

# Broadside

A FEMINIST REVIEW

Double Issue

Vol. 2, Nos 1 & 2

Oct./Nov. 1980

\$1.50



## Mothers of Confederation

MOTHERS OF CONFEDERATION, OCTOBER, 1980

Copies of this poster are available from the office of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, 40 St. Clair Avenue East, Toronto, Ontario, M4T 1M9.

INSIDE  
**BROADSIDE**

**NEWS**

**STRIKE BACK:** Women hit the streets to fight the bosses in unprecedented numbers. Many are white-collar workers and on strike for the first time. Page 4.  
**AT THE HUSTINGS:** With Toronto municipal elections on November 10, *Broadside* looks at women's role and talks to some of the candidates. Page 6.  
**TIME BOMB:** Helen Caldicott, anti-nuke activist, says we have only two years left, and looks to women to stop the insanity. Page 5.

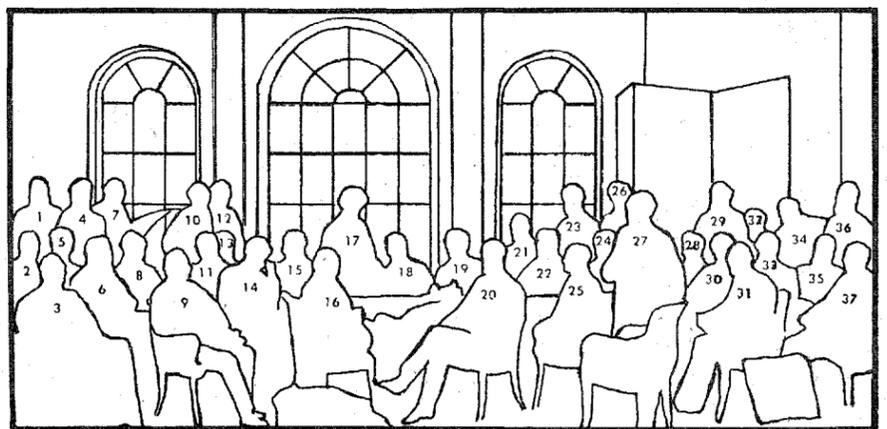
**MODEL OF THE PAST:** To clarify the underpinnings of our patriarchal present, Judith Quinlan speculates on aspects of our matriarchal past, in the first of a two-part feature. Page 10.  
**MODEL FOR THE FUTURE:** *Broadside* presents Artemis March's paper on feminist theory, first given at the Second Sex Conference, New York, 1979. Page 14.

**COMMENT**

**TRIPARTISM IN POLAND:** The Church, the State and what? a labour movement in Poland? Eve Zaremba comments. Page 9.  
**INVISIBLE LESBIANS:** The community responds to Val Edward's contention that it's invisible. Page 3.  
**BNA, ANYONE?** Mary Hemlow, *Broadside's* Ottawa correspondent, answers searching questions about the Constitution — it has something to do with diet and the Queen's health. Page 17.  
**RAPE RELIEF:** Anti-rape centres unwittingly help prop up the very institutions which condone rape and violence against women. Page 27.

**ARTS**

**FILM:** Toronto's 'Festival of Festivals'; *As If It Were Yesterday*.  
**BOOKS:** *Common Ground*; *Still Life with Woodpecker*; *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory*.  
**TV:** *Playing for Time*.



**KEY**

- |                          |                         |                      |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Fiona Nelson           | 12 Lone Christenson     | 25 Hellie Wilson     |
| 2 Anne Johnston          | 13 Margaret Atwood      | 26 Rosemary Brown    |
| 3 Angela Miles           | 14 Unknown              | 27 NAC Member        |
| 4 Union Woman            | 15 Myrna Mather         | 28 Native Woman      |
| 5 Jane Rule              | 16 Dr. Stowe-Gullen     | 29 Margaret Laurence |
| 6 Abby Hoffman           | 17 Joan Pakota          | 30 Grace Hartman     |
| 7 Mary Eberts            | 18 Nellie McClung       | 31 Unknown           |
| 8 Mary Eadie             | 19 Senator Ferguson     | 32 Chaika Waisman    |
| 9 Judith Palmer-Davidson | 20 Elsie Gregory McGill | 33 Gunta Gutmanis    |
| 10 Ceta Ramkhalawansingh | 21 Shelagh Wilkinson    | 34 NAC Member        |
| 11 Penny Kome            | 22 Erna Paris           | 35 Nora Rodd         |
|                          | 23 Mme Ferron           | 36 Inuit Woman       |
|                          | 24 Native Woman         | 37 Kay Macpherson    |

renew  
today!

Your subscription may be expiring.

Check the date on your address label and send us a cheque.

## Broadside

### EDITORIAL

Philinda Masters, Editor  
Judith Lawrence, Photography  
Jean Wilson, Books  
Barbara Halpern Martineau, Films

### PRODUCTION

Philinda Masters, Co-ordinator  
Deena Rasky, Layout  
Elaine Johnson  
Kathy Shaw

### DISTRIBUTION

Beverley Allinson, Co-ordinator  
Nancy Dodington  
Ottie Lockey  
Susan Power  
Carol Rowe  
Kate Swann

### CIRCULATION

Eve Zaremba, Co-ordinator  
Flora Macquarrie

### ADVERTISING

Ottie Lockey, Co-ordinator

### FINANCIAL/LEGAL

Jane Hastings

### OTHER PARTICIPANTS THIS ISSUE:

Edith Hoffman  
Dana Janssen  
Wendy Mellanby  
Ruth Tockstein

**COLLECTIVE MEMBERS:** Beverley Allinson, Susan G. Cole, Jane Hastings, Judith Lawrence, Philinda Masters, Deena Rasky, Judy Stanleigh, Jean Wilson, Eve Zaremba.

## The Long, Hard Road

*Item:* At Bishop's, an English-language University in Quebec, students held a book burning recently. Up in smoke went their Annual Student Handbook, while its gay editor lay in hospital badly beaten. He had come-out as a homosexual and the Handbook contained some local tips for gays, such as "Lennoxville has no gay bars." (Source: *The Body Politic*, November 1980)

*Item:* At the same time in Toronto, the country's most 'progressive' Board of Education was holding a public meeting to discuss the possibility of liaison with the gay community. The Toronto board has a number of such liaison committees with various segments of the public. A liaison committee with gays would have merely acknowledged the existence of homosexual students, teachers and parents and their special problems in a heterosexist society.

With full collaboration from a number of Board members, including the Chair, the meeting was taken over by right-wing bigots, many clutching bibles. In this spirit of Christian charity it became a hate-fest. As one woman expressed it afterwards: "If they'd had guns we would all be dead,"

Another commented: "Now I know how the Jews felt surrounded by Nazis."

At a subsequent meeting the idea of the liaison committee died a quick death as Board members vied with each other to assure the public that Toronto would not 'promote' homosexuality in its school system. As a sop to liberal consciences the Board added that neither will it practice discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Having made sure that homosexual students, teachers and other employees would stay safely in the closet and thus that its anti-discrimination rhetoric would not be put to the test, the board proceeded to more important matters involved in the education of our young — lessons in book-burning, perhaps?

Too bad that the Board meeting had not been full of civil libertarians, as it should have been. It would have been a revelation to them, an education and a consciousness-raising event of some impact. Too many of them like to believe that things have changed, that with higher profile gays have acquired 'rights' which are now protected. It is easy to believe that only weirdos trash and only weirdos get trashed, then the mat-

ter becomes of no consequence, not a 'good issue.' Civil libertarians may want to avoid making the obvious connection between what happened at the board, the book-burning at Bishop's, and the everyday life of a large section of the population. But feminists must make the connection. The oppression of lesbians is part and parcel of women's oppression. Intellectually, feminists accept that the control of our sexuality underpins patriarchy. We understand that the issue of lesbianism, along with abortion and access to better birth-control methods, is at the centre of our struggle against domination at the most basic level. That is what makes it a feminist issue par excellence. But there is a long, hard road between political awareness and practical application, which may produce personal discomfort and risk. Like other progressives, some feminists do not want to walk that road. They prefer to concentrate on other 'important' issues.

If combatting the viciousness of rampant homophobia is *not* on their list of priorities then there is something wrong with our liberal educators, civil libertarians and feminist activists.

— E.Z. for the Collective

## Necessary Abstraction

To a great extent, theory has been a thorn in the side of feminism. This may be a good sign rather than a bad one. Our difficulties in developing a complete theory exist simply because feminism covers so much ground; sexuality and reproduction, political institutions, social institutions like the family, economic structures — in a word, life. And, while some of us may have mused with mock seriousness over the meaning of life, it has been the feminist imperative to come up with just that — a definition, a rational approach that places all the issues feminism touches under a single umbrella.

Those explorers who have ventured onto theoretical terrain, particularly early in this so-called second wave, never really covered all the ground. Kate Millett, after incisively analyzing selected literary texts, meandered in the last pages of *Sexual Politics* through some vague notions of socialism and pacifism; the promise of a more substantial theory was never kept by Germaine Greer in her genitally fixated *Female Eunuch*; Shulamith Firestone in *The Dialectic of Sex* and Juliette Mitchell in *Women's Estate* could not have accomplished what they did without Karl Marx's methodology. These valiant attempts were followed by the never-ending series of 'Women and Anything'

books, and except for Mary Daly's *Gyn-Ecology*, which was gloriously descriptive but weak when it came to the tougher prescriptive elements, we have made only limited progress. We enter the eighties still without a theory.

Three articles published in this issue of *Broadside* give an indication of how wide our range must be if we are ever to emerge with a complete feminist theory. *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory*, reviewed here, is a collection of essays, academic in tone, which remind us that there is a substantial body of political thought, elements of which have to be examined from a feminist perspective and accepted and/or rejected before we can start again on our own. The fact is that the fathers (a word used advisedly here) of social theory did address the fundamental question of oppression. Our abilities to do the same can be enhanced if we understand the approaches of philosophers from Plato to Nietzsche and where they failed.

The editors of this collection, Lorene Clark and Lynda Lange, have also given us some fundamental guidelines for a complete social theory, the most important being the recognition of reproduction as a basic element of political life. Artemis March

comes to the same conclusion independently and has developed a paradigm for feminist theory, complete with matrices and definitions, that *Broadside* has the good fortune to publish this month.

And if that were not enough, Judith Quinlan, in the first of a two part article, tells us that before we can understand patriarchy, we have to understand what it replaced. Quinlan gives us another viewpoint. She fashions an argument for the existence of a matriarchal social order that preceded the political and social culture which Plato and his successors represent and which Artemis March analyzes. And so we must not only have a historical perspective and a grounding in difficult texts. It is not enough even to have the methodology Artemis March is able to devise. We must have a pre-historical perspective as well. In the next issue of *Broadside*, we will publish the second part of Quinlan's article and will continue to examine other larger and complex issues in our centre spread. The subject will be socio-biology.

If we've shown that there are a number of women who are thinking clearly it is to illustrate that the intellectual content of the women's movement is strong. It has to be if we want the movement to be taken seriously.

—S.G.C. for the Collective

## Broadside

### Address all correspondence to:

Broadside  
P.O. Box 494  
Station P  
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1  
Tel. (416) 362-4528

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

*Broadside* is published 10 times a year by Broadside Communications Ltd., P.O. Box 494, Station P, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2T1. (416) 362-4528. This issue: October/November 1980; Vol. 2, Nos. 1 & 2.

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

## This is Broadside

No, you're right. There hasn't been an issue of *Broadside* since mid-September. This month we are publishing a double issue: October and November combined. Next month it's business as usual. Our reasons for not printing in October relate to the Public Service Alliance strike, which affected mail delivery. September's *Broadside* sat in mail bags in our office for a week while the postal service shut down. We decided not to take a chance on the same thing happening to the October issue.

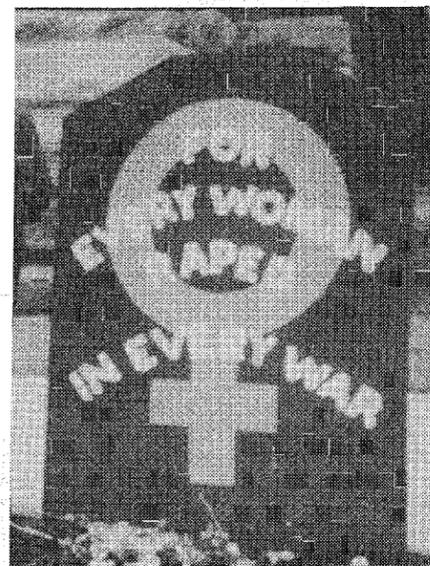
Now that *Broadside* is over a year old, the question of subscription renewals arises. For most of our charter subscribers, subscriptions will be expiring in the next month or two. Sending individual reminders to subscribers is an expensive proposition, so we hope this announcement, and other subtle notices splashed about the pages of this month's paper, will galvanize you to action. The date on your address label indicates the expiry date of your sub.

You might also want to take advantage of the special holiday gift subscription rates to send *Broadside* to some of your more

deserving friends. Fill out the renewal and/or gift sub forms on the back page. You won't be disappointed in the results.

For those of you who have been clamouring for a chance to join the *Broadside* work force (and add to the country's unemployment statistics) your chance will be coming up in December. Come to our OPEN FORUM — Monday, December 8th at 7:30 pm, YWCA Resource Centre, 15 Birch Avenue, Toronto — and sign on the dotted line. Or...just come to talk. All women are welcome.

And finally, in our ever-changing attempts to improve *Broadside's* office operations, we are pleased to announce: (a) a "work-day" every Tuesday morning, when collective members will be in attendance and all are welcome to drop in (phone the office for directions); and (b) we have had an answering service hooked up, so you will be able to call the office any time of the week and your requests will not go unheeded.

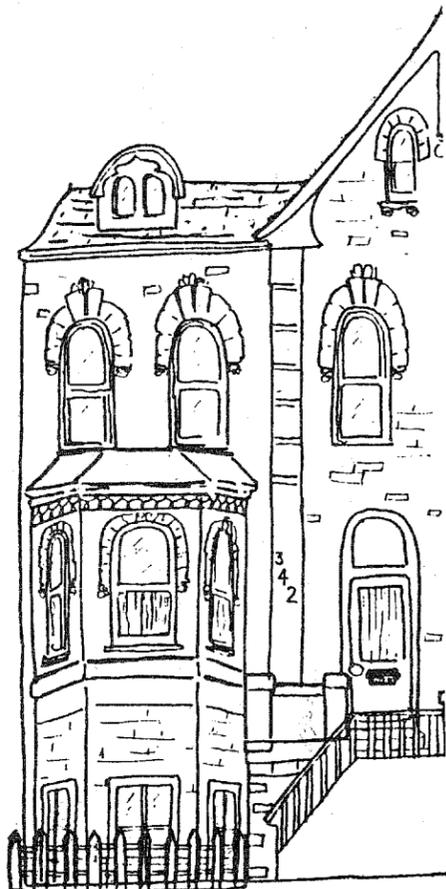


Remembrance Day cenotaph

Sarah MacKenzie

# LETTERS

## The Invisible Community Speaks



### Broadside:

When I was working on the *Pedestal* in Vancouver in 1972, I remember penning a piece about the death of the lesbian community. Luckily it was never submitted. When I was working on *The Other Woman* in Toronto in 1974, I remember helping to write a lesbian 'manifesto' which we saw as the swan song of the lesbian movement. Now, in 1980, I read an article about the death of the lesbian community in Toronto, in *Broadside*.

Over the years I have come to accept the 'lesbian community' as the Phoenix it always was. Or perhaps a more apt description is the many-headed Hydra, sprouting new life every time an old limb withers.

It is this ability — to send out shoots when the above-ground portion of the plant is trampled on — that characterizes the lesbian movement. In a world founded on the institution of misogyny, such behaviour is not only tactical, it is part of our counter-attack. Our network — our links with our

sisters and our foremothers — transcends the monolithic institutions of the patriarchy. We are spinning webs, not building pyramids.

LOOT, like many of our joining points, filled a strong and healthy need. All our links are necessarily temporary, but there is no reason why they can't be forged more strongly each time. Unfortunately our memories are sometimes short. And if our continued organizing is done without a sense of our history, then little has been gained. We learn, in the final analysis, from our past successes.

Questions about the future can be posed in many ways. The patriarchal mode of thinking promotes a sense of bewilderment about the future — we just don't know! (As if the Big Boys aren't planning ahead all the time.) Or else they predict a future of doom, a big, gaping threat. This thinking is used to justify their present course of global suicide. We don't need to fall into either of these traps.

The future of the lesbian movement needn't be one of the Great Mysteries. We have our knowledge of the present and the past to draw upon.

Many of us take for granted things like lesbian bars. Certainly these are not the millenium. Certainly they can become part of our oppression. But ten years ago we made a fight for these spaces and we won.

Lesbians are visible in large numbers in events like International Women's Day. I remember a march in Edmonton in 1969, when three women shocked the city by wearing signs saying 'Lesbians support abortion rights.' Big Deal. If we could have been instantly transported to IWD 1980, in Toronto, we would have thought the revolution was over!

There was a time when 'Women's music' meant campfire songs like 'Union Maids', and 'women's art' consisted entirely of Emily Carr and Georgia O'Keeffe. I won't belabour the point — we've come a long way.

•Letter 1, continued page 8

In last month's *Broadside*, Val Edwards wrote of the 'invisibility' of the lesbian movement, and questioned the validity of a movement at all. This month the community responds.

### Broadside:

LOOT's phone-line collective wants, first of all, to thank Val Edwards for the energy she gave to us in her article, "The Invisible Community." We hope it brings out comment and debate amongst women and from there the urge to act, to re-build yourselves.

In July, as Val described, we were only able to maintain a minimal support-contact. Now, with a few interesting projects emerging and enthusiasm from two new collective members, we are feeling more encouraged and we want the community to know. Before the door closed on 342 Jarvis St. we had made a formal request to WCREC's Board and staff to be able to set up our phone in their office (for the summer months). They responded positively and began accepting calls in late June. In September, WCREC gave us the go-ahead to continue our operations for an extended period of time.

We are now in the process of defining the criteria acceptable to us all, that will give us a working philosophy as a collective, and we will be ready to discuss it on November 1, when we are inviting lesbian-feminists interested in joining the collective to come out. One of the most important goals is for the phone to be operating more frequently and with a larger collective. This can happen.

At the present time other projects are in the initial planning stages. Toronto Area Gays (TAG) has approached us with a view to taking the responsibility of a "drop-in" for lesbians once a month at 519 Church St. The LOOT phone-line collective is also providing advice to WCREC's self-help program which includes starting self-help support groups for lesbians. Please call us at 960-3249 if you feel like talking, Tuesdays.

— LOOT Collective phone-line

### Broadside:

The 'Invisible Community' in last month's *Broadside* (Sept. 1980) left me hanging on a cliff. Why is it that we only validate ourselves by organization? Are we unorganized if we are a community of small, interlinked networks rather than one mass community? There was, is and will always be a lesbian community, but the nature of its structure will be the same as that of many other groups in the women's feminist community. Because of the great diversity among lesbians on feminist/class/racial/ethnic grounds, organizing such a community, visibly or invisibly, is a monumental task.

The recent excitement and explosion of lesbian and lesbian feminist culture has been awe-inspiring. Meg Christian, Teresa Trull, Holly Near, Rita Mae Brown, Adrienne Rich, Jane Rule, May Sarton, Kay Gardner and many others give us an emerging, forever changing and growing cultural body. Our dress codes often convey subtle messages to each other, to identify ourselves with our community. How can we find our community identity when our freedom of expression continues to be stifled? The throbbing culture we are developing must fight against the laws that still allow open discrimination against us.

There are many issues that divide the lesbian community. A very significant one is whether the 'gay-rights movement' is our movement, one with which we can identify. Some lesbians think that working with gay men is worse than working with straight men because gay men tend to be more isolated from women than heterosexual men, less interested in understanding our issues and problems and more misogynist. Only our 'common link' becomes, by dictionary definition, 'homosexuality'. Certainly, we cannot assume gay men can identify with women's particular oppression, although certainly, they can understand the ugliness of oppression in terms of sexual orientation.

Let us not be naive about our visibility. A lesbian adolescent performs illegal acts ac-

ording to the federal legal system, and if she is involved with an older woman, that woman could be arrested and sent to jail. We cannot exactly wear neon signs in our daily life: Premier Davis has decided that though the rights of the handicapped are important to include in the Human Rights Code, it is not yet time for a "sexual orientation" clause. We can still be kicked out of rented premises, lose our jobs, be the recipient of police harassment, lose custody of our children, be considered "deviant" and be shut out of religions. This community takes great risks individually and collectively by being visible in an oppressive society where we have no legal protection and no legal recourse. Our only right is that as 'consenting adults' we can express ourselves freely in the confines of our homes.

The structure of the Lesbian Organization of Toronto (LOOT) may be invisible at this point in its history but its community is still alive. I thought the house on Jarvis Street was useless space, wasteful of its economic needs. It was an old, small and generally dirty house: the pot luck entertainment events were crowded and smoky and often women were turned away due to inadequate space. LOOT offered women-only concerts and dances, but these were outside the house. The newsletter was unique, but the information, quality and articles on many occasions appeared inadequate or inconsequential to its readership. One of the most valuable contributions to the lesbian community is the still active LOOT counselling line. It provides a bridge between isolation and warm support from other lesbians. LOOT itself has gone through many changes over the years of its existence, but pieces of it still survive.

Another issue that divides our community, though certainly not separate from the previous one, is whether lesbians are political feminists or not, on what level they live and discuss their politics, and what is politically correct behaviour. Some women in developing a feminist political stance have come out as lesbians, having freed themselves of the constraints and conditioning that tells us that a healthy female is heterosexual. It is the feminist lesbian community that lends support to the 'closet' community by being political and visible,

thereby creating an atmosphere for some future generations of lesbians in which all may express themselves freely and openly.

LOOT certainly had many discussions and differences relating to this very issue, at one point resulting in a splinter group PLOT (Political Lesbians of Toronto). To say "most community lesbians don't have anything to do with the bar scene" is an exaggeration. Some feminist lesbians frequent the bars and some don't. Some lesbians, on principle, reject the experience of drinking-to-socialize. Heterosexual women enjoy going to the bar simply because of the music, the company of other women and the safety of avoiding male harassment. Often, lesbian feminists are painted as a haughty, altruistic group who shun the lifestyle and attitudes of other lesbians, separating themselves from others or trying to convert them. This simplistic generalization does not help encourage mutual support within the lesbian community. Ideally, as a sisterhood community, I hope that compassion, understanding and the right to differ should be part of it.

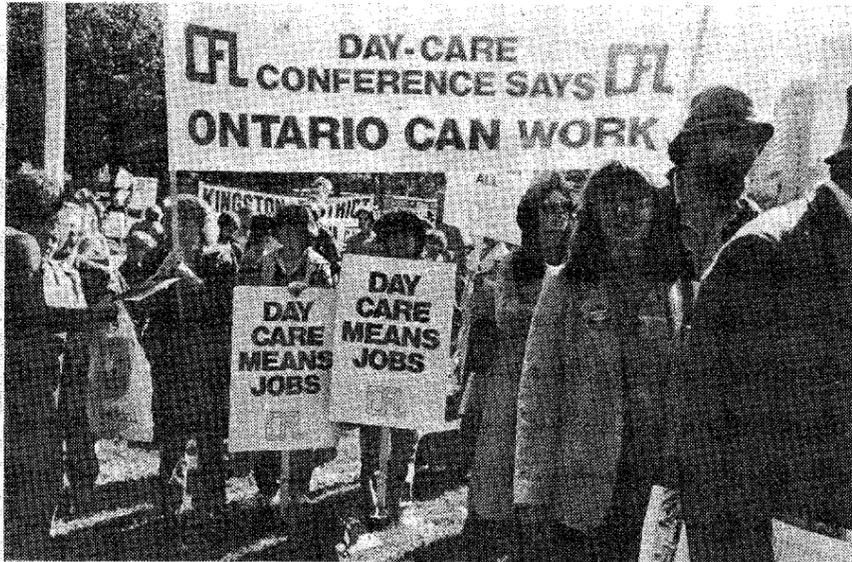
The lesbian conference in May, 1979 provided me with a forum to share ideas and information with women from across Canada. Perhaps other lesbians attending the conference had different expectations of what should occur during its process and what should follow after. The conference left me stronger, happier, and with a better sense of community than I had before. I measured the success of the conference not in patriarchal terms but as a very emotional, intellectual, personal and spiritual experience. Every workshop I attended was large, full of different visions and varying opinions. To me it was a great success; I still carry it with me.

