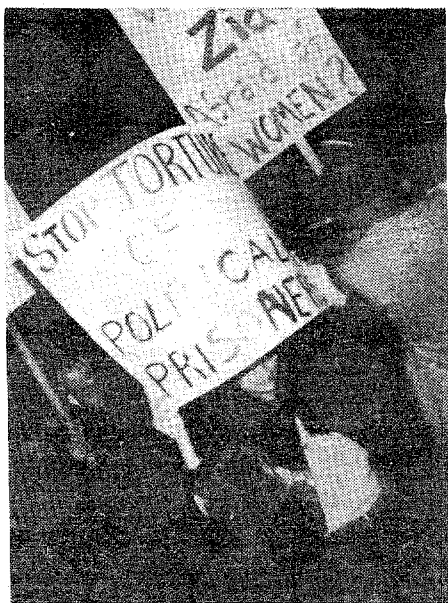


INSIDE BROADSIDE



FEATURE

RELIGIOUS REGIME:

The conservative General Zia has died, but as long as Islamic ideology lives on in Pakistan, the status of women there will not improve. Fauzia Refig reports. Page 8.

NEWS

JUDGEMENTAL JUDGES:

Pregnant women are encountering paternalistic judges in Canadian courts with painful judicial consequences. T. Brettel Dawson reports. Page 4.

COLLECTIVE CONTROL:

Feminist collectives will continue to self-destruct unless we take a good hard look at how they operate. Eve Zaremba comments. Page 5.

MOVEMENT MATTERS:

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COMMENT

NAC TACTICS:

Former employees at the National Action Committee tell why they decided to unionize. Page 7.

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REEL WOMEN:

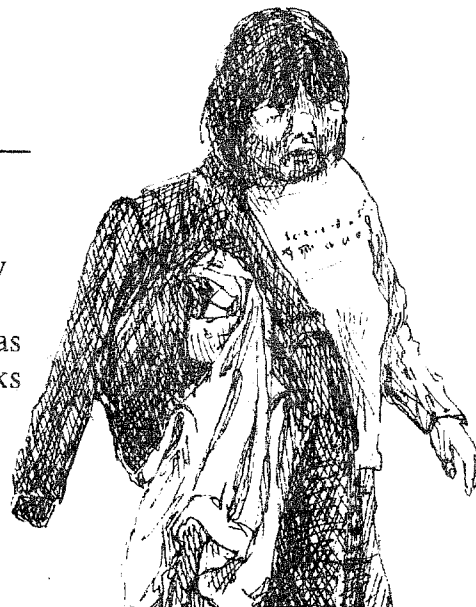
The Festival of Festivals debuted a new documentary on women filmmakers by Janis Cole and Holly Dale, as well as other brave new works by women. Joyce Mason reports. Page 10.

LITERARY LESBIANS:

Donna Gollan says that the rollicking return of dyke detective Helen Keremos in *Beyond Hope* is "delicious," while Ingrid MacDonald bemoans the listless lesbians in *Hidden Pictures*. Page 13.

SHELTER SHOCK:

Cassie Doyle reviews a sobering new book that chronicles the experience of homeless women in the nation's capital. Page 14.



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Don't miss our calendar of Toronto women's events, for October, 1988. Page 15.

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Women, Writing and Race**Broadside:**

Betsy Warland's article "The White Page" (*Broadside*, August/September 1988) shed much light on the current controversy over the extent to which white women can legitimately write about "people of colour" (to use a broad but somewhat useful term). Her suggestion that it is time for white women writers to "listen, not to take" from their sisters of colour seems wise.

However, certain considerations seem largely to have been overlooked in the debate. To wit:

(a) the "mainstream" culture of North America is more heterogeneous and less WASP than a racist establishment would have us believe, while the "minority" cultures are even more obviously subject to outside influence (i.e. we are all Métis, mulatta or mestiza in a cultural if not a biological sense, to various degrees);
(b) personal (*ad feminam*) criticism of any woman artist — as distinct from judging her work on its merits — is reactionary; and
(c) the self-monitoring of white women, although necessary, does not automatically empower women of colour.

Comments made at the International Feminist Book Fair and by members of the Women's Press on "structural racism" have left me chewing on such questions as these:

- Should the attempt of a writer of colour to adopt the voice of a white character (yes, this has been done) be judged differently from the reverse? Why or why not?
- Can writers of colour legitimately "appropriate" non-WASP cultures other than their own? (For instance, could a Métis woman from Saskatchewan have written a book in the vein of *Daughters of Copper Woman* without trespassing on the territory of her Native sisters of the West Coast?)
- Would the disclosure of some genes "of colour" in an apparently white writer alter the value of her work?
- Considering that certain "Black" American writers such as Jean Toomer and James Weldon Johnson passed for white in their lifetimes, how does one arrive at racial definitions?
- How much familiarity with a given culture does one need to "get it right?"

It could be argued that such hair-splitting is not strictly relevant to the issue at hand, which is essentially an issue of power rather than of race or of culture *per se*. However, if concern about the silencing of women of colour is really the basis for a directive to white women writers, it seems odd that the focus of debate is on the consciousness of white people, as usual.

The emergence of a publishing industry by and for women of colour is one of the most exciting developments of 1980s feminism, and the work produced by that industry seems more likely to transform a racist and sexist society than will any white writer's decision to show due respect for cultures outside her own. (For recent catalogues, write to Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press (P.O. Box 908, Latham, New York 12110) and Sister Vision (P.O. Box 217, Postal Station E, Toronto M6H 4E2). For a list of books in the "Black Women Writer Series," write to Beacon Press (25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108). Other presses that have published work by women of colour are too numerous to mention here.)

Whether or not feminists approve of the efforts of male writers such as Brian Moore (*I Am Mary Dunne*) to write from a woman's perspective, the growth of the feminist book business has not depended on men's willingness to "move over" for women. Therefore it seems logical that literature by women of colour can survive and flourish regardless of what white women write.

Of course, women of colour are still being silenced in ways that need to be addressed. Every born writer who is racially oppressed needs the traditional "room of one's own." Once the work has been written, it needs to be circulated widely enough that it becomes part of every woman's view of the world. I believe that this purpose is hindered, not furthered, by conflicts over white women's writing that seem to be at least partly caused by extraliterary structural problems in feminist organizations.

Women who have survived patriarchy, and who really do not intend to be each other's enemies, are surely capable of co-operating to create enough space for us all.

Jean Roberta
Regina, Saskatchewan

Censoring Women Writing**Broadside:**

There's a debate afoot proposing that the imagination ought to require a passport stamp or official visa before being allowed to travel outside the territory of autobiography. And, if we are to accept certain restrictions concerning character then presumably those of time, gender, genus, class and landscape also apply.

Even if it's possible to debate without cost whether or not a writer's imagination should be given free access to the world, let's be clear that what's being talked about here is censorship. Those supporting This Modest Proposal to hasten the demise of racism or sexism by authorizing some fiction and de-authorizing others, while wrapped in the flag of "The Movement," must believe their ends justify their means.

If a writer accepts rules imposed by readers then the result will be a collaboration of social anthropology, journalism, biography or manifesto, but it will not be fiction. Or poetry. To write fiction there is just one voice to listen to and that is the character's.

And wait a minute—displacement is central to the act of writing fiction itself—it's absolutely about self-consciousness in relation to the real world, if you will. Truth is not some absolute statement of experience by licenced users but a process of mind.

On the basis of the narrow argument—of course it's better for Native Peoples and Blacks and women and any other group marginalized by society to write about their own experiences directly and for publishers and readers conscientiously to seek out their accounts. No one would argue that, but the solution is not to say that Conrad, therefore, wasn't entitled to write *Heart of Darkness*, Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, Woolf, *Orlando*, Lessing, *Briefing for a Descent Into Hell*, etc.

We must recognize that we're en route to some real solutions to racism and sexism, but endorsing censorship is a big detour, an indefensible waste of energy and goodwill. Support will not be found for such an idea outside a small circle of advocates and it is an embarrassment to the Women's Movement as well as to people battling with all their hearts against these isms to be identified with such total poppycock.

Sarah Sheard
Toronto

EDITORIAL**On the Streets and in the Courts**

Male violence against women has long been a central concern of the women's movement, and recent events in Toronto brought the issue to the forefront once again. The bad news is that men's attitudes and behaviour haven't changed; the good news is that women are taking even stronger actions to stop men's violence.

The recent trial of Kirby Inwood — a Toronto man convicted of assaulting his wife Tanya Sidorova and his son Misha — demonstrated to women everywhere that the so-called justice system, as it stands now, subjects the survivors of male violence to a second assault. Inwood's counsel, Edward Greenspan, put Sidorova through a brutal cross-examination, sufficiently gruelling to deter all but the most strong-willed woman from pursuing charges against an abusive man. And ironically, in the typical no-win situation so familiar to women, Sidorova lost credibility and support in many quarters *because* she was so strong-willed. Yet don't for a moment think that someone closer to the public image of a woman totally demoralized by an abusive husband will necessarily receive better treatment in court — she won't.

Greenspan later had the gall to characterize Sidorova as manipulative, bearing "no resemblance to the truly abused wife as that phenomenon is described." Neither is Inwood a

"classic wife-batterer," according to Greenspan. Are we to assume that a man has to be "the Darth Vader of wife and child abuse" (Greenspan's phrase) in order to merit a court decision of guilty? And poor Inwood, we are told, was "caught up in political forces." Indeed! If men in the judicial system and elsewhere, finally realize that male violence against women is a political issue then the Inwood decision is a victory for all women.

It may be easier to convince men that *public* violence against women is a political issue. This year's 9th Annual Take Back the Night March, sponsored by the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre, was held in Scarborough, where one man has raped six women and where Margaret McWilliam was raped and murdered one year ago. The theme *Women Fighting Rape: Our Actions, Our Lives*, was a reference to the actions that women have taken to confront violence in our lives and in our communities.

Such confrontations are not always welcomed by the wider community, nor are all women comfortable with feminists' direct action strategies. In two recent cases of sexual assault in the Riverdale area, the alleged attackers, also Riverdale residents, were caught and charged, and the *Toronto Star* subsequently published their names and addresses. A poster produced by rape crisis activists included a

photocopy of the *Star* article, the men's names and addresses and the message, "We will not live in fear. We will stop you and men like you! Riverdale says NO to rape!"

Not too surprisingly, the poster generated some debate, and the Riverdale Women's Action Committee decided not to put them up in the neighbourhood. Some women expressed concern for appearing to be condemning the men before they had been proven guilty, although of course the wording of the newspaper report ruled out the possibility of libel. More likely, women found the message too confrontational, too radical, too close to harassment.

Yet if we look back to the 1960s and 1970s, community activists in the US and Canada used this principle of community control and confrontation to good effect. For example, they would picket the residence of a slum landlord or sweatshop owner, or spray paint messages on his sidewalk, to demonstrate graphically to his family and neighbours that this man exploited working class people, and that their comfort had a high price tag in terms of human misery. Perhaps the same tactics would go a long way towards convincing men that women will most definitely take direct action as long as we live under the threat of men's physical and sexual violence.

Against her Will

by T. Brett Dawson

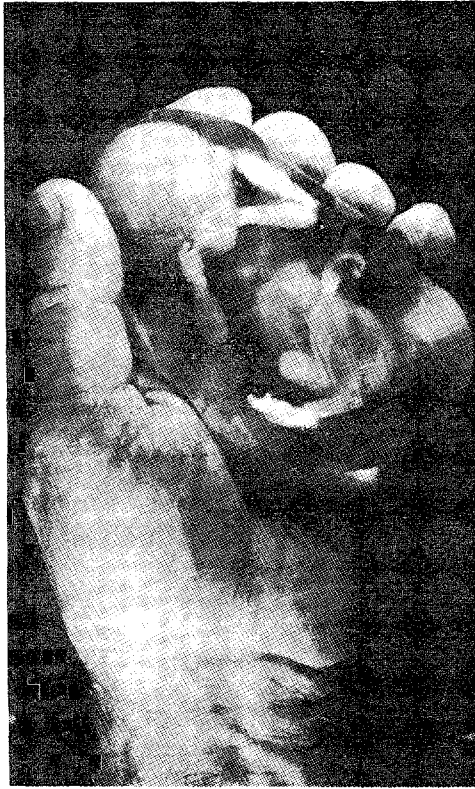
At the beginning of August, a Supreme Court judge in British Columbia finally got it right. He rejected the argument that a fetus is a child subject to apprehension by Family and Child Services (FCS). Of course he was a bit late. The fetus had been apprehended by Family and Child Services in May when the mother had refused to undergo a recommended cesarian. The apprehension was confirmed by a provincial court judge soon after. By virtue of the apprehension, FCS had the power to consent to any medical treatment needed by the fetus, including the cesarian. When two cars full of police and social workers (a.k.a. the Emergency Response Team), squealed to a halt at the hospital doors and poured inside, the mother is reported to have changed her mind and agreed to the cesarian before being told she had to have it. The provincial court judge later referred to this as "consent without coercion or threat."

