberal Party, one might assume, didn't want any documents to be seen by the new government. The point was obviously to trip up the new government and resist giving information which would provide a coherent way of looking at government policy. That's politics. The bureaucracy is another matter.

This government seems to be returning to the old concept of individual Ministers having ultimate responsibilities, rather than that of shared committee responsibility which was the hallmark of the Pearson and Trudeau years. In a briefing given by the new Deputy Secretary to Cabinet in December 1984 to all the newly sworn-in Ministers, Ministers were informed that they were "expected to make decisions informally amongst themselves outside the Cabinet room without the sort of documentation prepared previously." What is seen on the surface to be a cutdown on paper burden is fast becoming a case of decisions made on the fly. Notes prepared by civil servants on issues which explain the long-and short-term ramifications of important decisions are becoming more and more brief and confined to tight format.

What's the bottom line? We've got a strong new government in Canada that seems distrustful of its working relationship with, and the motives of, the bureaucracy. Nobody in either camp wants to lose their job or the power associated with it.

Right now, if you've got a voice, use it. They've got to be listening to somebody and if the somebody isn't you then you've got to ask yourself who are they listening to. And if the answer makes you nervous, then think up options of action. The two extremes, of course, are that of sticking your head in the sand or sticking your neck out.

This article was written by a group of Ottawa women - civil servants and observers - who wish to be known collectively as AMD/KV.

TORONTO COUNSELLING CENTRE
FOR LESBIANS AND GAYS

is recruiting

FEMALE VOLUNTEERS

for the following positions:

- professional counsellors
- clinical consultants
(clinical experience essential)
- peer counsellors
- receptionists
- committee work

please call 977-2153

TUES. - THURS. 7-10 p.m.

ALL VOLUNTEERS WELCOME



Toronto Counselling Centre for Lesbians and Gays
401-105 Carlton St., Toronto, Canada M5B 1M2 (416) 977-2153

333
bloor st. w.
toronto
M5S 1W7
979-9624

weekdays, 9:30-7:30
except wed's, 11:00-7:30

sat's
10-6
sun's
1-6

Robert A. Brosius
CHARTERED
ACCOUNTANT

Tax and Accounting Services

922-6949

97 Maitland Street,
Toronto, M4Y 1E3

Better Strident than Silent

by the Working Group
on Sexual Violence

A FEMINIST MANIFESTO

At some time during the past ten years, the word "liberation" disappeared from the Women's Liberation Movement. Our analysis was softened so as to reach the ears of those who govern even before we said it out loud to each other. Our demands became polite requests, and our reality became a negotiable position.

As the strategy of lobbying governments for legislative reforms became the movement's primary (if not its only) strategy, the task of articulating the requests has been increasingly undertaken by women situated close to the seat of government and women who speak the language of power. These liberal lobbyists seek the small reforms which enable the state to maintain an appearance of addressing the subordination of women.

The primacy of these women lobbyists is not a new problem. As one feminist collective noted in 1975,

"... they talk about women's oppression as a legal question, as if getting some legislation passed will solve our situation. For them it is always a social (societal) question or a legal question. Never is it a question of power, real power - economic (who owns), military (whose physical strength) and political (who rules). It is never a question of what it means to take that power and distribute it among us all." (From "The Liberal Takeover of Women's Liberation," *Feminist Revolution*; Redstockings, New York, 1975.)

Today as pressure increases from the right and from a declining economy, a perception has developed that it is necessary for feminists to be "reasonable" and to accept the legal / legislative framework of the state. These pressures are from the small but powerful sector of society which would send women back to the hearth and home, to the promised bliss of unquestioning obedience to "nature," man, god and the state. In comparison with the threat from these forces, the state can be seen as a friendly and benevolent patriarch whose allegiance we must maintain, whose wrath we dare not incur lest he decide to pay greater heed to our "R.E.A.L." opposition and their brothers on the right.

It is in times like these that the call to unity, the invocation of sisterhood, is most often heard. Criticism from "within the ranks" is silenced. Centralization of power is defined as "practical" and "necessary." The basis of agreement becomes the lowest common denominator. Our collective voice is heard, from behind a polite but slightly nervous smile, to utter statements devoid of content or commitment, words without emotion, and demands without conviction.

Just as our perspective has frequently been lost in our approach to the state, so has the left frequently co-opted the feminist voice. However sympathetic many of us are to some of the issues raised by the left, it is undeniably true that ending the subordination of women is not a primary focus - regardless of how well they have learned the rhetoric of feminism. To paraphrase one feminist writer, while liberals abandon us to the state, the left abandons us to batterers and rapists. (From "Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: Toward Feminist Jurisprudence," by Catharine A.

MacKinnon, *Signs*, Summer 1983.) A truly feminist voice accepts neither, and is as wary of false alliances with the left as it is of co-optation by the state.

The process of analyzing women's oppression and acting to end it is the work of the many feminists working at what is sometimes fondly, sometimes condescendingly, (and all too rarely respectfully) called the grassroots level. This is the work of the transition houses, rape crisis centres, women's centres, and the many other women's services which gather together the wide range of experience of Canadian women.

Words such as rape, pornography, battery, incest, racism, poverty, homophobia and abortion are not polite words in the vocabulary of those who have power.

Talking together, breaking the silence, is a conspiracy to effect fundamental change. Articulating our experience is a radical act - words such as rape, pornography, battery, incest, racism, poverty, homophobia and abortion are not polite words in the vocabulary of those who have power. Translating these words (eg, sexual assault, obscenity, family violence) may sound more polite, but it will only disguise the problem and serve to temporarily obscure the ugly reality of patriarchy, a reality which feminists have worked so hard to uncover.

The struggle to uncover this reality, and to have it heard, has been a long and painful one for countless feminists. We have succeeded in challenging myths about the lives of women. We have collected and displayed a huge quantity of evidence of the injustices perpetrated against women. We cannot afford to have our reality distorted and made more palatable by those of our gender to whom the government and media choose to listen.

We ought not to be surprised that those who govern choose to listen. They have an interest in tinkering with bits of the state machine to try to show that, while it is not perfect, it is responsive to our needs. We must recognize, however, that they choose to listen only to some of us: to those who will speak in softened voices, to those who will dress as befits the occasion, to those who will be "reasonable" and "realistic" and never demand "the impossible." It is those women who are chosen, and who we have permitted, to consult, to present briefs, to talk to the media, and to negotiate our experience. They are often not given the time and money, and sometimes they lack the inclination, to undertake the slow and cumbersome process of involving the very women they are asked to represent.

The timetables of the government and of the media are superimposed upon the process by which women talk together, analyze and decide our strategy. When the others' timetables win out, as they so often do, it is our own democratic process and women's needs which become lost.

These timetabling pressures are most keenly felt by those women in proximity to power.

This superimposed sense of urgency has created a resistance in them to accepting the slow but essential process of untangling the web of women's oppression.

It is the victims of rape, battering, incest, poverty, homophobia, racism, etc., who must live with the compromises made in our name. The terror in our lives is minimized and marginalized. Because lobbyists have often conceded so much for the few gains, the umbrella of protection with which we are left is stripped of all but its frame.

Yet to challenge the bargain basement sale of our experience is to be called strident, idealistic, divisive, man-hating, and, worst of all, "unreasonable." These are labels which are designed to silence women.

Yet we know from the history of our own movement that polite deference to power is not an avenue for change. We know that the compromises made in our name are not strides forward, but merely directions to be content with running in place. We know that silence is not heard.

Our talking to each other is the strength of our movement and the breadth of our conspiracy. Our differences create the friction which moves us forward. The call to unity, the demands to compromise, to be "realistic," to defer to the government chosen "experts" as our representatives, to develop "efficient" organizations, to be acceptable to the media, are all ways to hush the chorus of voices that is feminism.

We suffer enormous harm from accepting and adopting policies formulated by "experts" in order to meet the timetable of a government department, parliamentary committee or organization's constitution. We must learn not to respond on initial impulse, fearing that if we refuse to meet the media or government's timetable, we will forever be silenced.

Because lobbyists have often conceded so much for the few gains, the umbrella of protection with which we are left is stripped of all but its frame.

None of this means, of course, that we can afford to ignore the state in an attempt to create a utopian feminist community. It is tempting to isolate ourselves and pretend that it is possible to build a world on feminist principles without ever directly confronting the power invested in the state. It may be less overwhelming to turn the focus of work inward, convincing ourselves in the process that the power structure as presently constituted is simply too male, too hierarchical, to be actively struggled against. But to do so is to abandon those women whose lives are directly and daily affected by the power of the state, and who are simply in no position to ignore it.

However, when we do take on the state, it is essential that our demands for change be grounded in an analysis of power. We must cease to scurry after the crumbs we are offered in the name of real change. While we work toward those short term goals that will make the lives of some women easier (and indeed may be literally life saving in some cases), we must not lose sight of the revolu-

tionary change that will ultimately eliminate our oppression. We must choose our issues and our strategies carefully. Whatever work we do with institutions of the state must not be done at the expense of our organizing work with women, or we will lose not only our capacity to resist co-optation, but also the impetus and base for independent action. We must take the initiative, and not be constantly locked into the timetable and the agenda of the state.

We are calling for a reclaiming of a feminist voice. It is not the voice of one woman, but of many women doing many kinds of work. It is a voice which does not hesitate to express the breadth of women's experience, the depth of women's subordination, the height of women's creativity, and the power of women's rage. It is the voice not of one organization, but of the work of many women and many women's groups. It is not a voice situated only in central Canada, at the door of the government, but in many communities across the country. It is a voice which must be reclaimed if we are to succeed in our struggle to end women's oppression.

To reclaim our feminist voice means recognizing that feminism and feminist work is the basis on which the Women's Liberation Movement has been built, the grounding that has made the movement relevant, dynamic and effective. This is no time for revisionism, no time to deny our roots or compromise our strength.

Reclaiming our feminist voice means defining and describing women's issues, not from a theoretical or legislative perspective but from the perspective of women. It means speaking out as feminists, taking every opportunity to put women first and to tell the truth about women's experience - in the media, in our own communities, in meetings and conferences and workshops, in feminist publications, in public and in private. It means we must analyze and debate the issues and resist attempts to short-circuit that process.

Reclaiming our feminist voice means continuing to build our analysis of the state and political theories - based on our own experience - to inform our strategies and actions. It means saying no to demands for simplistic solutions to the complexities of women's subordination. It means demanding what women need, not what the state or our potential allies will accept.

Reclaiming our feminist voice means continuing to work for and with women and it means respecting the expertise we have gained through that work in women's centres, rape crisis centres, transition houses, and countless other feminist organizations. It means setting our own priorities, strategies, and timetables for participating in legislative reform efforts.

As feminists in the 80s we must - as we did in the 60s and early 70s - name our experience, define our issues ourselves, and we must dare to express our commitment and our rage. As feminists we must and we will regain the initiative from the forces that would limit and control us.

(The purpose of this critique, published concurrently in a number of Canadian feminist periodicals, is to encourage debate and discussion of strategies and issues. Anyone with questions and comments should write the Working Group on Sexual Violence, c/o 301-2515 Burrard St., Vancouver, BC, V6J 3J6. Members of the Working Group are Kate Andrew, Jan Barnsley, Megan Ellis, Debra Lewis and Frances Wasserlein.)

961-1768
24 HR. ANSWERING SERVICE

MORGAN THE MOVER

BY WOMYN FOR WOMYN

LUGEM & LEEVUM

The
Highlands Inn

P.O. Box 118B
Valley View Lane
Bethlehem, NH 03574
(603) 869-3978

Year-round bed and breakfast inn in New Hampshire's White Mountains. On 100 private, scenic acres, the Highlands Inn offers a peaceful and relaxing setting, charming rooms with private baths, lovely common areas, fresh flowers, and antiques. Fireplace, library, large swimming pool at the inn. Great hiking, canoeing, fishing, and antiquing nearby. Mid-week discounts. Grace Newman and Judi Hall, Inn Keepers.

MOVEMENT MATTERS

The World's Cheapest Bookstore?

by Ingrid MacDonald

Following the lead of the Eaton's strikers, another retail store has taken strike action over unsuccessful negotiation at the first contract stage. Sixty workers at the World's Biggest Bookstore have been picketing their Edward Street store in Toronto since March 15. The outstanding issues are wages, contract duration and benefits.

The bookstore staff first organised in August 1984. Their initial demands included an across-the-board \$1 an hour wage increase for all staff and full OHIP coverage. When the company rejected the offer, the union lowered its demands to a 70 cent wage increase and 50% OHIP coverage. When the company rejected the modified demands as well, strike action was initiated. The average wage of a full-time worker at the World's Biggest Bookstore is \$5 an hour, a wage "typical of retail," says employee Vicki Gratton, "an industry where workers are traditionally underpaid."

Gratton has been working at the World's Biggest Bookstore for four years, and is a member of the negotiating team. She describes the workers as having "a good feeling towards the store." "In general," she added,

"employees feel that they have made it what it is, good sections, backlists, and good availability." Yet the only benefit the workers receive is the opportunity to buy books at 30% discount, and the reality of a low wage hinders what could be a compatible work situation.

The World's Biggest Bookstore, which is owned by Coles, offered a package in January 1985 to employees, describing a ten year wage grid starting full-time staff at \$4.50 an hour, which would progress to \$6 an hour.

As there is no law in Ontario prohibiting a company from hiring new staff while a strike is in effect, the company is keeping the store open with scab labour.

Nevertheless the picket is having an impact on the store's business, according to picketers, who estimate that they are turning away up to 70% of the store's regular business. Those who do cross the line are tourists coming to see the size of the store, students who can not find course texts elsewhere, and persons unsympathetic to labour conflict. Some people don't care and "think you can live on \$160 a week," says Jane Smith, a worker at the store since last fall.

(As Broadside goes to press we learn that the strike has been settled.)