Another issue is: straight vs. gay. The conflict comes up time and time again, dividing the women's community as well as the lesbian community.

All these issues and many more not only divide the community, but fracture it, so organizations such as LOOT struggle to define themselves within the context of such diversity and difference.

• continued page eight

# White-Collar Blues



Demonstrators at Ontario Federation of Labour rally, Queen's Park, October 18, 1980.

Moirra Armour

By Eve Zaremba

Strikes are nothing new. These days chances are better than ever that the striker on the picket line will be a woman; often a white-collar worker. This is a traditionally underpaid category considered safely meek, mild, uninterested in unionism and determinately non-militant. Yet there they are out on the streets, marching, rallying and picketing. Tradition just ain't what it used to be.

Recently the most notorious example of a break with tradition has been the strike of federal government clerks, members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), who are overwhelmingly female. Nobody could remember when they had said 'boo' before.

It was quite a shock all around — to the government, the press and sometimes, it seemed, to union members themselves.

Federal clerks did not get what they wanted, specifically a COLA (cost-of-living allowance) clause in the contract. The strike ended without the union using all the muscle it could have, i.e. without getting other union locals to honour their picket lines. Maybe the union was too timid; maybe it was wise.

Maybe it merely gave itself time to re-organize, evaluate and plan for a bigger and better future action. On the other hand, maybe it blew an opportunity. Only time will tell. It seems unlikely that having finally been heard from, PSAC members will meekly stick to their paper work from now on. All the signs are that women's militancy in unions is on the rise.

Federal translators are on strike now — over 90% women. One of their demands is improved maternity benefits. This used to be one of those dull 'women's issues' that was first to be discarded at the bargaining table. No more.

Even old style unionists in the Ontario Federation of Labour have picked up on the trend. Clifford Pilkey tells the world they will make day care a real demand, not just a throw-away slogan. 'Women' is where the union action is going to be in the 80s.

Why are women becoming militant now when times are bad and people fear for their jobs? After all, female clerical and secretarial jobs in white-collar job ghettos have been underpaid and paternalistically controlled for years. A case could be made that they were even worse off, relative to the cost of living, 20 years ago.

The short answer is that both jobs and women have changed in the past 20 years.

There has been a perceptible alteration in the traditional employee/employer dynamic in the clerical and secretarial areas of the labour force. Women are more sceptical, less malleable and less likely to identify with the interests of the employer. Appeals to their loyalty and sympathy do not work as well as they used to. Personal service for bosses is unfashionable. Women are more uppity, even those who disclaim being 'Libbers'. Women's liberation has made its mark. Traditional docility is a thing of the past. With it must go traditional methods of worker control and discipline. A transition is dialectically inevitable, but the process is not easy.

At the same time there has been a significant and growing shift in the character of clerical and secretarial work. It is becoming more and more like factory work, where the workers are meshed with machines. They are machine operators — operators of computers, word-processors, accounting machines, data retrieval equipment. Jobs like that can be much more standardized than old-fashioned chaotic 'office work' of yore.

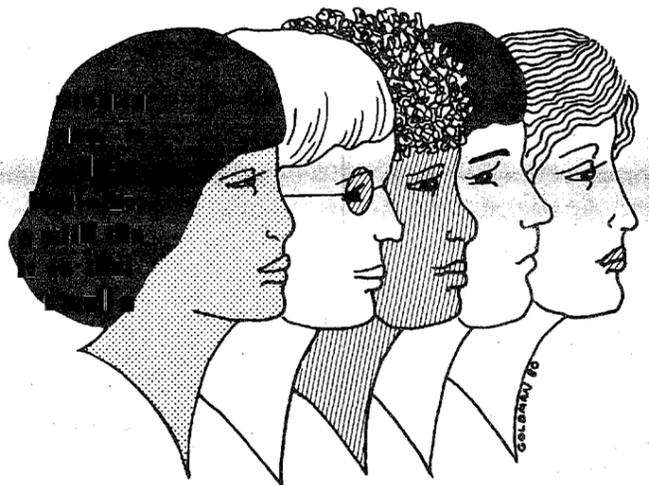
When jobs can be strictly classified, specialized and tied to machine output, the relationship between supervisor/boss (usually male) and the female clerical worker changes. Authority becomes less personal, less paternalistic, the female-service-for-a-male-boss dynamic is lost. Industrial discipline has to be substituted.

This 'industrialization' of areas of office work is highly problematic. Once they grasp its advantages, big business and big government love it. Their middle managers have to forego some of the joys of personal, sexist control over their 'girls', but in return the institutions gain productivity of interchangeable operators whose every minute can be accounted for and whose efficiency can be measured. For the workers it is initially a novelty, sometimes rewarded with an increase in wages. In our technology-mad society people are often prepared to give up some degree of power over their work in exchange for a fancy machine and a slightly better pay packet.

Call it reclassification and upgrading and people will go along without looking at the possible costs.

Yet for all its faults, the old informal methods of work organization and social control of workers had its good points. It undoubtedly allowed more personal freedom. Women took advantage of that to make their low-paying, dead-end jobs more human. Standardization of clerical work removes much of that relative freedom and most of the possibilities for personal initiative. In time, workers' alienation is sure to increase and with it their dissatisfaction and militancy. The people most affected by this

## All's Not Quiet at the Library



In Toronto a small but significant strike continues. CUPE Local 1996 — 350 library workers of the Toronto Public Library — has been without a contract since December 1979, and went out on strike early this October.

Membership in the local is 95% female, the average salary is \$13,800, with the lowest one-third averaging \$10,600. In addition, workers state that libraries are understaffed, that paper-work increases constantly and that the Library Board is remote and arbitrary.

Low pay and bad working conditions create a 30% annual staff turn-over. The resulting deterioration of service to the public does not appear to concern the Board, since turn-over holds salary levels down. All this is old familiar stuff; now the fiscal crunch is on 'savings' have to come out of the workers' hides.

However, the most significant issue is that of upgrading, or job reclassification. Library work has not been evaluated and reclassified since the 1950s. Jobs are still defined and compensated in line with twenty-

year-old reality. Actual jobs have of course changed drastically over that period, due mainly to technology which didn't exist 20 years ago. Library work now requires skills and knowledge of data storage, retrieval and processing methods and equipment, and a capacity to deal with the information explosion.

Over the years, the union and the Board have worked out a job classification system which takes account of these skills, technical knowhow, and levels of responsibility in the area of clerical work. The issue now lies in its application.

The Library Board is appointed by and obedient to the concerns of elected municipal politicians. Library workers for their part tend to believe in the service they provide to the public and therefore identify with it. This public-spirited attitude has contributed to their exploitation in the past and library workers, at \$10,000 a year, subsidize the library system and other segments of the municipal government. So all the Board has to do is mark time and wait for the workers to settle for very little.

Eve Zaremba

process are women.

At first glance it may appear as if the march of technology into the office is somehow an answer to the rise of consciousness of female white-collar employees: consciousness as women and consciousness as workers. Of course, such is not the case. The two phenomena affect each other but there is no simplistic cause and effect.

Future union contracts will have very complex problems to grapple with. Simple economic demands will not do. As changes escalate in the character of white-collar jobs and in the personalities of the women doing them, there will be more militancy and more dislocation.

There is a price to be paid, and it is as well to be aware of it now.

## Green River Inquiry

# How Long Do We Have?

By Judy Liefschultz

September 30 in Toronto was a big night for nukes. Approximately 1,000 people met at Cedarbrae Collegiate in Scarborough to hear Ontario Hydro give a public information session on nuclear power. The Scarborough Utility Board sponsored the evening, but never expected a barrage of phone calls demanding information on both sides of the argument after their ad came out. Residents were outraged; with Energy Probe's help, they prepared and distributed a leaflet outside the hall outlining questions Hydro officials did not want to hear.

Down the road in Markham, a women's group called the Green River Inquiry sponsored a speech by Helen Caldicott, anti-nuclear physician and activist from the US. The theme of the speech was advertised to be Helen's newly formed Women's Party for Survival. The Green River inquiry is composed of women who started meeting three years ago as a personal support group. A year ago they visited the Pickering nuclear plant and had "lots of questions" after their tour. These questions resulted in the women making a 25 minute video-slide show on the hazards of nuclear power that has been aired several times on cable TV in the Richmond Hill-Stouffville area.

"The response from area women has been great", said member Linda Baird, who described the Inquiry's future work as "an inner search with a product for the outside." The "product" will be more video programs on nuclear power for TV, which enables the women to reach the community while learning the skills involved in producing the programs.

Many of the ninety women and a scattering of men in Markham had heard Helen Caldicott speak before in her capacity as head of the Physicians for Social Responsibility, a group of doctors opposed to nuclear power because of its health hazards and potential for atomic war. Caldicott began by describing her awareness of the danger of nuclear war, which started after she read *On the Beach* by Neville Shute in the 1950's. Returning home from six years in the US in 1969, Caldicott began a very active period in Australia. She read Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* and other feminist literature and decided to go back to medicine full-time. In the interim she had had three children so she decided it was her husband Bill's turn to parent them.



American woman at anti-nuclear demonstration, Vermont, 1979.

Courtesy of Women Against Nuclear Development (WAND)

She called herself quite "women's libbish" at that time and in 1971 she began to organize Australians against the French atmospheric bomb testing in the South Pacific. She successfully organized the trade unions to boycott loading and delivery of French goods, and delivery of French mail — until the government demanded the testing be done underground.

Although Australia had decided against nuclear power for itself it possesses 20-30% of the "free" world's known supply of uranium. It was preparing to sell it abroad after the oil embargo of 1974. Caldicott again organized the Australian public and trade unionists, this time against the mining, transport and handling of uranium. Caldicott returned to the US in 1976 to take a position in Boston treating children with cystic fibrosis. She has since resigned that position to work full-time organizing against nuclear power and the arms build-up in the US.

The crowd in Markham listened to Caldicott's powerful words on the effects of radiation poisoning. Those who had not heard her before or read her book *Nuclear Madness* also found out that one CANDU

reactor produces enough plutonium each year to produce 100 nuclear bombs. Most Canadians don't understand the integral part we play in arms production for the US. Bomb-grade plutonium from CANDU reactors and guidance devices for Cruise missiles by Litton Industries in Rexdale are just two examples. It is just too easy to assume that because we do not produce weapons for ourselves that we are not arming other nations. Every nation in possession of a nuclear reactor has the potential for making its own nuclear arms. Prime Minister Trudeau will lend our tax dollars to any country who will take one, thus further "destabilizing the balance of terror created by the superpowers." But the superpower Caldicott is most concerned about is the US and we are right next door.

By the time Caldicott outlined the mistakes of the US failsafe system, the early warning mechanism being developed to computerize US response to nuclear attack, and the tremendous overkill arsenal increasing daily, there was not much doubt that most of us will die from the effects of nuclear war initiated by our neighbours to the south.

That Canadians can be so naive about the time-bomb we sit on, controlled by men in silos who have pistols trained on each other, is incredible to Caldicott. In a nuclear war we will be affected simultaneously, watching our entire land and population rendered lifeless, disease and mutation making death preferable to life.

In Caldicott's estimation we have less than two years to go. In that time, the US will be employing its computerized early warning systems that will launch nuclear warheads with no human intervention. The events following will take only 30-60 minutes. We will then have destroyed the world as we know it.

But that is why we were there — to talk strategies on how to organize women for change. We thought Caldicott had also reached the conclusion that only women have the will for a radically different world; one without business as usual when business means death — from war, rape starvation or slowly investing our own nest. It seems, however, that Helen Caldicott's feminism is still forming. She wants to appeal to Jung's "feminine principle" to fight the distribution of the world she attributes to the "macho competitive force that drives men into these acts." Women are qualified to be the agents because they are the nurturers, because they understand life through their children.

I think Caldicott is right in thinking that masses of women could be organized around this single issue. I hope she raises the \$500,000 she needs to put ads on the soaps in the afternoon as she is planning. I think she is right when she says women don't have to be liberated or feminist to understand the threat of nuclear war to themselves and their loved ones. But behind her fleeting reference to her Women's Party for Survival lurked some notions about women that made me very nervous.

Women aren't just capable of talking about children, or even about nurturing. They are strong and competent and, thank goodness, easily smarter than men about most things. Women are physicists and chemists and biologists, and, like Caldicott, doctors. Women must not merely appeal to the "woman in every man" as I fear Caldicott would do, but seize power from men and replace it with the priorities and strength of women. After working for twenty years to convince men to stop killing, Helen Caldicott is beginning to realize women are the part of society she must reach. I hope she soon realizes why.

961-1768  
24-HR ANSWERING SERVICE  
MOVERS KAREN AND LIZ  
BY WOMYN FOR WOMYN  
**LUGEM & LEEVUM**  
"Never call a man to do a womyn's work"



**FLY BY NIGHT  
LOUNGE**

a bar catering to women

George at Dundas, side door  
Toronto

noon to 1 am every day  
except Sunday

Phone: 921-2191, ask for Back Bar

# Municipal Politics:



Moira Armour

by Pat Hughes

As women we have a right and an obligation to participate in municipal elections.

Consider all the areas of our lives which are in the hands of municipal politicians: social services (including child care, welfare, aid to the handicapped, battered women's shelters, and similar services), housing, transportation, and through school boards, certain aspects of education.

Where the city decides to put and maintain lighting will affect the safety of women in the streets; zoning by-laws will dictate the locations of child care centres or transition houses; transportation routes will determine whether many women have access to the business centre or remain confined to the suburbs. The type of education our children receive — the curriculum, the books used, the provision of special classes for exceptional children — are the concern of our school trustees and so too then are what our children learn about women and how they are prepared to view society.

We should remember that some extremely important decisions are made by boards, all the members of which are not directly responsible to the people of the city: the Police Commission, the Transportation Commission, the Hospital Board, and the Library Board, for example. Thus the way the police treat rape victims or whether they refer battered women to transition houses, the routes and fare schedules of our public transportation, whether our libraries contain feminist literature are all decided by appointed Boards.

A constant enemy of women has been our isolation — from each other and from the places of decision-making, both physical and psychological. The woman in the suburbs endures a physical isolation but her emotional distance from other women and from political action, from her realization that the struggles she contends with are not so much personal as political struggles, may be even greater. But we know that it does not have to be so; the problem exists in part because of decisions made at the municipal level.

Suburban housing projects and high-rise apartments grouped together are prime locations for alienation and frustration; they are antithetical to the feminist emphasis on providing a setting which is conducive to self-development. Ironically, so many women, given responsibility for the home, are forced into what can only be described as an "anti-home" environment. Housing projects should include green areas, child-care centres and similar community centre facilities around which a real community could develop.

One of the fastest growing forms of housing is co-operative housing with its built-in support system, particularly appealing to single parents and the handicapped, as well as others on low incomes. Zoning by-laws must reflect the need to incorporate child-care and other facilities in new housing projects and must ensure that housing suitable for the low income earners and single parents be built.

Similarly, decisions about transportation play a major role in determining the extent to which we can participate in our community. Homes in the suburbs are desired by the

person who can drive downtown to employment and drive back to relaxation and escape from the tensions of the city; that "person" is much more often a man than a woman. Women have been the victims of entrapment in the suburbs, highly dependent on public transportation because they often lack access to a car. A study of TTC use showed that 57% of the heaviest transit users are women. But the routes and time schedules of buses into these areas and out of them often make the necessary activities of life in which women tend to be engaged difficult.

A woman seeking employment is likely limited to jobs in her immediate area simply because it takes too long to travel every day to an area with greater choice, especially since she may have to stop to pick up groceries or take her children to child-care and pick them up again. And if she obtains night-work, she must worry about waiting at lonely bus stops late at night or early in the morning. Buses often do not go into shopping malls (Yorkdale is just one example), forcing their (probably female) passengers to walk across parking lots made for vehicular traffic, not pedestrians.

Women are major users of public transportation; yet there are no women on the Transportation Commission. We need women in decision-making capacities regarding routes and fare structures. While the Metro Pass is a good idea in principle, in that it responds to the need to run errands on the trip home, its cost must be reduced; the lowering of fares during off-peak hours should be explored; and the Dial-a-bus system should be introduced again — it was considered too costly but, as might be expected, two-thirds of its users were women.

Reinforcing these problems is the lack of child-care facilities which affects women in the suburbs and in the downtown areas, particularly if they are single parents. A recent report from a task force established by Metro Toronto's social services and housing committee states that the present need is unmet and yet Metro was willing to freeze subsidies. In particular, there are insufficient spaces for infants and children with special problems. Child-care is not a luxury when 10% of families are headed by single women who may neither be able to afford private child-care nor have relatives willing to assume the responsibility on a constant basis.

One of the most exciting aspects of the women's movement has been the new sense of self that has been evident among women, yet with this assertion of our worth, of our

value as individuals with skills, abilities and qualities required by society has to widen among more and more of us. As importantly, the gains we have achieved must be protected by young women of the next generations: they, too, must learn about themselves, about their history, their oppression, and about the joys of being women. At the same time, young men must come to treat women as human beings, as friends, as individuals, as partners.

In this our schools have a pivotal role, of course. We must ensure that school texts portray women in a variety of contexts, in a variety of occupations; that our youngest children share similar toys and games and older children similar activities and tasks; that physical education and athletic programmes for girls are given as much emphasis — and funding — as are those for boys. History courses must introduce our children to the significant role of women throughout the ages and especially in Canada; the inclusion of female historical figures or reference to the "ordinary" women who worked side by side with men to construct our nation cannot be optional. Storybooks must be chosen because, in part, they imbue girls with love of adventure and boys with the warmth of compassion.

Our support of trustee candidates must be premised on their willingness to establish budget priorities which can accomplish these educational goals.

For feminists, the city exists for its people: the city reflects the people's power to shape their own environment. That means a variety of neighbourhoods whose integrity must be secured. This means a progressive utilisation of space in the form of co-operatives, parks, multiple and year-round use of schools and other public buildings. This means a restructuring of priorities: it means that decisions must be based on how well a policy responds to the needs of the human members of our communities.

The municipal governments in Canada receive their powers from the provincial government, they have no independent existence, but that does not mean they have no power. Metro Toronto is a highly significant political base and as such its practical independence far exceeds its theoretical or "paper" independence. Funding comes from federal and provincial sources and municipal politicians often use this as an excuse for not providing adequate services; for example, child-care is funded 50% by the municipal government, 30% by the provincial government and 20% by Metro.

But whether or not Metro politicians are prepared to use it as a rationalization for providing inadequate child care is within their discretion: it reflects their priorities. Municipalities depend on property taxes for their own funding source: it has been generally recognised as an outmoded method of raising revenue. The wide gap between the municipality's funding power and its responsibilities should be addressed by candidates, particularly those who seek an excuse for their own positions in the behaviour and decision-making of the provincial government.

## FPC

Raising women's consciousness to an awareness of our oppression and then to the even more important knowledge of our capacity to transcend that oppression is an ongoing process. The Feminist Party of Canada has involved itself in that process: it has become part of the process itself. We are committed to a re-development of our society along feminist principles.

We know a lot about women: our isolation, our need to develop sisterhood, our minority status in the economic social and political worlds, our special relation to the reproduction of the human species, our capacity to create; and we know concern for the condition of women must be continual. Thus the Feminist Party's goals of freeing women from the fetter of low pay, ghetto jobs, violence, ridicule, and of asserting and claiming our rightful place in this world, transcends the artificial bounds of electoral politics. Nevertheless, it includes

them as a tool of action and of publicizing the condition of women: we do not want to take women to the municipal process as much as to bend that process to the needs of women.

As feminists, we are concerned to make the city a place for all people; as women, we are also concerned to involve more of us in the political process. The Feminist Party calls upon women to make their presence known in this election, to discover and support those candidates whose perspective is feminist, because the politicians elected to the Toronto and Borough councils inevitably influence the conditions of our lives: our involvement, while quickened during the election, will go on after it. Our task can be eased if we know that there are people we can trust in municipal office, people whose vision of society is compatible with our feminist principles.

Feminist Party of Canada

# Toronto Elections

## George Hislop

by Chris Bearchell

Toronto's Ward 6, affectionately known to its residents as the heart of the city, includes the downtown core and Toronto Islands. The consensus in the media these days says the ward is shaping up as one of the most interesting races in this year's municipal election. No one has any doubt, either, that the focus of interest is one candidate: gay activist George Hislop.

"At City Hall we must insure that women achieve equality. Our rule of thumb must be that, since women represent slightly more than 50% of the population, whenever we observe that women do not represent half of the positions in any rank or grade of work there is a need to inquire into that situation and to see if it can be rectified." These words, spoken by George Hislop at the outset of his campaign on March 13 in his bid for the nomination of the Association of Gay Electors (AGE), brought the loudest and longest ovation of the evening.

"Equal opportunity is not enough," the would-be-candidate continued. "Women start from a disadvantaged position so they must be offered more in order to bridge the gap. One way to improve the position of women in the workforce is to provide adequate day care for children. At the most conservative of estimates, there are thousands of additional day care spaces needed in Toronto. Filling this need should be one of our foremost priorities. We must insure that women are truly free to participate fully in our society." The predominantly-male meeting responded with its second-longest round of applause.



Judith Lawrence

Anne Johnston campaigning with her daughter, Jane

## Anne Johnston

by Judith Lawrence and Jean Wilson

Anne Johnston is almost too good to be true. When she first ran for and won a place on Toronto City Council in 1972, she was in her mid-thirties, had a family of five — the youngest of whom was only four — and had had no previous political experience. Since then, she has been re-elected three times and has been an extremely able and effective civic politician.

City politics is where she wants to be. She's not using it as a stepping stone to federal politics. "I think municipal politics is a good place to stay. People who look on municipal politics as a sort of kindergarten version of the rest are really underestimating what it's all about. There's really no difference from federal politics. The difference is only one of perspective. We don't discuss Canada's defence policy, although we have. But we talk about the defence of the street — cars, people's lives — the same sort of issues. For anyone to look on it as a junior version of politics is just showing their ignorance."

There are over 30 women running for City Council in Toronto and its suburbs in the November 10 election and over 40 for positions as school board trustees. This is a much higher percentage of women than usually runs in a federal election. Anne Johnston speculates that the reason is that women have the advantage of being concerned about "real issues." "It's also a level of politics that is relatively simple to combine with a family. You don't have that awful business of commuting a long way from your riding or your ward to the place where you have to sit and make decisions. The politics is part of your life, which is also a disadvantage. That's why I think a lot of families can't take it — that is, that husbands can't take it. You do your shopping and you pick up somebody's problem. Or you're at a party and somebody gives you a hard time about stop signs. It is rather hard on your spouse."

Why does she feel party politics don't belong in municipal politics? "Because many candidates use it to launch themselves. The issues are too important to be abused in that way — the old traditional trustee, then alderman, then provincial, then federal. I don't see it as a progressive thing at all. It's often retrogressive. The interesting thing is that a lot of people who

are issue-oriented are frequently bored stiff when they get to Ottawa as backbench politicians. Not everybody gets to be in the cabinet."

Anne Johnston calls herself a born-again feminist. "What it means to me is that I never grew up believing that I needed any special privileges. I was told I could do whatever I wanted to do. It was marriage, having five children — very young, all at once — the incredible ghastly things it did to my head during that period, that was the start of it. Reading Betty Friedan and thinking, 'My god, there are other women who feel like I do. This marvelous marriage ain't so marvelous.' Then getting into politics proved anyone could do what they wanted to do. I got elected. I guess that's what touches you. And what has touched me since is other people's hard times. I've been lucky. Even when I was first elected I had a mother-in-law living with me. That meant I never really had to worry about my children. They were very young then. So daycare was not an issue for me, but I did perceive it as an issue then and I perceive it as even more of an issue now. I just feel that those sorts of things are so slow coming. It's because mainly men have been in power. You have to become a feminist, you absolutely have to. And so I am."