However, Mr. Justice MacDonell of the Supreme Court of British Columbia disagreed with the whole approach. He appears to have listened to feminist submissions made by the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), that "the effect of authorizing an apprehension prebirth of necessity means controlling the body of the mother to complete and effectuate a custody order." Such serious and far-reaching "powers to interfere with the rights of women . . . must be done by specific legislation and anything less will not do," he reasoned. His conclusion was that no such power existed. This was the case of Baby R.

That should be the end of the matter in Canada: a fetus is not a child for the purposes of child welfare legislation; a pregnant woman cannot be controlled as to her lifestyle or choices during pregnancy; and she cannot be forced to undergo medical treatment against her will for the express purpose of protecting the fetus within her. However there are indications that the matter isn't quite resolved yet.

In Ontario last year, a protection order was granted to the Belleville Children's Aid Society in relation to a fetus, when the mother refused "to seek, maintain or accept any form of medical assistance" regarded by the judge as "clearly necessary for the delivery of the child." The woman was homeless and shelterless. On one occasion in March, when almost at term, she slept in an underground garage. To enforce the apprehension of the fetus, Judge Kirkland ordered the woman committed for psychiatric assessment under the Mental Health Act. The side-effects, of course, were to confine her to hospital during labour and delivery and to open her up to medical treatment against her will.

More recently, on August 3 1988 in Toronto, Andrea McKenzie pleaded guilty to charges of communicating for the purposes of prostitution and failing to appear in court, and was sentenced to 60 consecutive days in prison. This was a heavier than normal sentence and the judge rejected the woman's request that she serve her term during weekends. This is an option often entertained by judges. (Readers may recall the soccer coach allowed to serve his sentence for sexual assault over weekends.) Further, the woman had a four year old child to care for. The judge in question, Provincial Court Judge Hogg, has a reputation for being "fair," then what had provoked such rigour on his part? The answer is found in this interchange recorded in the court transcript:



Prosecutor: . . . I think she appears to be pregnant
 Accused: Yeah, I'm eight and half months pregnant. I'm 22 years old.
 Judge: Eight and a half months pregnant, and you're out working the streets. Isn't that lovely? Isn't that lovely?
 Accused: That's why I said I didn't have any intention (to continue). I'm looking for other jobs through unemployment . . .
 Judge: Where do you live?
 Accused: (address given to a location in Regent Park).
 Judge: What a great place to be giving birth to a child—well known hang-out for cocaine dealers, drug dealers and everything else. Isn't that lovely?
 Accused: Well, that's where my mom lives, and . . .
 Judge: Yeah, that's where your mother lives, sure. I'll think about it over recess . . . This is an absolute atrocity.

Having thought about it, the judge's solution was to take the woman into custody and to order her to remain in a hospital ward until the child was born. He sputtered: "I cannot comprehend what would drive a woman to act in this manner, and the only way to protect this child is to have this child born in custody, and hopefully things will be done about it." Not only was McKenzie to be detained for the duration, but there is some insinuation that the child should be taken from her on birth. This approach is far from "lovely!"

The issue of whether a fetus can be regarded as a child in need of care and protection before birth and for the purposes of ensuring safe and healthy birth is both basic and complex. It is as basic as women's right to personal and reproductive self-determination; as basic as our right to "life, liberty and security and freedom of the person," or to not "be arbitrarily detained or imprisoned" (Charter of Rights and Freedoms, s.7 and s.9). It is also as basic as our right to be trusted and supported in our decisions and dilemmas around reproduction. It is as basic as our right to privacy and bodily integrity. To Sandra Rogers, a law professor in Ottawa:

Judicial orders of protection of a fetus prior to birth . . . constitute an unacceptable and unenforceable interference with maternal self-determination by the imposition of supervision orders or orders for detention and behaviour modification . . . (this) would be jarringly inconsistent with the present commitment to sex equality." (Fetal Rights and Maternal Rights: Is there a Conflict?" *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* (1986) 1:2, 456.)

Think about it. In the Belleville case, the integrity of the pregnant woman, already compromised by poverty, transience and possible psychiatric illness, was completely disregarded by the judge. The decisions about medical care and delivery should have remained hers to make, and the conditions in which she could make them—shelter, medication, stability and safety—should have been provided. The committal order may have been appropriate but the protection order was not. Further, if the woman's capacity to make those decisions was not impaired, the law should not have intervened at all. A woman has a right to be pregnant and to live on the street. These are problems on the wide scale of women's economic and social vulnerability, of full shelters and overcrowded hospitals; but they are problems which are played out in individual women's lives.

In Andrea McKenzie's case, the decision is sexist, classist and according to Valerie Scott, it "displayed the typical institutional bias against the business of prostitution." Darlene Lawson of the Elizabeth Fry Society adds that the case is one more indication of the unacceptable view advanced by those responsible for developing state sanctions that women are the problem and that society and children need to be protected from our choices. The reasoning took no account of Andrea McKenzie's economic circumstances, her support systems or whether she was forced to stay on the streets by economics or coercion. There was no evidence that she was a bad or unfit mother in any way. There was no evidence that the fetus was at risk and no evidence that the mother was chemically dependent. There was no consideration that the sentence itself created a terrible environment in which to be born or to give birth: after some days confined to hospital McKenzie gave birth and was almost immediately transferred to a halfway house where she spent several more days required to do chores and follow house rules.

Instead of evidence, the judge relied on offensive assumptions unchallenged by reality. This woman lived in the "wrong" part of town, did the "wrong" kind of part-time work and *ipso facto* became an atrocity of irresponsibility to an outraged judge. He had the right to sentence her for her breaches of the present *Criminal Code*, but not for her breaches of his paternal morality. Similarly, in the Baby R case, the social workers and the provincial court judge were prepared to go even so far as to put the scalpel to the mother's skin. Thus, we have women committed, detained and coerced.

What we don't have is sufficient recognition of the necessarily interconnected relationship of the fetus and the woman. Pro-choice advocates should know of course, that the common law has never recognized legal existence or rights in a fetus. Only upon birth, upon complete extrusion from the body of the mother has "legal personality" begun. Even this will be re-examined by the Supreme Court of Canada this fall in the Borowski appeal claiming constitutional protection for fetuses. But the approach, although it has often worked for women to date, is flawed.

The law seems prepared to prioritize one set of interests (those ascribed to the fetus) over another set of interests *as if those interests were completely separate*. The law thinks in measured units and in right/wrong equations. But this just doesn't make sense when one being is literally within the other. Madam Justice Wilson of the Supreme Court of Canada acknowledged this in her decision in the *Morgentaler* case. The conditions of women's lives, of our existing relationships with others, and of our relationship with this potential being within us, are interwoven in our decision making. The problem is not that the fetus and the woman are independent, but that they are connected. The question is one of responsibility—how can I care for myself, and for this potential being? What is the responsible decision?

If a woman's capacity to make those decisions is impaired, the response must be to do what can be done to restore it, rather than rushing in like knights in white armour, and then riding away from the vanquished with self-satisfaction and a bloody sword. The "compassion" of the Crusaders has long been rejected. This kind of legal intervention is similarly misdirected.

However, the issue is also complex and fraught with dilemma. Feminists struggle against abuse of children. Given that children born with addictions received from their mothers *in utero* suffer real pain in withdrawal, does rejecting the approach in these cases amount to accepting abuse of potential children? Should children born to mothers with a history of prior abuse of children, or of taking harmful substances while pregnant, be removed upon birth with the case essentially being "pre-judged"? The cases have involved fetuses nearly at term and, in the case of Baby R, with one foot visible. Does the State, through the law, have a responsibility to protect potential life at this late stage? Has the fetus really become a child at that point? Where would that point be drawn; at say, next month, or if Joe Borowski became Minister of Justice? What if we are horrified (in our comfortable abstraction) that apparently a woman could fail to nurture a child she has decided to bear? How can we define or discharge our responsibilities in such situations?

These are not easy questions. The decisions required are difficult, and they are not always made responsibly. The process is complicated and even compromised by the fact that, in our society, women are often faced with economic and power inequalities which negate effective decisionmaking. However it seems essential to me that we don't let the state step in to make the "right" decision. In the current context, that would lead to negating the equality and capacity of women. Coercive intervention by the state to ensure that women make decisions of which it approves will do nothing to empower women. Until the legal system can take account of the experience of women, it will inevitably act in a way which negates that experience. Accordingly, granting a fetus a right to be born and giving that right precedence over the freedom of the pregnant woman creates more problems than it could possibly solve.

The decision of Mr. Justice MacDonnell in the Supreme Court of British Columbia is to be welcomed for all these reasons. Admittedly, it is based on legal reasoning, limiting "legal rights or existence" to birth. Yet it also indicates that feminist advocacy by LEAF is having a positive effect in shaping the thinking of the law. Standing removed in time from the passions and confusion of the moment, he has also calmly restated that the powers of the state are limited by the rights of women. ●



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Trekking with the Starship Collective

by Anon and Annette

"Long, long ago in a far off galaxy . . ."
 "No way," groaned the scriptwriter. "That will never fly with modern audiences." She ripped the page out of the Olivetti, screwed it up and threw it at the growing pile of paper balls on the floor.
 She had already nixed such opening klunkers as "This is a tale of a meeting of two lonesome, skinny, fairly old white men on a planet which was dying fast," and "His name was Gaal Dornick and he was just a country boy who had never seen Trantor before," and "Looking back to all that has occurred to me since that eventful day, I am scarcely able to believe in the reality of my adventures."
 She had even tried "This is the story about a man named Jed, a poor mountaineer," but it seemed to lack rhythm and, besides, she could not for the life of her think of what a poor

would eventually lead her to toss the entire contraption out the window of her Cape Cod cottage and incidentally inspiring her as she wrote a particularly difficult scene in a movie about Lillian Hellman.
 But that would be later, much later. Right now all she knew was that Star Trek would never be written and glorious space adventures would never be brought to the television screen, utilizing special effects like mattes, the colour blue and doors that opened without door knobs.
 Most of all, worst of all, she knew that she, the scriptwriter, would be in "la maison du chien" and would never get her name on a door to a private office with a little multi-coloured peacock embellishing the name plate. Life was shit.
 * * *
 This poor unfortunate scriptwriter, devoid of talent, some might add, was soon fried. Not for her lack of talent—which is no sin, either in television or in journalistic columns, but be-



Lt. Uhura needs a facilitator.

mountaineer would be doing in outer space. The scriptwriter bent her head over the Olivetti, tears running down into the keys, probably rusting out their little metal mechanisms, thus causing them to malfunction in ways that

cause she was a feminist. This, in 1964 (and some might add, in some jurisdictions today as well) was a big sin. Fortunately, while Anon and Annette were desperately seeking to plagiarize, excuse us,

research their column on nostalgia they came upon this early day feminist's notes. Thus, without further ado we present to you the Star Trek you never saw but only dreamed about—Star Trek P.C. *

"Facilitator Jane, Facilitator Jane!"
 Facilitator Jane turned quickly in her swivel chair, snagging her loosely-fitting but durable tunic on yet another communication device. "Damn," she muttered, quickly modifying it to "dam" so as not to express anger inappropriately.
 "Facilitator Jane, Facilitator Jane, the Kling-free warship is approaching and it's blocking our view of Delta IV's sunset!"
 Uhura's voice broke into the discussion "Facilitator, it's Starfleet Collective, do you want them on the main screen?"
 "Not yet, Uhura. I think the U.S.S. Cooperative bridge group needs to grapple with this problem. Spock, would you like to share your feelings with the group?" (Out of respect for those ardent Trekkies who cannot bear to see Spock feel, we will move along.)
 "Logically speaking then," the Vulcan concluded, "the only viable solution is to blow the suckers out of the water!"
 "You've summed up all our feelings precisely, Mister Spock" said Scotty, his Scottish accent trembling with the emotion of the movement.
 "Excuse me facilitator," interjected Yo-person Rand timidly, "without going against the consensus of the group which has been arrived at with great effort and good will by all involved, and let me say I really appreciate the opportunity to speak in this warm and supportive atmosphere but, like, aren't we, well you know, denying the Klingfreecons their own space, maybe?"
 A deadly silence fell over the group. Bones' voice filled the dead air. "Janey, I'm just a simple country chiropractor but how can we, in all good conscience, deny these sentient beings their place in the sun?"
 All eyes fixed on Facilitator Jane.