Thanks from OCAC

TORONTO- The Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics would like to thank the many groups and individuals who have recently organized pro-choice events and activities. First of all, thanks to the organizers of the Five Minute Feminist Cabaret, which added so much to the spirit of the International Women's Day celebrations, who donated the proceeds to OCAC. Many of the same women designed, produced and sold a pro-choice T-shirt, with its sales also going to OCAC. GLARE (Gays and Lesbians Against the Right Everywhere) made a significant and much appreciated donation to OCAC. The Ontario NDP Women's Committee held a benefit showing of the film *The Wild Rose* for the coalition. A number of Queen Street clubs will be holding a major benefit for the pro-choice movement in June- this will involve many tremendous performers appearing in the various clubs all on the same night. Watch for details and get your tickets quickly.

We would also like to thank others who have made less visible, but no less significant, contributions. The women of the Toronto Women's Bookstore have provided an oasis of feminist calm and support in what the anti-choice fanatics have tried to turn into a hostile environment. Many others are links in our phone trees and mobilization networks or have devoted their time and skills in many ways. OCAC has been raising funds to hire a full-time organizer and we greatly appreciate all the contributions to this goal.

- OCAC, Toronto

Tampon Tax

As the Ontario election campaign rolled into high gear in April, the standard women's issues were trotted out by the three political leaders. Abortion, day care, battered women, equal pay and affirmative action were being dutifully if unspectacularly mentioned.

In a move calculated to appeal to millions of women throughout the province, however, Liberal leader David Peterson unveiled an important new plank in his party's platform. Dealing with what one commentator has called "a truly gut issue," the Liberal party proposed that the tax on women's sanitary products, first introduced by Tory Premier Frank Miller, be dropped. Who says politics isn't relevant to the lives of women?

Assault Victims

TORONTO- For lesbians in violent relationships: are you now or have you ever in the past, been hit, beaten, physically restrained, threatened with weapons or other objects by your lover? I have, and I'd like to start a group for information sharing and mutual support. Even if it only happened once, it still counts. Confidentiality guaranteed. Call Education Wife Assault, (416) 968-3422, and leave a message for Persephone. (This is a contact number only.)

Barbra Schlifer Day

TORONTO- On April 11, 1985, Mayor Art Eggleton proclaimed Barbra Schlifer Day in the city of Toronto. A ribbon was cut to mark the ceremonial inauguration of the Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic.

After five years of determined effort, volunteers and supporters have succeeded in realizing the vision of Barbra Schlifer who dreamed of establishing a clinic to serve women who encounter violence, and who, ironically, died by violence herself on April 11, 1980, the day of her call to the Bar of Ontario.

Mary M. Bruce, President of the Clinic's Board of Directors, has committed that the Clinic will open shortly as Toronto's first multi-faceted service for women who are victims of violence whether at home, at work or in the streets. "The shocking fact is that 50,000 to 60,000 Metro women suffer some form of violence each year," Ms. Bruce states. "Each woman requires a variety of short and long-term services specifically designed to meet the different implications of her problem. We hope the Barbra Schlifer Commemorative Clinic's holistic approach to women's legal, emotional and job-related needs will serve as a model for our city and for other Canadian communities requiring a similar program."

Support from the public for this urgently needed service would be very welcome. Please contact (416) 964-3855.

Sexuality Conference

TORONTO- Side by Side: Feminist Resources Inc. is currently organizing a feminist conference in Toronto for October 1985, entitled "Coming Together: A Women's Sexuality Conference." We welcome workshop proposals which reflect the diversity of ideas and experiences of women's sexuality. Please forward your proposals/suggestions by June 1, 1985, to Natalie Zlodre, Side By Side: Feminist Resources, 382 Dovercourt Road, Apt. 33, Toronto, Ontario, M6J 2E6.

Rape Awareness Week

TORONTO- The Toronto Rape Crisis Centre is sponsoring Rape Awareness Week, from May 6 to May 10, 1985. Events planned include a Film Night, a public forum on Community Organizing, and an Open House at the TRCC. Speakers are also available during the week to address any group or gathering. There are also raffle tickets on sale- the draw will take place on Thursday, May 9. First prize- \$364.66, second prize- \$199.45, third prize- \$21.23. Tickets are \$1 each, or 6 for \$5. For more information about the week and raffle tickets, phone the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre at (416) 964-7477.

Art Resources

TORONTO- The Women's Art Resource Centre (WARC) is an organization that originated out of the need to document women's cultural work and to actively generate feminist aesthetic theory in Canada. The centre will serve several functions that are not presently being fulfilled in Toronto or elsewhere in Canada. In general, women's art and feminist art criticism are not well known in the art world, the women's community, or the general community. Knowledge about Canadian women's art is particularly limited. As women's culture has traditionally been lost through a lack of record keeping, the Women's Art Resource Centre will be a step towards counteracting this process.

WARC's overall objectives are:

- to develop a more thorough history of art by collecting information about women artists and women's cultural activities, and to make these resources available to the public.
- to actively generate feminist aesthetic theory
- to create a support structure for women artists by arranging study groups, lectures, artists' visits, and a skills exchange
- to facilitate debate and discussion about feminist art practice
- to encourage contact between women's art groups and other community organizations, thus educating and expanding an audience for women artists.

The funding for the initial research required to set up the centre was awarded by the Canada Council's Explorations Program. This grant was awarded largely as a result of the support of local women's and artists' communities, as well as women's and feminist organizations in other provinces. We are interested in continuing discussion about our objectives with the larger community, through meetings with groups and individuals. The information and insights gathered from this contact will help determine the form and direction of the centre.

WARC is run collectively by a Coordinating Committee, which is open to input and participation. For information, call (416) 593-0058, or write: WARC, Rm 215, 455 Spadina Ave., Toronto, M5S 2G8.

Bill C-38

OTTAWA- The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women views the federal government's introduction of Bill C-38, which makes the Criminal Code criteria for pornography now applicable to Customs and Excise regulations, as ineffective in addressing the problem of pornography. The Council's longstanding position remains the same: a major revision of the current definition of pornography in the Criminal Code is an essential contribution towards a solution to this problem.

A truly effective definition of pornography must specifically reject materials that portray women, children or men in ways that are violent, degrading, and abusive. Significant changes in the Criminal Code definition are required to contribute to an overall positive approach to the problem of pornography. The redefinition of the Criminal Code should, in turn, be paralleled in any Customs and Excise regulations and other pertinent legislation. The Council will continue to press for necessary long-term legal and social solutions to this problem.

Interweave

Interweave is a new non-profit quarterly national newsletter designed for lesbians over the age of 35. It will contain articles on lesbian women, homophobia, relationships, health and nutrition, lifetime sports, etc. Included also will be poems, drawings, announcements of events of interest to lesbians, and so on. A large selection of Letters to the Editor is planned.

The purpose of *Interweave* is to help provide community for older lesbians. Contributions from readers are encouraged. Send letters, poems, drawings, announcements and the chances are good that they will be printed.

The suggested donation is US \$2 per issue or US \$8 per year. Any money left over after printing and postage costs have been paid will be spent on advertising in women's publications. The first issue will be the Spring, 1985, issue. For information, contact: *Interweave*, Box 57, Evanston, IL 60204, USA.

Attention!

Attention all Metis and non-status Indians!

A very important questionnaire concerning your lives has been prepared by OMNSL (Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association). This questionnaire will give us data to fight for your rights at provincial and federal government levels.

We need your assistance.

Please contact Bobbi Waddell at 491-8666 in Toronto, or our toll-free number 1-800-461-5112, for questionnaires and more information.



Their laws, our lives

TORONTO - From July 1 to July 7, 1985, the annual International Gay Association (IGA) conference will be taking place in Toronto, Canada, with delegates and observers from around the world. In association with this event an international lesbian and gay history conference is being organized from July 3 to July 6, to be held at the University of Toronto.

The proposed theme of this conference is "Sex and the state: their laws, our lives" and organizers hope to be able to bring lesbian and gay historians together from around the world for this important event. The conference should build on the success of "Wilde '82," a lesbian and gay history conference held in Toronto in June, 1982, which included presentations by Martha Vicinus, Allan Berube, The Buffalo Lesbian Oral History Project, Jonathan Ned Katz and many others. The topic "Sex and the state" encompasses the various ways in which the law, state policy and morality have restricted and controlled our behaviour as well as the ways in which we have resisted these restrictions and controls in our daily lives.

This conference is to be an important forum for new research and historical discoveries, as well as for the sharing of information and research. Organizers particularly hope that there will be an opportunity for historians from Europe and Australia and New Zealand to participate. Papers and ideas are being solicited for panels and discussions at the conference. Slide-shows, films and other visual presentations are also planned. The conference is organized so that a healthy balance of public presentations and private exchange will be maintained. The basic format of the conference will be papers and presentations of approximately 45 minutes in length during the day, with major slide-shows and films in the evenings. If you also wish to see time allotted for less structured discussions of methodology and resources, for example, contact the conference organizers.

1985: The Next Stage

MONTREAL- 1985: The Next Stage: Women Transforming the Theatre is a conference of women in theatre from all over the Americas being held in Montreal, May 25 and 26, as part of the Theatre Festival of the Americas being held in Montreal from May 22 to June 4.

Women from the US, Mexico, Central and South America and the Caribbean will come to Canada to share information, ideas and resources from widely disparate cultural, geographic and economic experiences, and also to begin a North-South dialogue which would bridge isolating barriers of mutual ignorance.

1985: The Next Stage will be at La bibliothèque nationale, 1700 St. Denis, Montreal. The conference fee is \$25 for 2 days (\$15 for either day). For information, write Theatre Festival of the Americas, PO 119, Stn. N, Montreal, Quebec; or call (514) 842-0704.

Model Ordinance (US)

The following is a model civil rights law drafted by Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon. It differs somewhat from earlier versions originally introduced in Minneapolis and Indianapolis.

Section 1.

STATEMENT OF POLICY

Pornography is sex discrimination. It exists in [PLACE], posing a substantial threat to the health, safety, peace, welfare and equality of citizens in the community. Existing [state and] federal laws are inadequate to solve these problems in [PLACE].

Pornography is a systematic practice of exploitation and subordination based on sex that differentially harms women. The harm of pornography includes dehumanization, sexual exploitation, forced sex, forced prostitution, physical injury, and social and sexual terrorism and inferiority presented as entertainment. The bigotry and contempt it promotes, with the acts of aggression it fosters, diminish opportunities for equality of rights in employment, education, property, public accommodations and public services; create public and private harassment, persecution and denigration; promote injury and degradation such as rape, battery, child sexual abuse, and prostitution and inhibit just enforcement of laws against these acts; contribute significantly to restricting women in particular from full exercise of citizenship and participation in public life, including in neighborhoods; damage relations between the sexes; and undermine women's equal exercise of rights to speech and action guaranteed to all citi-

zens under the Constitutions and laws of the United States and [PLACE, INCLUDING STATE].

Section 2.

DEFINITIONS

1. *Pornography* is the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures and/or words that also includes one or more of the following: (i) women are presented dehumanized as sexual objects, things, or commodities; or (ii) women are presented as sexual objects who enjoy pain or humiliation; or (iii) women are presented as sexual objects who experience sexual pleasure in being raped; or (iv) women are presented as sexual objects tied up or cut up or mutilated or bruised or physically hurt; or (v) women are presented in postures or positions of sexual submission, servility, or display; or (vi) women's body parts— including but not limited to vaginas, breasts, or buttocks— are exhibited such that women are reduced to those parts; or (vii) women are presented as whores by nature; or (viii) women are presented being penetrated by objects or animals; or (ix) women are presented in scenarios of degradation, injury, torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised, or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual.

2. The use of men, children, or transsexuals in the place of women in (1) above is pornography for purposes of this law.

Section 3.

UNLAWFUL PRACTICES

1. *Coercion into pornography*: It shall be sex discrimination to coerce, intimidate,

or fraudulently induce (hereafter, "coerce") any person, including transsexual, into performing for pornography, which injury may date from any appearance or sale of any product(s) of such performance(s). The maker(s), seller(s), exhibitor(s) and/or distributor(s) of said pornography may be sued for damages and for an injunction, including to eliminate the product(s) of the performance(s) from the public view.

Proof of one or more of the following facts or conditions shall not, without more, negate a finding of coercion: (i) that the person is a woman; (ii) that the person is or has been a prostitute; or (iii) that the person has attained the age of majority; or (iv) that the person is connected by blood or marriage to anyone involved in or related to the making of the pornography; or (v) that the person has previously had, or been thought to have had sexual relations with anyone, including anyone involved in or related to the making of the pornography; or (vi) that the person has previously posed for sexually explicit pictures with or for anyone, including anyone involved in or related to the making of the pornography at issue; or (vii) that anyone else, including a spouse or other relative, has given permission on the person's behalf; or (viii) that the person actually consented to a use of the performance that is changed into pornography; or (ix) that the person knew that the purpose of the acts or events in question was to make pornography; or (x) that the person showed no resistance or appeared to cooperate actively in the photographic sessions

or in the events that produced the pornography; or (xi) that the person signed a contract, or made statements affirming a willingness to cooperate in the production of pornography; or (xii) that no physical force, threats, or weapons were used in the making of the pornography; or (xiii) that the person was paid or otherwise compensated.

2. *Trafficking in pornography*: It shall be a sex discrimination to produce, sell, exhibit, or distribute pornography, including through private clubs.

(l) City, state, and federally funded public libraries or private and public university and college libraries in which pornography is available for study, including on open shelves but excluding special display presentations, shall not be construed to be trafficking in pornography.

(ii) Isolated passages or isolated parts shall not be actionable under this section.

(iii) Any woman has a claim hereunder as a woman acting against the subordination of women. Any man, child, or transsexual who alleges injury by pornography in the way women are injured by it also has a claim.

3. *Forcing pornography on a person*: It shall be sex discrimination to force pornography on a person, including child or transsexual, in any place of employment, education, home, or public place. Only the perpetrator of the force or responsible institution may be sued.