There's no doubt that Anne Johnston will be elected. What she wants is to come in first in Ward 11, which will insure her a seat on Metro Council, the executive body of Metropolitan Toronto. "Metro is where all those decisions are made about daycare and the soft services — the human services. I just think you've got to have scrappers in there. Nice people are going to be too nice. It isn't going to happen. Sure, it's nice to be one of the gang and get invited to a whole lot more things and see a lot more people. But it doesn't achieve anything. You've got to polarize it. So I stopped being nice a long time ago."

While door-to-door canvassing, Anne's daughter Jane replied when asked if she thought she'd become a politician: "No, I'm planning to become a physiotherapist. Mind you, if I get mad enough about something, I'd probably go into politics." Obviously Anne Johnston's politics begin at home. But they don't stop there — luckily for Ward 11 and Metro Toronto.

George Hislop has some good positions on issues of direct concern to women. But so do a number of other candidates. For many feminists, including lesbian feminists, that isn't enough to convince them that Hislop will act on their behalf. Val Edwards gets directly to the point in an interview with Hislop in the *Body Politic* (November 1980). She challenges him with the assertion that some lesbian feminists have expressed reservations about his candidacy because of his association with the Barracks — a gay male bath — presumably because such baths epitomize non-feminist objectification of sex. Hislop explains that gay baths work because their patrons treat each other with more respect than heterosexual men do women.

The interview also touches on differences between some feminists and gay activists over the issue of censorship. Hislop says "Sometimes when they pass laws to govern one set of circumstances, you find them magically being applied to another set of circumstances that you hadn't thought about or foreseen. If there is censorship, I'm bothered that sex is seen as a greater threat than violence. The type of censorship that Women Against Violence Against Women imposed on *Snuff* — protesting at the theatre the way gays did at *Cruising* — is the best way of dealing with the issue."

"I am not the gay candidate but the candidate who also happens to be gay" is a Hislop claim that will win two awards in this campaign: both as the most frequently quoted and most often ignored statement. Hislop was not just nominated by AGE. He is also the candidate of the Ward 6 Community Organization and has the backing

of resigning senior alderman Allan Sparrow. One of the headline-grabbing events of the campaign thus far has been the alliance between Hislop and mayor John Sewell. In fact, his stands on real municipal issues, including his alignment with the 'reformers' on City Council is the first reason cited in a *TBP* editorial urging the gay community to support Hislop.

Few commentators in the mainstream media seem interested in Hislop's policies on city housing, public transit, police reform, and minority rights. Despite their insistence that it has no place in the political arena, they can't seem to talk about anything but his sexuality. And much to the delight of a cast of crazies that would make the Gong Show look civilized.

Ken Campbell, former director of the now-defunct Anita Bryant Ministries, and his organization, Renaissance, have produced 100,000 copies of a 16-page anti-gay magazine called *Liberation*.

Stew Newton, who is intervening in the election in the name of his organization Positive Parents, has appealed to "parents against perverts" to "unite in the name of common decency" at a rally to express opposition to gay power politics that would turn homosexuals and lesbians loose in our schools." The rally, which drew 250 people, came complete with a Salvation Army chorus and a wild-eyed reformed homosexual, and was aimed at defeating school trustees seeking re-election who supported the gay liaison proposal as well as Hislop and Sewell.

• continued next page

## MEMORANDUM

Toronto  
October 10th., 1980

To: All Women's organizations and people active in women's issues in the City of Toronto  
Re: Mayoralty election in the City of Toronto

City politicians make many decisions that affect the lives of women. They decide about daycare, social services, housing, the mix of commercial-retail-residential-institutional uses, parks, transportation, the maintenance of neighbourhoods, economic development, etc.

As women who are actively working towards improving the status of women in this society, we wish to support MAYOR JOHN SEWELL in his campaign for re-election.

We support the general direction that Mayor Sewell has taken to provide affordable housing, to make the police commission more responsive, to ensure minority rights, to preserve neighbourhoods, to improve the public transit system, to increase community participation in planning, etc.

Throughout his tenure on City Council, John Sewell has been a strong advocate for many of the issues and services that are important to women, especially daycare. Sewell has consistently argued at Metro for the provision of more subsidized daycare spaces. He has supported grants for Nellie's Hostel, and for the establishment of English as a Second Language Programmes for immigrant women in the workplace.

Under John Sewell's administration as Mayor of the City of Toronto, Daycare centres were established at City Hall and in the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. Mayor Sewell has advocated the provision of more workplace and community daycare.

The 'Healthiest Babies Possible' project based on preventive medicine principles was begun through the City's Department of Public Health.

An Equal Opportunity Programme for women under the supervision of a full-time administrator was introduced at City Hall.

He has supported the Task Force on Teenage Mothers in their bid to set up a Centre in Toronto.

He has actively worked for the removal of sexist billboard advertising.

etc.

We urge women, as individuals and as organizations, to support and work for the re-election of MAYOR JOHN SEWELL.

"Toronto works with Mayor John Sewell"

Signed (Organizations listed for identification only)

Lynn McDonald (President, NAC - National Action Committee on the Status of Women)  
Kay MacPherson (NAC and Women for Political Action)  
June Callwood (journalist, Nellie's, and Task Force on Teenage Mothers)  
Mary Eberts (lawyer)  
Deirdre Gallagher (Ontario Federation of Labour Women's Committee and Staff Representative of the United Steelworkers of America)  
Julie Mathien (Action Daycare)  
Frieda Forman (OISE)  
Beverly Pannell (childbirth educator, and women's issues journalist)  
November 10th Committee - Feminist Party of Canada  
Beth Symes (lawyer)  
Jennifer Newton (OISE)  
Minette Robinson (formerly with CPPA)  
Marie Prins (Toronto Women's Bookstore)  
Mary Cornish (lawyer)  
Susan G. Cole (journalist)  
Jessica Hill (OCSW)

Ceta Ramkhalawansingh (Women's Focus, OISE)  
Kay Armatage (Women's Studies, U of T)  
Moir Armour (Feminist Party of Canada)  
Sherill Cheda (Executive Director, CPPA)  
Janet Ray (Women's Liaison Committee, Toronto Board of Education)  
Eleanor Wright Pelrine (NAC)  
Marylee Stephenson (Resources for Feminist Research)  
Adelyn Bowland (International Women's Day Committee)  
Sandy Stienecker (Action Daycare)  
Chavira Hosek (NAC)  
Catherine Devlin (NAC)  
Lorene Clark (NAC and Toronto Rape Crisis Centre)  
Gorda Werkele (Environmental Studies, York University)  
Dorothy Gillmeister (U of T)  
Carol Zawitz (OISE)  
Patti Kirk (Toronto Women's Bookstore)  
Karen Prins (Toronto Women's Bookstore)  
Lynn King (lawyer)  
Anne Wordsworth (Pollution Probe)  
Paula Caplan (Psychiatry Dept. U of T and OISE)

Note: Information about John Sewell's campaign, and donations of time and money can be addressed to the campaign office, 150 Carlton St., Toronto. Tel: 964-9320.  
Information about this letter to women can be obtained from Ceta Ramkhalawansingh at 366-1770.

Hislop, from page 7

Another group, the League Against homosexuals, is run by Karl and Carroll Van Goetz and has been circulating their anti-gay propaganda in the city's east end.

The Ku Klux Klan is making headlines with its recruitment efforts in the city's junior high schools. One of their members, Armand Siksna, is running for mayor on a platform that includes stopping non-white people from immigrating to Canada and banning homosexual school teachers.

Anne McBride is another mayoral candidate and an evangelical minister who has vowed, if elected, to set up clinics for homosexuals, declaring: "There is not one happy homosexual in the world."

Many of Hislop's (and Sewell's) anti-gay detractors are easily dismissed. Not so the 6600-member Metro Police Association. On October 17 both the *Toronto Star* and the *Sun* revealed that a September 5 internal appeal to Association members and their spouses sought volunteers for a "special project this fall." That project — the defeat of George Hislop and John Sewell. Three days later, newly-elected MPA president Paul Walters released a less-than-coherent statement in which he claimed: that no candidates had received financial contributions from MPA, that the memo was actually a survey for the project that they had 'contemplated' launching, and that "unless unusual circumstances dictated otherwise,

the Association will not become involved in partisan politics." Walters wouldn't specify what those circumstances might be and his statement included the observation that "police bashing has become a favourite sport in the past few years. Politicians who choose to play that game cannot expect the support of their favourite targets during election years."

Progressive Conservative Gordon Chong stands to benefit from police support in Ward 6. The *Sun* says he has 6 cops working for him, the U of T *Varsity* says 12, and the *Toronto Star* estimates 100. Chong claims he doesn't know how many there are but he'll take all the help he can get. He wishes the media would shut up about ho-

mosexuality "because George is getting all the attention."

To the extent that Hislop and his fellow reformers can implement their policies affecting women, most notably child care, they deserve feminist support. This observer, though, is left with the sinking feeling that it is important to support both Hislop and Sewell, as much because of who 'wins' if they don't, as for anything the candidates stand for.

Predictions? *Toronto Life*, *The Body Politic* and the *Toronto Sun* all agree on one thing. Hislop has a damned good chance of taking the senior alderman's post in Ward 6.

•Letter 1, from page 3

There is a large rumbling in the women's movement right now. It can be sensed. We once called ourselves the second wave. I think we miscounted. There have been hundreds of waves over thousands of years. What some of us are experiencing now as the 'death' of the movement is merely an eddy in the final Tidal Wave of Women that will see the end of patriarchal history.

All around us women are reclaiming our life-centred vision. The patriarchal splits of political and personal, material and spiritual, cultural and scientific, sensual and intellectual, ad nauseum, are being exploded. The outcome is sometimes cloudy to us. The small defeats are often painful to us. But the wave we are building is inexorable.

Deep in the heart of this movement is the 'lesbian movement.' We are the women who are redefining love. We are the women who are breaking through the institutionalization of our sexuality. Our presence is essential to our movement as women. Not because it is a democratic movement, and we are a minority to be protected and preserved in the course of a larger revolution. Not because we are going to unite the gay boys with our straight sisters. (We have more respect for our sisters than that!) We are essential because we are building the world that will replace the one we are tearing down. We are essential because we are building the vision that our sisters and mothers have nurtured, have fought for, and have died for. We are the laughing, loving, celebratory souls of this Wave of Women's Anger.

Other coffeehouses will come and go, and this will be well and fine. One day we will have big national and international lesbian organizations, and these will be worth fighting for. There will be other places for lesbians to meet and argue and celebrate. We will keep on learning and growing. Of this there is no doubt.

But we must always remember that these things happen for a reason. That our purpose is NOT the sum total of our organizations; that our organizations are merely the outward expression of our purpose.

And our purpose — our power — is contained in the fact that we are lesbians. Whenever a woman says to another woman "I love you," she is also performing an act of self-love. Whenever we struggle with ourselves to preserve our friendships in the

face of the same mind-splitting pressures that created the atom bomb, we are defying the biggest anti-woman force in history. Whenever we try to make our love grow outside of the mind-binding institutions of marriage, monogamy and sado-masochistic ritual, we are whirling into a life-loving vortex that will eventually level the towers of patriarchal babble.

The boys have proclaimed the death of our movement countless times. We do not need to proclaim it for them. Like our foremothers, we crouch like sphinxes in front of their pyramids, surrounded by the desert of their making, ready to strike with our anger and our love. And if the last ten years are any indication, we can't lose.

Judith Quinlan  
Toronto

from page 3

"What forums have we developed to express ideas, and what mechanisms to fulfill our emotional needs?" For one, the article I read in *Broadside*; also records, books, photography, painting, sculpture, the Gay Community Appeal, Lesbian Mothers' Defence Fund, feminist newspapers and magazines, friendships, communal living in or outside the city, relationships, lobbying, self-help groups for lesbians, etc. All these and more answer that question. We don't need an organization and some leaders, we're doing it right now, all the time. There

is not and cannot be such a thing as an appropriate lifestyle. LOOT's existence or non-existence in no way inhibits the struggle of the community I belong to from continuing to work on defining ourselves in a lesbian feminist context. Our community stretches far beyond the walls of Toronto, to Calgary, Vancouver, Victoria, Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa and many other centres. Our communication links are subtle yet solid, friendly and warm.

I don't want to fit into the straight, patriarchal world — that does not imply that my choice is a wood stove and granola. It implies my rejecting the wealth and power-centred world of men, the violence

and oppression of the poor and the third World countries, the exploitation of many for the benefit of a few, Nestlé formulas, Kraft cheese and nuclear proliferation, acid rain and rape. The lifestyle I wish to develop reflects community not individualism and power-sharing not power-hoarding. My values include learning for learning's sake, ensuring that no one is hungry and no one is isolated.

The lesbian culture is not dissipating, but will continue to thrive and grow. We do not need anyone to hold our hand or steer us along. We are not a large or rich group, we are a minority and a very oppressed, exploited group. Many of us work long hours

in the women's community for little or no pay, for the common good of women, not just lesbians.

So how does this 'invisible community' define itself? To me in the most fundamental and important ways of all. A lesbian is not, and cannot be perceived in the patriarchal terms, as, just a woman who prefers to sleep with other women. If that simple definition were true, then all the revelations and growth I have experienced since emerging as a lesbian would be invalid. I know that is not true for myself, nor for the lesbian community at large.

Name withheld



## WOMEN, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE CONSTITUTION... THE NEXT 100 YEARS

The federal government has decided to act to protect certain values in our society — basic rights such as freedom of speech, religion and the right to vote. It proposes to do this by "entrenching" a Charter of Rights and Freedoms in our new constitution. This charter would have authority over all federal and provincial laws and could only be taken away by changing or amending the constitution.

### IS THIS ENOUGH TO PROTECT WOMEN'S RIGHTS?

No. There are almost identical words in the present CANADIAN BILL OF RIGHTS and these words have not protected women when they have been tested in Canadian courts. For example, in 1973 the Supreme Court of Canada heard the cases of Jeannette Lavell and Yvonne Bedard, two Indian women who lost their status because they married non-Indians. Section 12(1)(b) of the Indian Act states that Indian women who marry non-Indians lose all their claims as Indians, including their homes on the reserves, but this law does not apply to Indian men who marry non-Indians. The Supreme Court decided that the words "before the law" only referred to the administration of the law — not to the law itself. Therefore, according to the Supreme Court a law which blatantly discriminated against women was perfectly legal.

### I BELIEVE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL TO ENTRENCH A CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS IN THE CONSTITUTION SHOULD INCLUDE:

- an equality clause which guarantees women "equality of rights under the law without regard to sex . . .";
- specific mention of women among those groups for which "affirmative action" programmes may be allowed;
- directions to remove any law which discriminates on the basis of sex, whether the law discriminates against all Canadian women or only some of them;
- a clause guaranteeing the appointment of a representative number of women to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Complete and detach this coupon and send it to:

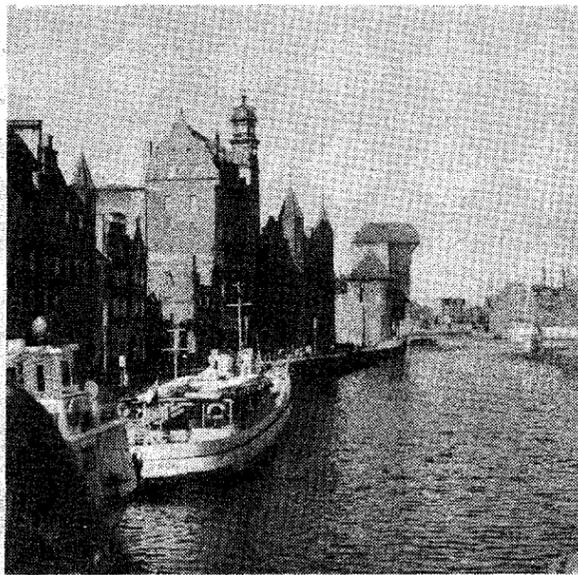
The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women,  
Box 1541, Station B  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1P 5R5

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

# Poland: The Polarity Works



Union leaders, surrounded by supporters, confronting Polish government representatives.



Gdansk, where it all began

Eve Zaremba

by Eve Zaremba

The Polish workers' strike affected me very strongly, to a degree I had not anticipated. As I listened to reports and peered at faces in press photographs I experienced a tremendous surge of personal pride and identification with these workers. Their dignity, solidarity and restrained wisdom filled me with awe. What they represented, what they risked and what they strove to accomplish against enormous odds stood in splendid contrast to the puny goings-on at our Constitutional Conference.

Undoubtedly such comparisons are unfair but for me, inevitable. One event took place in my country of origin, the other in my country of choice. In the latter, eleven safe, secure and affluent men wrangled for a bigger share of power and wealth of which each already has more than enough. Whatever was to be decided in Ottawa, those excluded from the process would remain excluded. In Canadian society, power is diffused throughout the patriarchal core: ie, white, male, middle-class. What we witnessed at the Conference was another attempt to shift power around within this basic structure, not to extend it elsewhere.

In Poland, the situation is quite otherwise. Power is totally concentrated in two centralized, totalitarian institutions — the Communist Party and the Catholic Church. At that, Poland is lucky, compared to other nations of the Soviet bloc, to have a strong church as a counter-vailing force. Two competing power centres are better than one monolith. Some of the worst excesses of each can be prevented.

All the same, there is doubt that we are fortunate in Canada that power is diffused, relatively susceptible to pressure and to shifts in alliances, among patriarchal elites. It is thus more accessible to the rest of us, at least in comparison with other societies.

The aim of the Polish workers was unprecedented: to set up a third power base for themselves — independent trade unions.

We must recognize the importance of this aim: it is different from a similar demand in the West. It strikes at the heart of the Communist ideology in which the Party is supreme by definition. In Poland this supremacy is already undermined by the church. But a powerful church already existed in Poland when the Communists were placed in power by the Soviet Union in 1945. Poles historically tend to identify the Catholic Church with patriotism and with their national aspirations. In spite of constant pressure since 1945 it has proved impossible for the Party to destroy this identification. A dual power centre has had to be accommodated, if not accepted.

But the possible creation of a third power base, one arising directly from the workers after 30 years of Communist hegemony, is another matter altogether. For workers to sit as equals with representatives of the ("workers'") Party and to have their demands for independent power accepted, even on paper, is a revolutionary event in every meaning of the word.

It is significant that this situation was made possible by political wisdom and exemplary restraint on both sides. The strike was totally non-violent. With what I would call uncharacteristic self-discipline these Polish workers provided no easy opportunity for the state to use force. On its part, the government refrained from provocation. Neither police nor army were moved in to break the strike. Both sides were fully aware of the consequences of escalation; the danger of the real power looming over their common country — the Soviet Union. The entry of the Soviets into the arena would have meant an immediate blood bath and ultimately the total loss of any vestiges of Polish independence. Nobody wanted that.

Soviet imperial power is the one factor which governs the consciousness of all Poles — Party bureaucrats, workers, dissidents and peasants. Whether by luck or good management the strikes took place while the Soviet Union had trouble elsewhere — in Afghanistan, with China and at home. It much preferred not to intervene directly in force if at all possible. That it has not done so to date is not to assume that it's

not concerned or deeply involved in preventing the situation from deteriorating further. Kania, the new Polish Communist Party leader, has had his orders from Moscow. He will last only as long as he can contain the aspirations and actions of Polish people and can minimize any real threat to Party supremacy. Truly independent trade unions can quickly claim the loyalty of Polish workers and leave the Party even more exposed as an instrument of foreign domination.

Poland is dependent on Soviet oil; integrated into the Soviet economic system; lives in the shadow of the largest military establishment on earth. Our 'freedom-loving' Western powers have recently confirmed their Yalta agreement to Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. At the same time, western financial institutions have loaned large sums of money to Poland and thus acquired a vested interest in 'stability' in that country, ie in keeping things as they are. In practical terms Poles are utterly alone. Which makes it all the more surprising and admirable that as a people they have kept their cool during recent events.

The Soviet Union has already indicated a strategy towards this incipient threat from rebellious Polish workers. It is being called 'bourgeois unionism', a capitalist plot. Western leftist groups will surely follow suit. Accusations of CIA infiltration to discredit strike and union leaders, harassment of individuals and a selective campaign of firing and arrests can be expected. Over and above all hangs the possibility of Soviet armed intervention.

The Catholic Church in Poland will have to be more circumspect in its opposition but it is no less afraid of competing workers' power. The fact that the strikers are Catholic, go to Mass and cheer the Pope should not mislead us. An independent workers' movement is in many ways a greater threat to the church, which has enjoyed the undivided loyalty of the mass of the people, than to the Party which never had it anyway. A worker-run, socialist non-Party organization (even though nominally Catholic) can badly undermine the church's

position. The fact that the political, social and cultural interests of the nation conflict with that of the church has tended to be hidden as long as it was the only institution capable of competing with the Party apparatus.

On my last trip to Poland in 1966 I had the unique experience of seeing young people go to church as an act of defiance against the established order and, very often, their parents. It was the only 'non-approved' game in town. Strikers and dissidents have since changed all that.

The rise of the dissident movement and the highly successful strike campaign have changed the power dynamics in Poland. That is not to suggest that either the Party or the church will self-destruct or willingly abdicate anything. Yet the historic significance of recent events cannot be overestimated. Immensely heightened consciousness among the people; unprecedented cooperation between dissident intellectuals and workers; demonstration of the effectiveness of non-violent solidarity; political use of economic leverage; exposure of the ambivalent position of the church vis-à-vis the workers — all these are effects which will inevitably translate into considerable diminution of and limitations on Party power and church influence in Poland.

Not even totalitarian patriarchal structures operate in a vacuum. Changes and concessions can be wrung out of patriarchal elites of any stripe to the extent that consistent pressure is applied to their power base. However, ultimate destruction of patriarchal elites comes when enough people are no longer satisfied with mere token concessions. At that point only, open force is effective against them. In the last analysis repression by force is a sure sign of loss of true power over people.

This round goes to the Poles. History marches on. We will see where it goes from here.



# Matriarchy

Since matriarchy as the ruling social order predates written history, women have no way of reading up on our past to explain our present situation. Judith Quinlan gathers what information there is, from the mythology and the findings of anthropology, and presents her case.

by Judith Quinlan

Popular myth would have us believe that the patriarchy has always existed — a leftover from prehistoric days of Man the Hunter. In fact, for a hundred thousand years, human history was dominated by Woman the Gatherer.

In the Mediterranean area (the 'Cradle of Civilization'), patriarchal history started around 6500 bc, when waves of barbaric northern tribes invaded the existing civilizations. Their advance was bloody, characterized by genocide, rape and destruction. These primitive tribes were lacking in technological sophistication, but over the next six thousand years they managed to steal the technologies of the peoples they invaded.

This patriarchal advance has continued until now. By about 1000 bc it had spread throughout Northern Africa. By 100 bc it had invaded all of Europe and Britain. More recently the war that is patriarchy reached the Americas, when Spaniards exterminated entire tribes and Jesuit missionaries burned thousands of women at the stake.

There is some question of an independent origin for the patriarchy in the Far East, but this is appearing less likely as the evidence available is re-examined. There is a strong need for feminist Eastern scholars to pursue this.

In many parts of the world the patriarchy is still not completely established. Especially in the minds of women.

## The Great Matriarchal Debate

Patriarchal historians and pre-historians generally admit the existence of matrilineal and matrilocal cultures throughout the world. They do not agree on the existence of what they call 'true matriarchies'. This is because they define a true matriarchy as a mirror image of the patriarchal state, only run by women. Such a state has never existed and hopefully never will.

As feminists, we no longer need to waste our time on this purely semantic argument. I intend to use the word matriarchy to define a system of social interaction that pre-dated the patriarchy and that can be described according to certain characteristic features.

## The Structure of Pre-Patriarchal Cultures

The first common feature of all matriarchal cultures was the recognition of maternity as a means of identifying kinship. Since it is the women who have the babies, this is a logical system.

Patriarchal anthropologists have dealt exhaustively with matrilineage as it relates to the inheritance of property. At the same time, many of them have been puzzled by the apparent lack of concern for property privatization in these same tribes. In fact, this has become one of their yardsticks for 'primitiveness'. What they have failed to see are the other implications of matrilineage.

### 1. Matrilineage

In a matrilineal culture, the primary human relationship is that between mother

and child. On the basis of this relationship all human experience of love is then founded. This bond is supportive and nurturing, creating a race of people free from the sort of rejection-anxieties and compulsive dependence that characterize patriarchal bonding. It is difficult for those of us brought up in the Freudian Family to fathom the far-reaching results of this fact.