Spock shares his feelings.

Tune in next week as the Klingfree delegation beams aboard the U.S.S. Cooperative for a potluck supper and inter-galactic love-in. Entertainment will be provided when Scotty shows off his new silver casing with the lavender tints for those lovely dilithium crystals.

Anon and Annette are on a five year mission to make the galaxy safe for feminist Trekkies.

* No, not the computer.

A Masterful Job

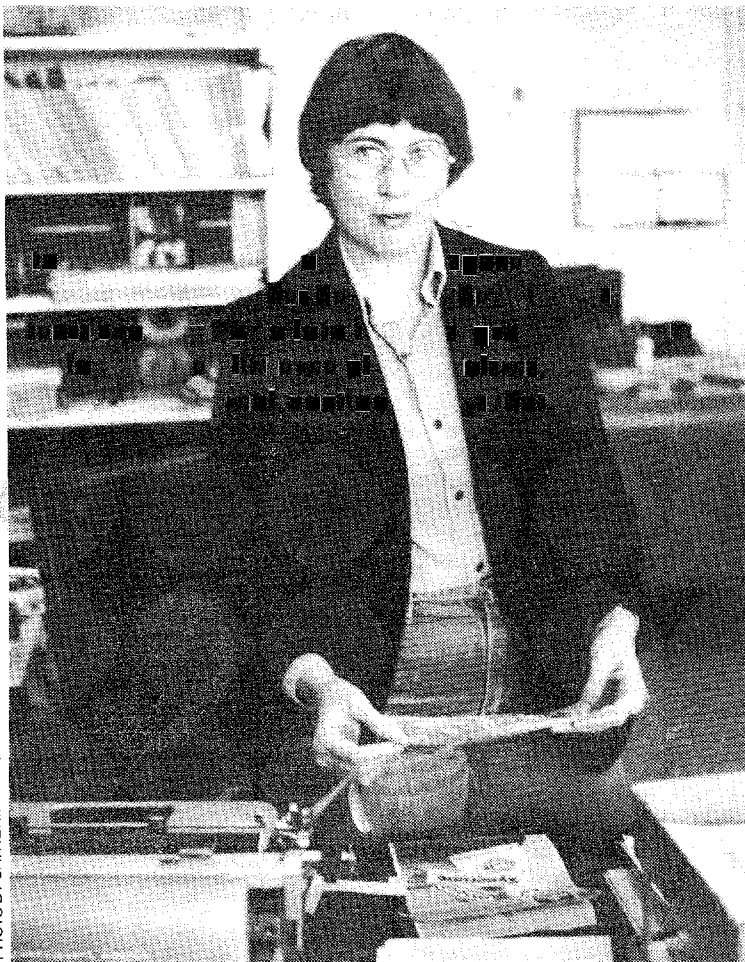


PHOTO BY CATHERINE MAUNSELL

Broadside Collective members, friends and volunteers are suffering the loss of our founding member and editor of our newspaper — Philinda Masters.
 For the past ten years, Philinda has literally lived and breathed Broadside. We are currently finding her irreplaceable as we enter our 10th

anniversary. However, our "mourning" is not permanent as she will be reunited with us shortly in her new role as a Broadside consultant.
 A seat will always be saved for her at the Schewan Garden restaurant when we have our production marathon weekends.

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Collective Trouble

by Eve Zaremba

The collective structure, based on the concept of consensus, is the preferred method of self-government in all feminist organizations (and other progressive movements), regardless of the terminology used. The underlying principle of equality validates both the right to make decisions and the decisions themselves. If we are going to learn to operate collectives without regularly tearing ourselves to pieces, we had better stop to look at them very carefully and critically.

There are as many types and varieties of collectives as there are groups or organizations who use or claim to use this structure. There are ad hoc collectives set up for a specific short term task and there are collectives which are legally constituted as businesses or government funded social services; there are closed collectives and so-called open collectives; there are collectives within mainstream hierarchical institutions like universities and there are unfunded, radical, separatist collectives. Clearly they cannot all be the same thing, cannot all work the same way or mean the same.

Calling a group or an organization a collective does not make it so. In my experience most uses of the term are misnomers. This leads to trouble. For instance, there are organizations which function with full-time, paid staff who do the day-to-day work and know the ropes. It seldom works to include occasional volunteers on an equal basis and to call this combination "a collective." The two types of members are too disparate to be functionally equal. Belong-

ing to something called "a collective" raises expectations which in these circumstances are impossible to sustain. What isn't based on reality will not work for long, if at all. Employing some variety of collective process in specific instances does not make a collective.

Being part of a collective and making it work satisfactorily at both the functional (goals) and personal (process) level is **hard!** We aren't trained or psychologically prepared for what is involved. (The same is true for workers' co-ops and similar non-traditional structures.) People join with very little idea of what it means to be part of a collective. Almost always they believe it gives them more say in making decisions (i.e. more power) than a traditional structure, seldom acknowledging the additional difficulties and responsibility this involves.

The real meaning of equality and access to power is always front and centre. It's easy to forget that when one has "more say" in decisions, everyone else also has more say. Not having an obvious boss or supervisor does not mean having nobody to answer to—it means taking responsibility on oneself. Collectives survive as long as enough members take the trouble to learn, to take on responsibilities and fulfill them—without being treated as "tall poppies." On the other hand, a certain percentage of drones must be accepted as inevitable. Nothing can guarantee equality of knowledge or effort within the collective.

In my view a collective is a group of people who have demonstrated commitment, who have an investment in the organization, who trust each other. For over and above all other attributes of a true collective-that-works is

trust. Trust between members isn't something which can be acquired overnight. It has to be earned. Members have to have worked together long enough to trust each other's judgement and dependability. There can be no confusion as to who is a member with full membership rights and responsibilities. Membership is a privilege which is clearly acquired and must be responsibly exercised.

It has become fashionable to believe that this kind of collective is somehow less democratic and accountable than an "open" one. This is a myth. Reality is quite otherwise. How can someone who wasn't here yesterday and might not be here tomorrow make decisions which will affect the future of the organization and its members? Allowing people who aren't perceived as equal contributors in on vital decisions leads to loss of group cohesion and of individual motivation. Even good feminists are human.

Of course, really closed collectives have no future. There are ways for women to plug into whatever the collective tasks are. Some will find the collective dynamic and congenial, some will not. Those who do and who stay the course become full fledged members. This is a constant process, with the collective changing and renewing itself this way.

Where there is trust and group solidarity it is possible to delegate decisions and jobs. This is a vital freedom. Without it, everyone has to be in on everything; meetings become interminable and frustrating; second guessing, blaming and guilting develops. This is fatal for both the functioning of the organization and the mental health of the members.

Being part of a working collective should be a source of personal, as well as political satisfaction. On balance, the good, fun part must outweigh the heavy, less pleasant part. In a feminist collective especially, the work and commitment of all women, whether paid or unpaid, must be recognized and valued—none of which means that a working collective can forget its goals and turn into a social or therapy group.

The practical consequences of all the above are pretty obvious and could easily be taken into consideration in the (re)structuring of any new or existing organization. Too bad that so often this sort of basic homework isn't done.

Working collectives are essential to the health of the Women's Movement (or any movement for social change, for that matter). It is thus doubly unfortunate that they are being given a bad name. Women are discouraged from active participation, and who can blame them? It is a loss for all of us when someone says "I'll never work in a collective..." and gives some of the horrible examples we see around us.

As I see it, feminist collectives are, as it were, held in trust by those who control them, for the rest of us. This should never be confused with ownership. It's a temporary privilege which cannot be divorced from the duty to manage our resources responsibly.

*Eve Zaremba is the author of three thrillers, the most recent being **Beyond Hope**. She is an ex-member of the Broadside collective.*

A Letter to Authors

The following letter was received by Women's Press author and Broadside collective member Helen Lenskyj. Broadside is publishing the letter in order to provide readers with additional information on the situation at Women's Press.

August 17, 1988

Dear Women's Press Author:

Life has been hectic and full of energy these last months at the Press and we would like to keep you informed. Out of a period of change, change which has at the same time been difficult, painful and exciting, has come new publishing policies, new members to the Press and unfortunately the departure of a long-time staff member, Margie Wolfe. You may have already heard some of this news but we want you to have it first hand. We also want to talk about what this means to you as one of our authors.

Since last fall Women's Press has been struggling to introduce an anti-racist policy in our publishing and our organization. We have been known for our "non-sexist" and "non-racist" publishing but over the past

selling rights and getting your work translated into other languages is also part of our ongoing activities—for example, in 1989 we will see French and German editions of *Sex, Power & Pleasure* by Mariana Valverde.

But as we said, it hasn't been easy. While all of us at Women's Press share a commitment to developing new publishing guidelines we haven't all agreed on the means nor have we all been able to act on the need to change and to respond to new members. For the first time in many years, women of colour are working at the Press. Sometimes in such a period of change some people separate themselves and this has happened at the Press. There is a minority group, eight out of more than thirty women, which is unhappy with our new direction. We regret that they haven't been able to accept these changes. For those of you who wish more information or have questions we welcome your letters or phone calls.

One of the most difficult decisions was to terminate Margie Wolfe's employment. The small group of eight approached us on July 5th with a proposal which included splitting

Garage Sale a Success!

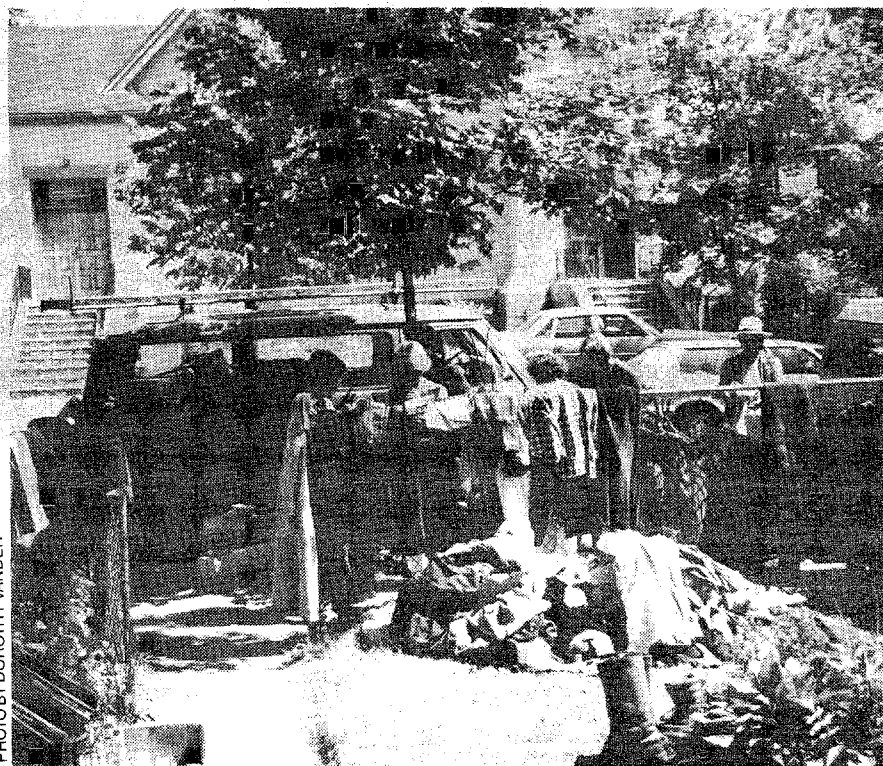


PHOTO BY DOROTHY VANDER

Broadside's fundraising garage sale attracted collectors, bargain hunters and passersby on a beautiful Saturday in August. Thanks to your help we grossed \$365.

The Women's Press

year with some education and lots of hard work we have been learning more about anti-racism in publishing—the kind of publishing that goes beyond looking to make sure that our books do not feed into racist stereotypes. We are moving towards a kind of publishing that actively works towards breaking down those stereotypes. This is no easy task and to assist us we are developing anti-racist guidelines. With this new direction we are *not* telling authors what to write; we are simply interested in clearly expressing our new publishing policy. If you're interested in these guidelines we would be happy to send you a copy. We also hope to schedule a few workshops on anti-racist writing and/or editing later this fall for those who are interested.

You might wonder how this affects you. What about your Women's Press book/books? Nothing has changed in this regard. We continue to stand behind our sixteen years of successful publishing and continue to promote all of our books. We are pleased to report over eighty books in print and pride ourselves in the work done promoting all of the books by all of our authors. Our efforts at

Women's Press and Margie leaving the staff with severance. This along with the difficulties over the last year and serious staff problems lead to her dismissal on July 20th with an offer of seven months severance pay. Margie accepted our offer on July 29th. We recognize the important role Margie has played at Women's Press over the past eleven years and wish we could have resolved things differently.