4. *Assault or physical attack due to pornography*: It shall be sex discrimination to assault, physically attack, or injure any person, including child or transsexual, in a way

that is directly caused by specific pornography. The perpetrator of the assault or attack may be sued for damages and enjoined where appropriate. The maker(s), distributor(s), seller(s), and/or exhibitor(s) may also be sued for damages and for an injunction against the specific pornography's further exhibition, distribution, or sale.

Section 5.

ENFORCEMENT*

1. *Civil action*: Any person aggrieved by violations of this law may enforce its provisions by means of a civil action. No criminal penalties shall attach for any violation of the provisions of this law. Relief for violation of this act may include reasonable attorney's fees.

Section 4.

DEFENSES

1. It shall not be a defense that the defendant in an action under this law did not know or intend that the materials were pornography or sex discrimination.

2. No damages or compensation for losses shall be recoverable under Sec.3(2) or other than against the perpetrator of the assault or attack in Sec.3(4) unless the defendant knew or had reason to know that the materials were pornography.

3. In actions under Sec.3(2) or other than against the perpetrator of the assault or attack in Sec.3(4), no damages or compensation for losses shall be recoverable against maker(s) for pornography made, against distributor(s) for pornography distributed, against seller(s) for pornography sold, or exhibitor(s) for pornography exhibited, prior to the effective date of this law.

2. *Injunction*: Any person who violates this law may be enjoined except that:

(i) In actions under Sec.3(2), and other than against the perpetrator of the assault or attack under Sec.3(4), no temporary or permanent injunction shall issue prior to a final judicial determination that the challenged activities constitute a violation of this law.

(ii) No temporary or permanent injunction shall extend beyond such material(s) that having been described with reasonable specificity by the injunction, have been determined to be validly proscribed under this law.

Section 6.

SEVERABILITY

Should any part(s) of this law be found legally invalid, the remaining part(s) remains valid. A judicial declaration that any part(s) of this law cannot be applied validly in a particular manner to a particular case or category of cases shall not affect the validity of that part(s) or otherwise applied, unless such other application would clearly frustrate the [LEGISLATIVE BODY'S] intent in adopting this law.

Section 7.

LIMITATION OF ACTION

Actions under this law must be filed within one year of the alleged discriminatory acts.

*In the event that this law is amended to a preexisting human-rights law, the complaint would first be made to a Civil Rights Commission. Any injunction issued under Sec.3(2), the trafficking provision, would require trial *de novo* (a full court trial after the administrative hearing

Flaws in the Law

by Reva Landau

So far, most of the discussion of the "Minneapolis" ordinance which was originally proposed by Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin has focused on the issue of "censorship." But this emphasis has detracted attention from what should be for women a far more important question: will it be an effective tool in fighting pornography? The answer to whether or not the by-law is censorship is very simple: "no." The answer to whether it will be a powerful weapon in fighting pornography is also, unfortunately, "no," especially in Canada.

Structure of the By-law

The so-called Minneapolis ordinance (a by-law which was passed by the Minneapolis City Council but then vetoed by its mayor and which is therefore not in effect in Minneapolis) makes pornography a form of sex discrimination. Pornography is defined in feminist terms. It is described as the sexually explicit subordination of women in picture or words that also includes women being presented as sexual objects who enjoy being raped or who enjoy pain or humiliation, etc. A woman who has suffered harm as the result of pornography has a right to sue producers, exhibitors, distributors, etc. for damages.

The Canadian Difference

It is crucial to understand that Canadian law is different from American law in one very important way: in the United States, the right already exists to sue someone in court for harm caused by discrimination. For example, a woman who is denied a promotion because she is a woman has the right in the United States to sue the relevant company or individual for damages caused by the discrimination, eg, loss of higher pay, in the same way that she could sue someone who injured her in a traffic accident. Therefore, in the United States, it was relatively simple to give women the right to sue for harm caused by pornography; pornography simply had to be defined as a form of sexual discrimination.

However, in Canada, we do not have the right to sue, in civil court, for damages caused by sex discrimination. A Supreme Court of Canada case, *Seneca College v. Bhaduria*, states that any person who is discriminated against in Canada, whether the discrimination is sexual or racial, must go to a Human Rights Commission for redress. She cannot sue the person or company who discriminated against her in civil court. This case means that there are only two alternatives if we want to have Minneapolis-type legislation in Canada.

1. Changing the law— Province by Province

We can only change the Supreme Court ruling in two ways: (a) assassinating four members of the Supreme Court of Canada (Madame Justice Bertha Wilson, when she was on the Ontario Court of Appeal, thought people *could* sue for racial discrimination, so we already have her vote) and replacing them by four feminist judges who would overturn the previous decision; or (b) changing the law through legislative action.

Because of the division of powers in Canada, it would be up to each province to change the law for that province. The federal government could not change the law for the entire country. So each province would have to pass a law allowing us to sue for discrimination, and which would define pornography as a form of discrimination. Getting appropriate legislation in each province would be a time-consuming, exhausting, and possibly futile process.

If this route is chosen, it must be remembered that one of the big disadvantages for women of having to sue in court is that the court case expenses would have to be borne almost entirely by women. Court cases can, of course, be not only expensive, but very lengthy and frustrating.

2. Using the Human Rights Commission

The second alternative would be to have pornography defined as a form of sex discrimination under the Human Rights Code of each province. That means that a woman could go the Human Rights Commission to complain of any harm caused her by pornography in the same way that she could complain of harm caused her by other forms of discrimination. The advantage of using a Human Rights Commission is that the necessary changes to the law would be much more minor and the financial burden is borne by the Commission, not the plaintiff.

However, there are four major disadvantages to using the Human Rights Code. First, one of the main purposes of the Minneapolis by-law is to "empower" women so that they do not have to rely on the state to fight pornography. However, by using the Human Rights Commission the woman is relying on the state; it is up to the Commission to decide whether or not to take her case, and all the responsibility for pursuing the case is the Commission's. Second, the Ontario Human Rights Commission is notoriously overworked, understaffed and slow. Third, the arbitrators in Human Rights cases, unlike judges and juries in civil cases, give small awards—the financial deterrent would be nothing in a billion-dollar industry. Fourth, most Human Rights Codes do not cover *all* forms of

discrimination; the Ontario Human Rights Code, for example, speaks only of equality in services, accommodation facilities and employment. If a woman has been battered as result of her husband reading pornographic magazines, might be hard to prove the discrimination was related to employment or services.

What Could We Sue For?

1. Coercion into Pornographic Performances

The by-law gives anyone who has been coerced or forced into pornographic performances the right to sue the producer, distributor or exhibitor for damages caused by the pornography and for the removal of the pornography from public distribution.

Under present law, someone could already sue for battery and assault, false imprisonment, and intentional infliction of emotional suffering. But such a trial would be even more humiliating than a rape trial—one can just imagine the deferential cross-examination. The by-law would give the person complaining the right to sue not only the maker, but the seller or the distributor of pornography, a right she does not as clearly have under present law. But the trauma of suing would be substantial that it is very unlikely that the person involved would sue anyone.

2. Forcing Pornography on a Person

The by-law gives anyone who has pornography forced on her in a place of employment, in a home or in any public place the right to sue the person and/or institution so forcing pornography on her. This would not affect all-porn shops, cinemas. The exhibitors and retailers would argue that the pornography was not "forced" on anyone—it is obvious that the magazines, videos, films are pornographic and that anyone who came in the store or cinema entered knowing

The by-law could be used against local retailers who sell pornographic magazines next to the eggs. However, we must then discuss what damages the retailers would have to pay. The persons complaining in civil cases must prove not only that they were harmed, but the extent, in monetary terms, their damage. For example, if as a result of being hit by a negligent driver you lost your job, you could claim lost wages, out-of-pocket expenses, and general damages due to pain and suffering, etc. All one could claim in the "pornography forced on one" section is mental suffering, for which damages are hardly ever awarded by themselves and which would be very low, so low that they would not justify a court case. If the c

Pornography and the Law: Human Rights or Civil Wrongs?

A Powerful Weapon

by Mary Lou Fassel

is undoubtedly the understatement of the year in feminist circles to say that the issue of pornography is controversial. At the same time, pros and cons of the anti-pornography/anti-censorship debate aside, I think it is crucial that we take aggressive and unrelenting action against pornography now, and that we must engage the legal process to do it. In examining both the existing civil law and proposals for legal reform, the "Minneapolis Ordinance" designed by Catharine A. MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin is useful as a focal point (see box). The MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance is the most creative and empowering yet devised to assist us in the battle to eradicate the harm done to women by the existence in this society of pornography. On examination of the ordinance, it is important to note that it has been designed by MacKinnon and Dworkin specifically under the rubric of civil rights legislation, its central thesis being the characterization of pornography as sex discrimination against women. So characterized, the ordinance gives a civil cause of action to any or all women against pornographers, that is, against the makers, distributors and exhibitors of pornography, on the basis that pornography subordinates all women as a class and thus is contrary to the notion of the equality of the sexes. Its very existence is a harm suffered by all women. The ordinance provides a civil cause of action to specific women against pornographers where such women have suffered actual physical harm as a result of being either coerced to pornographic performances or assaulted by a consumer of pornography. She would, of course, also have an action against her assailant. And a woman who has had pornography forced on her at home or in any other public place has an action against both the perpetrator and the institution in which the conduct takes place. In all four of the situations proscribed, a woman complainant must meet a rigorous burden of proof of her claim including, in the first instance that the material subordinates women, and in the subsequent three instances that the material complained of is pornography as defined in three essential respects by the ordinance; that there is the requisite coercion or force and, in the case of an assault by the pornography consumer, that there is a causal relationship between pornography and the assault inflicted. The MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance is made possible by the availability of all levels of government in the US, including municipal governments, to enact civil rights legislation (subject of course to constitution challenges on the basis of freedom of speech, etc.) as well as by the almost unlimited

ability of Americans to sue for damages in the normal courts for an injury, of whatever nature, that is done to them.

In Canada, our freedom to litigate is not so clear cut. Some people in fact argue (as does Reva Landau in the accompanying article) that our civil law, as opposed to the criminal law, is of very limited value to us in our fight against pornography, and claim that not only are we precluded from suing pornographers for harm caused by sex discrimination in our civil courts by a Supreme Court of Canada decision which stated that no such action exists but that even the agency we do have at our disposal, that is, the Ontario Human Rights Commission, and the Human Rights Code are deficient in both theory and practice.

Both propositions are arguable.

Our ability to achieve the same results in Canada that the MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance is designed to achieve in the United States requires a deeper consideration of both the current state of our law and its potential for reform.

THE ONTARIO HUMAN RIGHTS CODE—ITS LIMITATIONS AND POTENTIAL

Both on its face and in its application, the Ontario Human Rights Code appears insufficient on many counts: pornography is not specifically proscribed in the Code as sex discrimination; the remedies available to an injured woman are usually severely limited; the format the Commission employs is one of mediation, conciliation and, ideally, settlement between the parties; and finally, the Commission appears to be the exclusive forum for the resolution of human rights violations. No cause of action outside of its parameters appears to be intended.

All of the above deficiencies could be corrected, however, by a few straightforward amendments to the Code, including the specific addition of pornography as a practice of discrimination against women, provision for a resolution format that is less mediative (why should violations of fundamental human rights be a matter of mediation?), inclusion of a specific provision for broader and more punitive remedies more in line with those available in a court of law, and finally, the inclusion of a specific provision for redress to a court where the Commission refuses to act on a complaint.

These amendments would render our Code closely consistent with the MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance which provides for greater remedies and recourse to the courts as an alternative to the Civil Rights Department of government.

We might also, of course, attempt to draft and enact a separate and distinct amendment to our code (like the

MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance) which would be restricted to pornography itself, and which would treat pornography (and perhaps all forms of violence against women) as in a special class. However it would take a considerable political lobby to enact all of these amendments, and we can assume that they would not be readily forthcoming.

In the meantime, we should be prepared to argue for a broader and more liberal interpretation of the existing Human Rights Code—one that not only provides more of the strategic advantages of the MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance, but one that is also more consistent with the spirit and substance of our new Charter of Rights.

In the absence of the amendments suggested, we must argue, among other things, that there is nothing in the Code which currently precludes a finding of pornography (strictly defined) as a practice of sex discrimination against women.

The case of sexual harassment is instructive. A long time before its inclusion in the Code, the Human Rights Commission became inundated with claims of sexual harassment. This of course was the result of increased public awareness of, and intolerance for, the practice. The force of public opinion, and the sheer number of claims appearing, forced the Commission to begin hearing the cases, and reluctantly it accepted the notion that this practice constituted a violation of a woman's fundamental human rights. Pornography could begin to be similarly treated and developed (the process has already begun) through public education and agitation, and by forcing the cases on the Commission.

We could also force the Commission to open up the hearings of complaints at the preliminary stage, to make public the nature and number of violations and the names of the violators. The Commission as it now operates has control of the process, but a woman complainant could certainly acquire some of that control by the manner in which she involves, or doesn't involve, herself in the mediative process.

We should argue for a stricter, more punitive application of existing remedies, including large damage awards and the greater use of the provisions for criminal prosecution of violators and injunctions prohibiting such further conduct. Greater damages would not only put money in women's hands but would have a considerable deterrence value (as damages always do).

Most important, we must argue that the Human Rights Commission is not necessarily, nor should it necessarily be, the only tribunal at which a woman can seek redress. There have been legal decisions in our history that indicate a willingness on the part of our courts to provide individuals with additional remedies where the original tribunal dealing with the matter was inadequate in some respect (usually with respect to the award of damages).

If we wish to seek redress in our courts however, we are also going to have to deal with the Supreme Court of Canada. A Supreme Court decision (*Crown vs. Bhaduria*) in which a woman's claim to sue in a civil court for damages arising out of discrimination was turned down, was based on the notion that the Ontario Human Rights Commission provided a complete and exhaustive forum for adjudication of her complaint and that she therefore had no recourse to the civil courts.