In matriarchal cultures there is a remarkable propensity for peace, which is part of the reason that they were so easily destroyed by the war-mongers. Rape is unknown to such people, and the communistic dream of wealth-sharing seems to have been a reality for most of human history.

When kinship is never in doubt there are no 'outsiders', and thus no 'territorial imperative'. When the tribal psyche is based on the consciousness of motherhood, people are able to maintain a perspective on life that extends far beyond a single lifetime. Decisions are made in full knowledge of the past and full acceptance of the future. Children are given every opportunity to learn and grow.

In fact many of the 'impossible utopian dreams' of present-day visionaries are nothing more than memories of our matriarchal past.

### 2. Matriarchal Spirituality

Religion is a patriarchal invention. Before the patriarchy, there was no split between the material and spiritual lives of the people. Philosophical and ethical considerations permeated the entire consciousness of living. So to speak of matriarchal religions is to already distort the facts. All the same, many of the symbols of pre-patriarchal thinking tend to recur in different forms throughout the world. This is

because the questions that people have needed answered are universal.

The first question a self-conscious being might ask is "Where did I come from?" The obvious answer is "From my mother." (The first question in the Baltimore Catechism is 'Who made me?' The answer is 'God made me.' This has confused thousands of school-children for years.

A universal matriarchal symbol is the First Woman — the Divine Ancestress — the Great Goddess. She has many names and appears in many forms, but she exists everywhere. Hundreds of names for the Goddess have survived the ravages of patriarchal myth-breaking, and her stories are still being retold and remade.

From this single idea, our matriarchal ancestors developed a complex understanding of our place on this planet. I will try here to outline some of the richness of matriarchal symbolism, but first I must digress to the seemingly unrelated field of patriarchal exo-biology (the study of life in the universe).

Recent thinking within this very 'new' science has formulated a theory on the pre-conditions for the development of life on any planet. There are four main necessities for life, according to these eminent scientists.

The first is large molecules, probably carbon-based. Carbon is the simplest element capable of complex bonding, and one of the most abundant elements in the universe. It also has the unique property of being able to form energy-absorbing structures (the benzene ring).

The second element of life is water. Again, it uses abundant elements. It is fluid in form, creating very mobile life forms. Water is bipolar — i.e. it is a good solvent for other elements and ions.

The third prerequisite for life is an atmosphere. Without the exchange of gases, the chemical reactions necessary for life would not be possible.

The fourth need is an energy source, since living things are, by definition, anti-entropic, i.e. they develop towards complexity, thus requiring energy to live. This energy source is ultimately obtained from the nuclear reactions of the nearest star.

Back to matriarchal thinking: Life, according to our foremothers, is the complex interplay between four elements — earth, water, air and fire. This sounds very familiar?

The Great Goddess is associated primarily with the moon, a rich symbol for life. The moon is always changing, and changeability is the essence of life. The moon goes through four phases every month, corresponding to the four elements of life. The moon's cycle corresponds to the menstrual cycle of women, the basic cycle of human creation.

Another digression: Before the invention of electric lights and before women hid inside at night, all the women ovulated while the moon was full and menstruated during the dark of the moon. This is because small amounts of light at night stimulate the pineal gland and the hormonal changes of ovulation are triggered. This is another 'new' discovery of patriarchal science that is being used now to treat women with irregular periods and dysmenorrhea. So the cycles of the moon not only symbolize woman's menstrual cycle — they regulate it, as they regulate the tides of the ocean.

This idea of cycling, spiralling life was symbolized in the different aspects of the Great Goddess: the different Ages of Woman.

# The Way We Were

First there is the daughter-goddess. She is the learner and the Amazon. She is the new moon, and air energy, and she rises in the east. She is all hope and movement and new beginnings. She is like a knife — sharp-edged and swift. She is the springtime of the year, holding the memories of our youthful selves and the promise of the future. She is the dawning of the day. She is the feminist-activist. The Changer.

Then there is the full-moon goddess. She is the creator and the mother. She is fire energy and mature sexuality, and she dwells in the warm south. She is the Great Mother of fecundity and fullness of living. She is like the bough of the tree — sprouting leaves and blossoms, patient and trusting. She is the summertime, when life has been realized, and the heat of the day. She is the feminist-artist, The Namer.

The waning moon corresponds to the Crone, the goddess of wisdom. She is the old woman, the hag, the oracle. She has accumulated the knowledge of living and she makes magic and spells with her power. She is water energy and she dwells in the west, where all things set. She is the dreamer — full of subconscious knowing. She is like a full cup — brimming with the sweet wines of life. She is the setting sun, the harbinger of death which is the path to rebirth. She is the autumn of the year, when the harvest is gathered. She is the feminist-visionary. The Seer.

The goddess of the dark moon is the earth herself — She Who Cannot Be Named. She is the menstrual goddess, carrying all the deep mysteries of life and death. Her blood signals the possibility of conception; she is the healer. She is the mystical link between thought and matter — the spiralling power of women. She is the witch of the North, and the wintertime, when stories are told. She is the spinner of tales and truths. She is the nighttime. She is the lesbian-feminist. The Lover.

All four aspects of the Great Goddess are contained in every woman; all four elements of life are contained in every moment of being. Life is a constant interplay among these energies, always different, always moving. This cosmic dance is the matriarchal vision of life.

Patriarchal mythology has split the many aspects of the Goddess, turning each to the ends of control and power over life. The daughter/amazon has become the perfect victim, the child-woman, the brainless blonde. She is the virgin pussy. Astarte has become Marilyn Monroe.

The full moon goddess has become the bland earth mother, the perfect housewife, kept on a sexless pedestal apart from her sisters. Hera has become Jane Wyman.

The Crone has become the bitch and the whore. She is the crazy bag-lady and the hysterical female. She is the temptress with claws. Hecate has become Mata-Hari.

The dark moon goddess has become the killer — Elsa, she-wolf of the Nazis. The butch broad, the ball-breaker. Kali has become invisible.

It is the splitting of the elements of life into those that are adored and those that are feared that has become the basis of patriarchal religion. That which is feared must be conquered, and in this game all the symbols are female. Woman and the earth must be controlled. Death-fearing is merely the other side of the coin from death-worship. The dis-united patriarch seeks death in his attempt to transcend fear. This is the philosophical basis of misogyny. In patriarchal symbolism, the life-death spiral is a closed circle.

### 3. Pre-Patriarchal Sexuality

There is another 'new' patriarchal science afoot, called socio-biology. In its present form, led by the King of Insects, Edward O. Wilson, it is merely patriarchal woman-hatred buttressed by a genetic rationalization. These boys state that over the course of thousands of years, human behaviour and human needs can influence the course of human evolution. Their mistake is that they identify human needs as patriarchal-defined male needs only.

Given the fact that the major problem of human history has been dominated by the needs of women and the behaviour of women, we can formulate a very different view of human evolution.

The socio-biologists try to explain the fact that women have no estrus cycle by saying that this evolved from the woman's desire to please the man's innate need to fuck on demand. In fact, the release of the human female from the instinctual demands of animal heat has created a situation where women are free to choose their own sexual gratification. There is in the human no overwhelming mandate to fuck at all. Our sexual evolution has been a response to woman's desire to constantly explore and expand our sexual natures.

The same can be said of the fact that women have no narrowly-defined erogenous zones, that breastfeeding has become an orgasmic experience, that we are capable of sexual arousal during all parts of our menstrual cycle, and that we can sustain and repeat orgasms. According to the boys, each of these 'phenomena' requires separate, elaborate explanations, thus breaking their own rules of scientific method — find the simple explanation first.

The sensual needs of women have pushed the physical boundaries of the race, becoming perhaps the single most progressive force in the evolution of human civilization.

In matriarchal societies, there is no unnatural fusion between love and sensuality. Our foremothers were not bound to the definitions of possessive love. Lesbianism was not only accepted, but was likely the primary sexual activity of matriarchal women. Men were honoured and enjoyed for their role in conception and for the pleasures they could provide the women. The temple was the centre of worship to the Goddess, who was a symbol of life and therefore best honoured through free sensual living. The priestesses of the Goddess, in patriarchal times, became the temple prostitutes, and the temple became the forerunner of the whore-house.

Our fore-mothers took their sexuality seriously and joyously, unbound by the patriarchal splittings of heterosexual/homosexual, monogamous/polygamous, genital/non-genital.

### 4. A Postscript on Parthenogenesis

Many researchers have reported in pre-patriarchal cultures a 'failure to understand the link between copulation and childbirth'. They attribute this oversight to the differences of the primitive mind in connecting an effect with a cause when they are nine months apart.

These same 'primitive' women developed agriculture, the wheel, fire, astronomy, language, art, writing, mathematics, medicine, etc. In fact every patriarchal technology is the result of a matriarchal invention turned to the purpose of war.

Our matriarchal ancestors could predict the eclipses of the sun and moon, occultations of planets, paths of comets, behaviour of the weather and the rhythms of the earth and the sea with an accuracy that is only recently being equalled by patriarchal scientists.

Medicine was developed into a fine art, and the average person was capable of very acute sensing and fine-tuning of the body's functions. They were in constant contact with the workings of nature and would have observed countless copulations and births among animals with much shorter gestation periods than women. To suggest that these women managed to overlook something that was at the very root of their philosophy is, to me, ludicrous.

All the same, the fact remains that women often attributed pregnancy to the light of the full moon (when they ovulated), and many societies have been reported in recent times which do not link pregnancy with heterosexual coupling.

Parthenogenesis (self-reproduction) recurs in much matriarchal mythology, and was taken up later by the patriarchs, who claim parthenogenesis in bestowing divinity to their son-gods.

The biological workings of human parthenogenesis are not as complicated as one might imagine. Under certain conditions many animals display parthenogenetic capabilities (lizards especially, and lizards are common symbols of the Goddess). The change of the X chromosome to the Y chromosome is very small and happens occasionally in human cells. Perhaps the myth of Adam and Eve is, after all, a reversal, and men were a later mutation among the race of women.

In any case, the biological workings of parthenogenesis is a minor feat in nature, compared, for example, to the metamorphosis of the butterfly. The only reason that this possibility has not been seriously examined to date is because of the patriarchal bias that insists that heterosexual coupling is a 'higher' stage of evolution and therefore basic to man. In feminist terms evolution is not a tree, with man at the top, but a web of possibilities and interconnecting lives.

*This outline of some of the features of matriarchal civilizations is the first of a two-part article. Before examining the rise of the patriarchy it is necessary to have some idea of what exactly the patriarchy replaced. It is the form of pre-patriarchal civilization that determined the ways that the patriarchy developed. In the second part of this article I will attempt to examine what features of matriarchal life were repressed, and why; what things could be turned to the purpose of a patriarchal view, and how.*

*I will also discuss the significance of the feminist historical view in countering the ravages of patriarchal misogyny. Part two will also contain a bibliography for those who wish to know more about the roots of patriarchy and the matriarchal counterforce that still exists within it.*



# MOVEMENT MATTERS

## CHOOSING A THERAPIST

The Women's Counselling, Referral and Education Centre has just published a woman's handbook and directory called *Choosing a Therapist*. It is designed for women who have some knowledge about therapy and who can afford to pay at least a minimal fee. The handbook and directory lists 78 Toronto therapists who have been screened by the WCREC staff. Therapists' clinical skills were not evaluated and therapists' attitudes vary from non-sexist to feminist.

The handbook and directory outlines some of the main characteristics of feminist therapy and suggests a method of shopping for a therapist. Information is available regarding each therapist's education and training, therapy modes, specialties, and fees.

*Choosing a Therapist* is available at WCREC and at various Toronto women's services such as the Woman's Development Centre (15 Birch St.) and Hassle Free Clinic (556 Church St.). Phone WCREC at 924-0766 for the address of the women's service with a reference copy that is nearest to you. To get information about different types of therapy, alternatives to therapy (i.e. self-help groups), and for the names of free therapists, make an appointment to see a referral counsellor at WCREC.

□Ottie Lockey

## HASSLE FREE FOR WOMEN

On October 6, 1980, Hassle Free Clinic in Toronto started holding separate women's and men's clinics. Hassle Free has long been known as a birth control and venereal disease clinic. Over the past year it has become increasingly clear that women's health concerns and the treatment of men for sexually transmitted diseases are not compatible functions.

The structure and programs of the new women's clinic are still in the planning stages. At this point it will continue to see women for sexually related medical problems, namely, provision of birth control counselling and devices, pregnancy testing, abortion referral, and treatment of venereal diseases and gynecological concerns. The new hours of operation are Monday, Wednesday, Friday 10 to 3 pm, Tuesday, Thursday 4 to 9 pm. Any woman with gynecological problems may drop in; for other concerns call first. There will be a doctor and two women paramedic/counselors on duty at all times.

Plans for future expansion and new programs are under discussion. The possibilities are interesting and we hope will better serve the varied needs of Toronto women.

## WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ARCHIVES

The *Women's Movement Archives* is now three years old. From 1972-1977, the feminist newspaper *The Other Woman* received and actively collected much information on a growing women's movement. Unfortunately, the publication had priority over the archival project. It was not until the summer of 1977, after the demise of the newspaper, that all of the boxes were systematically filed.

The *Women's Movement Archives* possesses material from the earliest point of the current women's movement. It stretches from sea to sea and much of it is irreplaceable. Newspapers, newsletters and movement documents from both Western Canada and the Atlantic Provinces are on file and Québec (French and English) is also represented. There is a section for photographs and news clippings. As well, plans are being made to capture the experiences on a personal level of those individuals who were instrumental in the development of women's liberation during the late sixties, and the collective herstories of groups presently functioning.

In 1980, it is particularly hard to find anything more than a few years old. There is a limit to how much one person can

rescue from the feminist garbage cans. This is very sad. A document is something more than a sheet of paper; it is a living piece of herstory. Must we allow our daughters to suffer the same mistakes as ourselves because we neglected to provide a continuity of ideas? Keeping 'useless' pieces of paper is never a waste of time. Nothing, nothing which relates to our movement, should be thrown away. There is never any excuse for women's newspapers and every other group not to keep a record of their progression from various flyers to minutes of meetings.

Help yourselves — and the Archives. Send your old leaflets, notes, anything at all. Do not doubt its value. The history of our movement is built on many levels. Documents and theoretical essays will not do it alone. The past is with us now because many women saved or published their journals. Your letter to a friend will be our future. Everything speaking about and to feminism is precious to us all.

□Pat Leslie,  
for The Women's Movement Archives,  
P.O. Box 928, Station Q,  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

## IMMIGRANT WOMEN

The Immigrant Women's Job Placement Centre (formerly Employment Services for Immigrant Women) has moved to 720 Spadina Ave., Toronto. M5S 2T9. Phone: 922-8017.

## FIREWEED FESTIVAL

Next to excellence is the appreciation of it. That was the Fireweed Festival in Toronto in September. And it was inexpensive too. Only \$10 for the entire week-end; \$6 for Friday night's entertainment, and the same for Saturday night's dance.

Fireweed was the celebration and festival for issue number 7 of *Fireweed* — a feminist quarterly journal, one of the top ten in North America. The combined issue featured *Women and Performance*; centering around interviews, features and drama. I loved the introduction; it says, "One thing about performance. It has to start with having something to say. Whatever our concern with quality, with professionalism, I think it's necessary to remember that virtuosity comes with practice, and practice only with the opportunity to try. And it is the need to sing, perhaps, which opens our mouths."

Entertainers at the Festival included: Jane Fair, Liberty Silver, Lorraine Segato and Boo Watson, Charnie Guettel, Mama Quilla II and filmmaker Kay Armatage. This is my second year as emcee for the Fireweed Festival and it is a stimulating experience. The women involved with *Fireweed* are energetic, concerned, purposeful, and caring. They care that there's a journal worth reading. They cared that a festival took place that offered *Women and Performance*. For this, let me thank the Fireweed Collective for their excellence. And I'd like to suggest that you subscribe to *Fireweed*. Four issues for only \$10; write: PO Box 279, Station B, Toronto M5T 2W2.

□Charlene Roycht

## WOMEN IN MUSIC

The First National Congress on Women in Music will be held March 12-15, 1981 in New York City. The format of the congress includes presentation of papers and panel discussions. The national Co-ordinator of the Congress is Jeannie G. Pool, music historian, writer and critic, who lectures on the history of women in classical music. For more specific information about the Congress write to: First National Congress on Women in Music, Barnard College Women's Center, 606 West 120 Street, New York, 10027 N.Y.

## WOMEN'S BOOKSTORE NEWSLETTER

Want to keep up on the newest women's books? The Toronto Women's Bookstore now prints 3 newsletters a year, announcing many new titles as well as other goings-on at the bookstore. If you'd like to be on their mailing list, drop in at the store and fill out a card, or send in your name, address and phone number. Newsletter No. 2 is due at the end of November.

Toronto Women's Bookstore  
85 Harbord St., Toronto.

## IWDC EDUCATIONAL

The International Women's Day Committee has planned the following educational meetings for November, to be held at 7:30 pm, University Settlement House, 23 Grange Rd., Toronto.

November 5th — The Sexual Division of Labour  
November 19th — The State

All interested women are invited to attend.



A general call to women's groups across the country. *Movement Matters* needs subject matter. Please put *Broadside* on your mailing list and send your announcements, informative articles, reports and newsletters. We'll publish some and file them all.

## Axworthy Chopped Up

The Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, minister responsible for the Status of Women, was in Toronto in October. He was guest speaker at a dinner meeting of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, and Women for Political Action. Mr. Axworthy came to talk about the Constitution, but it was soon apparent that he had bitten off more than he could chew. The reception by the more than 200 women became more and more hostile as Mr. Axworthy explained why he thought women should support the entrenchment of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

Many of the women had spent all day in study sessions dealing with the Constitution, and they were ready for Mr. Axworthy. As it presently stands, the wording of the Government's proposed Charter of Rights does not guarantee the equality of women, or protect them against discrimination. The wording is almost identical to the present Bill of Rights, under which women have been discriminated against for years.

However, the women in the audience were particularly angered by Mr. Axworthy's patronizing attitude towards them. He was telling them the Constitution would be good for them, and they didn't agree.

Some of the questions that were asked from the floor give an indication of the areas of most concern. One woman questioned the Minister on his position regarding the claim to paid maternity leave by striking Federal translators. At first he denied that paid maternity leave was a major issue, but had to concede the point when the woman identified herself as one of the strikers. After that Mr. Axworthy became non-committal.



Lloyd Axworthy in Toronto

Maira Armour

He was also non-committal on the subject of why there are no women deputy ministers, and no women in the Supreme Court; on when the Government will introduce any programs of equal pay for work of equal value; and how native women can expect to be protected under the proposed Bill of Rights, when the Indian Act is exempted. In fact that was his whole problem, non-commitment.

As one irate woman put it, "You are my minister, responsible to, and for, me; so what are you doing for me, right now?"

If we allow the Constitution to be patriated with only the presently suggested amendments, women will have to become embroiled in endless legal battles in order to protect our rights.

The overall tone of the meeting was that women are tired of studies and commissions, and programs and enquiries, and when they have a chance to say so to a member of the Government, they do so, loud and clear. Politeness seems to have flown out the window — and that's one message that Mr. Axworthy took back to Ottawa with him.

Judith Lawrence

## Separate but Equal?

by Cynthia Hastings Zinck

When a marriage ends, emotional trauma usually overshadows all other concerns. However, separation can have important legal consequences and decisions should be made as carefully and unemotionally as possible. Arrangements and agreements made at the time of separating can have a significant influence on such major issues as the custody and support of children, access to children for the noncustodial spouse, maintenance payments and the matrimonial home. It can even have an effect on the length of time which must elapse before divorce documents can be filed. Where children are involved or there are substantial assets, it is very important that legal advice be sought before any agreement is signed.

In spite of the need for care in dealing with potential legal aspects of separation, in actual fact there is no category of 'separated' in legal use in Ontario. Since family law is an area of provincial control, each province sets its own laws regarding family life. In Ontario, spouses remain married in the eyes of the law until a judicial decree of annulment or divorce is granted by the court. Courts recognize the practical impact of separation by providing for court procedures to determine the custody of children, the amount of support to be paid and how property should be divided but this does not mean that the courts grant legal separations.

When most people talk about a 'legal separation', they are referring to a separation agreement. A separation agreement is nothing more or less than a contract between spouses to deal with the aspects of their joint lives and property which must be settled upon separation. Separation agreements are enforceable in the same way as any other legal contract — the legal action



'Separate but Equal' is the third of a five-part series on the legalities of relationships and what women should know about them.

in the terms not complied with is breach of contract. Separation agreements deal with the disposal of family property — who gets what; agreements about the amount of support to be paid for child support and support of the spouse; who will remain in the family home; and, most importantly, what arrangements will be made about the children of the marriage — who will have custody, and what provisions will be made to give the other parent access. Each of these issues has potential pitfalls for the unwary spouse.

One of the most important rights given by law which can be dealt with in the separation agreement is the division of the matrimonial home. The Family Law Reform Act, passed in 1978, states that both parties own the matrimonial home regardless of whose name is on the ownership documents. One spouse cannot sell the

home without the consent of the other and this right cannot be given away as long as the marriage lasts — no domestic or other contract can deprive a spouse of the right to a half share of the matrimonial home.

• continued page twenty-five

# A Paradigm for

by Artemis March

*It has always been Broadside's intention to publish feminist theory articles from time to time, but we have not in the past year come across anything really suitable for our first foray into the subject. Artemis March's article struck us as just the thing we were looking for. We publish it here with permission of the author.*

*"A Paradigm for Feminist Theory" is a written version of March's workshop at The Second Sex Conference in New York (see Broadside Vol. 1, no. 2) on September 1979. She wrote it immediately after the conference from detailed notes and has not had time to revise or expand it since. The result is a very condensed version of a 20-minute verbal presentation. It is difficult to absorb: the writing is full of content and there is little explanatory padding. The article requires careful and repeated reading, but it repays the effort.*

The Broadside Collective

## INTRODUCTION

For the last decade, feminist theorists have been trying to delineate and analyse the origins, structures, and dynamics which gave rise to and perpetuate the "oppression of women." As I read and talk with them, I often find it difficult to integrate their various interpretations. A primary reason for this difficulty is that feminist analysts are working with different assumptions which may or may not be articulated. In this article, I want to try to do two things: make a few of those assumptions explicit; and suggest some of the elements, both epistemological and substantive, that I think should guide the development of a feminist paradigm.

## ASSUMPTIONS

The first issue I will simply mention, and not explore in the interests of time: Is there systemic oppression or control of women? While most of us here may agree that the answer is yes, not everyone agrees on this basic point.

### IF THERE IS CONTROL, IS THERE AN OBJECT OF CONTROL? AND IF SO, WHAT IS IT? AND, HOW DID IT COME ABOUT?

I will make some comparisons between three major groups of writing: Marxists, what I have called "feminist materialists" (defining this more narrowly than others at the conference, at which this article was first presented); and what I have called the "social organization" school.

**Marxists:** Marxists assume that what is controlled is women's labour, and not necessarily to the benefit of men. Although Jean Gardiner (1975) and Heidi Hartmann (1976) have shown, both theoretically and empirically, that even under capital, many Marxists have mystified that reality with the claim that, under capital, women's labour benefits only capital (Della Costa, 1971; Saretseky, 1973; Secombe, 1974).

If we ask how this control came about, we will find that a common thread running through the Marxist arguments is the denial that male control/exploitation of women is direct. Instead Marxists have insisted that the exploitation of women is a by-product of other developments, particularly the development of private property and changes in the means of production. Such intermediary activities/institutions resulted in men's superordinate relationships to women, in which men relate to something out there (say private property), and women relate to something out there (say family), and women's oppression is merely a by-product of how those things out there relate to each other.

If we look at the question of male needs/fears, motivation, intent, and nature, Marxists deny any misogynist/sadistic or other "bad" intent/ need on the part of men, or excuse them as a by-product of the social relations of production. I believe that this economic reductionism of gender issues — such as pornography, prostitution (as Kathy Barry discussed in her paper presented at the conference), rape, Lesbianism — is one of the most pernicious forms of androcentric thinking that we as feminists have to deal with, and that it starkly reveals the heavy investment of Marxism in male supremacy and its inadequacy to deal



with the infrastructural core of society, named the organization of sexuality and gender.