On a more positive note, we are lucky to have Michele Paulse who will now be promoting Women's Press books. Michele has been with us since 1985 involved in various manuscript groups and the Publishing and Policy Group and has been on staff since the beginning of 1987. We have every confidence in her ability to bring new life not only to the promotion of our books but to Women's Press as a whole.

Sincerely,
Rona Moreau
for the Publishing & Policy Group
of Women's Press.

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MOVEMENT MATTERS

Black Women at U of T

TORONTO — Black Women at U of T & OISE (BWAUTO) is a group founded by three Black women who saw the need for Black women within the University and OISE to unite and organize around issues that affect our lives as Black women. It is affiliated with the University of Toronto Women's Centre. The ultimate goal of BWAUTO is to improve through education and dialogue the status and conditions of Black women at U of T and OISE. To achieve this goal, the issues to be addressed will include racism, sexism, classism, homophobia and ageism as they apply to Black women on campus and in the curriculum. They will be viewed through feminism and through the Black experience within a white, patriarchal, heterosexist, elitist, youth-oriented, male-dominated society.

The group's first general meeting is on Tuesday, October 4 (see Calendar). Membership is open to all people who are sympathetic with the issues confronting Black women. We strongly encourage ALL Black women at University of Toronto and OISE to become actively involved and to play a leading role in the destiny of this group. Contact BWAUTO through the Women's Centre, 49 St. George Street; 978-8201.

Lesbian and Gay Community Appeal

TORONTO — Lesbian and Gay Community Appeal Grant deadline is October 15, 1988. Applications for funding for the LGCA 8th Annual Campaign will again be considered this fall. Apply by writing to the LGCA, Box 2212, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2T2. Call 869-3036 or pick up your application at Glad Day Bookshop, Toronto Women's Bookstore, or the 519 Church St. Community Centre.

Native Women's Publication

Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme is planning a special issue on Native Women, scheduled for spring or summer 1989 publication. It will function as an autonomous group that determines the overall concept for the issue and solicits and selects articles for publication. Native women interested in participating are invited to contact CWS as soon as possible by phone at (416) 736-5356 (call collect), or at 212 Founders College, York University, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, M3J 1P3.

Women at Work

"Keeping the Home Fires Burning" is part of an ongoing video series by the Women's Labour History Project about Canadian working women in history. It is appropriate for gallery and educational use. The video combines original Canadian wartime propaganda, interviews with women workers, original footage and photographs. It was scripted and directed by Sara Diamond. For information, contact Women's Labour History Project, 2534 Cambridge Street, Vancouver, BC, V5K 1L4; (604) 254-5210.

U of T Women's Centre

TORONTO — In January 1984, a group of women at the University of Toronto formed the Coalition for a Women's Centre. Despite considerable resistance on campus, the Centre opened in 1987. Events sponsored by the Centre include discussion groups and workshops on women's issues, exhibitions of women's creative work, films, music, poetry and readings. Despite broadbased support from students, staff and faculty, the centre still lacks \$15,000 needed for core funding. Both Governing Council and the Students' Administrative Council claim that the Women's Centre's affirmative action policies are discriminatory and refuse to provide funding. For information, contact: The Women's Centre, 49 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2E5; (416) 978-8201.

Literacy and Survival

TORONTO — East End Literacy Press recently published *My Name is Rose* by Rose Doiron. Like thousands of Canadian women, Rose is functionally illiterate, and, like thousands of Canadian women, Rose is a survivor of abuse. Her autobiography is a catalyst for women to identify and confront poverty in their lives, and a resource for organizations concerned about women's issues. Available for \$4.50 plus postage and handling from East End Literacy Press, 265 Gerrard Street East, Toronto, Ontario, M5A 2G3; (416) 968-6989.

Legal Aid for Women

Toronto — Community and Legal Aid Services Programme (CLASP) is a legal aid clinic run by the students of Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, and is the only Toronto legal aid service with a division for women. The purpose of the Women's Division is to provide more effective service to women by informing women in the community and women's organizations about its services; developing an effective referral list and acting as an information source for women in the Metro area; litigating cases which will serve to improve the status of women; and sensitizing the legal community at CLASP to women's issues.

In the upcoming year, CLASP wishes to expand and diversify its resource information, pursue women-specific cases to litigate, and run seminars for caseworkers. CLASP also plans to intensify its involvement with grassroots women's organizations. Contact CLASP at Osgoode Hall, York University, (416) 736-5029.

Sole Support Mothers

"Sole Support Mothers on the Move" is a brief recently presented to the Ontario government by the Ontario Advisory Council on Women's Issues. It proposes, among others: a review of housing policies with tenant involvement, mandatory counselling for batterers, employment incentive programs, and 24-hour childcare centres. For a copy, contact: Ontario Advisory Council on Women's Issues, 880 Bay St., 5th floor, Toronto, Ont. M7A 1N3; (416) 965-5824 (Bridget Vianna or Elayne Ceifets).

Mothers of Invention

Two versions of the Women Inventors Project Video by Morag Productions are now available. Filmed at a national workshop for women inventors held in Waterloo, each video features interviews with women inventors of all ages; a display of women's inventions; a discussion of the barriers for women inventors and strategies for change. "Women Inventors" is a 15 minute video suitable for students in grades 6 to 12 (\$25.00). "Inventing Women" is a 27 minute video for adults (\$30.00). Contact: Women Inventors Project, 22 King Street South, Waterloo, Ontario, N2J 1N8; (519) 746-3443.

Sexual Assault Publications

The Victoria Women's Sexual Assault Centre offers the following publications on sexual assault and sexual child abuse: Sexual Assault: Information for Adult Survivors; Information for Partners and Friends; Information for Families; Child Sexual Abuse: Information for Parents; Let's Talk about Sexual Assault (teens); and Working with Survivors of Sexual Assault. To order, contact Victoria Women's Sexual Assault Centre, 1045 Linden Avenue, Victoria, BC, V8V 4H3.

Studio Visits for Artists

Call for submissions, studio visiting group(s): members of the collective visit each others' home or studio to view work in progress. The studio visits will take place once every two weeks. The duration of the project will depend

on the number of women in each group; the maximum number of women per group will be ten. A collective project may be undertaken by the group. Please submit a written proposal to WARC by November 1, 1988. Proposals should include a brief description of your past and current work (any medium or format), your address, and an outline of the space available in your studio/home. Contact Marie Burnett at 324-8910.

Gay Issues Heading for Supreme Court

Ottawa — EGALE (Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere), an Ottawa-based lobby group, has been awarded \$25,000.00 to prepare cases of discrimination against lesbians and gay Canadians. The Court Challenges Program, with funds provided by the federal Secretary of State and administered by the Canadian Council on Social Development, is designed to bring issues of Charter equality and language rights to the high courts as part of an effort to keep federal laws in line with equality rights outlined in *The Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Case development grants are available to a maximum of \$5,000.00 per project, and EGALE has received full funding for five independent cases. We are delighted with the support, and look forward to some rewarding work for — and with — gay and lesbian Canadians. The Equality Rights Panel, which decides which projects will receive money, is composed of a blue ribbon group of legal and human rights experts respected in their disciplines across the country; their acknowledgement of the importance of these human rights issues should go a long way in an of itself to stem some of the cowardly abuses that gays and lesbians face daily as a result of their sexual orientation.

EGALE has begun work in five areas of federal law that may discriminate on the ground of sexual orientation.

The Canadian Human Rights Act, long a target of the political lobby seeking legislated protection from discrimination, will be challenged for its failure to prohibit discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation.

The Canada Health Act is being examined to see the extent to which it allows for discrimination, particularly in light of the many abuses that AIDS has brought to light. There are differing areas of responsibility in legislating Canadian health services, and the research allows us only to deal in areas of federal jurisdiction, so some abuses that come to light may have to be directed to another forum for remedy.

The Immigration Act, a complex and controversial law, will also be contested in a number of areas. While homosexuality no longer places an individual in a prohibited class of persons, there remain many troublesome policies twelve years after this provision was expunged from the statute.

The Criminal Code of Canada will be the subject of two separate studies. The first deals with what we have referred to as "hate laws"

— the promotion of hate and the publication of hate literature. The recent decisions in the Keegstra and Zundel cases have thrown the law regarding promoting hate against an identifiable group into a legal limbo, with the Alberta government initiating an action in the Supreme Court of Canada to establish the validity of the current law. EGALE's primary concern in this issue is the failure of the law to protect gays and lesbians along with other groups subject to such "hate crimes."

The second area of the criminal law we intend to challenge is the defence of provocation in charges of murder. Provocation is only a partial defence which, if successfully raised, can diminish a murder charge to a charge of manslaughter. It is frequently raised, with widespread judicial acceptance, in homicide cases with the accused murderer claiming that he was provoked because of homosexual advances. To reduce a complex issue unfairly, we believe that the defence ought not to be available on this ground. It would not be available in similar circumstances to a female accused who was the subject of a male heterosexual advance. The direct suggestion is that the taking of a gay person's life is less serious than the murder of a straight person. Further, the application of the defence suggests judicial approval of the idea that the ordinary person would be so provoked by the idea of a gay flirt that, immediately outraged, he would be justified in killing.

EGALE has undertaken a very complex set of issues. While we acknowledge the support of the Court Challenges Program readily, the budget allows only for the bare bones of salary and the considerable expense of the project. Any one with resources, skill, advice, or a donation is urged to support this very important work. Contact: EGALE, PO Box 2891, Station D, Ottawa, K1P 5W9.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

"I hope I stand for anti-bigotry, anti-racism and anti-semitism."

George Bush, US Presidential candidate

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MOVEMENT COMMENT

Organizing at NAC

by Judy Campbell, Maxine Hermolin, Enid Moscovitch, Mary Lou Murray, Jennifer Palin, and Lisa Phipps, Past NAC Staff Members

The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) is Canada's largest feminist lobby group with 600 member groups across Canada. Membership is diverse, from the Communist to the Progressive Conservative Party's 'Women's Caucus.'

This article is the story of why and how staff decided to unionize at NAC last year. Those of us who work in "idealistic" organizations often feel disloyal talking about some of the problems we face, but we believe that many of our organizations have very similar problems and that by sharing our stories, solutions can be found. For the continued health of our organizations, we believe such "story telling" is necessary.

As is the case with many non-profit, activist organizations, NAC was underfunded from the start, and has relied heavily on the voluntary hard work of an overextended, twenty-five member executive which is expected to accomplish the bulk of NAC's crushing workload with the assistance of voluntary committees, under often unfriendly media scrutiny. Canada's flagship feminist organization, representing over three million women, had seven and a half permanent staff last year. NAC also contracted out work such as magazine editing, research and bookkeeping.

Over the years, NAC has often had bitter labour relations reflected in high staff turnover and a thick file of memos from staff to the NAC executive reiterating the same litany of complaints: overwork, an out-of-date wage policy, a stressful working environment, lack of respect, contradictory executive direction, etc.

Exacerbating these common labour problems were unclear rules for problem resolution. Personnel policy was in a series of conflicting memos and meeting minutes. The personnel committee had a high turnover of executive members and an unclear staff status and mandate.

By November of 1987, NAC had had a fifty-percent staff turnover in six months and a similar rate of personnel committee turnover. It was clear "something had to be done." As a progressive organization, NAC had an active history of supporting labour unions and recognized the particular value unions could have for women workers. One thing unionization could do at NAC would be to provide a structure and procedures for labour-management negotiations. At its November meeting with staff the personnel committee suggested they would support voluntary recognition by the NAC executive of a staff union.

In early January, 1988, all staff from both the Ottawa and Toronto offices met to discuss staff issues and established the principle that whatever major decisions were to be made, they would be made as a staff group; at each stage, the unionization process was by consensus. We recognized that in the highly-charged political setting where we worked, we had suffered from being played off against each other; solidarity as co-workers was identified as crucial to our being able to improve our work environment.

As feminists we respected and appreciated the work being done by women on the NAC executive, but as workers we had interests not always congruent with the executive's. As a first step towards recognizing this, NAC staff collectively wrote a memo to the personnel committee that they wished to meet with this committee in January as a staff group, rather than as ambiguous members of the personnel committee.

Through much discussion at staff meetings, it became clear to us that many of our problems as workers at NAC shared the same root cause: the executive had great difficulty determining priorities, which led to conflicting and contradictory directions to staff from a very "hands on" executive. For our work to become manageable, we needed an executive which would collectively determine and take responsibility for prioritizing and planning the work available. It was clear to us that, if some staff were singled out as "managers," all that would happen is scapegoating of these "manage-

ment" staff for on-going confusing executive direction.