This case should be argued again on different terms. The decision itself discriminates against minorities (the groups who characteristically use the Commission for redress) because it forces upon those groups a narrow accessibility to the law which is seldom imposed in any other area of civil wrongs done to individuals. The decision preceded the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the enactment of its provisions for due process, equality before the law and the equal protection and benefit of the law. The entrenchment of these new rights in our charter might lead to a different result in another case.

DISCRIMINATION AS A CIVIL WRONG

Our struggle for accessibility to the civil courts however must lead us to a consideration of whether the courts are open to the adjudication of law suits brought on the basis of viewing discrimination itself as a civil wrong for which the perpetrator will be liable in damages.

Again we must look at the Bhaduria case. It has been suggested that the case stands for the proposition that there is no tort (civil wrong) of discrimination in Canada which gives rise to a civil cause of action. I do not believe that the Supreme Court determined this issue. The decision itself was made on the narrower ground (already addressed) that Mrs. Bhaduria could not go beyond the Ontario Human Rights Commission to seek redress.

The question of whether or not discrimination is a tort giving rise to a cause of action in a court was canvassed exhaustively at the Ontario Court of Appeal level, and there the court found that indeed it *did*. The Court recognized that the duty not to discriminate against people was not just something contained in statutes but existed as a matter of custom (that is, in the common law) and therefore would be enforced in the courts. It stated further that though the Human Rights Code recognizes fundamental human rights, it did not create them. Nor does the mere existence of the Code itself impede the development of the common law in this area. I believe that the matter has yet to be determined.

In examining all of the possible avenues of redress for a

• continued next page

before the Human Rights Commission, the damages would almost non-existent. Producers and distributors could not be reached under this section.

Discrimination by Trafficking in Pornography

Any woman could sue anyone who produces, sells, exhibits, distributes pornography on the ground that she is acting against the subordination of women. I am not positive what this section means. If it is some form of class action, there are a number of legal difficulties with class actions in Canada. If the woman is suing for the harm pornography does to women, it would be hard to prove that a particular distributor or retailer is responsible for a specified amount of harm in monetary terms. It is not clear what damages could be claimed under this section, or how they could be proved.

Assault or Physical Attack Due to Pornography

A person who is assaulted, physically attacked or injured in a way that is directly caused by specific pornography could sue the maker, distributor, seller and exhibitor, and obtain an injunction against the further distribution of the material. This section is the only one in which a woman, or her family if she is murdered, could claim substantial damages. However, the direct causal link would be very difficult to prove, though there might be some rare exceptions. Even if bondage pornography was found beside the woman's body, the issue would not be settled. The defence could argue that it was just coincidental, or that the person who had committed the crime had been conditioned into violence by pornography years ago, and that the pornographic magazine beside the body was not the causal factor.

Again, the Canadian context must be remembered. The American would very likely be American, and difficult to reach under Canadian laws. If it were a magazine that was at issue, an American distributor is sometimes listed in the magazine, usually not the Canadian one. Moreover, it would be very difficult to prove which distributor was responsible for a particular magazine. Even if a crime was committed in Ontario, the magazine could have been bought in Manitoba. It would be difficult to prove which retailer had sold the magazine.

Liability to Pornographers

With a civil law as all we relied on, pornographers would have very little to fear. A woman would find it very difficult to prove her assault was the direct result of a particular magazine of pornography even if it were proven that pornography in general had caused her harm. Even if she could, the perpetrator would probably be American and, in the case of maga-

zines, the distributor and retailer would be impossible to trace. The "coercion into pornographic performances" section would hardly ever be used. The "having pornography forced on a person" section would affect only local retailers, not distributors, and not those who specialize in all-pornography theatres or stores. Moreover, the damages would be so small that they would not care, nor would women find it worthwhile to sue the retailers in a court because of the costs.

Censorship

One of the motivations behind the by-law was the belief that it would stop "censorship" arguments. Since an individual woman would be suing the distributor, no one could claim that we were invoking the power of the "state." We do not normally think of the right to sue in courts for slander and libel, that is for damages caused by the spoken or written word or cartoon, as censorship. However, all the supporters of the rights of pornographers to distribute hate and violence against women, from *Time* magazine to Feminists Against Censorship, have referred to the Minneapolis by-law as censorship. There is no point our bending over backwards to satisfy the pro-pornographers who cry "freedom of speech" as an excuse to protect violence against women. Anything we do, be it using the civil law or the Human Rights Commission, will be described as "censorship." We might as well try to do something effective.

The Real Problem

If we had a strong and revised Customs Act, Criminal Code, and municipal by-laws, then I would not object to putting energy into defining pornography as a form of discrimination under the Human Rights Code. However, if we relied only on such a Code, and abandoned any attempt to strengthen the Criminal Code or Customs Act, then we would leave most pornographers untouched. Moreover, using only civil legislation means that the burden is on individual women. Using the Criminal Code shows that the advocacy of violence against women is unacceptable in our society.

I do not think that the pro-pornographers will win the battle. Women are angry and we are not going to take it any more. The message is getting across. However, I am concerned that any revisions to the Criminal Code will not be as effective as possible and that violence against women will not be outlawed as effectively as it should be. We should concentrate on obtaining as strong and clear an amendment to the Criminal Code as possible.

Reva Landau is a Toronto feminist lawyer.

• Ordinance, from previous page

woman harmed by pornography, I must briefly speak to the matter of the tort process itself.

Proving a case in a civil court, that is, proving all or any of the four causes of action contained in the MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance, would be an enormous task, but certainly not an insurmountable one. Suing a perpetrator of an assault will be no more difficult than proving the causal relationship between any act and the harm suffered as a result. Suing a pornographer for damages as a result of a physical attack by a consumer of pornography will be more difficult and will involve more complex and creative arguments than have yet been made in law.

Though there is ample and developing evidence of a link between the use of pornography and violence against women, it may not yet be evidence that is conclusive, or sufficient to prove a claim in a court of law. In the absence of such evidence, we may very well have to argue alternative concepts of correlation sufficient to maintain an action against pornographers.

Suing pornographers for the harm of sex discrimination itself will have its own special problems, not the least of which will be producing evidence of what constitutes "subordination" of women. But while this provision of the MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance may be the most problematic, it is also the most useful, the most significant, and undoubtedly has the most far-reaching ramifications for women.

PORNOGRAPHY AS SEX DISCRIMINATION

The history of the development of the common law has been one of cautious, conservative inroads into otherwise uncharted waters.

Embarking on the task of providing women with a legal remedy in damages for discrimination, we can't expect the courts to immediately accept or even understand the radical new concepts that we will be purporting as the basis for damage claims against pornographers. The differences of opinion even within the women's community on the nature of the harm done by pornography is evidence itself of the vast conceptual tensions that will constitute much of the legal debate within a court of law on the issue of harm as well as the very concept of discrimination.

Being educated in our oppression is not a pleasant exercise. In our eagerness to empower women, we do not readily accept, nor should we accept, a notion of ourselves as perpetual victims—objects of mass hatred, terror and violence. Yet there is also a danger in obscuring the realities of our oppression (in all of its varied forms) by attempting to create conceptual frameworks within which we can distinguish between that which is a 'mere' manifestation of discrimination (and therefore comfortably relegated to the non-threatening) and that which is the practice of discrimination itself.

While we may conclude that the distinction in most respects is false, in the area of pornography some people are grasping desperately at the notion that the anti-pornography feminists are making quite a kaffuffle over what is otherwise simply an ugly "representation" of some people's "ideas" about women.

Pornography is violence against women and it is the practice of discrimination against women because it creates and perpetuates an ideology of women as inferior and maintains a social climate conducive to behaviour which reflects that ideology.

So while one random act of violence against a woman may be seen as a "mere" manifestation of greater social, economic and political discontents in a society that disempowers large segments of its citizenry, it is a critical error of judgement to believe that alone.

When violence is systemic, when it is organized and practised as an industry, when it is institutionalized in law and socialized into normal human relations (sexual and otherwise), it can no longer be treated as "mere" manifestation or representation.

Consider two examples: Sexual harassment is violence against women—sometimes physical, more often than not coercive, intimidating and psychologically assaultive. It involves an unequal power relationship. While many people claim it wouldn't exist if women were not economically inferior to men, the reality is that, like pornography, it is used to maintain the inequality of the sexes. It may very well be that if women achieved economic parity with men through equal employment opportunities they would not be subjected to the denigrating treatment of sexual harassment. But what is the likelihood of a woman getting a job promotion when her boss is looking over her shoulder at a picture on his office wall of a nude woman with her legs spread. The message of that picture is clear—women are inferior, they are not as capable or as deserving of respect and dignity as men. They are worth less. Why then should that woman be promoted? Her boss may very well be incapable of perceiving his female employee as anything but something that can be played with, chided, sexually taunted and ignored in important matters.

Sexual harassment is discrimination. When we began to explore and analyze its practice in the workplace and elsewhere, it became clear that to characterize it as merely a social ill, or merely as a manifestation of inequality, was to underplay its power and impact. We treated it therefore as a fundamental violation of our right to be treated equally. That practice is now proscribed in the Ontario Human Rights Code under "Part 1—Freedom From Discrimination."

Consider also the matter of rape trials before our most recent legal reforms in that area. As we all know, rape trials were replete with discriminatory practices and theory. One of the most reprehensible practices was the scope of the questioning of the woman victim on her past sexual conduct. While any complainant in any other criminal procedure could be questioned as to their past conduct, such questioning was subject to strict rules of relevancy. In the case of a rape victim, the rules of relevancy were loosely applied and much evidence admitted was prejudicial and inflammatory.

There were of course, many other discriminatory practices unique to rape trials, such as the judges' caution to the jury that it was dangerous to convict a man on a woman's uncorroborated evidence.

But there was a discriminatory theory behind the practice as well. The reason for the evidence of past sexual conduct was to suggest to the jury that they should draw a negative inference about the woman herself if it was found that she had engaged in past sexual conduct with other men. The inference of course was that women who were sexually active were less credible persons, that they were somehow less deserving of protection, that if a woman was not virtuous, then she was somehow culpable and deserving of the crime committed against her. Where that inference was accepted by the jury, it usually resulted in the acquittal of the accused and the consequential belief that rape could be committed with relative impunity.

Similarly, pornography is both the practice and theory of discrimination against women. It provides the evidence that leads to the same inferences. When the MacKinnon-Dworkin ordinance seeks to proscribe material which presents women as promiscuous by nature or as dehumanized sexual objects, they are in effect telling those who use, make and distribute this material that they are no more free to make or promulgate those inferences that is a defence lawyer or a jury in a rape trial.

When the practice of the rape trial became intolerable to the public and concerns were heightened over the relatively low conviction rate of rapists, women demanded reform of the law. We did not make that demand on the basis that the rape trial was harsh or unfair to women but that it was fundamentally discriminatory.

In all of the examples above, whether it's the 'violence' of the rape trial, sexual harassment or pornography, violence against women in all its forms must be dealt with not just as a condition of life but as a fundamental violation of a woman's constitutional right to equality.

THE VALUE OF THE LAW AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

One does not invoke the legal process however, without due consideration of the benefits and risks of so doing.

A substantial body of opinion exists which believes that to create laws to deal with pornography, and to employ the apparatus of the state to enforce those laws, is to run the risk of a reactionary backlash against those rights which we have already won (freedom of speech and expression). This backlash, it is argued, would lead to even greater control of our lives at the very time when we are struggling to remove the shackles that have traditionally impeded women's ability to develop our potential as full human beings and citizens. It is in this sense, we are told, that legal reform is a trap.

I must admit to being attracted to this argument in some essential respects, but I am not convinced that those rights will fall by the wayside because we choose to take on the pornography industry, as large and powerful as it is, at this time. This is

a complex debate which has been waging for some time in the feminist press. It is a necessary debate, for it speaks most critically to the nature of power and its uses, and to the entire process of social transformation itself. It goes without saying that full participation in this society requires more than just the acquisition, through political lobby, of democratic rights and freedoms. It requires control of, or at least impact upon, the process by which those rights are made and protected.

When it is suggested that we look to alternatives to legal action to deal with pornography, we must critically assess the quality and benefits of those other alternatives. We may find upon analysis that the legal system is the most empowering tool that we have at our disposal and that any other solutions, while less controversial perhaps, and far less shocking to the community at large, are also far less effective. What we will probably discover, as we've discovered in our work on other women's issues, is that there is no singular solution, that each strategy will depend for its success upon many other strategies.

Those who argue, for instance, that the solution to the proliferation of pornography lies in public education are only partially right. Almost all meaningful legal reform is preceded by public education and is, in fact, dependent upon it. Public education without legal reform is inadequate. Legal reform in the absence of public education may be ineffective.

Without legal reform, sexual harassment may indeed have continued to be considered socially reprehensible, but who can believe that the power of public opinion itself would eliminate the problem? More than likely, sexual harassment would continue to be practiced as much as ever if employers and others had not been faced with the reality that their behaviour had become risky business. In the process of attempting to eliminate discrimination against women, we must always be aware of the fact that a right without a remedy is no right at all.

When I envision women-directed litigation, I see a public forum, hitherto closed to us, for the first time considering issues of relevance to women on our terms, in our language. I see an equalizing of the bargaining positions between women (hitherto silent and powerless) and pornographers (hitherto without financial risk or any other discouragement of their activity). I see the possibilities for effective deterrence, money in the hands of injured women, and meaningful public education.

When I hear the "reactionary backlash" argument, I think of all the women who have been frightened, coerced and intimidated into prolonged suffering by threats of retaliation, retribution and further abuse.

I think we are beyond that. I think we have come of age. There is no more time for timidity and paralysis.

If we can feel confident about our ability to *make* the law, we should feel equally confident about our ability to reform it and reform it we will, if need be, again and again and again.

Mary Lou Fassel is a Toronto feminist lawyer.

Does Frank Miller's Ontario include you?

"Any group that has a gay liaison committee is not my kind of Board of Education."