**Feminist Materialists:** The second group, whom I have called "feminist materialists" (Griffin, 1971, 1978; Firestone, 1971; Dworkin, 1974, 1977; Brownmiller, 1975; Morgan, 1978), believe that the primary object of patriarchal control is women's bodies/sexuality. They view the exploitation of women as direct, and as physically violent and coercive. Their work points to the patriarchal inseparability of violence and sexuality, and most of these writers find that behaviour to be motivated by fear/awe/envy/hatred

With their strong stress on the social, and the reproduction of the unconscious, they have not integrated violence and misogyny into their analyses. This could be done. For example, Sandra Hardin pointed out that Chodorow and Dinnerstein's work on the formation of male gender identity through dis-identification with mother and things female shows us some institutional and psychodynamic roots and mechanisms of the reproduction of misogyny. The following chart summarizes the emphases in these three schools of thought, which of course are not as separate as I am making them emphasize the distinctions:

	Marxist	Feminist Materialist	Social Organization
Object What?	Yes Women's labour	Yes Women's bodies/sexuality	No
For whom? How?	Capital/ruling class Indirect: economic institutions	Men Direct: coercion	Men Indirect: social institutions
Male motivation	Denied	Misogyny	Omit

of women. These writers, and I include myself, are more likely to turn to religious and medical institutions and sources as the primary agencies, solidifying, enforcing and reproducing male control and misogyny.

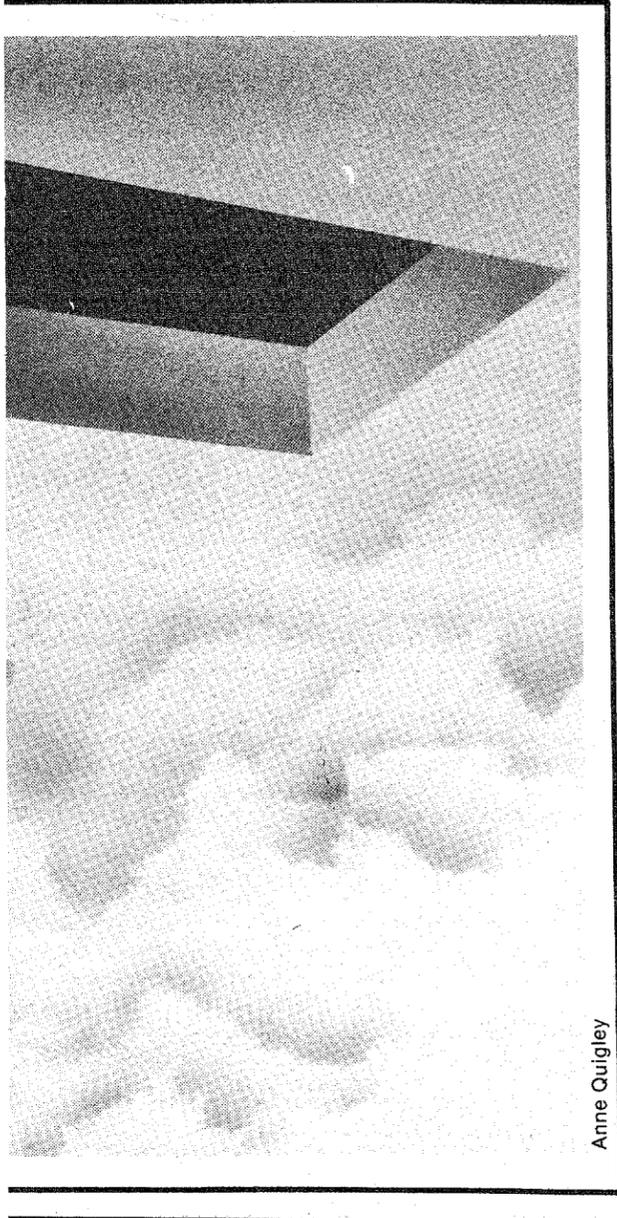
**Social Organizationists:** Many feminists assume no specific object of control, but view women as being oppressed primarily as a by-product of social organization. They see social institutions — such as the division of labour, the separation of spheres — as producing and reproducing male dominance. I think their work has given us the most sophisticated analyses so far developed of the reproduction of patriarchy through social institutions and unconscious personality structure and dynamics.

### WHAT IS THE LEVEL AND THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS?

Many studies examine the lives of individual women, other studies might abstract and generalize the social patterns that shape and limit those lives. The unit of analysis, or the thing being analysed, may be individual, group, institution, or something else.

The level of analysis may also vary. (Because I encourage such broad usage of the term "theory," and because

# Feminist Theory



Anne Quigley

is so much resistance to theory, I will belabour some points that may be very familiar, but please bear with me!) Empirical generalizations can be drawn from our observations, and the limits upon the statement can typically be quantified: "83 per cent of the men surveyed said that...Most of the women present had..." These are different from theoretical statements which are composed of interrelated abstract concepts, and are specified by the conditions under which a given relationship holds true: "In all patriarchal societies, obligatory heterosexuality is normative for adults." Further, each of these concepts has to be defined.

Theory will look different from empirical generalizations on two accounts: 1) Although the theoretical whole may attempt to explain the empirical whole, the elements of each do not match each other in any one-to-one fashion. Concepts can be viewed as slices of empirical elements, or as abstractions from them; however we visualize it, the elements of theory are not congruent with the elements of empirical reality. 2) Theory attempts to grasp reality, which is often below the surface, and reality is distorted by the surface appearances which empirical generalizations describe. This is, of course, a realist approach to theory. One of the implications of this is that when we find counter-examples from among the empirical array of concrete human activity, a theoretical model is not automatically invalidated.

## IS THE PATRIARCHAL ORDER CONCEIVED AS STATIC OR CHANGING? IF MOVING/CHANGING, WHAT IS IT THAT CHANGES?

Most analyses to date have implicitly treated patriarchy as static, although increasing lip-service has been paid to its changing nature. The changes that have been described so far have primarily been about the family, and there are few who have seen changes in the family as other than derivative of other "broader" changes in society. As I discussed in the next section, I think we do have to think in terms of historical change, not simply of the family, but in the *mode of organizing sexuality*. Each mode is part of a *system of patriarchy*, and a system is not reducible to its elements.

## FEMINIST PARADIGM

Another way of saying there is a lack of agreement about the often implicit assumptions is that writers are working out of different frameworks or paradigms. I think we need to develop a paradigm within which to build a feminist theory.

By a paradigm I mean an orienting framework by which to conceptually and epistemologically map an area of study. A paradigm thus has two general aspects: *perspective*, or *how* the subject/analyst sees and from what centre of vision; *domain*, or *what* we are looking at; the object of study.

In my own experience, developing a perspective preceded the explicit identification of the domain of study. I was working for a long time on a gynocentric framework and perspective without having a name for the "it" I was trying to map. I knew "it" wasn't "sex roles" and knew that "it" was a system that changed historically, and that what was important was not so much the content as the structural relationships that delineated the system. After reading Gayle Rubin's article, "Traffic" I began using "sex/gender system" to identify much, but not all, of the domain. And I have begun using the phrase "social organization of gender and sexuality" to refer to the emerging interdisciplinary field. Of course it is a major question for our research to establish empirically what have been the linkages between gender and sexuality for the present, I keep them conceptually combined, and write as if they change concurrently, and bear systemic relations to each other.

In sketching out some of the epistemological and substantive elements that I think should guide our development of a feminist paradigm, I will organize my comments around the three major issues raised earlier: the object (of control in the real world, of study in our analysis); the level of analysis; and historical change and periodization.

In other words, by observing the "spaces between" men and women, women and women, men and men, and by examining these connections and abstracting from them, we identify the structure or patterning in gender relations. This structure is more significant for our understanding of patriarchy than any particular content we might observe. The implication is that we not compare elements out of context, but compare systems with each other. (This usage of structuralist is Marxist, but is congruent in several aspects with structural-functionalism. I view the major value of Marxism for feminism to be its epistemology.)

By realist I mean that we can only understand what we see by reference to *underlying* structures and dynamics which we posit, an approach shared by Marx, Freud and Parsons. When I suggest we take that approach, and when I use that approach in my own work, I am saying that there is indeed a reality whose features we need to grasp, if only we can find adequate tools with which to grasp them. In other words, realism is not a relativistic approach (i.e., to each her own reality) but asserts that a reality exists. And a realist approach says we need to abstract our concepts from this underlying reality, not from surface appearances which distort and camouflage that reality. Thus what the realist sees may be very different from what others see. (This approach can be contrasted with positivism, with Weber, with phenomenology, and with any kind of civil liberties philosophy which claims that all realities, value systems, and lifestyles are equally valid.)

If we combine the realist and structuralist perspectives, then our focus point towards understanding a system of relationships beneath the surface of social life. This focus on the relations between system elements and the irreducible whole which they form helps us not to be misled by superficial changes, or "content" changes. For example, prescriptions about female sexuality may change from passionless to active within a century, but does that change the structure of male-female relations? does it diminish male control of female sexuality? May it even increase male control of female sexuality?

*Historical change/periodization:* As I have noted earlier, most of the writing to date has either treated patriarchy as a stasis monolith ("for centuries, women have been oppressed by), or dealt with changes in the family as if these were the only kind of changes to be identified. Socialist feminists have typically related changes in the family to changes in the "wider" society, notably the political economic system.

I think we must think in terms of historical change, but not simply or primarily in the family. Rather we need to look deeper, into *the changing mode of organizing sexuality* and changes in the patriarchal systems as a whole. My

priorities for doing this are to concentrate first on *what* those changes were, and *how* patriarchal systems changed from one form into another. That implies the even more primary task of identifying the major constellations of patriarchal relations. Such work, it seems to me must precede our addressing the enormous question of why these changes occurred. I want to make a very strong pitch for keeping all androcentric maps — including the Marxist map — off of this territory so we can look at what and how afresh.

*Object:* The major object of study for a feminist paradigm, at least in these formative stages, is the sex/gender system, which socially organizes gender, sexuality, and procreation. By system, I mean two things beyond the idea of social patterns or social structures: that those patterns get reproduced or *perpetuated* in regular (i.e. systemic) ways; and that the whole which is formed by these structures is *irreducible* to its system parts. In our approach to this system, I think three premises need to guide us:

1) Recognizing the fundamental *asymmetry* in historical sex/gender systems — i.e., that their shape and directionality is patterned primarily by the *male* exercise of *power*. Because most of that power has become socially institutionalized, and enters into the construction of personality at the unconscious level, a great deal of that power is not experienced — by men and by women — as coercive. It is the responsibility of the feminist analyst to remain unseduced by many of the romantic embellishments of patriarchal power, which minimally remain as a residue in her own unconscious, and to perceive and name male power, female exploitation, and female complicity in their own exploitation.

2) Insisting that *all* aspects of social life and social relations are socially *constructed*, rather than innate or natural. This includes the social construction of gender acquisition, gender identity, and sexuality — both for individuals and institutionally. Androcentric theory has heretofore taken for granted much of what male society has taken for granted; it has never gone all the way to the core of social structure, to the basic infrastructure of society. As feminists, we are beginning to analyse what men have taken for granted, have left as givens, and thereby provide a social analysis that is deeper and more comprehensive than any that have gone before us. I underline Sandra Harding's thesis here, and say yes, we must go all the way in our theorizing.

3) Asserting that sex/gender has constituted the *basic organizing principle* of society, and thereby has underlain all social institutions, be they "public" or "domestic". By developing this view, I take issue with many other feminists who have retained the public-domestic separation (and even done a good deal to expand and elaborate our understanding of it), who have viewed gender and sexuality as belonging to the domestic sphere and their major institutional configuration as the family. I do not view sexuality as part of the "domestic sphere," or "personal life," but as the core of societal infrastructure. The social organization of sexuality both frames and permeates all social institutions, and is therefore both a "public" and a "private" issue, and by definition, a political issue.

*Level of analysis:* It will be clear from what I said earlier that I believe we need to focus our analysis on institutions, and begin to develop theoretical statements about the concepts derived from our observations of empirical reality. Here I want to suggest two major epistemological aspects of how we go about deriving those concepts, those of structuralism and realism.

By structuralist I refer to the view that there exist *regular, order relations* between elements, and that these relations are more significant than the elements themselves. Indeed, the elements derive their meaning from these relations, and these relations form a unity not reducible to any of its elements. That unity we may call a system.

Finally, I think we must develop a paradigm which views the sex/gender system as dialectical. This means that we not only understand that system elements exist in relation to each other, but also that those relations may be antagonistic as well as supportive. This should guard us against making unilinear evaluations of changes, for we are alerted to placing a change in A in relation to what is happening with B and C, rather than viewing the change in A in isolation. And we are alerted to looking at any single change as not being only what it appears to be, but that it may be in reality quite different from appearance: for example, the apparent increasing freedom of women's sexuality might also constitute an extension and deepening of male control of female being/energy.

# MEDIA WATCH

**Dussault** Communications  
since 1950  
(Staff of 24)  
Word processing, typesetting, design, art & printing  
100 Adelaide Street West, Toronto, M5H 1S3  
(416) 366-5405

## The Globe and Mail SCIENCE CLASSIFIED

Milky Way

Showtimes &  
Information:  
978-8550



ROM Royal Ontario Museum

SECOND SECTION

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1980

PAGE 19

# ENERGY

## What to use when the fossil fuels run out

By DEREK YORK

The North American way of life, as we now live it, was built on the backs of the fossil fuels: coal, oil and gas. More than 90 per cent of the energy we consume comes from these sources.

As these fuels inevitably run out, we are brought face to face with a profound problem: What on earth will we use in their place?

This question poses what may be the greatest challenge yet to the success of our gradual evolution into thinking human beings. If new energy supplies are not developed by the early part of the 21st century, the standard of living in the advanced areas of the world will collapse and

And that's basically it. A fission reactor is a sedated nuclear device hooked up to a steam-powered electric generator. A large power reactor is so tranquillized that it releases in one day the amount of energy that was expended in a fraction of a second at Hiroshima.

The reason why fission power is so attractive as the post-fossil fuel is the enormous amount of energy released by a very small amount of uranium. For instance, in one typical day's work in a large power reactor, about 10 million, million, million, million U-235 nuclei will have been fissioned. While this may sound like a lot of uranium burning, in fact, it represents only about 8 pounds in weight.

reactors usually operate for about a year, then shut down for refueling. This on-line refueling of CANDU reactors means that there would be less heat-producing radioactivity in the core to cause meltdown should normal cooling be rapidly lost.

Of greater concern in the long run is the need to get rid of safely the radioactive wastes produced by fission reactor operation. While most of the fission products have short half-lives, two important ones, strontium-90 and cesium-137, remain significantly radioactive for several hundred years.

Complicating things further is the presence in the nuclear ashes of extremely long-lived radioactive nuclei such as plutonium-239, which

has a half-life of almost 25,000 years. Obviously, such waste must be disposed of so effectively that it is isolated from humans for several hundred thousand years. Just how difficult this is to achieve is the source of most of the debate about the desirability of nuclear reactors.

Current planning is to hold the waste in water tanks to precipitate the radioactive solids. A "cooling-off" period of 5-10 years will then be allowed. During this time, the short-lived radioactivities will have decayed and then the solid waste will be embedded in glass or ceramic cylinders each about the size of a rolled-up living room rug. These cylinders will then be shipped to what is hoped to be their final rest-

ing place in half-mile deep holes in the ground, which will then be sealed.

A key point to bear in mind is that the volume of solid waste one wishes to bury is actually very small. A typical power reactor's annual yield of such waste would correspond in size to about ten rolled-up rugs per year. A committee of the American National Academy of Sciences concluded that all the nuclear waste generated by U.S. reactors by the year 2010 could be buried beneath a patch of ground roughly 100 football fields in size.

From a Canadian viewpoint, it seems clear that fission reactors will play a big role in our future. The CANDU reactor exists and is a bril-

liant result of Canadian nuclear know-how. The Canadian Shield has enough uranium and thorium to keep us going for a long time.

The volume of radioactive waste generated will be of course considerably smaller than that generated by the U.S. network. If Canada with its small population but enormous land area cannot safely dispose of its nuclear wastes, no one can.

However, the handling of nuclear power undoubtedly requires the maintenance of great care and the highest standards of materials and workmanship. To see that these are delivered, it is essential that all operations and associated government decisions be made in full public view.

## Science/Fiction

The North American way of life, as we now live it, was built on the backs of the fossil fuels: coal, oil and gas. More than 90 per cent of the energy we consume comes from these sources.

As these fuels inevitably run out, we are brought face to face with a profound problem: what on earth will we use in their place?

This question poses what may be the greatest challenge yet to the success of our gradual evolution into thinking human beings. If new energy supplies are not developed by the early part of the 21st century, the standard of living in the advanced areas of the world will reach the brink of disaster as the strong snatch what they need from the weak.

The Third World peoples will never know the standards we have enjoyed for decades. In the time we have left, we must develop new energy sources or we will literally return to the dark ages.

The most obvious replacement for the fossil fuels is nuclear power, based on fission reaction, of which the Canadian CANDU reactor is a particularly successful example.

Sounds like an ad for Ontario Hydro, eh? In fact, these are the opening paragraphs of the full-page article on energy which appeared in the Monday science section of the *Globe and Mail*, our friendly national newspaper, bulwark of "objective" (read: it stands firmly for the status quo) journalism in Canada. On the front page the *Globe* also printed happily and without query Arthur Porter's claim that nuclear energy is the safest, cleanest source of power available to us.

Derek York's masterpiece, "Energy: What to use when the fossil fuel runs out," may not seem to be so much of a threat, hidden away in the Monday science section, until we remember that the Monday science section is the stuff of which school science lessons are constructed, that it is the source of enlightenment for nonscientific laypeople, like me. I always buy the *Globe* on Mondays because of the science section — it's my chance to catch up on the latest

developments in the debate between Fred and George about whether the universe started with a big bang or whether it has always pulsed along in a steady state.

Usually I'm aware of the bias of the writing in the science section — the underlying assumption is that whatever scientific exploration is being reported it is somehow automatically guaranteed to be in the interest of humanity, unless it is being undertaken by some lunatic fringe group with a political persuasion, in which the exploration is clearly not to be regarded as scientific.

Ethical questions about the use of "objective," "scientific" discoveries are raised only to be dismissed, with elaborate reassurances about the strict safety standards always employed in laboratories. When these same safety standards fail, the results are reported in other sections of the paper (often, immediately spectacular, buried in page 12 between two ads and a picture of a child enjoying an ice-cream cone).

The science section marches on with its coverage of new discoveries and exciting research. The energy article in the October 6 *Globe* is different. There are no new discoveries reported, nor is anything explained about nuclear fissions which hasn't been explained in much more detail in the main section of the paper in conjunction with coverage of Three Mile Island and subsequent public concern about nuclear development in Canada.

York's article is straight advocacy, raising the spectre of a "return to the dark ages," of, horror of horrors, a change in our "North American way of life" unless we embrace the exciting potential of nuclear energy. Questions about disposal of radioactive wastes are categorized as posing "the biggest political problem to the introduction of more large reactors" — in this way the reality of the problem is undermined — it is political, i.e., it is a question of attitude: if people can be persuaded that safe disposal can be found then everything will be all right.

Never mind the facts, forget the levels of contamination already reached by unsafe disposal of nuclear wastes from existing reactors. After all, York lightheartedly points out, a year's waste from a "typical" reactor would only amount to about ten cylinders each about the size of a rolled-up

living room rug." What was the size of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima? I suspect it wasn't even as big as my living room rug. Furthermore, York goes on, "If Canada with its small population but enormous land area cannot safely dispose of its nuclear wastes, no one can."

The possibility that indeed no one can, and that that is the point of anti-nuclear protest, is cheerfully ignored. Having paid lip service to the requirements of "objective" journalism by dutifully pointing out some of the reasons for protest against nuclear development, York concludes with a paragraph which returns to the complacent assumptions of his opening, that nuclear service is an inevitable and positive development in the service of progress:

However, the handling of nuclear power undoubtedly requires the maintenance of great care and the highest standards of materials and workmanship. To see that these are delivered, it is essential that all operations and associated government decisions be made in full public view.

Now it sounds like the editorial page, a full-blown liberal statement of concern. For "nuclear power" substitute "national railways" or "air transport." The intention is solid gold. Its price is skyhigh.

Let's try a rewrite of the opening paragraph:

The North American way of life, as we now live it, was built on the backs of women, Black people, poor immigrants, and at the expense of the natural environment.

As this way of life inevitably becomes unlivable, we are brought face to face with a profound problem: What on earth can we do to change our ways before we destroy the earth itself and ourselves?

Discarding our complacent assumptions about "progress" and "civilization" we might do well to examine the ways of living in more harmony with the environment developed by other cultures. Our scientific resources could well be used to develop alternative sources of energy, which are not so destructive or costly.

Solar energy, long recognized by "primitive" peoples as an essential source of power, has been given careful consideration by a number of scientists, although government officials politically committed to nuclear development have ignored or denigrated their findings.

Would the *Globe and Mail* run such an article in their science section? It is certainly no more biased than Derek York's piece. If it were to include informed description of some recent developments in solar energy it would go well beyond York's article in providing information about contemporary science. However, I suspect that there are vested interests which would object, in the strongest terms, to the publication of an anti-nuclear, solar energy-centred article. And I further suspect that the main grounds for their objections would be that this is not "objective" reporting. I wonder how many vested interests would have to be rolled up in living room rugs and buried before we could have a sane energy policy?

It would be very interesting if instead of running a science section with its present voice-of-God approach, the *Globe* were to run science editorials, clearly delineating the perspective from which they are written. It would be even more interesting if the *Globe* and other patriarchal papers were to drop the pretense of objective journalism altogether, and instead concentrate on presenting an informed and responsible subjective coverage.

□ Barbara Halpern Martineau



## It's 11 O'clock.

# Do You Know Where Your Constitution Is?

*Broadside's woman-on-the-hill gives us the last word on Canada's Constitutional debates. What else is there to say? (See next month's Broadside).*

by Mary Hemlow

Since I can't hope to reply to all of the letters I've received on the Constitution, I've put together this question and answer sheet to help women with the information they so desperately need:

### Q. What is the Constitution?

A. The Constitution is a brisk walk around the block once a day, every day not to exceed three brisk walks unless ordered by your physician. Some people, politicians for example, are required to eat a bran muffin before each constitution.

### Q. Why is everyone talking about the constitution?

A. Well, if you notice, everyone always talks about *everything*. In general, in Canada, we talk on *themes* — sort of conversation starters. What usually happens is the federal government *sets* the theme. We've had, remember, bilingualism, separatism, national unity, energy and a few others, leading up to the constitution theme. In between, we have minor themes like depressions and wars.

### Q. Why did the Prime Minister go to see the Queen?

A. Mr. Trudeau did not go to see the Queen. He sent two other men (I just forget their names) and they had tea with Her Majesty and asked her about her constitution and apparently she was pleased because on TV they were all smiling. She said that if her Parliament agreed, we could bring her constitution back to Canada, which is really generous — sort of like giving away your gall bladder.

### Q. Will Canada accept the Queen's constitution?

A. Well, heavens, it would be awfully rude *not* to. I mean, it's up to you, but if someone, especially *HER MAJESTY*, says here have my constitution, you can't just say no thanks and walk away.

### Q. Do you think a woman should have gone to see the Queen?

A. Well yes I do. It would have been more *personal* if you see what I mean. It's hard for men to talk to Her Majesty about her constitution without some embarrassment. When I saw them smiling on TV they looked a bit nervous.

### Q. What is "entrenchment of rights"?

A. I have no idea. Where on earth did you hear that phrase?

### Q. What is the Supreme Court?

A. The Supreme Court is a large gray building on Wellington Street in Ottawa. There is an excellent cafeteria there and in the summer the flowers in front are the

most beautiful in Ottawa. You have never seen such petunias!

### Q. Who or what were the Fathers of Confederation?

A. I don't know. It sounds like the name of a large sperm bank to me. Why not try your telephone directory.

### Q. Does the Constitution have anything to do with women?

A. No, of course not. Nothing whatever. Oh, there might be a few women-and-the-constitution jokes cropping up: What's the difference between a woman and a bran muffin/Why did the woman cross the constitution/ Who was that muffin I saw you with last night — stuff like that.