We decided we needed legal protection for our staff group to help us maintain the solidarity with each other that we needed, so in February we applied for Ontario Labour Relations Board (OLRB) union certification. The entire NAC staff had signed CUPE union cards, and we asked that all paid staff be included in the bargaining unit. NAC's executive hired a lawyer to oppose inclusion of NAC's executive co-ordinator; they wanted to separate her out as "management."

Very unfortunately, the executive discussed this issue *in camera* and from that point on would not discuss any aspect of unionization with staff, saying that they would be charged with unfair management practices if they did so. This refusal to talk with the staff meant that we were not able to find out what their concerns were. Similarly, they were not able to discuss with us a range of alternative staffing models including all paid staff in a bargaining unit, which we had researched and believed could work.

Their behaviour appeared to staff as unnecessarily rigid, paternalistic, self-serving and "unfeminist." There was no forum for discussion left other than the very adversarial one in front of the OLRB, where a judicial body rather than the women involved would make the final decision about inclusion of the executive co-ordinator in our bargaining unit. In an already very strained labour environment this led to mutual suspicion with the possibility of amicable resolution unlikely. It was a dismal beginning to this new stage of executive-staff relations and left the organization in a precarious position as NAC faced new crises.

In 1987-88 NAC had three treasurers, two financial co-ordinators, and several draft budgets. As the year progressed it became evident NAC would have a considerable deficit this fiscal year. At its April meeting, NAC's second acting treasurer presented different cost-cutting options for consideration, such as the closing of one of NAC's offices, staff lay-off, etc. None of these had been discussed with staff. At the same meeting the Toronto office's

highly skilled bilingual information clerk resigned citing exhaustion due to stress, to be followed within the month by notice of resignation by the executive co-ordinator, to be effective July 1.

The dismal financial picture, a lack of clear membership direction from the Annual General Meeting about proposed major organizational reform which would impact significantly on staff, and on-going incidents of executive-staff friction, exhausted staff who had been putting in dozens of hours/week of overtime prior to what turned into a very stormy AGM. The remaining staff who had not already resigned decided to resign as a block at the AGM to highlight labour relations problems, and to appeal to the Annual Meeting delegates to hold the executive accountable in future for improved staff relations.

A day later at the first meeting of the newly elected executive a motion was passed asking staff to reconsider their resignations with an amendment that NAC would drop opposition to inclusion of the executive co-ordinator in the bargaining unit. Unfortunately, at the OLRB hearing scheduled three days later, NAC's lawyer was not so instructed, and so she asked for another postponement of this decision, rather than advising the OLRB that NAC was not going to oppose its staff on this issue anymore.

To staff, this was a clear indication that contradictory messages from the executive would continue to be a problem and that the executive was still not uniformly committed to a labour relations practice congruent with the labour-positive ideals of the organization. All but one of the NAC staff left NAC's employ at the end of June, 1988.

For many reasons, probably the least of which were the staff resignations, NAC's Annual Meeting was front page news across Canada and is still eliciting analysis and media commentary. We hope that in all the rhetoric about "feminist process," some consideration will be given to the importance of appropriate models for feminist labour relations for the long term health of activist feminist organizations.

Quizzing the Candidates

As the federal election campaign quickly approaches, women must ensure that their concerns are being addressed by the candidates of all of the federal parties. To this end the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) has once again published its "SHOCKING PINK PAPER," a series of comments and questions that women can use as guidelines for questioning and getting commitments from candidates.

Violence Against Women

Despite measures taken to help battered women and their families, each year one million women in Canada continue to be physically and sexually abused in their own homes. They are often subjected to emotional, psychological and economic abuse as well. Disturbingly, many adolescent girls are being beaten by their boyfriends. Many children are living in violent homes. The number of shelters in Canada is woefully inadequate. For every woman and her children accepted at a transition home, another woman and her children are turned away. Many women are unable to seek shelter because they are isolated by geography, language or disability.

What steps will your party take to develop a coordinated campaign to prevent the crime of family violence?

What measures will you take to help women and children who are the victims of abuse?

Pornography

Pornography portrays and endorses a message of violence, degradation and subordination of women, and often children. A society committed to eliminating all forms of discrimination against women must enact effective legislation

that distinguishes between healthy sexuality and violence against women. Legislation on pornography must demonstrate a commitment to ensure economic, social and legal equality for all women in Canada.

How would your party address the problem of pornography in our society?

What priority do you place on this?

Housing

The lack of affordable housing for women and their families is a serious problem. Some women, many of whom are sole-support mothers or elderly women, must spend up to 80% of their disposable income on housing. Sole support mothers and elderly women on their own comprise the largest groups in need of social housing, but planners are not meeting their needs. Lack of affordable housing is a major obstacle for women with disabilities and for women trying to regain control of their lives, such as widowed and divorced women, women leaving violent family situations, women just released from psychiatric institutions, and the homeless. Racism prevents full access to housing for Native women and for women from visible minority groups.

What is your party prepared to do to address women's housing needs and to ensure that affordable, quality housing is available to all women across Canada?

Double Discrimination

Many women in our society face additional discrimination because they are members of minority groups. Women with disabilities are often forgotten. Immigrant women are discriminated against. Many Native women are still not treated equally under the law. Racism

affects the lives of these women and of women who are members of visible minorities. Women who face double discrimination often have difficulty getting access to employment, housing or transportation.

What will your party do to address the concerns of women who face double discrimination?

Child Care

Almost two million pre-school children across Canada need child care services because their parents work or study more than 20 hours a week. But there are only 244,000 licensed child care spaces to meet their needs. The federal government's national child care strategy for the next seven years will do little to address the child care crisis. By 1995, at the end of the seven-year period, only 25% of current need for licensed spaces will be met. More than half the funds allocated by the federal government to child care during that time will give tax breaks for higher-income parents. The proposed program will do little to make quality child care services available to all children and families who need it and does not adequately recognize the contribution of parents who care for children at home.

What steps will your party take to ensure that publicly-funded, non-profit, quality child care services are universally available to all families who need them in the same way that health and education now are?

Parenting

The Canada Labour Code now gives women the right to 17 weeks of unpaid maternity leave. It provides another 24 weeks of unpaid parental leave, available to either parent. Replacement income for maternity leave is provided under the Unemployment Insurance (UI) pro-

gram. However, the program penalizes women financially for becoming mothers because maternity benefits replace only 60% of a woman's usual earnings (up to a maximum weekly limit). The benefits are also limited to 15 weeks, following a two-week waiting period during which women receive no income. A recent court decision challenged the UI provision that prevented new fathers sharing in family responsibilities.

What action will your party take to bring the UI maternity benefits program in line with the Canada Labour Code so that women can bear children without financial penalty?

Wage Gap

The significant wage gap between women and men in the work force remains a major obstacle to women's full equality. Women with full-time paid jobs earn about 65% of the average earnings of their male counterparts. There is no doubt that women's low wages contribute to the increasing feminization of poverty. Despite the fact that equal pay for work of equal value is called for under the Canadian Human Rights Act, enforcement of the law depends on individual complaints and has not yet proved effective.

How will your party ensure that the equal pay for work of equal value provision in the Canadian Human Rights Act is enforced more effectively?

Pensions

Extensive reforms to the pension system have now been implemented. Despite these reforms, many older women live in poverty. Women earn lower wages during their years in the work

• continued on page 14

Women Under Islam: Pakistan Women Face the Future

by Fauzia Rafiq

General Ziaul Haq's violent and sudden death in August 1988 might mean a change for the better for women of Pakistan. Or it might not.

Zia died in a plane crash last August, taking with him 10 generals of Pakistan's Armed forces, a few American military advisors and the American Ambassador. Since then the Western media have been interested in the intriguing question, "who dun it?" Their prime suspect, most predictably, is KGB and/or KHAD (secret service of Democratic Afghanistan). Western diplomats and representatives of the Reagan government also mourned the death of a ruler who took such good care of American/Western foreign policy interests in the region and the loss can be irreplaceable, as was the Shah of Iran's.

But this expectation could prove to be overly optimistic under the present circumstance in Pakistan. General Zia ruled Pakistan for 11 years and his policies at home and abroad were as mercilessly patriarchal as indeed is the ideology of Islam that he so seriously applied. He was then able to strengthen the joint rule of a few propertied and privileged classes that traditionally find conservative politics to be the best bet in the continuation of their power. And indeed a major part of this conservatism was displayed through a rigorous suppression, in fact the utter humiliation, of the women of Pakistan.

Because this conservatism was based directly and absolutely on Islamic tradition, effective opposition to it was made difficult and self-defeating. Pakistan ostensibly was created in the name of Islam so Islam had become our most sacred cow and no ambitious political leader of any description would like to openly take a stand against it. The best that anyone did during Zia's life was to say that Islam is great and just, but that Zia's government is interpreting it wrongly. Women's organizations did the same. As a result, the man is dead but the fatal ideology remains unblemished to be used by the next ruler.

Pakistan is a country of about a hundred million people. A little less than 50% are women. The most developed institution in the country is the armed forces. The second most developed institution is the bureaucracy. Both were formed by the British and are now partially sustained by the United States of America.

Pakistan shares its borders with comparatively secular India, Afghanistan, Khomeini's Iran, Communist China and the Soviet Union. Out of these Pakistan can boast of friendship with only one, China. So, it was the height of wisdom in foreign policy to align completely with a country that is thousands of miles and a few oceans away from one's own, antagonizing in due course one's immediate neighbours. In this context, it is interesting to recall that for 32 years out of a total 41, Pakistan was ruled by the army and not by representatives of the people.

The martial law of General Ziaul Haq was the third martial law government in Pakistan. It was in 1977 that this notorious general took power. He had earned his notoriety by successfully leading the massacre of about 80,000 Palestinians in Jordan in 1970. The action is known to us by the name of Black September. He was awarded promotion for it in Pakistan. A few years later, our Muslim-Socialist Prime Minister Bhutto raised this General to the highest level of Army hierarchy by appointing him Chief of the Army staff. This Chief of the Army staff later hanged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister, and secured power for the Army.

The genius of General Ziaul Haq struck a combination that no other general could manage to do. He gave up all pretensions of non-alignment as far as the US was concerned and received in return privileges that helped him secure and sustain power for himself. He aligned interest groups which historically exist at the expense of less privileged sections; a large majority of women were included in these. On the home front, he launched a rigorous campaign to institute Islam, weeding out political opposition. No other general could do either of these without reservations. Zia aggressively worked to strengthen patriarchy, monetary corruption and conservatism.

For the people of Pakistan this policy, called the Islam-

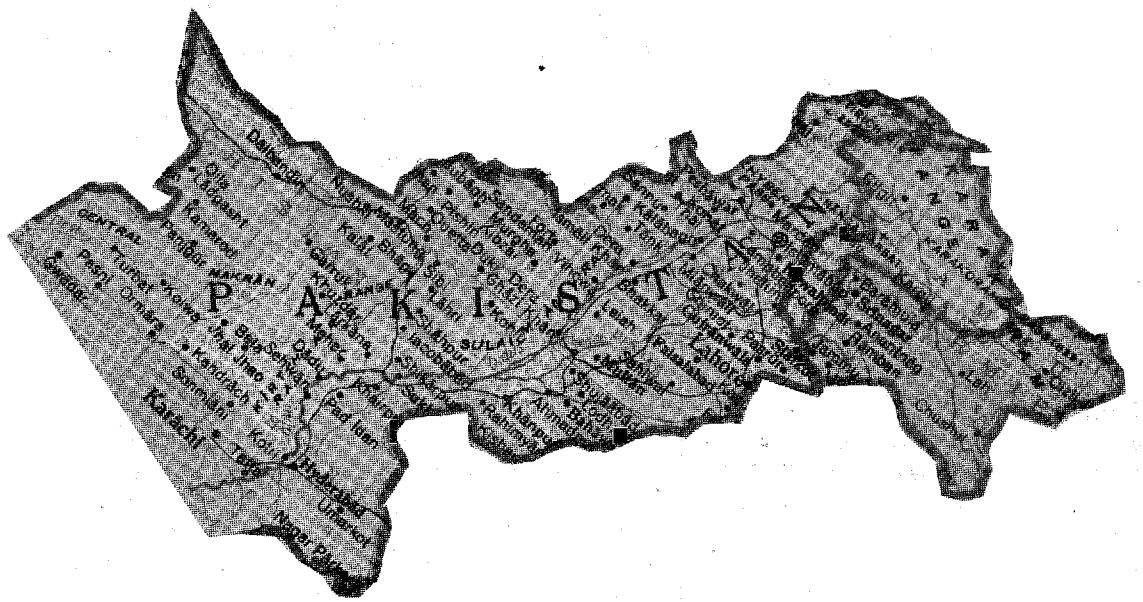
ization of society, meant a complete subjugation of women, an abrupt destruction of the trade union movement, the suppression of political opposition, the legalization and sanction of monetary corruption within the army and bureaucracy. All told, women came out as the one section of the population that was most brutally hurt.