Frank Miller, referring to the Toronto Board of Education, on January 25, 1985.

"...homosexuality... is a deliberately willed wrong choice in the natural moral order."

Solicitor General John Williams, responsible for the police in Ontario, on November 30, 1981

THE NEW DEMOCRATS
FIGHTING FOR FAIRNESS
FOR LESBIANS AND GAY MEN

For information about New Democrat candidates or the Lesbian/Gay Caucus, contact:

Meg Griffiths Campaign
St. Andrew/St. Patrick New Democrats
(416) 928-1468

Barbara Hall Campaign
St. David New Democrats
(416) 465-1160

Diana Hunt Campaign
St. George New Democrats
(416) 928-1430



Conservatives and Liberals have voted consistently against human rights protection for lesbians and gay men.

On MAY 2 VOTE NEW DEMOCRAT

Authorized by official agent of the St. George NDP Campaign

ARTS

Atrocity Acknowledged

by Randi Spires

We are all taught to look at the world through the eyes of the patriarchy and to see most of its basic structures as natural and good. For many of us there occurs odd rare moments of clarity in which we suddenly discover that the emperor wears no clothes. Feminist artist Daria Stermac had her awakening about two and a half years ago, around the time of the controversy regarding *Playboy* and First Choice pay TV.

Stermac had been reading a great deal about pornography and was becoming deeply aware of how pornography works and how its images permeate our environment. In its etymological roots, the word pornography means the graphic depiction of prostitutes, but for Stermac it has come to mean "everything that lies about women's truth, which is just about all representations of women in advertisements, magazines, films, rock video, about 95% of what's available to women." What is traditionally thought of as pornography, from *Playboy* and *Penthouse* to the more hard-core stuff, is merely the more overt extension of how women are encoded in most patriarchal imagery, she believes.

A common initial response to such awareness is anger—anger at how we are lied about and anger at how long it took us to discover these falsehoods. Stermac too became enraged, but found she could not live continually in such a state. The anger motivated her to produce the poster series entitled *When We Dead Awaken/Decoding Patriarchy*. She did it because she thought it was her responsibility as a visual artist to share her awareness with other women. She doesn't believe in sacred art objects and elitist hierarchical art systems. Rather she believes feminist art should be available and accessible. That is why she chose to make posters and not some "huge thing in a gallery." The work was to be a means of speaking woman to woman, to many women. Therefore it was mass produced and first displayed on billboards along Queen Street and Spadina in Toronto. Stermac said the work is intentionally slick because that is what we are used to seeing. We are drawn toward it, thinking it's just another ad, when in fact it's a double entendre, a decoding of what we usually see.

The four posters were produced by Stermac in association with A Space and Women-film/Womenart. The first poster contains four familiar images. Three of them are of what are commonly understood to be atrocities—villagers fleeing soldiers in Vietnam, Nazi concentration camp inmates, and a southern black man being lynched. The fourth image, of a semi-nude woman cruelly bound, is labelled Male Entertainment. The poster asks the viewer to question why pictures of objectification and torture of over

half the human race are considered acceptable and even fun in some quarters, even by many of those who would be upset by the other three images.

The second poster is entitled *Run For Your Life*. It shows three images of female foot mutilation, all imposed on women in the name of beauty and/or art. The central image is of Chinese foot binding, a practice that was able to continue for centuries. Do people seriously believe that a crippled woman and a deformed foot is naturally erotic? In fact, the practice was maintained by an ideology which taught men, through poems and other art forms, to become aroused at the sight of deformed feet and the smell of putrefaction. A second image is of a woman's feet in modern high heeled shoes. While far less extreme a practice than that of the Chinese one, it nonetheless bears striking similarities. Such shoes make it difficult for a woman to comfortably walk long distances. While wearing them, a woman is rendered incapable of effectively running for her life if attacked. Prologued use of these shoes can deform the feet

and cause back pains. Like the ancient Chinese, the modern western male is taught to eroticize such attire through images in advertising, in pornography and in art. And most women, even aware ones, continue to wear these shoes, feeling they must dress at the patriarchy's behest whether on the job or in the heterosexual marketplace. But the most shocking image is the third one of the ballerina en pointe. Ballet is often thought of as an art form where women are dominant. Yet it is mostly women who dance en pointe forcing their feet into hamburger in the name of art. This picture forces the viewer to question just who decides what art is and at what price such standards should be followed. Also it asks, do such definitions by making the torture of female feet de rigeur in art, make it easier for all of us, male and female, to accept a somewhat less uncomfortable form of footwear as the everyday norm?

The third poster, captioned Bend me break me anyway you want me s'long as you love me it's alright, shows the extremes to which women are willing to go to alter their bodies to

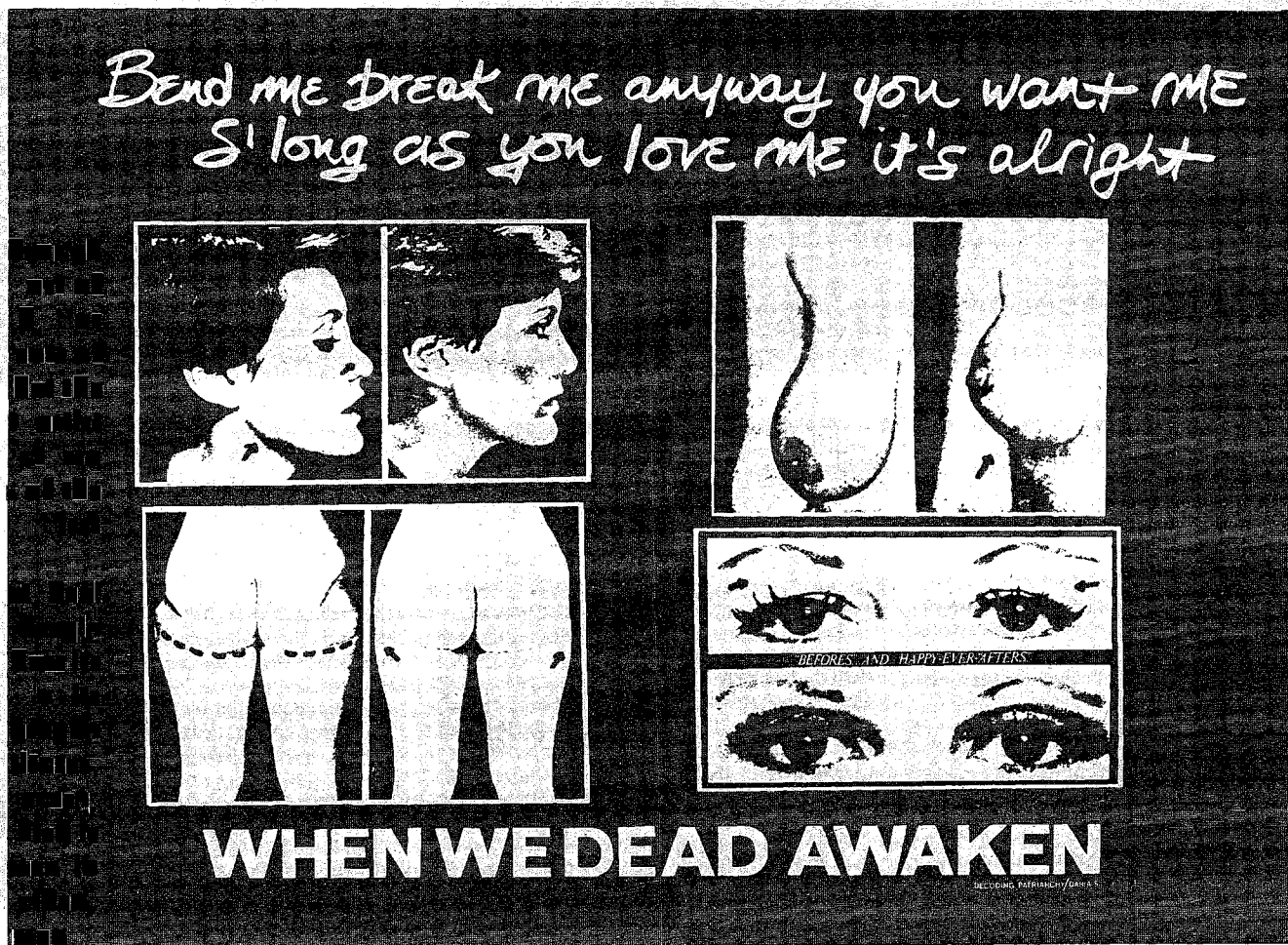
fit current patriarchal dictates of fashion. At different times, or among different classes, it might include breast enlargement or reduction, face lifts, surgery on the buttocks and so on. Not only are such procedures painful, the results are often temporary if effective at all; sometimes they are dangerous and always they are costly. What this poster seems to be saying is that women have been told they do not have value in and of themselves. Their only worth comes from being loved by men who will only care about them as long as they fit certain objective physical criteria. A woman who believes she is nothing without a man will do anything she can, including endure pain, possibly mutilation and financial hardship, to ensure that she attracts and keeps one.

The images on the fourth poster are of make-overs, before and after pictures taken from cosmetics advertising. Like the previous poster, these pictures imply that a woman in her natural state is not good enough. The last two posters also show how women are taught to idolize youth and to become terrified of aging, when their bodies, the only things they have of value begin to fail them.

The poster series is part of the feminist political process, it has had a large and positive response, it will in the end reach only a small proportion of the women who could potentially benefit from it. Stermac says the only way not to feel overwhelmed by this fact is to feel great about each small step, and to reach out to as many people as possible outside the feminist community.

The poster series *When We Dead Awaken/Decoding Patriarchy* is currently on display at the Toronto Women's Bookstore. (Copies of the series can also be purchased there.) For some of the women who inevitably come into contact with Stermac's posters this will mark the first time they have had to really think about such issues. Other women will have been conscious of these ideas for some time. But in a world where yesterday's soft porn quickly becomes today's family entertainment, where people argue that consensual objectification is acceptable in the name of artistic and sexual freedom, and the old saw that these are only pictures is constantly being reiterated, it is important that we be forced to look and look again at what is really happening. It is important that we recognize that nothing which is produced in this society, whether it is an image, a style of clothing, a type of medical technology or a way of relating to a class of people is produced outside of the larger political agenda of the patriarchy. We need to be constantly reminded of this, for in order to fight it we need our awareness and we need our anger.

Randi Spires is a Toronto feminist writer.



Poster No. 4, by Daria Stermac

Broadside CLASSIFIEDS

HOUSE TO SHARE with lesbian feminist. Besides area. \$250 incl. (416) 460-0611.

FEMINIST ANNEK HOME seeks third woman to share communal space and garden. Private study and bedroom. Close to subway. Laundry light. (416) 967-7118.

CLASSIFIED ADS WORK! Only 25c a word (\$3 minimum, pre-paid). Space available. For information see page 18, or call Broadside (416) 598-3513.

WOMAN HEALTHCARE. publisher of Healthcare magazine, needs a Promotion/Consultation Manager who will develop and co-ordinate promotional campaigns, including composition of written material, supervision and design and production, and packaging and distribution across Canada; developing and maintaining systems for subscription processing, relations and magazine distribution, and salesperson recruitment program. Background in the health care field is a plus. Position is full-time, contract, 9 am to 5 pm, Monday to Friday. For consideration, send resume and references to: Mrs. BARBARA, Director of Selection, an office at the practice of the practitioner, 2045 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario. Initial one-half hour consultation. \$20.

PID SUFFERER WITNESS BOOK on PID would like to hear from women cured of chronic PID or information about any successful treatments or interested practitioners. Confidentially respected. Maureen Moore, 2045 Trafalgar, Vancouver, B.C. V6K 3S5.

FEMINIST CAMPENZA/HAIRSPERON REQUIRED for some work on an apartment. Call (416) 537-7541.

BOUDICCA BOOKS

• SELLING OLD, RARE AND OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS

• SPECIALIZING IN BOOKS BY AND ABOUT WOMEN

SAMPLER SEVEN AVAILABLE SOON!

For Your Free Copy please call:

(416) 483-2431

or write

Boudicca Books

Attention T.T., P.O. Box 901

Station K Toronto, Ontario

M4P 2H2 CANADA

Shades of Scarlett

Speaking For Ourselves: Women of the South, ed. Maxine Alexander. New York: Pantheon Books 1984. 286 pp. \$15.50 Paper.

Reviewed by **Melanie Dugan**

The southern US, the part of North America which lies below the imaginary Mason-Dixon line is a world more unfamiliar to those of us who live in the north than are the cultures of northern Europe. It is a society firmly anchored in an agrarian way of life which, until recently, was not shaped by the demands of industry and technology that influenced life in the rest of North America. It is a world where life still moves at a pace determined by the seasons and the crops.

The social and economic structures in the south are different; they have been formed by forces other than the drive of industry and capital which have determined the course of history in the north. *Speaking For Ourselves* is a collection of fiction and non-fiction writing that explores these differences as they have affected the lives of southern women. Written by and about black, white, and coloured women, these essays are resonant with the voices of generations of women. They address themselves to the question: What are the lives of these women like? and set out to examine that question in two lights: the historical and the actual.

It's a big undertaking; the essayists are travelling through country that has already been closely scrutinized and documented by such keen observers as Carson McCullers, Flannery O'Connor and William Faulkner, and it is to the editor's credit that all the essays collected here are fresh and intriguing: The full spectrum of contemporary southern women's writing seems well-represented in the collection.

The essays are divided into sections and within each section are prose pieces, poems and non-fiction essays exploring the theme of each section.

The first half of the book is primarily an historical exploration of what life in the south was like for women who lived during the ante-



bellum period, and the post-Civil War era. The stereotypical image of southern women from this time is personified in the popular mind by Margaret Mitchell's Scarlett O'Hara in *Gone With the Wind*: frills and furbelows without, grit and pugnacity within. Listening to these women speak, in Dee Gilbert's "Legacy: Memories of Our Foremothers" and Margaret Jones Bolsterli's "It Seems To Help Me Bear It Better When She Knows About It" (the first a series of interviews, the second excerpts from a diary), it becomes apparent that it is the work the southern women did, work which was never-ending but which had to be done that kept people clothed, fed and life moving.