### Q. Ms. Hemlow, how do you know all this? I admire you so much.

A. Thank you. Oh, I just hang around Ottawa — keep my eyes and ears open.

# BROADSIDES

by Susan G. Cole

## CHRISTLAM

You've heard of being born again. Well now we have a variation on the syndrome which we'll call the born-again-as-a-male-supremacist religion. Its head minister is Eldridge Cleaver, former Black Panther minister of information, whose black power philosophy has been transformed by his new faith in a hybrid of born-again Christianity and Islam which he calls Christlam.

A social auxiliary to his Oakland, California church, and another brain child of Cleaver, is — are you ready — The Guardians of the Sperm. "The dwelling place of God is in the male sperm," he is reported to have said and in a way reminiscent of his confrère Norman Mailer, (who in the *Prisoner of Sex* argued that male masturbation was a crime against humanity because it wasted the precious body fluid. Mailer, who fancies himself something of a high priest of male supremacy, is happily not looking for a congregation.)

Cleaver has made the claim that ignorant scientists responsible for birth control are part of a conspiracy designed to send sperm on a virtual "suicide mission." Accordingly, sex is dangerous because "you're sending sperm into a mine field. There's artificial chemicals, nooses, traps inside the female body — put there to murder sperm." In a curious lapse of logic, he places equal blame for the plot on the shoulders of Lesbian propagandists, whose devotion to the feminist cause, you will agree, is unlikely to include activities such as sperm entrapment.

We have a new contestant in How Fast Can We Kill Off the Women's Movement competition. Unfortunately, the newest entrant is an anonymous sort, one of those people who make up the headlines for the *Toronto Star*. An article (September 27) included summaries of interviews with the decade's "big names" in feminism. The headline: *How feminist roar turned into a whisper*: "Six of the decade's big names compare heady days of 1970 to the stalemate of today."

Apart from the fact that the six interviewees would scarcely refer to themselves as big names and must by now find the label "leading feminist" ideologically unsound and tiresome, if not entirely inaccurate, the headline for the piece had little to do with the contents of the article.

Cleaver, already one of a breed of celebrity rapists, has become a proponent of another crime, wife-beating. "I don't mind being known as a wife-beater," he reportedly stated. "There are all kinds of institutions to service those so-called battered wives. What nobody's saying is that most of the time the bitch needed her ass kicked." In all, Cleaver's propensity for rape and violence seems to outweigh his fears about the perils of sexual intercourse. He will teach a course to young men called Urban Geography, so that men can keep a firmer control on the streets. "You see a good-looking woman on the street corner and immediately you want to screw her. But you let her get away because you don't know how to follow her. We teach pursuit."

Any woman feeling a tad paranoid in the Oakland area has a good reason. This is no joke.

## FEMINISTS ROAR

Esther Greenglass, a former member of the Federal Task Force on the Status of Women, claims that economic conditions have taken their toll but that "doesn't mean feminism is dead. It is very much alive within the individual." Eleanor Pelrine, Henry Morgenthau's biographer, talks about burn-out but is reported still "to be chipping away". Doris Anderson, head of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, says "feminism has penetrated the fabric of our culture." Sculptor Maryon Kantaroff explains that women have "absorbed feminism into our own disciplines." Lynne Gordon, head of the Ontario Council on the Status of Women describes the difference between looking for outrageous headlines as feminists did a decade ago and seeking out solid headlines

the way we are today.

Only Laura Sabia, a self-described retiring feminist, tends toward the negative. But even if we were to take her disappointments into account, does all this sound like "the stalemate of today"? What the measured statements of the six representatives say is essentially that the movement has changed. But it is hardly silent. It does, as Anderson says, "involve every thinking man, woman and child in the country," and Kantaroff is not whispering when she continued to speak on Women and the Arts. Gillian Cosgrove, the author of the article, agrees that the headline doesn't reflect the article's intent. But then again, she doesn't write headlines. That is left to a nameless joker who obviously cannot read.

"... the master of the short story in Canada"

— Kent Thompson

## A GAME OF TOUCH

The Canadian political novel of the seventies, published the week of the October Crisis, and reissued at the beginning of a new decade.

"The first of the Trudeau novels."

— Robert Fulford

"A Game of Touch combines Hood's abilities for capturing society and for showing individuals."

— Canadian Literature

Poor taste from a Canadian publisher's booklist.



## ARTS

## Festival of Festivals:

by Barbara Halpern Martineau

Movies have been incredibly important in my life. Long before I ever thought about them they affected most of my assumptions and values. Now, after ten years of teaching, writing about, and making films, I still find myself sucked right into the vision of the bright screen in the darkened theatre, having to stand back afterwards and sort out what is mine. So, given the range of films offered by the recent film festival in Toronto, an annual event reflecting the patriarchal, commercial system which spawned it, full of contradictions, I picked and chose pretty carefully, eliminating films which seemed too offensive, too smugly exploitative, too violent, too obviously designed solely to provide tax shelters, or satisfy burgeoning male egos. That left a very manageable handful of films of potential interest to feminists. Of these, some broke new ground, offered insight, perspective, information, inspiration. A disturbing number of these selected few turned out to be misogynistic in subtle ways, heavily biased towards the nuclear family, overtly homophobic.

I was lucky, not only to be able to go to films during the day and to have passes to do so, but also that feminist film friends were staying with me, so that we discussed many of the films and our reactions. One of our favourite games was rewriting films we half-liked: "If I had made this film I would have..." It's a healthy game for feminists and other marginal social groups to play — it allows us to become conscious of how movies carry the messages of the dominant ideology.

One of the films I most enjoyed seeing at the festival was *Heartland*, a low-budget independent feature from the United States directed by Richard Pearce and written by Beth Ferris. Set in Wyoming in 1910, *Heartland* is the story of a widow who brings her seven-year-old daughter to a cattle ranch where she is at first housekeeper then wife to the dour Scottish rancher. Elinore Randall Stewart, played by Conchata Ferrell, is a magnificent alternative to the stereotypically wasp-waisted, WASP-minded Western heroine, or the silent, enduring earth mother so beloved by Faulkner and other patriarchal writers. This woman, based on the real-life pioneer writer Elinor Pruitt Stewart, is strong, determined, enthusiastic, rebellious to a point, deeply caring, above all for her daughter, for the land, for a strange woman in trouble, for her neighbours, for animals, for her husband, for his hired man. The film is positively inspirational as an alternative, woman-centred vision of pioneer life and as a basis for understanding marriage and the nuclear family in terms of the economic and practical pressures of that life.

Given all that, I wondered why the film ends on a sentimental note of late-blooming love between husband and wife, who have just delivered a calf together. There were so many other possibilities for ending the film, which needn't have denigrated the relationship between husband and wife as this one did. Scenes which would have included the child, who plays such an important role in the film, and perhaps the older woman who is their closest neighbour and

an essential source of support to Elinore. By ending with a scene so focussed on the couple and the image of fecundity, even though the partnership of husband and wife is stressed, the film loses its radical edge and becomes another celebration of the apple-pie American nuclear family. A pity.

The patriarchal bias of the film which insists that a strong woman be teamed with a stronger man, is especially evident if we compare it with *Great Grand Mother*, a Canadian documentary about prairie pioneer women, where the women interviewed talk about everything *but* their husbands — their work, children, friendships, hardships, sense of isolation, sense of community, especially with other women.

One rewrite game we played focussed on *Gal Young 'Un*, written, directed, photographed and edited by Victor Nunez, based on a story by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, and set in rural Florida in the 1930's. Mattie is a middle-aged widow of means, who is courted by Trax (known as "trash" to the locals) — as the program notes paternalistically put it, "although Mattie is considerably older than he, a friendship slowly develops into a romance." After they get quarried, and for the major part of the film, Trax begins and develops his exploitation of Mattie, until he goes too far. He has her labouring day and night at his still, built with her money on her land, while he gallivants around the country in his new car selling moonshine.

When he brings a frippily-dressed young woman home to stay, introducing her as Elly, "a gal young 'un with no place to go," and defying Mattie to do anything about it, Mattie starts planning her revenge. The film is slow-paced, appreciative of the Florida countryside, of light and texture and the details of Mattie's house and land. Mattie's character deepens for us as we stay at home with her, realizing that she is neither stupid nor blind: "After all," she mutters to herself after a neighbour has denounced Trax as a fortune-hunter, "What else did I have to offer him?" At the end, after she has taken the perfect revenge, Mattie relents and takes young Elly into her house and her heart; the last scene shows the two women rocking contentedly by the fire.

In our rewrite, Mattie's affinity to her home would have been established in much more detail, and Elly would have formed an alliance with Mattie much earlier. Rather than serving as the main motive for Mattie's revenge, she would have helped in the act, and then, at the end, in a reversal of the earlier scenes where Mattie pours hot water over Trax luxuriating in the metal tub, we would see Elly pouring hot water over Mattie, in a scene of affectionate intimacy. The near inconceivability of such a scene in a feature intended for North American distribution indicates the hysterical degree of homophobia in our culture.

A rewrite of Quebec actor Micheline Lanctot's directional debut, *L'Homme à Tout Faire (The Handyman)*, which was enthusiastically received in Toronto, as it was in Quebec and at Cannes, would start by cutting out the gratuitous homophobic subplot in which the endearing little Armand fights off the advances of his "queer" boarder and

eventually throws the guy out, yelling such affectionate epithets as "you dirty queer," "lousy faggot," etc. The plight of the suburban housewife with whom Armand falls in love is movingly depicted — unfortunately she remains in total subjugation to her arrogant husband and there is no more independent or interesting female character to balance her role. So it's Armand who engages all our sympathy, a Chaplinesque little figure who, in all his lovable-ness, only reinforces the male-centred ideology of the patriarchy.

Another Quebec film which was well received here was *Les Bons Débarras (Good Riddance)*, by Francis Mankiewicz. I enjoyed the first half of the film, which builds a witty and unsentimental portrait of an independent and strong-willed young girl, living with her unmarried mother and her retarded uncle in rural Quebec. However, as the film gets going, Manon's "crush" on her mother turns into a monster, working to isolate her not-very-bright mother from everyone else, eventually causing her uncle's death. In one particularly offensive scene Manon's accusation that her mother's boyfriend has assaulted her sexually leads her mother to an hysterical attack on the dumbfounded man. This is the sort of scene which the film maker and the patriarchy at large will defend by saying, well, such things really happen. But one chooses what minute aspect of reality one shows in a film. Given the shockingly high incidence of incest and sexual assault on young girls in our society, a scene which shows one precocious youngster crying wolf in a context which stresses her perversity is distortive and deeply sexist.

The reality question, of course, comes up over and over again in discussions of film and politics. Almost anything can be justified on the grounds that somewhere, somehow, it "really" happens — yet so little of what *really* happens gets shown in films. An entire program of the festival, occupying one theatre for ten days, honoured the work of Jean-Luc Godard, showing all of his films of which prints were available, as well as films which influenced him and which he influenced. Godard is chiefly revered among film lovers as the director who first challenged cinematic codes of realism and "truth", who said, "cinema is truth at twenty-four frames a second," who questioned and rejected the dominance of sync sound (the "talkies" tradition, where you see the person's lips moving and hear what they're saying).

For ten days the Bloor Cinema was headquarters for "serious" film students, semiologists, academics, experimental film makers, all of whose long-standing love of film was more or less alienated by the glitter and sleaze of the rest of the festival. At least that was the interpretation offered by Peter Harcourt, who organized the Godard program and ran it as if the audience was his first-year class at university. Some of us thought differently. I actually found the atmosphere a bit more wholesome at the Festival Cinema, where independent features and documentaries were shown during the day. What troubled me throughout the Godard program was the familiar sense of patriarchal pyramidism: the Man at the Top syndrome, Father Godard, introduced to us by Uncle Harcourt.

Scene from *Heartland* at the Festival of Festivals.

# A Splice of Life

Julia Lesage, a feminist critic from Chicago who has written a book about Godard, said, when I asked her, that Godard has always avoided being set up as a father figure, and that in his later films he has been very honest about the contradictions posed for a male film maker using female actors in his films. Julia, speaking at a panel discussion of Godard, said that she herself was often tempted to advocate a policy which, in the style of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, would bar men from making any pictures of women until the end of the century. However, Julia added, she felt that Godard's work had been extremely important, especially in terms of the analysis of sound and image, that his recent interest in the politics of family life, as seen in *Numéro Deux*, showed great sensitivity to the problems of depicting women.

*Numéro Deux*, limited in access by Ontario censors to those privileged few who held passes, is probably Godard's most radical film, co-directed with Anne-Marie Mieville, using video transfer, split screens, and a multilayered sound track format to explore some complexities in male-female, wife-husband, parent-child relationships. At the end of *Numéro Deux* the central female character remarks that she should be in charge of the presentation of her own image. But although the credits read co-directed by Godard and Mieville, it's Godard who's on screen at the beginning, telling a long shaggy-film story which is amusing but not very enlightening about the relationship between men and machines.

*Slow Motion* is a breathtakingly beautiful film, funny and full of jokes that are all the more comic for the grave, childlike way in which they are told. (programme note)

After the premiere of Godard's new film, *Sauve Qui Peut La Vie* (*Slow Motion*), I wondered why I'd sat through the whole ordeal. The program, description, bland and innocuous as it is, becomes obscene in the light of the actual film, which is filled with images of violence against women, sexual exploitation, homophobia, obsessional lust of father for daughter, in fact, a perfect mirror of the crass commercialism of the overall Festival of Festivals so decried by Peter Harcourt in his introduction to the film.

During the panel discussion, held several days before



Scene from *Les Bons Débaras*, directed by Francis Manckiewicz.



Scene from Godard's *Sauve qui peut* at the Festival of Festivals

*Sauve Qui Peut* was shown, I found myself wondering why Godard was getting so much credit for experimenting with sound and image and for challenging stereotyped notions about sexual relations and their presentation in film, when in fact the French writer and film maker Marguerite Duras had really gone much further than Godard and received far less recognition. (There was a Marguerite Duras retrospective at the Toronto festival last year, but it was mounted on a much smaller scale than this year's Godard program and was much less complete.) I found it interesting therefore to see the homage rendered to Duras by Godard in this new film — in the form of quotations from her work, direct reference to her, scenes which refer to her film *Le Camion* (*The Truck*) — although I'd be even more interested to know how Duras felt about Godard's film.

Anyway, to get back to the issue of film and reality, a friend who also saw *Sauve Qui Peut* said, well, women are exploited like that and worse all the time. One question is, doesn't showing exploitation, as opposed to exposing and challenging it, add to the problem? I think it does. This applies to Kay Armatage's short film *Striptease* which, while showing stripping as an occupation and an art form, at once perpetuates the spectacle of striptease and fails to examine the reasons for it, which of course are deeply rooted in patriarchy.

Tony Garnett's British film *Prostitute* was the best of the lot shown during the festival on the subject of sexual exploitation of women, apparently based on extensive research and collaboration with a group of prostitutes who are trying to change British laws which discriminate against

them. It doesn't escape the charge of exploitation; it is merely more low-keyed than the other films and has the great saving grace of humour, showing the prostitutes to be practical women with families to support, ambitions like other career women, and a thorough understanding of how they are screwed in more ways than one by the system.

Once again, the film doesn't touch the basis of sexual exploitation, and it goes to extraordinary lengths to avoid any suspicion of lesbianism among the women, a noteworthy feat considering that one of the principal actors, Kate Crutchley, is known for her roles in gay liberation theatre. She actually looks like a dyke in the film, meaning that she is dressed comfortably and practically, seems easy with her body, looks directly at both women and men while talking with them, does not in any way function as a sex object.

This raises the issue of how narrow film's reflections of reality have to be. For the most part they show us very tiny bits of reality over and over. Unquestionably stars are real people, unquestionably most real people don't look like stars. If they did we wouldn't have stars. How many movies, real feature movies, have you seen in which the heroine is fat, or skinny, or old? How often is she shown doing housework in any detail? How often is she independent, or seen mainly in terms of her work, or her relationships with women?

Not surprisingly, the only films shown at the festival which presented women as independent of relationships with men were films directed and written by women: *Ma Chérie*, by Charlotte Dubreuil, a low-keyed story of a woman and her daughter, and *Simon Barbes ou la Vertu*, by Marie-Claude Treilhou, about the manager of a porno cinema, her work, her social milieu, a gay bar, her lesbian lover, her loneliness and lyricism. Both films seemed plagued by very different but equally limiting assumptions about what is "cinematic" — I find myself still waiting for feature films which will shed light on the daily lives of single mothers, or the daily lives of lesbians, or the contradictions between the beliefs and aspirations and the daily lives of anyone, for that matter.

I think the screening of *Clarence and Angel*, a first-feature by New York City black director Robert Gardner, was a healthy shock to Canadians who have adjusted overnight to the notion that "low-budget" feature films cost between \$500,000 and \$1,500,00, and that \$4 million is an acceptable average budget. *Clarence and Angel* cost \$85,000, and it was the most exciting feature I saw at the festival, and the

one which showed a corner of reality I hadn't seen before in a feature: the daily life of two boys, one Puerto Rican and one black, who spend their school days in the corridor, being punished for misbehaviour.

How many feature films have you seen which take kids and their ordinary reality as a subject of serious concern? Despite the efforts of the entire school system to squash the two boys into mindless submission, Clarence, the son of migrant workers, manages, with the inspired help of Angel, to learn how to read. His triumph in spite of the system is glorious. There's an interesting anecdote that goes with this film. Almost all the speaking parts are played by boys. After the screening the director pointed this out to the audience, saying that in the four months he'd rehearsed with the kids prior to shooting, he'd worked with some terrific girls and developed a number of parts with them. When shooting began, in a location across the city, the girls' parents refused to allow them to leave the neighbourhood with the male director. So he had to use boys instead.

As a parallel story, consider this response from the two women who produced and directed *As If It Were Yesterday*, a feature-length documentary about the Belgian Resistance during World War II which successfully hid thousands of Jewish children from the Nazis. I asked the two directors, Miriam Abramowicz and Esther Hoffman, if they had deliberately chosen to concentrate on women, as so many of the interviews in the film were with women. They said no, that in fact most of the rescue work was done by women, because women had a much better chance than men of being able to walk down a street with a child, or with arms hidden in a grocery basket, without being stopped and questioned. I pointed out that in Marcel Ophuls' film about the French Resistance, *The Sorrow and the Pity*, there were very few interviews with women. Mostly, if they were on camera at all, they nodded and smiled while their husbands talked. The two directors laughed.

"Well," they confessed, "we had to go to a lot of trouble to get some of our interviews with women — in order to interview one woman in Antwerp we had to fake an interview with her husband first. With another woman, we had to take her out of the house to interview her, away from her husband; we filmed that interview in a park." In their experience most of the men wanted to talk about dangerous situations they'd been in, whereas the women got right down to the human issues of their stories, the feelings of the children, their parents, and themselves.

• continued page 24

# Playing for Time Strikes Universal Chord

by Susan G. Cole

It was inevitable, one supposes, that after sponsors wrenched their ads away from CBS because of the casting of Vanessa Redgrave as Fania Fenelon in the TV movie, *Playing for Time*, the network would salvage what they could by grabbing as many headlines as possible.

Fania Fenelon, the French cabaret singer, and resistance worker, on whose story the TV film was based, spewed her frustration at the international press. Angered by the selection of the anti-Zionist Redgrave, no doubt furious with herself for having ceded her rights to casting veto in the first instance and maybe, yes, performer that she is, still not averse to putting in that last appearance on the Johnny Carson show, Fenelon assisted in getting her nemesis onto the cover of *Newsweek* and in making *Playing for Time* last month's favourite conversation piece.

The conversations have been about Redgrave, Israel, Palestine. And while it is always tempting to add one more opinion to the cauldron still boiling over this controversy, it has been precisely this urge to natter on about who should play in whose biography that has obscured the critical fact that *Playing For Time* was magnificent television. It was magnificent television about women who survive. You wouldn't know this from the ramblings of the press, whose members prefer to follow the benign scent of a contemporary law suit rather than the more hideous odours of history.

Arthur Miller's script deserves better. It is about how Fenelon is saved from the Auschwitz ovens by agreeing to perform with the famous, some would say infamous, Auschwitz orchestra. Throughout the film she and her fellow players wrestle with their consciences and with the values of Alma Rosé (played by Jane Alexander), the orchestra's devoted conductor and a niece of Gustav Mahler. Miller not only presents a moral dilemma about art and politics that causes the current furore over the same subject to pale, he has a finely honed sense of what it takes to survive and the issues survivors have to confront.

The film is brilliant in its ability to evoke the horror of the concentration camps with only occasional references to the murderous activity beyond the four walls of the orchestra's rehearsal space. The clichéd scenes of perverted Nazi guards gleefully administering to their tasks have been eschewed for periodic shots of the endless line-ups for the ovens. These and the off-repeated, but never heavy-handedly so, view of smoke billowing from the crematoria are seen from inside the orchestra's barracks where the players peer through the window, repelled and at the same time unable to turn their gaze away. The inmates of Auschwitz never appear as emaciated as they really became. Instead all the physical mutilation experienced by prisoners is condensed in a sequence in which the hair of Jewish female prisoners is cut off. The dialogue is sparse. All that is audible is the unrelenting sound of scissors hacking away.

The Fenelon vs. CBS struggle has worked to obscure the intrinsic value of the film, and has also distorted the points Miller wanted to make in the first place. Surely one of the most unfortunate aspects of the controversy has been the part it has played in lionizing the beleaguered Redgrave and by association, Fania Fenelon. Fenelon is not the hero of *Playing for Time*. Alma Rosé is. As conductor of the Auschwitz orchestra, she is acutely aware that the success of the ensemble offers to her and her players the only chance of survival and she browbeats the orchestra members, constantly pushing them, so that this motley collection of amateurs can produce music satisfying enough to the SS to keep the orchestra playing. A mediocre performance means death.

Rosé's discipline keeps her charges alive. Fania, on the other hand, is more committed to keeping her humanism alive in a place where it gets precious little cultivation and where it is of precious little use. Were Fania in charge of the orchestra, she would deliver that extra ration of food to the players instead of making them work for it. Fania sympathizes when she should demand. The genius of Redgrave is that she is able to convey Fania's turmoil. How can she reconcile her belief that Lagerführerin Mandel, the head guard of the women's camp, is really human after all, with the fact that Mandel fondles someone else's child, her booty from the death trains, before sending her plaything to the ovens? How can Fania, a half-Jew, steadfastly refuse to recognize national, ethnic and racial barriers when she is the victim of the most vicious racism? Humanism, per se, is not heroic in Auschwitz. In fact, it can be downright stupid for anyone with a hope of surviving.

Fania knows this, whimpering as she does, that she is dying, slowly. It is not the



The Auschwitz orchestra, "playing for time" for the camp's victims

same for Rosé, who, even among the ravaged, can cling to her identity. She is an artist who believes that she has no choice but to be that artist and to get on with the business of producing the best she can. That she must serve up her art to the Nazis is secondary to the fact that no matter where or how, her art is what she will produce. She has developed the mechanism for tuning out the butchery going on outside the temporarily protected barracks of the orchestra and when she says to Fania, "Do you think I don't see?...I choose not to see", she explains how it is that she can continue even under the conditions that should thwart artistic endeavour. (How many of us have switched off the news or passed on a newspaper article because too much consciousness is immobilizing?) Fania, whether because she is a cabaret singer and not the niece of Gustav Mahler, or simply because the essential force that informs her art is being sapped from her spirit, is not nearly so certain that she can go on. The media's field day with *Playing for Time* should not distract us from the film's essential conflict — the conflict between Fenelon's idealistic humanism and the real-politik of Alma Rosé.

That conflict is not only relevant to members of the Auschwitz orchestra. If *Playing for Time* were only about the death camps it would be meaningful only for those with a fascination for humankind's darkest hour. On only one level is the movie about escaping Nazi terror and the Redgrave controversy has helped to keep the focus there. But others have used the Holocaust to examine the dark side of humanity. The purpose of art is to illuminate, and so the film's

subtler questions about tyranny and its relation to the awesome process that produces art are equally important. Those questions can be disconcerting: at a certain point we wonder who terrifies the players most. Mandel who on her own caprice can send any of them to the ovens, or Alma Rosé, who is driven enough to heap her own kind of abuse onto the members of the orchestra.