The policy of Islamization, sanctioned and executed by an Army government, was joined in at varying degrees of allegiance by vocal religious factions. The not very religious but vocal sections refrained from raising any substantial opposition to this policy for fear of losing political ground. The sacred crusade began in 1977 and by 1986 the General's government was proudly boasting its achievements. A large part of these "achievements" were the laws formulated and incorporated in the country's legislature, laws that any conscious person would do well to know because these are the worst bout of indignity suffered by women in modern history.

The Law of Qisas and Diyat, 1981

The Arabic word "Qisas" roughly depicts the formula of "an eye for an eye," meaning that the aggrieved party can demand to inflict the same injury or the same bodily offence on the offender or the clan/family of the offender as a compensation. "Diyat" is the blood money which the two parties agree on and is to be paid by the offender to the aggrieved.

This law amended the Criminal Code of Pakistan. It relates particularly to the offences committed against the human body. The Holy Koran states clearly that if a man has murdered another man, the aggrieved party can reach a private settlement with the offending party, which means that murder in Pakistan is no more a corporate offence inciting automatic intervention by the State but an offence that can be compensated privately through monetary exchange between the parties concerned. This aspect of the Law of Qisas and Diyat, though totally unacceptable to us here, is another story. We would like to focus on the terms and conditions of the agreement that could be drawn between the two parties.



According to the Koran and the Law of Qisas and Diyat, the blood money (Diyat) of a murdered woman is set at half that of a man. The offending party, having murdered a woman, will pay half the price that is required to be paid for the murder of a man. So, now if a man kills a man and has agreed to pay an amount, for example, of \$100 as blood money, he will pay only \$50 if he had killed a woman. The law also discriminates against non-Muslims in such cases.

It comes to mind that if the government of Pakistan was inclined, it could make this law into one of our major tourist attractions alongside our fabulous mountain ranges of Himalayas, Hindukush and Karakurams. It is difficult to take cynicism as a viable alternative in this situation because the law not only is discriminatory towards women, non-Muslims and underprivileged

classes, it is also formulated according to the dictates of the "Holy" Koran and Sunnah.

The Offence of Zina Ordinance of 1979

The Arabic word "Zina" means unlawful sexual intercourse. This law differentiates between "Zina bil jabr" which is rape, and "Zina bil raza" which is unlawful sexual intercourse with consent. This law requires eyewitnesses to prove either of the two offences in the court. Minimum requirement to convict anyone for "zina bil jabr" or rape is four eyewitnesses. Further, the law requires that these eyewitnesses be male, Muslim, and of unblemished character.

Now if a woman is raped and goes to the court with charges, she has no case, unless and until she can produce four eyewitnesses who are Muslim males of dependable character. We only have two choices in this one. Either every woman and girl has to at all times keep four Muslim-males-of-spotless-character in the vicinity—the event that she is raped and would like to press charges—or the rapists have to be considerate enough to bring four-Muslim-males-of-spotless-character along with them to the scene of the crime.

If, for example, neither of these things happens and the woman still goes to the court, she will be convicted for committing unlawful sexual intercourse with consent while the rapists would be acquitted of all charges, enjoying the benefit of doubt. For, after all, the woman herself has admitted to committing unlawful sexual intercourse by bringing the case into the court. Whether it was with her consent or was a rape depends entirely on the availability of four-Muslim-males-of-spotless-character-eyewitnesses. If they don't appear in the court, the charge cannot be proved even if there were eyewitnesses who were non-Muslims or were of the female gender or even there was strong circumstantial evidence.

The punishment for "zina bil raza" is flogging. Public flogging is the latest in the indignities Pakistani women have to suffer. A conservative estimate based on preliminary reports is that in one city an average of four to six women

receive such punishment with the number of lashes ranging from 10 to 80. The known victims of this law range from 17 to 85 years and belong entirely to poor rural families or to destitute urban families.

The Evidence Act (Qanoon-e-Shahadat) of 1988

The Evidence Act places the value of evidence of a woman to half that of a man in financial and future agreements when reduced to writing, which means that for a financial contract to be lawful in the eyes of the law, one man's evidence would suffice. But if a man is not to be found, one will have to arrange for at least two women to fill the gap. One woman is not enough, not even if she is an accountant, a lawyer, a doctor or a scientist.

When this act was presented to the Majlis-e-Shoora, a Muslim institution where members are appointed by the

d of the State to give him advice on important matters, a fiery debate was conducted before this law was enacted. Originally, this law was to have the "two women for one man" clause for oral financial agreements as well. The debate reached ludicrous heights when some people tried to justify it by saying that in effect two women are needed because women don't have a good memory and sometimes they cannot speak fluently. So the second man is required to remind the first one where she forgets or to prompt her where she falters in her speech. The Evidence Act was formulated and proposed by the Council of Islamic Ideology. The Law of Qisas and Diyat, Hudood Ordinances and the Evidence Act are protected by the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan and therefore cannot be challenged. To top it all off, in June 1988, Ziaul Haq implemented the Shariah Ordinance. According to this ordinance (section 3) "Shariah shall be the supreme source of law in Pakistan and Ground Norm for guidance for policy making by the state." This ordinance threatens a lot of laws but the most important one to women is the Muslim Family Laws of 1961. These had been repeatedly fought by religious leaders on the basis that they were "un-Islamic."

Now, one cannot claim that the laws enacted prior to General Zia's rule were exactly what women in Pakistan needed or desired. But there is some protection granted to women in these laws, for example, the Guardians and Wards Act, the Child Marriages Act, the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act and the Family Law Ordinance. The first three were enacted by the British in the pre-independence period and the fourth was enacted by General Muhammad Ayub Khan in 1961.

The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act was the first attempt towards giving women the right to seek divorce. Before that a Muslim woman could only be divorced by her husband but was not entitled to seek divorce from him. This law specified and codified for the first time the reasons for which women could seek divorce. If one reads now, it seems a woman is considered somewhat human because her feelings towards her husband are also of some importance for the law in deciding to dissolve the marriage. Women lawyers in Pakistan take this act to be the single most important piece of legislation in favour of women.

The other law is the Family Law Ordinance, 1961, which incidentally is the only law in the 41-year history of Pakistan which was enacted in response to demands made by women's groups. It made the registration of marriage necessary and specified a procedure for divorce. It did not declare polygamy unlawful but introduced procedures that could curtail the trend of re-marrying among Muslim men. Through this ordinance women, to some extent, were protected from verbal pronouncements of divorce, according to which a man just had to say the word "Talaq, Talaq, Talaq" (Divorce, Divorce, Divorce) to irrevocably divorce his wife. It attempted to discourage second marriage in the presence of the first wife by providing a forum where a man had to state his reasons for wanting to re-marry in order to get permission. It raised the age of marriage and also made provision for orphaned children to inherit from their grandparents.

This ordinance, with its many failings, is considered to be a step in the right direction. Even when this law was in the process of being passed, groups of Muslim scholars, jurists and politicians fought against it. Now this law is threatened again, and this time one cannot realistically expect that women could save this piece of legislature.

The Shariah Ordinance will leave these and a few other laws open to challenge in the Federal Shariat Court on the basis of being "un-Islamic." The Federal Shariat Court is a body which has proved itself to be as discriminatory as the Council of Islamic Ideology in its formulation of laws.

It is important to look at the women's movement closely in that period to have an idea of what can happen when Zia is dead. Why have we not won, in terms of stopping the government from passing these laws against women?

Apart from inherent weaknesses in the movement, the answer has to take into account the fact that the women's movement is also up against Allah (who of course, is The Merciful and The Compassionate) and Mohammed (the last Messenger of Allah to humans, so Peace Be Upon Him). These laws are inhuman, yet they are based on the Koran and Sunnah. Pakistan was ostensibly formed on the basis of religion, and the Koran and Sunnah are the sources of that religion. So the logic is as follows: whosoever is against Allah and Mohammed is against the State of Pakistan; if you are against these three things, you are not a Muslim, you are a "Kafir" (heathen); and if you are thus a heathen, there is no place for you in Pakistan. And indeed, the government has provided for people who commit a lesser crime. Anyone making derogatory remarks against the person of the Prophet, in writing or verbally, could be awarded 10 years rigorous imprisonment or could be hanged.

The only way out, then, is to believe that the Koran is correct and unquestionable in its wisdom and that a certain group of rulers is interpreting it wrongly. So these laws are not according to the Koran and Sunnah and in fact are contrary to the spirit of these. The opposition parties and women's organizations fervently adhere to this position.

... the Koran and the Sunnah undoubtedly are sexist, discriminatory and favour propertied classes.

There are problems in holding, propagating and believing in this position. One not only leaves the primary source intact but also defends it while launching an attack on the secondary. It makes it rather difficult to be effective in attacking the secondary when that also is fervently defending the same primary source. Furthermore, whoever, with an open mind, goes back to the Koran and Sunnah unwittingly finds that the Council of Islamic Ideology and the General cannot be blamed for making things up and that the Koran and the Sunnah undoubtedly are sexist, discriminatory and favour propertied classes.

We see then, that the opposition to the General's government was operating on the pathetic basis of self-delusion. The result is the emergence of a "holier than thou" situation between the government and the opposition.

We have seen in human history that the method to survive is to keep religious ideologies out of politics and away from law-making institutions. We reached this conclusion after a hundred years of war and bloodshed. During that period, women were held in unparalleled contempt and many were burned to death after being declared witches. During the Inquisition in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 40,000 women were burnt in one year in France alone.

It seems we are at a stage in history where another religion is preparing for another Inquisition. And it is apparent from signs coming from countries like Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan that women are again going to be used to display the wrath of the Almighty: the Male God of the Rich.

Societies that are capable of taking such an extreme sexist position at the level of legislature as we have seen in Pakistan—what can these not do in terms of inciting extreme sexist attitudes in people? The contempt towards women in Pakistan is apparent in the fact that such laws are actually thought of, formulated, proposed, passed and then enacted there. It also is apparent in the fact that women were never so openly and publicly humiliated.

The movement against General Zia's regime made the basic mistake of protecting Islam and blaming totally a group of individuals headed by Zia. So what we have at this time is that the oppressive ideology is still cherished and believed in while its main followers are dead. These main followers can be easily replaced with other equally repressive groups of people protecting the interests of privileged sections that find religious ideologies an appropriate basis to rule.

And indeed it is apparent in the way Zia's death is mourned in Pakistan. He received an astounding "recep-

tion" where the country is crying for him for 40 days, the television and radio are broadcasting religious hymns, news, obituaries and even songs are being created to express the loss. That did not happen for any previous ruler killed in Pakistan. The world leadership has honored Zia by sending heads of states and other important dignitaries to attend his funeral.

What does it signify? Only that the people who are left back there would not want to disgrace Zia because they need to use what he stood for. They need to use an Islamic structure in the country because it fulfills their vested interests so well. This means that the class or classes whose interests Zia was safeguarding are strong enough to continue to remain in power, which rules out the possibility of any change in the ruling classes bringing in turn any significant change in the established system or the status of women.

Now the question is, can the incoming rulers repeal the Muslim laws implemented against women? It depends on who comes to power. There are three plausible possibilities: Benazir Bhutto of the Partisan People's Party (PPP); Wali Khan of the National Democratic Party (NDP); or another military regime.

Bhutto is a candidate expressly taken by American/Western interests as an appropriate replacement to Zia. This understanding was probably reached before Bhutto returned to Pakistan from her exile in Britain. Since then, Bhutto has been non-committal on women's questions in Pakistan and has not yet given a coherent political policy on labour and peasantry. Her party is not as strong and organized as it was when her father, the Zulfikar Bhutto, was fighting to take over power. It is hard to conceive that she will repeal the Muslim laws repressing women or that she will change the foreign policy of Pakistan in any significant way.

Wali Khan of the NDP is a weaker candidate. His stronghold is one out of four provinces, the North Western Frontier Province. It is politically an important province at this time in terms of Afghanistan because it shares the border with Afghanistan where most Afghan refugees came in. He, like his father the great Bacha Khan, is reputedly Moscow-aligned. He doesn't suit the American/Western interests and corresponding interests within Pakistan at all. Also, he has little standing in the other three provinces to get a majority vote. If by some miraculous change he came into power it might be equally difficult for him to repeal the laws against women because the Marxist strategies in the third world reputedly avoid taking direct stands against religions. And repealing these laws might require exactly that.