Much of the work which has traditionally been assumed to be done by men was done by women, from cutting wood to planting and

harvesting. Back-breaking work for the southern belle who, we have been led to believe by Hollywood and romance novelists, populated that part of the country. Indeed, there may have been some women who didn't toil day in and day out, but they were a select few; the lives of most women were arduous and these essays make it clear that what sustained the women in their work were their friendships with other women. Jane Bolsterli quotes Nannie Stillwell Jackson's diary: "I did some patching for Fannie today and took it to her... when I came back Mr. Jackson got mad at me for going there 3 times this evening said I went to talk about him and said I was working for to get him and Mr. Morgan in a row... I just talk to Fanny and tell her my troubles because it seems to help me bear it better when she knows about it." There are echoes of this statement, and variations on it, throughout the essays, from ante-bellum times to the present, indicating the continuing importance of women in one another's lives.

Historically we have been led to understand that the gulf between blacks and whites was wide and rarely bridged; reading this book we are given a different view. We see the real affection women held for each other, regardless of race, and we learn of the constant exchanges that went on between them. These women, black and white, were faced with lives of unrelenting labour. They eased the way for each other by sharing what little they had, by sewing, knitting and cooking for friends and neighbours, by delivering each other's babies and by burying the dead. And those who had special knowledge, like Constance Garcia-Barrio's great-grandmother whose herbal remedies are described in "Pipisewa, Calamus, and Pennyroyal" shared that knowledge freely with whoever was in need.

The second half of the book examines the lives of women today; have women's lives changed, and if they have, have the changes been for the better? These are provocative questions to which the essays offer no easy answers. Certain types of prejudice have lessened, through not disappeared, but new prejudices have surfaced as Mab Segrest

details in "I Lead Two Lives: Confessions of a Closet Baptist." Marat Moore, in "Coal-Mining Women" examines the lives of women who are gradually moving into what was until a decade or two ago an exclusively male job and, among other things, touches on the reluctance of some men to accept women in the mines.

Finally, there is Melissa Hield's "Women in the Texas ILGWU," a remarkable essay detailing the rise of trade unionism among female garment workers in Texas; remarkable in its clarity, in its description of the exploitation of these women and the actions that curtailed it, remarkable in the controlled undercurrent of outrage that informs it. Hield finishes by quoting Andrea Martinez, a Chicana garment worker and union member; "If you go alone nobody will listen, but if you go as a group... they will hear." This statement is central to *Speaking For Ourselves*; it articulates what these essays are about: the strength of these women when confronted by overwhelming odds; their willingness to work together, regardless of colour, toward a common goal; their determination to carry on for a better life, not so much for themselves, as the final section in the book makes clear, as for their children and all the other people who will come after them.

Unfortunately, not all the writing in the collection is up to the high standards set by Hield and Lee Howard, whose poem "The Rape Of Donna" gains dramatic power from its restraint. Some of the pieces that teeter on the edge of self-indulgence weaken the book's impact. On the whole, though, the essays are lucid and persuasive; the women are allowed to speak in their own voices without editorial tidying up and many who previously haven't had the means to tell their stories are given a forum in which to be heard. One finishes this book heartened by having had a glimpse into the lives of these tough, cagey and fiercely independent women.

Melanie Dugan is a Toronto writer originally from the US south.

TORONTO WOMEN'S BOOKSTORE

Visit us at our new permanent home on the corner of Harbord and Spadina.

Toronto Women's Bookstore
73 Harbord Street
Toronto M5S 1G4
922-8744

Sinking, Stealing
Jan Clausen \$12.50
"Ground breaking novel with much to say on the subject of lesbian parenting."

A Studio of One's Own
Ann Stokes \$11.25
Features "a glorious studio... for lesbians by lesbians."

My Mother's Body
Marge Piercy \$11.50
Piercy's latest collection of poetry.

The Birth Project
Judy Chicago \$24.95
Needlework expressing the awe, terror and fascination of birth.

The Lavender Couch
Dr. Marny Hall \$10.95
A consumer's guide to psychotherapy for lesbians and gay men.

Femfest Unfolds

by **Patricia Seaman**

Femfest 85, the third annual festival of women's art in Toronto, will be taking place in genuine celebratory fashion with much gaiety and fanfare throughout the month of May. This year, the Gallery 940 collective is organizing the event which will be seen in a variety of spaces, including Black Perspectives, the Pauline McGibbon Centre, Gallery 940, Page's Bookstore and the Rivoli. One of the objectives of this major multidisciplinary festival of women's art is to generate a venue for the creative work of feminists, lesbians, women of colour, working class and other women.

This festival is giving artists the opportunity to collaborate, thus freeing them from the isolation that is engendered by the patriarchal society. The segregation of women in industrial and post-industrial society has led to the suppression of the truth of women's experience. This exhibit reveals these truths; it is comprised of art grounded in the realities of women's lives.

When the collective first sent out their call for proposals, they were overwhelmed with the response—over 100 submissions were received. Of these, 41 proposals were chosen as those which best or most completely resolved the issues they engaged. The collective emphasized the painstaking process of elimination to which they were required to subject the proposals. They cited the high quality of the work and its diversity of political, social and aesthetic concerns as the cause for their protracted deliberation over which pieces to include in the show. Gina Stepaniuk, a gallery 940 collective member, said the submissions were mainly concerned with socially and personally specific issues and so insisted on being viewed in a personal and emotional context. Although the art retains its emotional quality it has gone beyond anger or bitterness with the patriarchy, concentrating instead on the concept of women's control/power over their

own bodies. The issues were predominantly concerned with sexuality, childbirth and the reproductive cycle. They also received a great deal of work with lesbian and erotic content.

Some of the more politically influenced submissions related to women's roles, censorship, pornography and the nuclear threat, though Stepaniuk mentioned that few women confronted the abortion issue. Perhaps women feel that this issue has been resolved on a personal level or that it is currently generating an adequate amount of publicity, whereas the aforementioned issues have as yet had minimal investigation from the women's perspective.

The media the artists chose to present their statements include visual art, store-front window installations, video, film, performance art, live music and readings.

Most importantly, and most unique to Femfest 85, a series of lectures, dialogues and panel discussions have been organized between the artists and the community. The artists will be appearing in the venues in which their work is shown, to provide statements and to contribute to discussion dealing with questions raised by and an analysis of their work. These discussions will necessarily encompass the artists' political, social and personal motivations and philosophies.

These discussions should prove to be phenomenally beneficial in a number of areas. They will help artists, women and the community confront self-censorship, as well as open a channel for productive interaction that should dissolve outdated and prejudicially established boundaries. This discourse may possibly help generate a more contemporary vocabulary for women's cultural work that through positive reinforcement will alter any negative connotations attached to the value of women's contributions; a progressive vocabulary which cannot be used by the unsympathetic to victimize or silence women. These discussions will encourage contact between women who have a wide variety of experi-

ences. They should also stimulate an educational interchange between feminist artists and the community, as well as publicize the extent and diversity of women's cultural work.

Publicizing events such as Femfest 85 is intrinsic to the continuing life of the feminist community. With this in mind and the necessary intent of placing the event in historical context a catalogue is planned to document the show. The catalogue will contain artist's statements and photographs of their work and will be distributed nationally and internationally.



Femfest 85 is not intended only as a maturation or retrospective show, although women's accumulative history will not be implied in the work. It is a celebratory contemporary women's art that will contribute to the development of mutual appreciation and critical awareness through the women's community and hopeful community at large. (For more information call Gallery 940, Tuesday to Saturday pm at (416) 466-2030.)

Patricia Seaman is a Toronto artist.

Veiled Allusions

Behind the Veil: Nuns; directed by Margaret Wescott; cinematography by Susan Trow; edited by Rosemarie Shapley; written and narrated by Gloria Demers; produced by Signe Johansson; executive producer, Kathleen Shannon; A Studio D, NFB Production.

by Susan G. Cole

The Catholic Church, as we know, is rife with hypocrisy. It espouses justice and yet champions its rigid hierarchy; it cries out for the poor and yet hoards property with an awesome greed; it protects its flock but makes half of it – the female half – second class citizens.

According to filmmaker Margaret Wescott of the National Film Board's Studio D, it was not always this way. In her two-part film *Behind the Veil: Nuns*, Wescott uncovers the first principles and even some history of a Church that at one time embraced women as equals, celebrated women's creativity and leadership and challenged the pre-Christian misogyny of a culture that had rejected the goddess and particularly her links with nature. Jesus's first major healing was of a woman. He considered women peers and talked to them as such in the face of the astonishment and admonition of his disciples whom he had to chastise for shutting women out. It was the women who stayed with Jesus at the crucifixion: the men had all fled, fearing for their own lives. According to the Gospel, it was to a woman that Jesus first appeared after he had risen, and it was in the houses of women that Christianity developed in its early years.

Ireland seems to have been the place where the smoothest transition from the ancient Celtic religion to the introduction of Christian values occurred. Saints Patrick and Brigit, the two "columns" on which Ireland is said to rest, founded a Christian tradition in which women had equality, and sometimes power that was exercised in monasteries where women engaged in scholarly pursuits and in the healing arts. According to Wescott, the Irish experience proves that Jesus's vision did not have to be realized as one that is patriar-

chal to the core, and that it was corrupted by a patriarchal Catholic Church which, in spite of the fact that women outnumber men in religious service two to one, offers to women who desire a life of spirituality that single option of being a nun.

Wescott's nuns are an assortment of believers. They run the gamut of cloistered sisters living in a kind of "ghastly servitude" where discipline is harsh and commitment is total, to the so-called active nuns in Chicago whose commitment is just as strong but who run a shelter for assaulted women in the real world. What is fascinating about these women, and it is a major thesis of the film, is that their practice and belief express more closely the fundamental values of Christianity than do the patriarchs in Rome who will not let them stand at the altar. "That paternalism and authoritarianism of the church," says one sister, "is not all the notion of gentleness that our father Jesus taught on the hillside." She is now teaching theology at a major university, out of her habit, active in the world, and anxious to bring the Church back to where Jesus envisioned it could go.

After the 16th century, until 1962, when Pope John XXIII urged the community of nuns to re-examine the original intentions of the foundresses of the order, the bishops prescribed all the rules for the sisters. The bishops were the ones who forbade nuns from reading newspapers, or being in touch with the outside, thus making piety intertwine with ignorance. Bishops were the ones who kept nuns confined to a uniform so uncomfortable one sister complained of ringing ears, and who made nuns work for unspeakably low wages because the Church had promised the dioceses a pool of cheap labour.

Behind the Veil is a relentless reminder of who's still in charge. Pope John Paul II, the Church's reigning Superstar, says his weekly public mass; the bishops air themselves out after a sumptuous feast, even the lowliest of priests' positions in the hierarchy is not even remotely threatened by any of the women who have been called into religious service. One of the most compelling images in the

film, the kind that lingers, is of a priest celebrating mass and placing the wafer on the tongues of a seemingly endless line of nuns. He manages a combination of beatitude and arrogance that could be called unholy were it not typical of so many men in the Church.

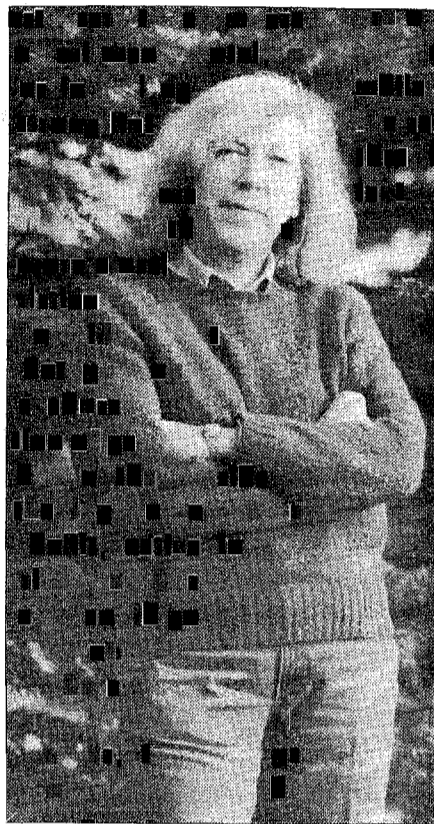
Visually, the film is a triumph for cinematographer Susan Trow, whose hills of Rome are a shimmering green and whose snows of Québec evoke the asceticism of the cloisters while still glinting in the sun. The film surveys the religious paintings, frescoes and mosaics that illustrate Gloria Demers illuminating text. But the centrepieces of *Behind the Veil*

are those glorious interiors and exteriors of Churches and monasteries that provide spectacular subjects for Trow's impressive gifts.

As is often the case with films that cover such an ambitious amount of territory, both literally – the crew travelled to Ireland and Rome, as well as to remote areas of Québec – and historically – Demers takes us from the pre-Christian era to the present – there is a tendency in *Behind the Veil* to cram in the information at the expense of the interviewees. Is this a history lesson, or an attempt to uncover the motivations of these extraordinary women who have answered the calling? It is sometimes difficult to tell, and though the film's insights are many, the voices of the nuns themselves are sometimes overwhelmed.