The film is also about relationships, and why we maintain them and about how painful they can be. Fania, on the train to the camp, establishing a friendship with Marianne, an adolescent, star-struck by the famous singer. The younger woman is frightened by her sudden arrest but with typical teen-aged self-absorption talks mainly about her boyfriend and about how wonderful it is to be so close to a celebrity. The scene plays a double function, first as a contrast to that shocking moment for Fania, when as the orchestra plays background music for the parade to the gas chambers, a victim spits in her face. (Fania, accustomed to Marianne's kind of adulation, sadly remarks, "I guess I'm not used to being

But Rosé's blandishment's about the role of the artist notwithstanding, all of the players are collaborators. Their disdain for Marianne's forays with the Nazi guards, as Marianne persistently points out, is a hypocritical attempt to launder their own collaborative activities. And Fania knows it. While orchestrating Beethoven (Alma says somewhat sardonically, "They want more German music" but later, while Fania struggles with the lyrics to German lieder, "I hope you're never stupid enough to hate a language") for the ensemble's upcoming performance, she is presented with a sausage — payment to Marianne for services rendered. In one of Redgrave's most exquisite moments, she agonizes over the decision to eat. But the question for Fania is not about her feelings for a degenerating friend or even whether she should eat the fruits of collaboration, but rather, whether she can come to terms with herself. When she finally decides to eat so that she can get through the night and the work that keeps the orchestra alive, she retches over the bitter taste of her own collaboration.

Collaboration: The glimpses of the real terror of Auschwitz underscore the fact that Fania's is the story of the lucky ones at Auschwitz. To be young and male meant to be saved, for a time at least, in labour camps or in service as male prostitutes. To be a woman and young meant prostitution. To be a musician meant refuge in the orchestra and prostitution of a different kind. In fact this movie, more than anything else, is about the prostitution of survivors and about the inner turmoil of the collaborator.

Prostitution, at least from Arthur Miller's perspective, is not relevant only to women. He is comfortable writing about women because he has to be. It is after all, Fania Fenelon's story. But more than that, he is astute enough to understand that women have fewer choices and that our prostitution is more overt. Given this perception, he is able to use the situation of women in the death camps as a convenient metaphor for the human condition. He has attempted to expose contradiction before. Whether through the portrayal of Willy Loman's grand aspirations in the context of the salesman's pathetic weakness or through the character of John Proctor, Salem's upstanding citizen who succumbs to lust, Miller has always been concerned with the conflict between who we are and who we wish we could be.

And it is crucial that we remain aware of what we can become. When after the liberation of Auschwitz, Marianne, clad in her furs, climbs onto the wagon carting off those who implemented the final solution, she doesn't pretend that she can walk away from Auschwitz unchanged. She has become someone different, and she knows who she is. There is a certain left-handed heroism in giving up pretence.

Simply because our choice is not so obviously one between life and death and cannot be perceived in those starkest of terms does not mean that we do not confront such dilemmas in our own lives. Some of us may awaken one day and discover that we have capitulated to the forces of oppression more often than we have fought against them. That is a truth we have to face. The press may wish us to consider other matters: Vanessa's escapades with the left, and Fania Fenelon's battle with CBS. Zionists may have hoped that *Playing For Time* would engender in the viewing audience some sympathy for Israel. There is no doubt that every thinking person should confront the devastating fact of the Holocaust. But in this case, Auschwitz is a grim backdrop for universal themes that cannot be confined to a single terrible moment in history; this film is about all of us.

# Common Ground, Uncommon Stories

By Jean Wilson

*Common Ground: Stories by Women*, ed. by Marilyn Berge, Linda Field, Cynthia Flood, Penny Goldsmith, and Lark. Vancouver: Press Gang Publications 1980. 176 pp, \$5.95.



Tired of the bar, television, the movies, even conversation? Want to read a book for a change? Then try this one. It's remarkably inexpensive, given the fact that even a Penguin mystery costs at least \$3.00 now, it's a well-set volume with an attractive cover by Colette French, and it's an interesting collection of twelve stories, all by women.

*Common Ground* has been some time in the making, but the result is worth the wait. Here are stories from a range of women's experiences, with a range of settings. The "common ground" of their authors, according to the editor's introduction, is "the understanding that what women do, and what happens to women, has a great deal to do with the social structure in which they exist." This is not a perspective common to all women writers nor one acceptable to many popular magazines. I think the editors have succeeded in their attempt to remedy the lack of representation of this perspective.

With the exception of Anne Cameron and Helen Potrebekko, most of these stories are by women who have either not published before or are at an early stage in their publishing careers. The specific experience common to these stories, with the exception of Gay Bell's, is the sense of isolation from the mainstream and the frustration, anger and loneliness that causes. Whatever their situation, the women in these stories have to struggle to affirm their own values or individuality in the face of frequently overwhelming odds. Sometimes they move beyond their isolation, sometimes not.

The student nurse in Anne Cameron's "Nobody's Women" does not move beyond the isolation of a mental institution, principally because the situation of the 200 women inside it becomes impossible for her to deal with. *Their* isolation is emotionally and socially predetermined, but the student isn't and after working in the women's ward for a while, she quits. She is in danger of becoming as isolated as they are — and as helpless. Cameron is adept at cataloguing mundane details and ironically blending description and conversation so that what she is describing becomes vivid — and oppressive in this case.

Helen Potrebekko's central character in "When Winter Came", on the other hand, does not have much to encourage her to feel less isolated. She is a picketer in a strike against a restaurant which has lasted from the balmy days of summer until the depressing ones of mid-winter (shades of the Muckamuck strike in Vancouver, where it has been known to rain, on and on and on, in the winter). Her friends drift away or become bitter or simply don't understand her commitment, her apartment is uncomfortable and depressing, her main comfort is alcohol. This story is powerful, but as bleak as its title and won't pick you up on a rainy day.

In some of the *Common Ground* stories, the women in them at least have their children to distract them from their isolation. Kathryn Woodward in "Cadillac at Atonement Creek," Mary Schendlinger in "School," and Cynthia Flood in "Roses are Red" all deal with various aspects of being a parent — in Flood's story, of being

about to become a parent: the narrator in it is describing a pre-natal class. "School" is one of the few stories in this book which also makes you laugh when you read it, though that is because if you didn't laugh at some of the bureaucratic inanities that plague educational systems you'd have to cry. This is a good story about a single mother trying to deal with the arbitrary classification of her five-year-old daughter's learning abilities. The single mother in "Cadillac at Atonement Creek" has to deal with her estrangement from her own mother, who comes for a visit. Despite her mother's almost complete insensitivity and the presence of her obnoxious male companion, the younger woman manages to establish a connection with her mother without sacrificing her own independence or eroding the bond with her own small daughter.

"Roses are Red" is a carefully honed story with a sharp point. Its narrator and the other women and men in her pre-natal class almost do sacrifice their independence to one man in the class, but fortunately realize how he is manipulating their attitudes and responses and so turn the tables on him in a quite startling way. This is a good cautionary tale to read to the arrogant.

Frances Rooney's "Evening at Home" and Frances Duncan's "Squirrel" are like Potrebekko's — bleak. The first concerns an adolescent trapped at home with an ill and unsympathetic mother and a father so conditioned by his wife's lamentations and his daughter's unexpressed rage that he is practically inert in mind and body. I finished the story with a sense of dismay at the isolation that occurs even in the microcosm of a small family. I'm not sure the daughter in the story will ever get beyond her isolation. Maybe she'll grow up to be like the woman in "Squirrel," apparently friendless and in her own words, "just like an ordinary person," who nevertheless manages to conjure up the most gruesome squirrel I've ever encountered and to have an adventure with it that has to be read to be believed. This is the only surreal story in this collection and it's powerfully written. You'll think twice about the next squirrel you meet.

Maureen Paxton in "Wolf at the Door" and L.L. Field in "Pink Lady" deal with disintegrating heterosexual relationships. With the support of other women and enough willpower of her own to abandon the passive role she's played, one woman manages to escape the enforced isolation of her marriage, but the "pink lady" is so enervated that all she can do is overdose herself. Presumably she fails to kill herself, since she is telling the story. Unless she meets some congenial and supportive women, too, this woman will never escape her isolation.

All the stories mentioned so far concern women isolated in urban settings, but two others concern rural women. The narrator of Joan Lyngseth's "Skin Deep" lives in a small town and the taciturn Anna in Marlene Wildeman's "Six Weeks" lives on a farm in the northern Okanagan. Both women are marooned, and both unexpectedly stay marooned despite incidents that might enable them to escape. These are tightly written stories, and the unexpectedness of their endings comes from the deft way in which Lyngseth and Wildeman manage the twist in each.

That leaves Gay Bell's innovative and whimsical "I-grec is Y: Autonomie," the only bilingual and strictly lesbian story in this collection. However, it isn't only for those reasons that I singled it out earlier. By general definition, lesbians are isolated at least sexually from other strata of society, but in this story it's not an isolation characterized by the loneliness, frustration, or despair that are features of most of the *Common Ground* stories. This is the only story in the collection which is full of joie de vivre and in that respect it's a rather welcome change of pace. Schendlinger's and Paxton's stories are the only others which have some of this sense, but it is qualified there by the preoccupation with the breakdown of the education system in one story and of a marriage in the other. Bell's story is actually fun to read.

That is not to belittle the achievement of this collection as a whole. This is an interesting book and deserves many readers. I for one look forward to other such collections Press Gang might produce in future and to reading other stories by all the women included in this one.

*This aint*  
THE ROSEDALE LIBRARY

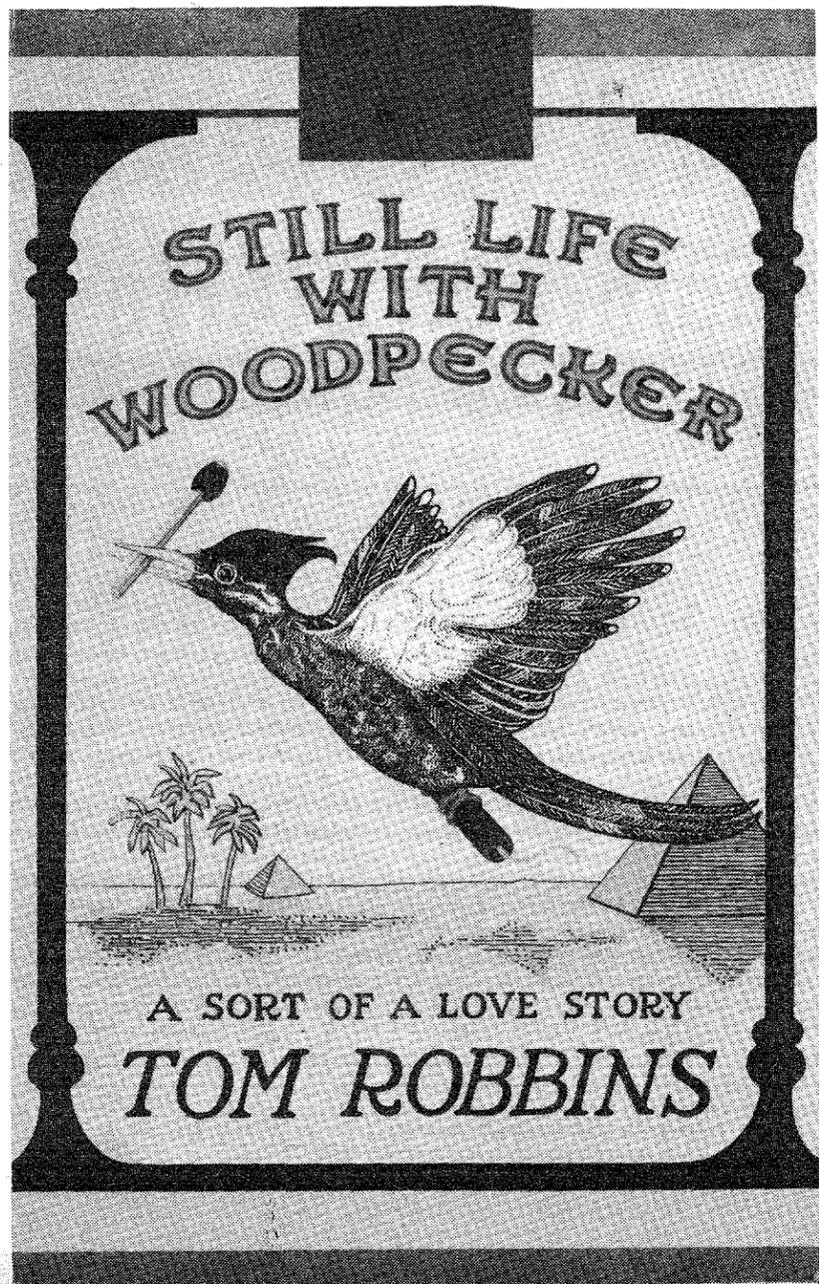
115 Queen Street East 368-1538  
In Toronto's Lower East Side

BOOKS

Fiction, Poetry, Sports, Rock'n'roll

Alison M. Fraser, B.A., LL.B.  
Barrister and Solicitor

50 Richmond St. East, Suite 404  
Toronto, Ontario M5C 1N7 (416) 363-4192



# Pecking Order \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ Maintained

by Joanne Kates

*Still Life with Woodpecker*, by Tom Robbins. Bantam Books, 1980. 277 pp; \$7.95 paper.

Tom Robbins writes like a cross between Dr. Hunter S. Thompson and Charles Dickens. Anyone who has ever ingested illegal hallucinogenic drugs and had hilarious genius thoughts ought to read Tom Robbins, because he gets them down on paper, while the rest of us merely dream them. Tom Robbins proved his mettle as a writer with *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues*, and his new novel, *Still Life with Woodpecker*, carries on in the stylistic tradition of *Cowgirls*.

Robbins has metaphor madness; he is a prose poet who makes minestrone out of words and ideas and then sends them for a ride on a roller coaster. Sentences do not roll off his pen, they tumble joyously in hilarious anarchy. There has not been a writer in a long time who is so much fun to read, no matter what he is saying.

*Woodpecker* starts off auspiciously, with a long section (poetic as usual) on the many ways in which current contraception devices are inconvenient, unpleasant and dangerous to women. Aha, thinks the devoted reader who was won by Robbins' sympathy for women in *Cowgirls*, he's going to do it again. *Cowgirls* was primarily about a magnificent female hero (Sissy Hankshaw) and her escapades and those of her sisters on the first all-woman ranch in the world. I was astonished that a male writer could invent such independent women, and further astonished when he set them free to romp the pages till the bittersweet end of the book.

He blows it in *Woodpecker*.

The feminist ideas on contraception are digressions on the main plot, which is a

good old-fashioned boy-meets-girl tearjerker, with lots of icing on the cake to try to divert the reader from the sameness of it all. Princess Leigh-Cheri, heir to an exiled monarch, goes to an ecology festival in Hawaii where she meets Bernard (the Woodpecker), a dynamite freak who is a refugee from Weather Underground politics.

The Princess and Bernard fall in love and spend the rest of the book trying to make it stick. Their love story is a traditional one, a fairy tale in the classical romantic mode, in that it embodies a lost noble quest which is entangled with the quest for love. That noble quest is as romantic as their love because it too is doomed to fail. The quest is to preserve fun and beauty; Robbins does not clarify how but he is generally opposed to capitalism, sexism, big government, nuclear power and people killing each other. The Princess wants to eliminate these ills, but Robbins makes her too obsessed with loving Bernard to do anything about it; Bernard doesn't like these things either, but Robbins makes him too devil-may-care to fight for a better world.

The result of the dichotomy between what they both think and what they both do is that the book gets stuck in never-never land, the plot seems misted over; it never really goes anywhere past the boy meets girl cliché. *Woodpecker* is like a fairy tale for the LSD generation, a hymn to mindless adventure for the very bright.

A further contradiction between what Robbins promises to do and what he really does is the sexism in *Woodpecker*. He gives us Princess Leigh-Cheri, a woman hero, he sermonizes on how oppressed women are by contraception today, and off the top, we're on his side, we think this is a novel written by a man which (for once) will not ignore us, paint us as incessantly juvenile, hate us or dress us in useless frills.

If Tom Robbins did that in *Cowgirls*, which he surely did, why not in *Woodpecker*? He couldn't demean Sissy Hankshaw (the hero of *Cowgirls*) because of her grotesquely large thumbs; the thumbs were so outlandish that they saved her from being a sex object, purchased her immunity from being "built for love."

But Princess Leigh-Cheri in *Woodpecker* has no such "luck." She is an all-American beauty with no deformities to rescue her from being the perfect, if zany, sex object. She is the central character in the book but like most women in literature produced by men, her main task is to wait, wait and wait some more for the real hero, her man. We know she has progressive ideas, but we hear about her "grapefruit breasts" under the no-nukes T-shirt rather than about anything she might do. She is always asking the questions, and Bernard is always giving the answers; it is his world view that determines their way of living, it is he who makes all the decisions.

When Bernard talks, you can tell he's the mouthpiece for Tom Robbins, and his ideas, poetic as they are, are not worth the paper they're printed on. Reactionary might be too kind a word for the Bernard who says he eschews radical politics because "minorities seeking the abolition of prejudice become intolerant, minorities seeking peace become militant, minorities seeking equality become self-righteous, and minorities seeking liberation become hostile (a tight asshole being the first symptom of self-repression)." He also says: "when you put the blame on society, then you end up turning to society for the solution...it's not men who limit women, it's not straights who limit gays, it's not whites who limit blacks. What limits people is lack of character. What limits people is that they don't have the fucking nerve or imagination to star in their own movie, let alone direct it. Yuk." That sermon is not only shallow and untrue, it is sinister. It is sinister for Tom Robbins to write in our language (he's no William F. Buckley or Claire Hoy) and then to accuse oppressed people of inventing their own oppression by not being gutsy enough. He reminds me of the husband who dumps on his wife for being boring after he has insisted that she stay home with the children for 20 years.

*Still Life with Woodpecker* is occasionally profound and it is often hilarious, but ultimately it is a book with an empty vision. If you crave the Robbins spice, the crazed sanity that he writes so well, read *Cowgirls* again.

## The Joy of Publishing

*Bring Out Your Own Book: Low Cost Self Publishing*, by Marilyn Gayle Hoff and Barbara McFadyen. Portland, Oregon: Godiva Publishing 1980. Pp. 96. \$6.00 (US)

This is a useful how-to book from which most women involved in producing their own journals, newspapers, or books would learn something. People with experience in design and production will not find it particularly useful, because they will have mastered the basic techniques and concepts described by Hoff and McFadyen.

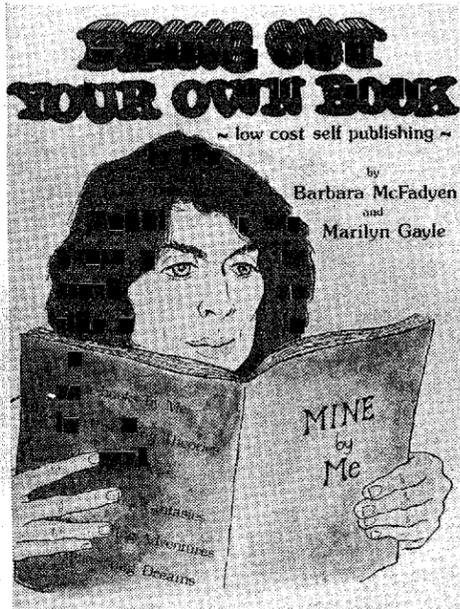
The content ranges from explanations of various methods of publications, to choosing a format, doing dummies and lay-outs, preparing copy and illustrations, tools required for all stages of production, stripping, collating, folding, binding, legal considerations, dealing with printers, maintaining business records, distribution and promotion, and further reading.

The information given concerning copyright and cataloguing does not apply in Canada. The bibliography too, is somewhat limited and could be supplemented by Canadian publications such as Carl Dair's *Design with Type* and trade journals or lists

providing information relevant to Canada such as the *Canadian Publishers Directory*. It would have been helpful also to include in the bibliography such books as the *Chicago Manual of Style*, which is one of the most useful references available for anyone involved in publishing in general, as well as Marshall Lee's *Bookmaking: The Illustrated Guide to Design and Production*.

These are quibbles, however. There is much valuable practical information in this book. It is also written with a sense of humour and liveliness, and the explanatory illustrations are clear and helpful. Thanks to the women at Godiva for publishing their own book for all of us.

—J.W.



# Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche

**The Sexism of Social and Political Theory: Women and Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche.** Edited by Lorene Clark and Lynda Lange. University of Toronto Press; 1980. \$5.00 pa.

by Susan G. Cole

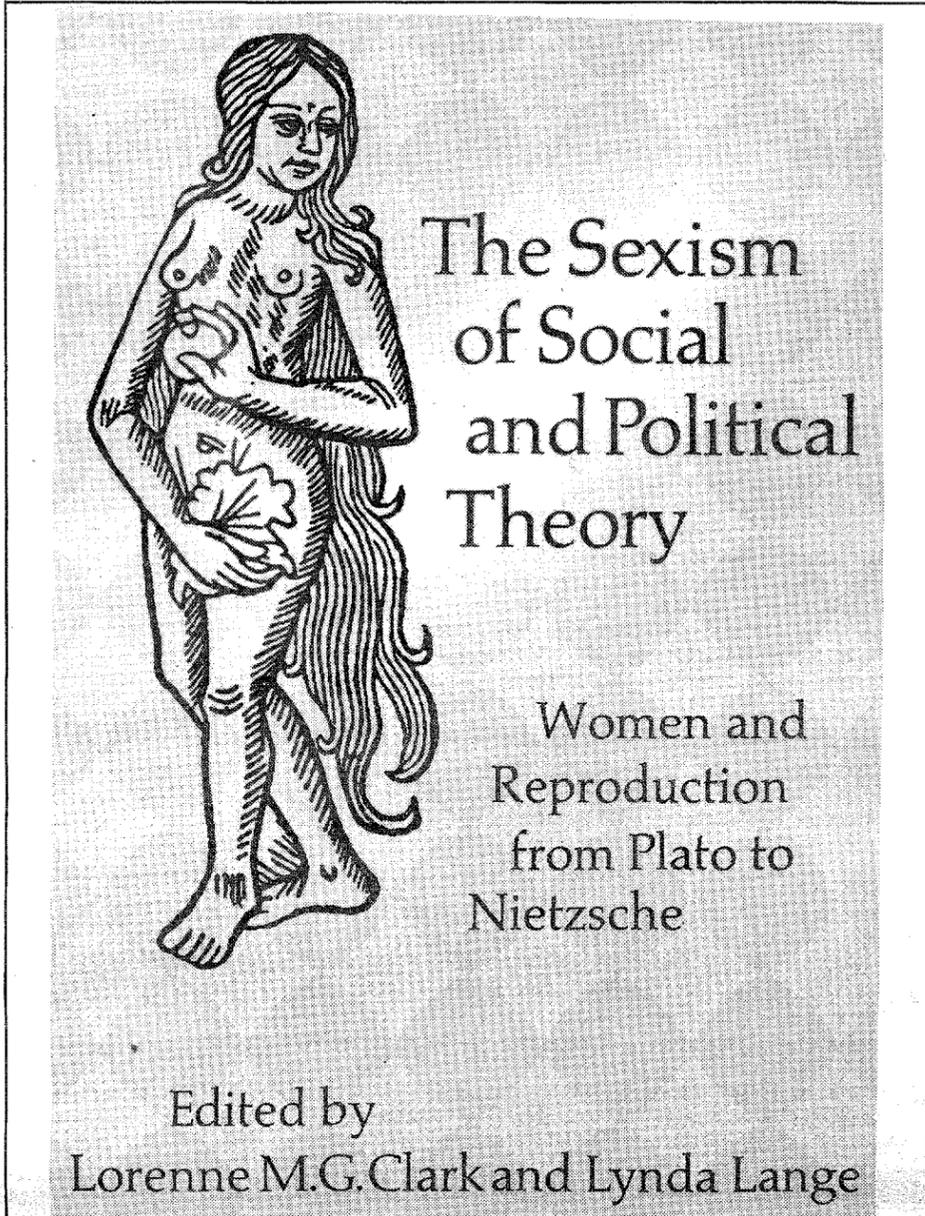
It is possible that a new feminist theory will come from the pen of one of the writers published in *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory*. Using some of the clearest thinking that has emerged from our movement, each of these writers has done a rigorous examination of patriarchal thinkers — Plato, Locke, Rousseau, Hume, Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche, each of whom was supposed to have come up with important theoretical constructs and breakthroughs. In the course of their discovery of the shortcomings of these thinkers, the essayists have determined what would be the fundamental elements of a feminist theory.