Another military regime is very possible under the circumstances and according to what has been historically happening in Pakistan. Needless to say one might be ill-advised to expect a military regime to take a direct stand against Islam while repealing the laws.

The women's movement itself might have to take a direct stand against Islam to protect themselves in Pakistan, because it is this ideology that perpetuates a patriarchal system in the country. If we continue to operate within the discipline of Islam by saying that "Islam has given commendable status to women but General Zia's government was interpreting it wrongly," we might be playing a dangerous game because then another group of individuals, for example, Shiites, can come into power and interpret Islam the way Khomeini's Iran is doing, which in no way is a positive development.

We as women might have to come to terms with the fact that Islam, like any other religion, is full of sexism and contempt for women. No amount of liberal interpretation can rid this ideology of these basic ingredients. It is indeed impossible to save this kind of ideology and work for the betterment of the society or for women in Pakistan.

Fauzia Rafiq has written a book about Pakistani women and Islam (Beneath the Crescent, unpublished). She began working as an editor and a journalist in Pakistan in 1973 and left the country in 1986 to seek political asylum in Canada because of her direct stand against Islam. She now lives in Toronto and is part of the Editorial Committee of Diva: a quarterly journal of South Asian women.

Festival Diary/Reverse Angle

by Joyce Mason

Wednesday September 14, 1988, Toronto.

Writing now, but in respect, this diary (to be published in two parts, in this and the November issue of *Broadside*) is a partial reconstruction of festival experience — looking back over the first seven days of films and parties and conversations, opinions exchanged in hallways and theatre lobbies, walking between theatres, standing at receptions.

This evening during the same time slot, four documentary films by Toronto women. Three films are scheduled at 6:30 pm. at the ROM: *Crossing the River* (25 min) by Camelia Frieberg, about a woman Salvadorean refugee, *Neguaquan-Lac La Croix* (57 min) by Judith Doyle, about the native community of Lac la Croix, and *The Displaced View* (51 min) by Midi Onodera, about her exploration of her relationship to her grandmother. (More on these films in the next issue of *Broadside*.) A half hour later, at the Varsity *Calling the Shots* (100 min) by Janis Cole and Holly Dale began.

The Cole/Dale film will open commercially in Toronto on September 23, at the Carlton. I saw it last week on video, so that I would be able to write about it in time for the issue that you hold in your hand. The film prompted for me certain musings about the Festival itself. The form and subject of *Calling the Shots* reflect a very basic desire exhibited by filmgoers every year at the Festival: the interest of audiences in seeing and listening to the filmmakers who introduce their films and who answer questions after screenings.

Out-of-town journalists and filmmakers, and organizers of other festivals comment repeatedly on Toronto festival audiences: their enthusiasm, stamina and sophistication are apparently outside the ordinary. One feature of the Toronto festival that is common on, (aside from lineups outside theatres for morning programs of short films) is that a great proportion of audience members stay to hear what directors will say after the film. At times there may be a lack of questions, but never, it seems of interest. Hundreds of people sit silently looking at the lone director in front at the microphone; everyone waiting for the question that will break the silence — perhaps extending the reverie, contemplation, or excitement of the filmic experience into the more mundane world of question and answer.

Having witnessed this scene repeatedly over the 13 years of this festival's lifetime, I have been anticipating tonight's screening of *Calling the Shots* as a kind of Festival of Festivals hall of mirrors. For Janis and Holly's latest work is a filmic distillation of all the things that audiences seem to wish for from post-film question periods (someone else asks the ques-



Calling the Shots, a new documentary from Holly Dale and Janis Cole, looks at the growing breed of successful women filmmakers.

tions) and more (the responses are organised, counterpointing each other, to reflect some of the contradictions and breadth of women's experiences and visions, as well as their commonalities).

And what a group of women! Over thirty women are interviewed in this film, including actresses, directors, producers and studio executives. The film opens with Katharine Hepburn talking about working with Dorothy Arzner as a director. She remarks that it was not noted as extraordinary or questioned in any way at the time. Perhaps because she was the only one, she did not constitute a threat. But that was "50 odd years ago," says Hepburn, and in the intervening years there were no women.

But this opening segment (footage borrowed from Directors' Guild of America) is a little misleading. *Calling the Shots* is not an historic look at women film directors; it is a contemporary one. The opening statement by Hepburn offers a contrast and raises a question: Why then after the current generation of women directors began to assert themselves, has there been such resistance and questioning of their role. Though the film does not offer any direct opinion on the matter, it may be implied that the political and social context of the women's movement from the 60s onwards has meant that the presence of women, even if less "extraordinary," holds more significance now than in the days of Arzner.

The film begins with what the filmmakers know and investigates an area of personal interest. Janis and Holly are independent filmmakers with a history of documentary productions and an intention to move into dramatic filmmaking. Already the film has garnered criticism from some for concentrating too closely on mainstream filmmakers, for its Hollywood bound trajectory. Its focus on North American and European feature filmmakers reinforces the systemic exclusion of many women who are doing important and innovative work. These shortcomings are clear. There is much missing from the film.

What the film does do, and what it intends, is to explore how and why women make dramatic feature films. Janis and Holly want to do this kind of work. And almost as if following the directive of a job development counsellor, they have set out to hear from other women how it is done. They wanted to know this stuff for themselves. They wanted to meet these women. In this respect, *Calling the Shots* is a very personal reflection and an exploration of possibilities, a film that in many ways reflects a tradition of consciousness-raising, mutual support and information-sharing which has been at the root of most feminist work and experience, in some form or another.

Not groundbreaking formally, this is a documentary which gains its strength from the sincerity and intelligence of the women interviewed as well as from their diversity, and which takes its form from the personal direction of Cole and Dale's background, achievements and ambitions as independent feminist

documentary filmmakers who wish to make a dramatic feature. The core of the film begins with stories of first features from women who had the nerve to make them. Sandy Wilson (*My American Cousin*), Susan Seidelman (*Smithereens* and *Desperately Seeking Susan*), Anne Wheeler (*A War Story and Loyalties*) speak of moments of naïveté, embarrassment, humiliation and perseverance through the first days of their first feature projects. These and other filmmakers then reveal why they began to make films: Joyce Chopra was pregnant and wondered how being a mother would affect her relationship to her own mother, someone suggested she make a film about it; Claudia Weill wanted to move in the world beyond her upper middle class home [and she isn't the only one to say this!]; Martha Coolidge made the autobiographical *Not A Pretty Picture* about her own rape.

Then the question raised with those who began the documentary, about why they moved into dramatic filmmaking. Interestingly, the notion of speaking directly and honestly with your own opinion was the main motivation expressed: "I was tired of making films where I was following people around waiting for others to say what I wanted to have said" and "I wanted to take responsibility for what was said... Most documentaries don't acknowledge their own voice."

Filmmakers talk about money, producing, who has the money; how the successes of other women help and how the failures of other women hinder. And again, they discuss again the motivations for making films: Euzhan Palcy (*Sugar Cane Alley*) states clearly and simply, she decided that she had to be a filmmaker in order to show black people, Haitian people, in the way they really are, the way they really live. Lizzie Borden wanted to make a film that would imagine the possibility of bridges and communication between communities of women — blacks, working class and white feminists. And then they talk more about money.

Contemporary independents speak directly. References are made to historic figures such as Ida Lupino, Dorothy Arzner, Lois Webber and Lillian Gish. The Hollywood Studio structure is described and decried. And finally, the film concludes with some of these women's thoughts on what they have learned about themselves and how to continue making films, what motivates them — their beliefs.

The film is close to two hours long and somewhat overwhelming. Cole and Dale do provide names when the women first appear on screen and clips from their films, but the profusion of filmmakers is, nevertheless, at times confusing. I was somewhat frustrated in my desire to sort out who is who, wishing to have some perspective on the context from which each was speaking, because what is said has different meanings in relation to a particular social background or film practice. In this regard, I am tempted to say that the film perhaps sins by its profusion as much as by its omissions (no South American, Soviet, Asian,

African or Indian women, no native Americans or North American visible minorities).

But these (not negligible) omissions aside, *Calling the Shots* does what it intends: it looks at what it has taken to become feature dramatic filmmakers. Part of what I like about this film (aside from the occasional snappy quote from a bright and articulate filmmaker) may be what I know about the filmmakers' motivation for making it. It is ironic to me that the formal clue to what the film lacks, as a documentary exploration of the desire to make dramatic features, was to be found in the interviews of the film itself: the documentary form tends to make invisible the choices, the decisions and the opinions or conclusions of the directors. I feel that *Calling the Shots* would have been enriched by revealing this.

Cole and Dale want to make dramatic films themselves and they wanted to know women who had done it. They know that there is an audience beyond themselves for what these women have to say. Biographies of artists and tales of the desire for personal expression are compelling for large numbers of people. Here they could use what they know (making documentaries) to find out what they want to know. In speaking with them, they "confessed" embarrassment at the aspect of personal indulgence that this subject represented for them. And yet it is my regret that this personal desire, interest and passion was not the frame through which the interviews were openly presented. I suspect that it would have added another layer of honest self-revelation to that of the women on screen.

As it is, *Calling the Shots* is nevertheless a document of exploration and empowerment and one may hope that it will contribute as much to the demystification of the feature filmmaking process for its viewers as it has for its makers.

Tuesday, September 13

Although I left the afternoon screening of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* early, a Soviet film by Sergei Paradzhanov, I still did not get into line early enough to be admitted to *Salaam Bombay*, by Indian director Mira Nair. I had been told by all that Nair's film was not to be missed! But alas, I did! And so it was that *Let's Kiss and Say Goodbye*, by German director Christal Buschmann at the Showcase, proved to be the final filmic disappointment of the day.

Let's Kiss was shot almost entirely in the bar in which Buschmann's segment of *Felix* (a film due to be screened Wednesday at 9:30 pm, co-directed by Helma Sanders-Brahms, Helke Sander, Margarethe von Trotta and Christel Buschmann) is set. The film opens with a shot of bedsheets and a musical soundtrack which

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Ida Lupino is featured in *Calling the Shots*.



Susan Seidelman sets up.

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intones "I've wasted so much good time having a good time" and variations on the theme of good time(s). The sheets move and a man gets out of bed. Another man irons a shirt and the first says good morning and descends the stairs to the bar below to begin his day. This man seems to be a 10¢-a-dance gigolo. There's a telephone on the wall behind him, women sitting at the other tables call to talk and/or dance with him. The exact nature of the economic arrangement is never clear, though it seems that there is one. The eccentricity of the environment and its residents (two Elvis fans and impersonators, gigolos, various women and men in search of some kind of meaningless human contact, a bald and obnoxiously angst-ridden poet/performer, a guitar strumming blues singer, etc.) are finally, and perhaps intentionally, boring. While the opening song seems to lend a significance to the "wasted lives" of directionless desperation which follow, there is no hope, no ground for perspective or change in the characters and, for me as a viewer, not even ground for sympathy. The eccentricities depicted, though they range from the disturbing to the amusing, remain superficial—disjointed from anything but the most mundane self-caricature.

Early in the evening, *The World is Watching* by Peter Raymont played in the Perspective Canada series. I had seen the film at a press screening in the week before the festival began. *The World is Watching* is an investigation of the news media coverage (primarily American) of Nicaragua and the Contra war. Central to the investigation is the way in which network television coverage, using ABC as example, is gathered, written, edited and delivered to the American public. By way of contrast reporters from ITV in Britain and from *Liberation* in Paris and an editorial writer from the *Boston Globe*, provide variations in perspectives and techniques. The main thrust of the documentary is — the aforementioned variations in journalistic responsibility notwithstanding — to inform viewers of the ways in which (particularly American) news coverage is directed and formulated in response to official United States foreign policy. The process by which the daily reality and lived experience of the Contra war is packaged and contained to fit the television format is traced and, even more horrifying, it is revealed how major shifts in Nicaraguan policy position regarding willingness to negotiate with the Contras go entirely unreported when the timing of their announcements fails to mesh with satellite feeds to network headquarters in New York.

The film reveals with chilling clarity the monolithic nature of the news business and the ways in which its institutionalization feeds its own, as well as the political, status quo. At the time of this writing exact dates had not been confirmed, however the film will be broadcast on TV Ontario in the late fall, and on PBS "sometime before Reagan goes," i.e. before January '89.

Monday, September 12

I began my day with *Tough Kids* by Dinara Asanova, in the Soviet series. This was, initially, a disappointment, after having seen Lana Gogoberidze's wonderful *Some Interviews on Personal Problems* and Kira Muratova's interesting *Long Farewells* yesterday (more of these in next month's issue).