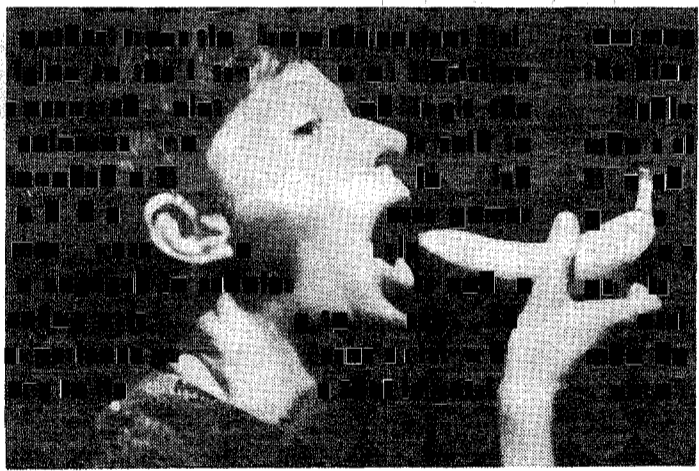
With the exception of Sarah's, which for all intents and purposes is silenced in the convent, the voices are among the most radicalizing in the Church today. As they speak about the ordination of women; as they speak outside the Pentagon where a group of active sisters is protesting American militarism; as they speak of the theology of liberation which has the potential to rock the foundations of the Catholic Church; as they speak of the Church's internal injustice as "sinfulness," you have to wonder how long the Church will be able to hold up under the pressure. The intelligence of these women is beyond question, their commitment is strong, their faith, in spite of the Church's apparent disdain for it, is intact. The Church cannot afford to lose them. This is very much the message in *Behind the Veil*.

The point of the film is not to question the choices made by the individual women interviewed. Even life in the cloisters has its virtues. There is a lovely sequence in which the sisters come out into the sun to play volleyball, their wimples flying in the wind under straw sunhats. Their pleasures may be few but they come from sisterhood and community. *Behind the Veil* never patronizes. It simply wants to know how much longer the talent and faith of women in the Church can be squandered by the male supremacists within it. ●



Director Margaret Wescott

Daydreams and Night Cows



CHERYL DANIELS

Gay Bell reading from Marchessault's *Lesbian Triptych*.

The English translation of Jovette Marchessault's book of three short stories, *Lesbian Triptych* was launched on April 14 at the Rivoli in Toronto. A reading and performance were presented by the Toronto Women's Bookstore and the Women's Press. Marchessault was unfortunately unable to attend, but her translator, Yvonne Klein was present, as well as Barbara Godard who had written an excellent introduction to the book.

Gay Bell did a half hour performance excerpted from the first piece in the triptych, "A Lesbian Chronicle from Medieval Quebec." Attired in red hose, red underpants emblazoned with a pussy cat on the pubis, a richly embroidered clerical doublet, with a family size Kentucky Fried Chicken bucket on her head, Bell brought the blasphemous text off the page and into the audience. Rejeanne Guay read sections from the French text, including "Les Vaches de Nuit" (Night Cows).

The doubleness of day and night, as manifested in the behaviour of woman under the patriarchy, is a Marchessault theme which comes up again in "A Lesbian Chronicle" when she reminisces about childhood encounters with her cousin, who has a day self and a night self. Spending summer holidays with relatives in rural Ontario, young Jovette exults in the company of her day-cousin who is "all life, flying limbs, and... fits of crazy laughter." But at night, when her 'bloke' or 'choke' comes to visit, she is a different per-

son – morose, lethargic, eyes blank, cataleptic. In "Night Cows" the order is reversed. "My mother is a cow!... By day, I see her wandering aimlessly, sweating, slobbering, and swelling... By day, my mother appears shabby, even drab, but at night she takes out her black and white gown, the one that has spots scattered here and there, their flickering producing an extraordinary suggestion of midnight blue. And that gown... has a splendour of its own. It seems to have swallowed up the starry sky on a night when the moon is full. And that gown clings to her body from neck to foot. My mother is so beautiful!... Her fine, supple, living skin, covered with short and shining hair, her milky teats, her belly where the fur lies in sweet and lustrous waves, her horns, which she flattens out by day, tucking them discreetly under her chignon, but which she wears at night like the crescent moon, with their points thrusting forward. A beauty, my mother, a beauty perpetually tempered by the drops of milk which fall noiselessly in our solitude. When she invests me, in my turn, in my night dress, a double enchantment binds us to one another."

The third piece is called "The Angel Makers," the name given to the women who perform abortions. *Lesbian Triptych* contains an outpouring of poetic language and leaps of imagination. It is exhilarating, inspiring, exotic reading.

-A.H.

NIGHTWOOD THEATRE PRESENTS TWO INTERNATIONAL TOURS

direct from San Francisco
The Plutonium Players in

Ladies Against Women

a wacky award winning
evening of consciousness-lowering!

May 15 to May 18, 1985
Theatre Centre, 296 Brunswick Avenue

May 19, 1985
Trinity St. Paul's United Church
427 Bloor Street West
presented in association with
WOMYNLY WAY

On tour from New York, New Haven, Phoenix, and Houston

TIME & SPACE UNLIMITED

Directed by Linda Mussman

lyrical, visually stunning and provocative
... "Mussman delights in enigmas"
—New York Times

May 8-12, 1985
Wed.-Sat. 8:30 pm, Sun. 2:30 and 8:30 pm

FOR RESERVATIONS AND INFORMATION
CALL 927-8998

Quintessentially Quebec

by Amanda Hale

Michel Tremblay has created a character—Albertine. As with many of Tremblay's characters, she would seem to be a symbol of Québec. In *Albertine, In Five Times* at Toronto's Tarragon Theatre, we see Albertine at ten year intervals, from the age of 30 to 70. The richness of the Tarragon production, directed by Bill Glassco, is generated by a fine cast of actors. The five manifestations of Albertine are onstage throughout the 90 minute production. They communicate with each other, as well as with Madeleine, the sister who acts as foil, support and confidante.

Albertine, In Five Times is a dark play. As a metaphor of the Québec socio-political situation it is accurate, but as a portrayal of a woman confined by one circumstance after another, finally bursting into mid-life freedom, only to be struck down again by external circumstances, and finally resigning herself to the apparent limitations of her life, it is questionable. Tremblay has always written full-bodied female characters with tremendous warmth and sympathy but Albertine, rich as she is, is ultimately sacrificed to the political parallel.

The play opens with Albertine at 70, played by Doris Petrie, entering her room for the first time, as she arrives at a home for the aged in 1982. She is like an animal sniffing out its lair, all her senses attuning to the new environment. The place smells funny, the bed is hard, but there is a comfortable rocker, and she plans the placement of her television. She is philosophical, resigned: "Might as well get used to it. This is home now." At 70, Albertine is emotionally neutral. All the voices of her past selves bounce off her. She offers the tempering of age and acceptance, the knowledge of a lifetime of fluctuating emotion, in a balancing act with the earlier impassioned selves.

The political history of Québec serves here as a parallel to recent feminist history. A province under the yoke of the catholic church, the Quiet Revolution of the 60s, the possibility of political autonomy arising in the 70s, the resignation of the 80s as political promise fades and is subsumed by the gravity of the

global situation under the influence of right wing forces. But the feminist movement endures and becomes part of a wider consciousness in opposition to the regressive forces at play in the world, despite the disillusionment suffered by some individual women. So when we see Albertine resigning herself to a hard bed and a television in a smelly institutional room we cannot see her as a universal figure, but only as a particular woman who has had a tough lot in life. But that's OK. Her story, as told by these particular actors, is gripping.

Albertine at 30, played by Susan Coyne, sits on the verandah of her mother's house at Duhamel. The year is 1942. She is the mother of two children. She is consumed by unexplained anger, and by a very specific murderous impulse towards her 11 year old daughter who is playing sexual games with a grown man. The daughter is learning early to relate to men as a sexual object, and she subsequently follows a classic pattern into prostitution.

Clare Coulter plays Albertine at 40 and gives a brilliant portrayal of a woman clenched like a fistful of anger and bitterness. The tension is palpable from the moment Coulter comes onstage and commences her rapid rhythmic rocking on the balcony of the Montréal house which Albertine shares with her mother and her two children. The pain of Albertine at 40 is made bearable only by the humour which Coulter brings to the role. Albertine is pithy, explosive and bitterly comic. She is exasperated by her mother and by the responsibility of a retarded son and a wayward daughter. It's not my fault, she complains. Their father was stupid—so stupid he got himself killed in the war. It is the humour of a survivor who is in danger of being destroyed by her own violence.

Patricia Hamilton's Albertine at 50 is a waitress, leaning on the counter of her restaurant in parc Lafontaine. She is cheerful, breezy, and as such seems to have no connection with the other Albertines, until we learn the reasons for her transformation and subsequent degeneration. The mother has died, the daughter has left, and she has put the boy into a home for their mutual well-being. For the first time in her life she is free. She is able to



Five faces of Albertine: (from left) Patricia Hamilton, Susan Coyne, Clare Coulter, Doris Petrie, Joy Coghill.

get a job, she has money to buy clothes—"not fancy, not expensive, but nice." And she does not complicate her life with men. Her liberation at 50 is almost pathetic in its simplicity. She revels in the joy of going out to work each day, singing. She is famous around parc Lafontaine for her bacon, lettuce and tomato sandwiches with mayo. But this plateau does not last. When the 50 year old, during the interweaving of the life phases, tells the embittered trapped 40 year old, "This will pass," 60 year old Albertine, played by Joy Coghill, says "Yes, and it will come back again too."

Coghill plays her role from a bed, isolated from the other actors behind a screen. Albertine at 60 is in the process of psychic and physical deterioration, resorting to various forms of medication to control her pain. Coghill plays Albertine as a crusty disillusioned woman, confined to bed, crushed by the grief and guilt brought on by her daughter's murder, who was discovered, bloody, in a Montreal room, by the police. When they ask Albertine to go and identify the girl, as next of kin, she explodes with indignation. "Next of kin? I made her!"

We tend to visualize life as a developing journey, an unfolding, an ascent. But Alber-

tine's life peaks during her 50s, and then her personal victory over circumstances is demolished by an external act of violence, which brings her tumbling back down into her old bitterness, compounded by guilt for her inability to protect her daughter. However, it is apparent that her emotions level out into the calm acceptance of the 70 year old who admonishes her recent self for her complaints and her reliance on drugs. Coghill seems isolated behind her screen, rooted to the bed, and it is a relief when she finally moves centre stage and makes closer contact with the other actors. Her powerful presence however is felt throughout in this beautifully balanced cast of characters.

Albertine's sister, Madeleine, is played by Susan Wright with a warmth and clarity which contrasts vividly with Albertine's dark convoluted passion. If you saw them in colours, Madeleine would be pink, Albertine would be deep oxblood.

The play contains a balance of colloquial and poetic language. Although Tremblay is not saying anything new, it is a play of depth and luminosity, bodied forth by six exceptionally talented women.

Somewhere special just for you
and your women friends

CLUB IVORY TORONTO'S NEWEST
BAR FOR WOMEN

Enjoy conversation and
candlelight in a friendly
relaxing atmosphere

Female musicians
nightly



Club Ivory

414 Church Street in Toronto • just south of
Carlton • open seven nights
• Monday to Friday, 5:30-1:00
• Saturday, 7:00-1:00 • Sunday, 5:30-11:00
• no cover • snacks available • (416) 977-4702



The Perfect Place for a Country Getaway

Prinstern Acres Guesthouse in the heart of Ontario, is the most complete resort of its kind. Located in the town of Bognor, 23 km south east of Owen Sound and just two hours drive from the city of Toronto.

Prinstern is ideally situated for a complete vacation get-away. You can drive through the beautiful countryside or walk along the many interesting trails.

Indoor and outdoor sports abound at Prinstern. A large selection of board games are available in the farmhouse. Outside we offer cross country skiing, skating, trout fishing in our stream, swimming in the heated pool, horseback riding and downhill skiing nearby.

At Prinstern you will stay in our century farmhouse or pitch a tent under the stars on one of our campsites along the river. Throughout your stay, you will be nurtured by the friendly charm of your hosts Janice and Lian.

Reserve space now for your stay at Prinstern!

Call (416) 927-7574

or write to Prinstern Acres Guesthouse
c/o 255 Gerard St. East
Toronto, Ontario M5A 2G1

Prinstern is yours to enjoy!

Prinstern Acres Guesthouse

● **Wednesday, May 1:** FemFest '85 exhibitions open around Toronto at various locations. For information about this month-long festival, call Nina Forte, 466-2030. To Saturday, May 25.

● **Wednesday, May 1:** "Sojourns" - an exhibit of colour photographs by Elaine Ling. Idée Gallery, 112 Queen St. East. Info: 364-9989. To Friday, May 17.

● **Wednesday, May 1:** "Shutdown," a film by Laura Sky, about the traumatic close-down of an American branch plant. 12:15 pm. NFB Theatre, 1 Lombard St. Free. Info: 369-4094.

● **Wednesday, May 1:** "Perceptions: Selected Women's Holography." Interference Hologram Gallery, 008-1179A King St. West. Info: 535-2323. Show continues to Saturday, May 11.

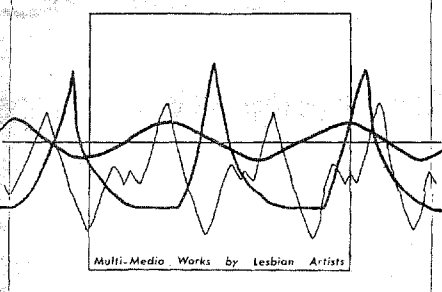
● **Wednesday, May 1:** "Moving Forward with Young Women," a free evening of discussion for young women offered by the YWCA. Learn about summer intern programs, work/study programs in Canadian high schools, exchanges with youth overseas, volunteer opportunities and work experience while travelling. YWCA, 2532 Yonge St. 7:30 pm. Info: 487-7151.

● **Wednesday, May 1:** "Re-enactment," a sign/installation by Paulette Phillips. A Space, 204 Spadina Ave. Info: 364-3227.

● **Thursday, May 2:** Lesbian Phone Line organizational meeting. Interested women, prospective volunteers welcome. 525 Bloor St. West, 2nd floor. 7:30 pm. Info: 533-6120.

● **Thursday, May 2:** "Bratty": exciting debut of Ken Myhr (formerly with Jane Siberry) with Bratty's band. Horseshoe Tavern, 368 Queen St. West. \$4. Info: 598-4753.