This book is not a primer. It is also not light reading. It is intended for a reader who is firmly grounded in the political texts. If you are interested in an introduction to the major political theorists, this book is not for you. In few of the essays is the intrinsic value of each philosopher in his context revealed, and the breakthroughs of each philosopher are not examined and used to develop a feminist theory. That is, we hope, still to come. Instead, the book focusses on what each philosopher had to say (or neglected to say) about women and/or reproduction and how these sexist views weaken each theorist's argument.

I am not suggesting that we excuse each theorist's sexist assumptions with the dreary blandishment: they were products of their time. I am saying, rather, that someone not familiar with the specific achievements of these thinkers might conclude that these writers had the "wrong line" on women and that we shouldn't give them the time of day. Such an approach would be disastrous for the future of feminist theoretical development. Anyone who has identified herself with a woman's community, or with any community for that matter, addresses by necessity the questions with which Locke and Rousseau grappled in their studies of the social contract.

Besides, the essential goal of much of the political thought examined in this book is the dismantling of certain powerful institutions, a goal feminist theory must share. Locke, as co-editor Lorene Clark says herself, was prepared to challenge the deepest principles of English land law, specifically, that the monarch has no right to alienate eternally man's property. This is the whole point of Locke's treatment of property — to give to people (unfortunately only to men) the right to something which no king or queen could take away. This was serious business at a time when the monarchy was not the feeble institution it is today.

The core of Rousseau's work was the inspiration of the French revolution. An aspiring feminist theorist, working towards revolution cannot ignore him. Or consider this statement of Hume's: "Celibacy, fasting, penance, mortification, self-denial, humility, silence, solitude and the whole train of monkish virtues... (are) everywhere rejected by men of sense... because they serve no manner of purpose, neither advance a man's fortune in the world, nor render him a more valuable member of society... We observe, on the contrary, that they cross all these desirable ends." Obviously Hume's purpose disguised as it had to be, was to deliver a fierce attack on church values. Karl Marx, whose influence we know was huge, has to be challenged. But without Karl Marx's vocabulary, Mary O'Brien, who herself understands that Marx developed a valuable methodology for a new revolutionary approach, could not have come up with her own splendid construct, the "alienation of the male seed." Put simply, the flaws in the work of these men are not necessarily fatal.



## The Sexism of Social and Political Theory

### Women and Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche

Edited by  
Lorene M.G. Clark and Lynda Lange

And Plato: unless one understands that Lynda Lange's carefully reasoned analysis is part of a feminist debate that still rages — was Plato a feminist? was he putting us on? — one is tempted to toss him aside after reading her drubbing of his work. In fact, Plato is one of the few theorists who is willing to identify reproduction as "a central fact of political life." As we will see, this is a crucial requirement for a complete political theory, and so we must give Plato his due.

In the *Republic*, while dealing with the practical set-up of the state, Plato devotes the entire fifth book to a discussion of the communism of women and children. His purpose is to draw women, otherwise cloistered in the home and separated from political life, into the body politic, and he understands that this cannot possibly be achieved without radical changes in the institutions of marriage and the family. He is still a fanatic about class; his ideas for the perfect mating scheme are confounding and often his playfulness can be downright upsetting, but he makes the claim outright that the difference of sex is not relevant to one's political status. In attempting to turn the ideal into practice, he asked the right questions.

Finding the right questions is precisely editors Lorene Clark and Lynda Lange's purpose in *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory*. They reveal in their introduction that "women are not political animals in the major theoretical models of political society." This, as Clark explains in her essay on Locke, is because most of the major political thinkers have made three crucial assumptions. The first, and most damaging to the possibilities of a complete theory, is the assumption of man's natural superiority over women. The second is that reproduction is not a central fact of political life and is of no value in creating a significant life for man. The third is that the family is not a political institution but a natural one. "The main purpose (of this book) is to demonstrate that their theories rest on these (sexist) assumptions and that they would be vastly different theories if these assumptions were not made."

For example, Clark describes how Locke wanted to justify that children should inherit property. In order to strengthen his argument, Locke explains that men are superior, not by law, Divine Right or arbitrary convention, but by nature. What sounds at first like a reactionary idea is actually progressive in its context. It means that no king, no law, nothing external gives to men their rights, but that each man has what later became known as "inalienable" rights to power and property. The difficulties with the theory are plain from a feminist standpoint. Locke cannot make his argument without maintaining the inferior status of women within the institution of marriage, an association which Locke, in order to be consistent, must argue is also "natural". And while the theory purports to strip power from the monarchy and to weaken the force of conventional law, ultimately, the theory works to put property under the exclusive control of men.

With equal skill, Lange shows how Rousseau's ideal state makes the refuge of the home a virtual necessity for the "citizen". Rousseau, in order to make his claim, must argue that the family is pre-social and pre-political, a difficult notion to defend even from Rousseau's standpoint, since elsewhere he argues that any "association"

makes for a "political" relationship. This tendency to identify all things connected with women's place as "natural", is an indication of the lengths to which theorists will go to mystify the role of women. They do so even at the expense of their own theories, creating some baffling contradictions.

Hume was another of the great mystifiers. Steven Burns (the only male writer published here) decries Hume's celebration of the chastity of women and is complemented by Louise Marcil-Lacoste's examination of the same theorist.

Patricia Jagentowicz Mills literally takes Hegel apart. Mills' is one of the most successful pieces in the book simply because she takes more time to delineate Hegel's theory and to give it some semblance of rigour. This is not the easiest thing to do with a prolific writer like Hegel, the quantity of whose work is matched only by his typically German fondness for the minutest of details. In any event, the care with which Mills approaches the theory works to make one wonder how such a complex thinker as Hegel could be so simple-minded on the subject of women.

Only Christine Garside Allen's paper on Nietzsche seemed to be based on thin ground. Allen calls Nietzsche's attitude toward women "ambivalence", which is a drastic misnomer. That Nietzsche cannot decide whether he wishes to place women on the pedestal or under the boots of his brothers does not make him any less of a maniacal misogynist than he was. Even when he celebrates women's virtue, which he will define in whatever way is useful to him at the time, it is plain that the man was imbued with a pathological loathing for the female sex. This is hardly ambivalence, nor should it be taken seriously in the first place.

Mary O'Brien provides the book's most pleasurable moments. With her customary wit and elegance (the title of her essay, "Reproducing Marxist Man", serves up the irresistible pun), she takes on the great granddaddy of leftism. It is somewhat frustrating to read what is clearly a working paper for a much larger opus, but the fact that one wants more is mitigated by the welcome use of a little humour.

Having seen where the major political philosophers are wanting, and as long as we understand at the same time the extent to which they had something important to say about oppression, we can begin to ask the questions that feminists must ask in order to emerge with a theory of our own. Because Lange and Clark have identified what those questions are, *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory* is an enormously important book. Because it identifies which questions are irrelevant, Lange and Clark's collection helps to clear away some of the myriad obstacles strewn on the way to that ever-elusive feminist theory. In fact, this book, though it is hardly the end of the road, brings us a crucial step closer to the point where we no longer will be groping for the pieces of the theory puzzle, but will have put them together, neatly and comprehensibly.

# Broadside

invites you  
to an

## OPEN FORUM

for all women who want to work on the  
newspaper or just talk about it

Monday, December 8th  
7:30 pm  
YWCA Resource Centre  
15 Birch Ave., Toronto

•Yesterday, from page 19

*As If It Were Yesterday* stands apart in my memory from the rest of the Toronto festival, along with the impression made by the two film makers, as a separate event which didn't reflect all the glitter and confusion, contradictions, politicking, boredom, exploitation, hustling, pomposity, and attempts to impress, deceive, succeed of patriarchal society. People at the festival didn't seem to know what to make of *As If It Were Yesterday*. There were hardly any questions from the audience after the screening, except for one woman who had been a refugee herself and wanted to know why the people who had helped her weren't included. At the press office a sideways smile was used to refer to the "lady directors," who were themselves friendly and casual.

Neither woman had made a film before. Miriam Abramowicz was a photographer who was working in an editing house in New York when she took a trip to Europe and looked up the Belgian woman who had saved her mother's life during the war. "I found myself drinking tea with a woman whom I had never met before, by the grace of whom I exist." At first she planned to do a book of interviews and photographs about the underground resistance in Belgium, which was incredibly strong and determined, more so than in neighbouring France, for instance. While in Brussels, Miriam met Esther Hoffman, a ceramacist from France whose father had been hidden in Poland during the war. "Her story was also mine," said Esther. "If it weren't for a Polish woman I wouldn't be here today. This is a positive aspect I had never heard before in family accounts of the war — as a child I also felt that Father's story was just part of the total horror, but thinking of that open door at a certain point helps to overcome the bitterness of the sense that we Jews were entirely alone."

Esther joined Miriam in the work of interviewing, and soon they decided that texts and photographs were not enough to convey the sense of oral history, the impressions they were receiving from people, some of them very old, telling their passionate stories simply and straightforwardly. They made some videotapes, and decided on the basis of that to make a film. They wanted to achieve "a certain quality of light, a lifelike manner of presenting people, a sensitive climate," not to intrude on or violate people's homes, "to show that there are people who will go against the terror, go beyond their normal limits in reaction to fascism or oppression." They say that the people who agreed to appear in the film did so because "they are very conscious about the uprising of fascism today, because they feel war is imminent again."

Half of the \$70,000 budget (rock-bottom for an 86-minute interview film) was raised from private donations; the other half from bank loans, which the film makers are hoping to pay back from sales. Naturally (!), inevitably, they lived in poverty while working on the film, having to fund-raise throughout the production. As they were first-time filmmakers themselves they felt they had no reason to demand long resumés from their crews, so this was their cameraman's first feature-length shoot, their editor's first big job, the first experience in film for their composer/musician.

The film is a technical triumph, simple, effective, poetically precise. The directors said it was their editor, Dominique Loreau, and Henri Colpi, Alain Resnais' editor, who came in to consult, who taught them that "cinema is a very cruel profession." They didn't want to leave anyone out, but, "there are those who have it and others who don't. Someone who had done extraordinary things but who didn't know how to express it didn't make the grade... One does not have the right to bore the audience."

The resulting carefully selected and honed stories are impressive in the extreme. With very little newsreel footage, some old photographs, music composed and sung by a young woman, and recorded in a synagogue for the acoustic effect, the body of the film is composed of "talking heads," a phrase often used to condemn a film out of hand. In my experience the success or failure of "talking heads" depends entirely on who the heads belong to, what they are saying and how, and how they are presented. On the whole I find women more interesting than men, simply because they usually express feelings as well as ideas.



Dr. C. Hendrick falsified records

But one of the most wonderful interviews in this film was with Maurice Heiber, one of the founders of the Jewish Defence Committee in Belgium. Heiber, an old man, died before the film was completed. In the film, he tells the story of a small child he had placed with a family of workers. He went to visit one day and was told the child must leave — he had stolen the figure of the infant Jesus from a crèche their little daughter had been given for Christmas. When confronted by Heiber the little boy said no, he hadn't stolen Jesus, he had hidden him, because he knew Jesus was a Jewish child, and he didn't want the Nazis to get him. "When these people, who were simple workers, heard that," Heiber said, "they held the child and cried."

In the concluding section of the film, where the film makers ask the question, why did you do this?, the guiding principle of what I call "good news documentaries" emerges: people are capable of moving mountains, and if you set out to make a film in co-operation with people who know what it is to co-operate, you create and extend a positive reality which may have existed only tenuously before. A woman doctor, now 79, who had worked in a hospital where they falsified many records to save Jews, said matter-of-factly, "We never obeyed German laws. Why should we? Just because they put a piece of paper on the wall..." When she saw the film she was delighted with the lack of sentimentality. "Très bien," she said. "That's exactly how it was."



Co-directors Abramowicz and Hoffman

# NEIGHBOURS

Open seven days a week

Monday through Friday  
Noon to 1 a.m.

Saturday  
5 p.m. to 1 a.m.

Sunday  
Brunch, noon to 4 p.m.  
Dinner, 5 p.m. to 10 p.m.

562 Church Street  
Toronto  
924-1972  
under LLBO

## KINESIS

for news about women that's not in the dailies

Kinesis is published ten times a year by  
Vancouver Status of Women

Subscriptions:  
Individual \$ 8  
Members of VSW \$10  
Institutions \$15  
Sustainers \$50  
(installments welcome)

Payment Enclosed  Bill Me

Make cheque or money order payable to:

Kinesis  
Vancouver Status of Women  
1090 West 7th Avenue  
Vancouver, B.C. V6H 1B3

### Moving?

Send *Broadside* the address label  
of your latest issue, and your  
change of address.

### IN MEMORIAM

• Judy LaMarsh •

1924 — 1980

### CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM WORKSHOP

FOR WOMEN

November 29, 1980

519 Church Street, Toronto

10 am — 5 pm

Price: \$20 (negotiable)

Facilitator: Krin Zook, (Vancouver Rape Relief Collective)  
For further information and to register, phone WCREC (924-0766)



### KELTIE'S FOOD

AT  
FLY BY NIGHT

Wed. to Fri. 5-12:30 Sat. 3-11 pm

Meals and Munchies

Friday Specials

From \$1.00 to \$4.00





Beverley Allinson

**IN TORONTO**

**Beaches Bookshop**  
2199 Queen St. East

**Bob Miller Bookroom**  
180 Bloor St. West

**Bookcellar**  
142 Yorkville Ave.

**Bookcellar**  
1560 Yonge St.

**Fly-by-Night Lounge**  
NE corner: George & Dundas

**Full Moon Tea House**  
2010 Queen St. East

**Glad Day Book Shop**  
4 Collier St., 2nd floor

**Ice Cream Store**  
Corner: Sumach & Winchester

**International News**  
663 Yonge St.

**Karma Co-op**  
739 Palmerston Ave.

**Lichtman's News**  
1430 Yonge St.

**Longhouse Books**  
630 Yonge St.

**Other Books**  
483 Bloor St. West

**Pages**  
256 Queen St. West

**Pushkin's**  
2102 Queen St. East

**This Ain't The Rosedale Library**  
115 Queen St. West

**Toronto Women's Bookstore**  
85 Harbord St

**U. of T. Books**  
63a St. George St.

**Whole Foods**  
489 Parliament St.

**U of T Textbook Store**  
Corner: Huron & Russell

**YWCA**  
15 Birch Ave.

**Broadside On Sale Here**

**WHERE YOU CAN BUY YOUR COPY:**

**ACROSS CANADA**

**ALBERTA**

**Aspen Books Ltd.**  
No. 1 10808 Whyte Ave.  
Edmonton

**City Limited Bookstore**  
503-22nd Ave SW  
Calgary

**BRITISH COLUMBIA**

**Ariel Bookstore**  
2766 West 4th  
Vancouver

**Bastion Books**  
Bastion Street  
Nanaimo, BC

**UBC Bookstore**  
2009 Main Mall  
UBC Campus  
Vancouver

**Vancouver Women's Bookstore**  
804 Richards St.  
Vancouver

**MANITOBA**

**Brigit's Books**  
730 Alexander Ave  
Winnipeg

**Liberation Books**  
160 Spence St.  
Winnipeg

**NOVA SCOTIA**

**Atlantic News**  
5560 Morris St.  
Halifax

**Cape Co-op Bookshop**  
Box 193  
235 Charlotte St.  
Sydney

**Pair of Trindles Bookshop,**  
Old Red Store  
Historic Properties  
Halifax

**Red Herring Co-op Booksale**  
1652 Barrington St.  
Halifax

**ONTARIO**

**Country Mouse Bookstore**  
621 Richmond St.  
London

**Octopus Books**  
837 Bank St.  
Ottawa

**QUEBEC**

**Androgyny Bookstore**  
1217 Crescent  
Montréal

**EVERYBODY SING**

Sopranos & Altos

wanted for  
the new

*Gay Community Choir*

For information call:  
Ottie Lockey 924-9853

**TORONTO  
WOMEN'S  
BOOKSTORE**

85 Harbord Street  
west of Spadina  
922-8744

**Hidden in the Household:** Women's Domestic Labour under Capitalism. Ed. Bonnie Fox. \$10.75.

**The Charlotte Perkins Gilman Reader.** Ed. Ann J. Lane. \$6.97.

**Pulling Our Own Strings:** Feminist Humour and Satire. Gloria Kaufman and Mary Kay Blakely. \$9.50.

mail order catalogue available

**Common Ground**  
STORIES BY WOMEN

12 SHORT STORIES BY

- |                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| Gay Bell       | Maureen Paxton   |
| Anne Cameron   | Helen Potrebenko |
| Frances Duncan | Frances Rooney   |
| L.L. Field     | Mary Schendinger |
| Cynthia Flood  | Marlene Wildeman |
| Joan Lyngseth  | Kathryn Woodward |

"In these stories, over and over again, I found myself, the sound of my own voice, the taste of my own experience . . . this collection tells the story of women with candour and courage."

—Aritha van Herk  
Author of *Judith*

Published by Press Gang  
603 Powell St.  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V6A 1H2  
\$5.95 paper



**ON NOVEMBER 10th ELECT PROGRESSIVE WOMEN TO TORONTO CITY COUNCIL**

**BRYNNE TEALL**                      **SUSAN ATKINSON**  
Alderman, Ward One              Alderman, Ward Two

These progressive candidates need your support to ensure strong voices on City Council

- for more and affordable day care
- for equal pay for work of equal value
- for funding and development of community based legal and social services
- for non-profit and co-operative housing

The next few days before the election are crucial. We need your active support. Call the Brynne Teall campaign at 762-8288 and the Susan Atkinson campaign at 533-3251.

# MOVEMENT COMMENT

## Institutionalized Rape

Anti-Rape Centres were initiated because the needs of victims of sexist violence were not being met by any existing institutions nor were any of those institutions doing anything to stop rape.

Today, we are still providing support, counselling, public education, court/police accompaniment, and creating alternatives to using institutions with the long range goal of stopping rape. In the intervening years since our beginnings, much time was spent exploring how institutions dealt with violence against women, and how our own attitudes toward institutions perpetuated that violence. This puts us at odds with the existing institutions. It was only after much examination of our own attitudes, values and fears that anti-rape centres began to change the way in which we used or did not use the existing institutions.

We know that as women we are taught to give men power, taught that we are not capable of being strong, intelligent and assertive. Men are taught to be powerful. It is their "rightful" place and when men do not feel powerful, they obtain it by taking away from someone they see as less powerful — women. As an extension of this conditioning to be powerless, we are taught that institutions exist to help us by providing protection (police, military) and justice (courts, prison) from the violence which we experience. Therefore, when a woman is raped, she is taught to think that police will protect her, that the courts will expose the rapist and make him understand the damage he has caused, and that by reporting to those institutions (which she has been taught to believe in) her experience will be validated.

It is the anti-rape centres' experience that only about 30% of the women who call us involve the police at all. The low percentage is a result of many reasons, one of which is that many women already know that existing institutions do not provide what she needs. Institutions exist only to reinforce those roles which perpetuate rape. Tremendous bribes are given (i.e. wealth, status, prestige) to reward those individuals who most avidly support the institutions. Institutions tend to hire people who will conform to its standards. There are always slight deviations within the institution, yet the whole is more powerful than the individual. The individual poses no threat therefore the institutions can allow these deviations to some extent.

Since we are an anti-rape force, we do not accept the current value system which allows women to be raped and beaten by men. When we continue to try to change the institutions we slip into a pattern of upholding them in order to keep our access to them open: for example, not wanting to publically criticize the police for their use of polygraph because we want continued access to the police college which provides resource people from their training programs. The only alterations that take place are changes in protocol rather than real value changes. We are not powerful enough within the institutions to make the real value changes which they are striving to uphold.

How rape crisis centres are developing as traditional institutions is by rationalizing that it is important to show doctors, lawyers, police and social workers how to better do their jobs and to believe that it is important to lobby for changes in the law.

This supporting of institutions institutionalizes rape as an accepted social reality. This is only adjusting, not facilitating value changes.

To reject these traditional institutions as a "real" choice for women to take control of the situation is to take responsibility for our own failures, but the successes give us real strength, power, and freedom to control our own lives. It is a very frightening thing to take responsibility. No longer can we blame someone out there if the rapist comes out of jail and rapes again (60% of them do). Nor can we blame the police for not adequately protecting the woman who was beaten by her husband for the fifth time that month. Embracing responsibility means that we are not just helping a woman to adjust to the institutional brutality. She is taking choices developed by herself in conjunction with other women and instituting those actions with loving, real support. This is power; this is revolutionary.

Reformism is stopping short of fundamental change. It is making reforms a goal in and of themselves. Anti-rape centres are developing reforms that improve our lives and are at the same time part of an over-all ideology and strategy for liberating women. It is important to create tangible actions and alternatives that fit both a short term and long term goal — one works to further the other, not to oppose it. We are creating the new society for "after" the revolution, now!

How this works, for example, is that a woman may choose to confront her rapist. In the short term, this provides a way for her to directly take back the control of the

situation; it validates her reality that *he* was responsible for the rape and not her, and it exposes him so that he is no longer anonymous to those around him. In the long term, it shows us, as women, that we have the ability to make and create choices for ourselves. We no longer have to rely on those institutions which leave us powerless. No longer do we have to wait for some authority to agree that we have been, in fact, violated. We are giving ourselves new ways to live where each of us has control over our own lives and the support and validation from other women to create and change.

The criminal justice system does not offer us the means to stop rape or offer women concrete help: it does not protect her, it does not validate her experience as degrading, fearful, and stripped of power, it does not give her control, it does not expose him, explain his behaviour or offer him ways to learn how to change, nor does it protect other women. Instead, women call the criminal justice system their second rape.

No longer will we cry softly, padded by the courtroom walls. We will scream out our collective fear, anger and rage.

□ **Krin Zook, Vancouver Rape Relief**

*(Printed previously in Kinesis, newspaper of the Vancouver Status of Women.)*

## ELECT GEORGE HISLOP ALDERMAN, WARD 6



"At City Hall we must ensure that women achieve equality. Equal opportunity is not enough. Women start from a disadvantaged position so they must be offered more in order to bridge the gap."

— *George Hislop in his March 13, 1980 nomination speech.*

George Hislop will work to improve the position of women in the workplace. He'll act to correct situations where women don't occupy at least half of the positions at any level of work or occupation.

George Hislop knows that one way to improve the position of women is to organize to provide thousands of additional daycare spaces that are needed in Toronto. He regards daycare as a right — and will work for it.

### HELP ELECT GEORGE HISLOP

### VOLUNTEER NOW

Phone or drop by the George Hislop campaign office nearest you (open noon to 10 pm daily):

66 Isabella St.  
Phone: 968-1490  
Susan Sparrow, Manager

181 Harbord St.  
Phone: 534-3563  
Marc Brien

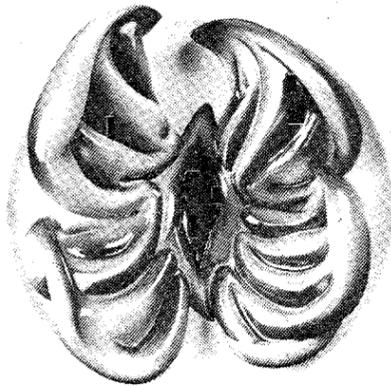
The George Hislop Campaign is made up of many volunteers throughout Ward 6 communities. We welcome your help...

\*Working on Election Day: Monday, November 10  
\*Making a financial contribution

sponsored by the Ward 6 Community Organization

*Judy Chicago's*

*The Dinner  
Party*



a symbolic tribute to  
the heritage of women

Nov. 22-23, 1980

**New York City Package includes:**

- Return Air Transportation
- Hotel Accommodation
- Airport Transfers
- Welcome to New York
- Champagne Party
- Tour Escort Services

—Call

**CHAT TRAVEL**

**868-1758**

To Register

# Invest in yourself.



**Metro Toronto Women's Credit Union Limited**

**15 Birch Avenue, Toronto 960-0322**

# Money working for women.