● **Friday, May 3:** "Unparallel Views," the lesbian art show presented by Branching Out, includes work by Mary Lyons, Nina Levitt, Lynn Fernie, Persimmon Blackridge, Anna Marie Smith and others. 8 pm, Sparkes Gallery, 1114 Queen St. West. Info: 531-1243.



● **Saturday, May 4:** Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL) 11th annual meeting. Keynote address "Faith and Choice: Religious Perspectives on Abortion" by Marjorie Maguire, Ph.D. and Catholic theologian. "The Silent Scream" will be screened. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Rm. 72, Learning Resources Centre. 9 am-4:45 pm. Registration: \$25 (\$5 limited income). Billeting available. Info: 961-1507.

● **Saturday, May 4:** "Revolutionary Romp," a dance with DJ Deb Parent, kicks off Rape Awareness Week. Party Centre, 167 Church St. 8 pm. All women welcome. Tickets \$5 at Toronto Women's Bookstore and Glad Day, pay what you can at SCM Bookstore. \$6 at the door. Info and childcare: 964-7477.

● **Saturday, May 4:** Womynly Way presents Ronnie Gilbert (of the Weavers) in concert. Trinity-St. Paul's United Church, 427 Bloor St. West. 8 pm. \$8.50 advance, \$9.50 at the door. Childcare available. Wheelchair accessible. Interpreted for the hearing impaired. Info: 925-6568.

● **Saturday, May 4:** Social gathering for women and men in Gays and Lesbians in Health Care. 8:30 pm. Info and location: 920-GLHC.

● **Sunday, May 5:** "Sexual Assault and the Disabled Woman: A Forum" sponsored by Disabled People Working Together/Push Central as part of Rape Awareness Week. 341 Bloor St. West, 2nd floor. 1-3 pm. All women welcome. Wheelchair accessible. Interpreted for the hearing impaired. Free. Info: Cathy, 530-0537.

● **Sunday, May 5:** Lesbian Mothers' Pot Luck Brunch. Food and friendship. 1-4 pm. Info: 465-6822.

OUTSIDE BROADSIDE

TORONTO WOMEN'S EVENTS CALENDAR

MAY 1985

Compiled by Catherine Maunsell

● **Sunday, May 5:** Ravenwing: an introduction to women's spirituality and ritual. 2:30 pm. 33 St. George St. Info: Janice Canning, 626-5465 or 533-2738.

● **Monday, May 6:** The Toronto Rape Crisis Centre film night with "A Wife's Tale," "You Have Struck a Rock" and "Pink Triangles" followed by a discussion period. 519 Church St. 7:30 pm. Pay what you can at the door. Info: 964-7477.

Week of May 6

● **Tuesday, May 7:** Lesbian Phone Line open tonight for calls from women. 7:30-10:30 pm. 533-6120. Also Tuesdays, May 14, 21 and 28.

● **Wednesday, May 8:** "Immigration and Ethnicity in Ontario: An Exploration in Women's History" - a conference sponsored by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario and Ethnic and Immigration Studies Program (U of T). St. Michael's College, 121 St. Joseph St. \$25 (students and seniors \$15). Info: 979-2973. To Friday, May 10.

● **Wednesday, May 8:** The Toronto Rape Crisis Centre hosts a public forum on community organizing: "Staying Alive," an open discussion of strategies for action in Conservative, right-wing Ontario. Location TBA. Info: 964-7477.

● **Wednesday, May 8:** "Sexual Politics" - reproductive rights, porn and other issues. One of a series of talks sponsored by the IWDC: What's happening in the women's movement, and what is the role of socialist feminism? 7:30 pm. Gladstone Library, 1101 Bloor St. West. Info: 789-4541.

● **Thursday, May 9:** Self-defence course sponsored by the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre. Classes from 7-9:30 pm. Course ends June 13. \$35, \$15 unemployed. Subsidies available. Registration and info: 964-7477.

● **Friday, May 10:** Women's Culture/Women's Music: BJ and Maxine, Diane Barbarash, musicians; Irene Grainger, Mary O'Connell, dance. \$4. 8:30 pm. New Trojan Horse Café, 179 Danforth Ave. Info: 461-8367.

● **Friday, May 10:** Women's Independent Thoughtz (WITZ). A seminar/discussion group for the exchange of ideas and creative endeavours in art, literature, philosophy and political thought. 7 pm. Topic: Biological Determinism: Enemy or Ally? Info: 536-3162 or 766-9496.

● **Friday, May 10:** Open House at the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre. Talk with TRCC members, visit their community library and share ideas about work they are doing. 340 College St., Apt. 2, 12-5 pm. Info: 964-7477.

● **Friday, May 10:** "Foreign Affairs" a woman only dance jointly sponsored by Branching Out and The International Gay Association Women's Caucus, Ukrainian National Community Centre, 297 College St. 8:30-1:30 am. Advance tickets \$6 at Toronto Women's Bookstore and Glad Day. \$7 at the door. (\$5 unemployed.) Childcare available, call Peg 927-8154 or Chris 968-6744.

● **Saturday, May 11:** Trojan Horse Anniversary and Dance. Performers TBA. 8:30 pm. \$4. New Trojan Horse Café, 179 Danforth Ave. Info: 461-8367.

● **Saturday, May 11:** The Lesbian Mothers' Defense Fund is holding a bazaar at the Community Centre, 519 Church St. 12-4 pm. Info: 465-6822.

Week of May 13

● **Monday, May 13:** Equal Opportunity Workshop on Charter of Rights and Freedoms, with lawyers Beth Symes and William Black. 7 pm. Toronto City Hall Council Chamber. Info: 947-7795.



Nightwood Theatre's "Ladies Against Women" - May 15-19.

● **Wednesday, May 15:** Nightwood Theatre presents "Ladies Against Women: An Evening of Consciousness-Lowering!" - a zany spoof on the sex roles, social rules and human rights of the Right. The Theatre Centre, 296 Brunswick Ave., and Trinity-St. Paul's, 427 Bloor St. West. Info: 927-8998. To Sunday, May 19.

● **Wednesday, May 15:** "Equality in the Workplace: Fact or Fiction?" a conference sponsored by the Affirmative Action Committee, George Brown College. 9 am to 3 pm. \$20. Info: 967-1212.

● **Thursday, May 16:** Singer Jane Sapp, an evening of blues and gospel, co-sponsored by DEC, Trojan Horse, Sister Vision and the Black Feminist Collective. The New Trojan Horse Café, 179 Danforth Ave. Info: 461-8367. Also Friday, May 17.

● **Thursday, May 16:** A discussion evening for Gays and Lesbians in Health Care. Topic: Gay Morality. Info and Location: 920-GLHC.

● **Friday, May 17:** 4th Conference in Solidarity with Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, sponsored by the Chilean Women's Front (Frente Amplio Femenino). Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, 350 Victoria St. To Sunday, May 19.

● **Thursday, May 16:** A Space sponsors an Anti-Censorship Benefit to cover court costs. The Bam Boo Club, 312 Queen St. West. Tickets \$7 advance, \$9 door. Info: 364-3227.

● **Sunday, May 19:** "Blood is for Bleeding" - taped cassette documentary on the menstrual experience, with Marlene Phillip and Joss McClennan. 5 pm. 1087 Queen St. West. Info: 466-2030.

Week of May 20

● **Tuesday, May 21:** Discussion with FemFest '85 artists, sponsored by the Women's Art Resources Centre. 8 pm. Black Perspectives Studio, 334 King St. East, Ste. 401. Info: 466-2030.

● **Wednesday, May 22:** FemFest '85 performance and music. Performance, Mara Ravins; installation and performance, Amanda Hale and Lynn Hutchinson; music by Bratty and the Heratix. 8 pm. Horseshoe Tavern, 368 Queen St. West. Info: 466-2030.

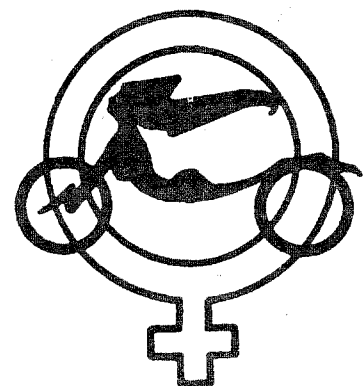
● **Thursday, May 23:** The Canadian Women's Movement Archives needs volunteers. Open meeting. 7 pm. 455 Spadina Ave. (at College), Ste. 215. Info: 597-8865.

Week of May 27

● **Saturday, May 25:** FemFest '85 benefit dance. 8 pm. The Party Centre, 167 Church St. \$5/4 advance; \$6/5 door. Info: 466-2030.

● **Saturday, May 25:** Rummage and Book Sale at the Community Centre, 519 Church St. 10-3 pm. Info: 923-2778.

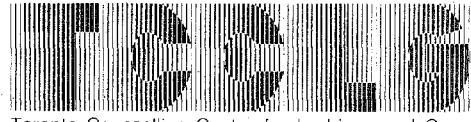
● **Tuesday, May 29:** FemFest '85 presents music by Fluffy Goes to Etobicoke and B and D Express; and performance by Shawna Dempsey, Janine Fuller, Jillian Cameron, Ann Walsh. 8 pm. The Rivoli, 334 Queen St. West. Info: 466-2030. To Friday, May 17.



● **Friday, May 31:** Last day of early registration for the Women's Motorcycle Festival '85, to be held August 23-26 at a private camp in the heart of the Finger Lakes. Registration closes July 31. Write: W.M.F. '85, 7 Lent Ave., LeRoy, New York, 14482. Info: (716) 768-6054.

Space for \$51

For as little as \$51 a month (multiple insertion rate) you too can advertise your concert, meeting, business, anything. It's a deal!



Toronto Counseling Centre for Lesbians and Gays
401-105 Carlton St., Toronto, Canada M5B 1M2 (416) 977-2153

Toronto Counseling Centre for Lesbians and Gays

announces its

Annual General Meeting

Monday, May 27, 1985

7:30 pm

at 519 Church Street Community Centre

The agenda will include:

The Chairperson's report to the membership
and elections to the Board of Directors

All members are requested to attend.

Anyone who would like to become involved with the TCCLG
is encouraged to come by

All Are Welcome

Broadside CLASSIFIEDS

TORONTO WOMEN'S HOUSING CO-OPERATIVE: Wanted! Women identified women with or without kids. Living at "The Béguinage" means co-operatively owning your own home in downtown Toronto, without a down payment. Monthly housing charges \$430-\$700 plus utilities. An exciting community of women working together to make a home that is more than just a place to live. Call (416) 925-2475, ext. 330.

1979 SUZUKI 550 GL, good looking, low mileage, dressed, well maintained, will certify, asking \$1500 or B.O. Yvonne, (416) 355-2824.

SPACE AVAILABLE in feminist women's house. One or two rooms; large, sunny, warm home. Backyard, garden, bsm't for extra work space. Non-smoking. College/Dovercourt area. Call (416) 536-0478.

RE-EVALUATION COUNSELLING: woman looking for co-counselling partner. Call Lisa(416) 531-2668, woman only.

HIRING: Political organizer for the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC). 6 month contract position ending in late fall. Interested candidates should send resumés to OCAC, PO Box 753, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2Z1

WOMEN WANTED for co-operative problem-solving support group. Interested women need to be over 30, lesbian, and have had at least a year of therapy. This is not a therapy group. Phone Linda at (416) 466-0766.

LESBIAN AND GAY ARTISTS! The International Gay Association and Gallery 940 are sponsoring an exhibition featuring Lesbian and Gay artists, to be shown at Gallery 940 and ARC during the IGA Conference (June 30-July 7). The theme is "Smashing Borders- Opening Spaces". Please submit proposals, including 3-4 slides and bio, with S.A.S.E., by May 15 to: IGA Conference Committee, 105 Carlton Street, 4th Floor, Toronto, M5B 1M2, attention: Exhibition. Info: Lisa Beth, (416) 469-4436.

- 25¢ a word (\$3 minimum)
- First word in **bold face**
- Ads accepted up to 20th of the month
- All classified ads must be *pre-paid*
- Fill out the coupon and send it with cheque or money order to:
Broadside, PO Box 494, Stn P, Toronto M5S 2T1

No. of words _____ Name _____

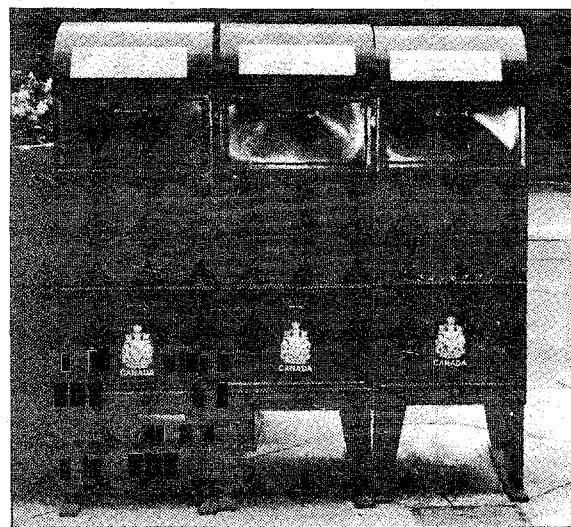
Amount \$ _____ Address _____

Cheque _____

Money Order _____ Telephone _____

AD COPY: _____

(type or print clearly)



Feed these starving boxes today!
Mail in your subscription to *Broadside* now!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Broadside

PO Box 494, Station P, Toronto M5S 2T1

- \$13/10 issues \$25/20 issues
 \$50/20 issues (sustaining)

(Add \$2 for out-of-Canada addresses.
Institutional rates: \$20/10 issues,
\$35/20 issues.)

- New Subscription
 Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Code _____

Broadside

P.O. BOX 494, STATION P.

TORONTO - ONTARIO - CANADA - M5S 2T1

Second Class Mail Registration No.: 4771

ISSN: 0225-6843

New College Ivey Library
Univ. of Toronto,
20 Willcocks St.
Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A1

Dec 85