But it wasn't that *Tough Kids* was a bad film or even that it was a kind of Soviet *Boystown*. Rather, the film was so unsettling because I felt that the filmmaker had strangely missed the real story: The central character's sister is the truly tragic figure of the film and she is present on the screen for mere minutes. Brother and sister come from a home in which the mother has died and the father is an abusive alcoholic; he neither feeds nor cares for his children. The boy, having been caught stealing, is arrested and ends up in the care of the principled and idealistic director of a sports and work camp for wayward boys.

Meanwhile his sister, having committed no crime, is left behind to fend for herself in the home of the abusive father. Near the end of the film, the boy receives what amounts to a suicide note from his sister and this combined with the callous report of the most despicable boy in the camp that his sister turned on the gas in a failed attempt to kill herself and is probably permanently damaged as a result, send the boy off running. The film ends when the others at the camp realize where the boy has headed. They start running down the long country road in what appears to be a vain attempt to catch him, before he gets to town and tries to kill his father with the flare gun he has stolen from the camp director's tent.

The peculiar and troubling thing about this film is this almost Greek sense of tragedy in

which the main events, the focus and motivation of the event we are shown, happen off-screen. The young girl's tragedy is told only in terms of its oblique and shadowy effect on these others — the man and these boys, who while struggling at the margins of Soviet society are nevertheless a part of it. Their lives and actions are held to account in courts and at committee meetings, while the sister is abandoned to abuse and despair, with terrifyingly poignant perversity, on the margins of the narrative.

I was unable to get into the "sold out" programme of Australian shorts at noon at the Varsity. So after a mid-afternoon appointment I made my way to the Uptown to see *Les Keufs* by Josiane Balasko. A disgusting, violent Dirty-Harry-as-a-French-woman-meets-Punch-&-Judy-at-the-movies film, with an unhealthy dose of racism thrown all over the script from every conceivable angle. The actress/director, certainly has capabilities and some talent but I fear her sensibility is well beyond the merely offensive. I would recommend avoiding this one

At 7:00 pm, another French woman director and another troubling, but this time somewhat rewarding, film. *36 Fillette* by Catherine Breillat is a frank and frightening look at a 14 year old girl's determined rebellion against the constraints of family discipline and prudish

protections, to assert her angry individuality, to own her own sexuality and, in the process and as expression of all of these things, to rid herself of her virginity. Her mission entangles her in the life of a 'dirty old man' (probably in his late 30's or early 40's, though it's hard to tell) and a gangly young boy — both of whom




Delphine Zentout is a sexually precocious fourteen year old in *36 Fillette*.

she treats with a self-involved mixture of contempt and seduction.

The film depicting, as it does, the relationship between the young girl/woman and an adult man, without condemning outright the man's involvement and while presenting the young girl's ambivalence and teasing in all its infuriating irresponsibility, received hisses from some audience members. I was disappointed with this audience response, because the film had, for me, a ring of honesty and bravery. And I have since been informed that the film is, in fact, autobiographical. The young woman's growing sexual knowledge and experience, her frustration and ambivalence and her final resolution to unceremoniously and cold-heartedly rid herself of her virginity lead to a moment of limited, but all the more poignant, victory. In the end, she laughs into the camera. As the director responded after the film, "This is not a tragedy — what has happened. This is not a tragedy. In the end, life goes on. This is a step along the way." A troubling, honest, brave and disturbing film!

Joyce Mason is a freelance editor, writer and filmscript consultant. She is currently coordinating a publication project for a book on Canadian women film directors.



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A World Observed

by Sarah Eliot

There are two history lessons given in *A World Apart*. In the first, a class of private school white children is told of the colonization of South Africa and the war that ensued when the English tried to oust the Boers. The teacher concludes her glowing account of her people's struggle with the observation that, in defending the Transvaal, even the women joined in the fight.

The second history lesson takes place in a church in a black settlement camp. Solomon, a young activist, is explaining how life was before the whites came, how it has been since and how it is time for blacks to unite in their demand to get back their share of the country. Then the police descend. The white people who have participated in this meeting, including one journalist, are escorted out, and Solomon is beaten and thrown in a police van.

A World Apart is not, as some reviewers have remarked, another film about apartheid from the white perspective. It would be more accurate to say that it represents the limitations of white involvement in the structure struggle.

The ostensible heroine is Diana Roth, a white newspaper columnist, a character modelled upon a real woman who was assassinated in 1982 for her involvement with the African National Congress (ANC). In 1964 Diana Roth had the dubious honour of being the first white woman to be jailed under *The 90 Day Act* (a law which permitted the authorities to hold anyone for 90 days without laying a charge). She is degraded, stripped of her livelihood, and kept under close house arrest once she has been released from prison. She is anti-racist and as committed to the overthrow of apartheid as any white person can be.

But, as the movie makes clear, she lives in a world apart. Diana Roth enjoys a life and expectation of privilege which no black South African could ever know. She is treated badly in prison but left physically intact because, as her jailors inform her, "We treat our women with respect." She comes out of prison and returns to her elegant home tended by black servants.

In one memorable scene, Diana drives to a large demonstration of blacks protesting being shipped off as a cheap migrant labour pool for whites. While this homogenous group marches together, Diana drives along beside them, dictating the events into her recorder. Her observations are evocative and provocative. Nevertheless, she remains the conduit of the experience, not the experience itself. Although a seeming contradiction for an activist, Diana is pictured primarily as an observer of the struggle. Indeed, this emerges as a central comment of the film. Whites can be active, they can share the beliefs and follow the principles; however, they cannot be central to the action.

The sanctity of her whiteness cannot be removed from Diana, no matter how black her involvement. Solomon is openly tortured and killed in prison. At the beginning of the film, a young black cyclist is struck down by a white motorist who drives away with impunity. The white ruling class will despise those of its own who betray the imperialist norms, but they will not, and cannot, treat them as blacks.

Thus, the heart of the movie—the black struggle for independence—is the observed centre, not the experienced one. Indeed, the movie suggests that it would be presumptuous to endeavour to embody that experience through the medium of observation. Consequently, while we are privy to Diana's experience in prison, Solomon's death is reported to us. True tragedy takes place offstage; we are not priv-



Molly (Jodhi May) and Diana Roth (Barbara Hershey) confront the police during a demonstration in 1963 South Africa.



13 year old Molly cannot understand why her mother thinks politics is more important than family.

ileged to share in it. Similarly, some pertinent dialogue takes place in an African language. It is not translated and we are left to guess at the meaning. I would suggest this is appropriate. As audience we, too, are viewing the struggle; we are not part of it.

Although Diana Roth is the ostensible heroine, the movie is triangulated around the figures of the mother, the daughter and the housekeeper. Through the eyes of the daughter we view the actions of the mother and the housekeeper. In the figure of the daughter the role of observer is doubled. At one point, police break into her mother's birthday party and threaten blacks and whites with arrest. When a terrified teenage friend asks what will happen to them, the daughter bitterly replies that they're too young to matter.

The daughter is on the sidelines in the black struggle, and peripheral to the adult world. Her mother excludes her from the political activities because of her youth. Again and again we see shots of the daughter watching—watching her mother and father part, watching her mother work, even watching her in prison. Similarly, though on a different level, we see her with the housekeeper trying to learn the ANC anthem, trying to memorize her children's names, trying in short to be part of that life. Ultimately, as a white child, she belongs to neither the world of the adult nor of the black.

In her gawky, lurching, adolescent way, she slouches toward adulthood and activism with touching sincerity and almost complete powerlessness.

The third point of the feminine triangle is the housekeeper. Her children are kept in the black settlement and her brother is killed; through all this she is expected to provide nurturing and care for her white family. To the daughter, she is the mother figure, caring and constant while Diana does her political work. For Diana she is the domestic balance and centre to the household world. What she is to herself is largely unknown to us. When she learns that her brother has been killed, we watch from a distance—the conversation is inaudible. Although her white family has come out to grieve for her and provide what comfort they can, she pushes them from her and walks away alone. Her experience as a black in South Africa is hers and we do not share it.

If the personal is political, then in this movie the political is personal. The apartheid struggle is the centre but it is the triangular relationship of the three women surrounding it that provides the narrative.

As the mother suffers for her political convictions, as the daughter grows to awareness, as the housekeeper lives the fragmented existence of a black servant, we observe the personal and intimate repercussions of the impersonal and hideous political machinery at work in South Africa. The carefully defined limitations of the film lie in the limitations of the white perspective. Suffering, activism, compassion and anger are accessible to us. The reality of the black existence is not accessible, because it lies beyond the experiential understanding of even the most politically aware white person.

In a telling postscript, we are told that the real journalist was assassinated. There is not a greater sacrifice to be imagined than the giving of one's life for the cause in which one believes. But, even in death which, as remarked, is the great equalizer, Diana is different from Solomon. Solomon can be killed openly because he is black, but the killing of a white person must be covert. The end result is the same—both die in the fight against apartheid—but the value judgements determining the manner of death are a world apart.

Sarah Eliot is a feminist living in Toronto.

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Mother and daughter join forces to fight apartheid.

Gusty Heroine at Work

by Donna Gollan

Eve Zaremba, *Beyond Hope*.
Amanita Enterprises, Toronto, 1987.



Eve Zaremba's third thriller *Beyond Hope* finds detective Helen Keremos in the BC Interior dealing competently with small time thugs, US politics and big time terrorism. Along the way our clever heroine soothes the suspicions of some unwelcoming sisters at Women's Acres, challenges the authority of blustering government agents and swiftly redirects the energy of a few misguided political activists. The plot is just tangled enough to enjoyably

engage the brain. Its conclusion neatly ties up the loose ends without pretending to solve the insoluble. Altogether a delicious morsel.

The Wave, by fellow Canadian author Christopher Hyde, also tackles the destruction of the British Columbia water system. The havoc that Hyde recounts in spine-chilling detail, however, is left largely to the reader's imagination in *Beyond Hope*. While Hyde paints a picture of rampaging terror, man against water, Zaremba cleverly presents us with a far more realistic tale of government cover-ups, petty political seduction, local participation and the overwhelming influence of US presidential campaign strategies. We, as Canadians, understandably do not wish to be drawn into these games of international terrorism and gun running, due simply to our unavoidable proximity to the United States. Clearly we must root for Helen Keremos.

Fortunately Helen is easy to cheer for. She is a gutsy broad with a sharp brain and a fast mouth. Unendearing as she is to the people she meets—one step ahead of the bad guys, unimpressed by the swagger of the agents-cum-good guys, and far too snooty and brutally direct to appeal to the taste of the women she meets—she's exactly the kind of person you would want to identify with in a thriller. One of a new breed of female private eyes, she combines indomitable courage with intuition, endurance with an ability to admit mistakes and then plow on. Like Sara Paretsky's V. I. Warshawski and Sue Grafton's Kinsey Millhone, Zaremba's Keremos isn't afraid to take a punch or aim a firearm, if the necessity arises. Call it politically incorrect to know how to assemble a weapon, it sure beats being the victim of one.

As well as mucking about with a lot of guns, typical hard-boiled detective fiction features a lot of sexy dames in high heels who breeze into dingy offices smoking cigarettes in long, elegant holders while they sucker in the male private-eye with half truths and seductive pleas

for help. Once you know the formula it becomes an enjoyable pastime finding authors who play around with it. Joseph Hansen's Dave Brandstetter is a cynical yet vulnerable gay insurance investigator whose cases involve pretty young boys, misunderstandings and, in general, a broken heart for Dave. V. I. Warshawski keeps her heart intact by sleeping with any guy who appeals to her and wasting a lot of her energy wondering if they are on the wrong side of her case. Kinsey Millhone seals her heart off by admiring from afar a much older man who spends his spare time making pastry, not love.

Helen Keremos is similarly invulnerable. Perhaps her heart is already given to one of her friends back home. Certainly most of her romantic life is placed firmly in the past, leaving her free to concentrate on the task at hand. We are left to have our fun by the way in which male villains and agents and female activists react to her obvious lesbian persona. Fun though this may be, I'd love to see her lose her heart—or at least her sensibly dressed, strong and capable body, once in awhile.

Beyond Hope, then, may be added to that small but steadily growing list of thrillers written by women who do not hide behind a male detective who possesses rather unbelievable sensitivity. Those books are no more enjoyable than the occasional novel written by a man and featuring a woman with oddly masculine motives and downright peculiar behaviour. There is something so pleasantly digestible about the adventures of Helen Keremos: tough, intuitive, lesbian, smart, reasonable, sensitive and protective of her friends. I hope to devour another soon.

Donna Gollan, an ex-Broadside collective member, snatches moments away from full-time mothering to devour the occasional thriller.



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Lacklustre Lesbian Love Affairs

by Ingrid MacDonald

Hidden Pictures
by Meg Wolitzer (Methuen, 1986)

One hundred pages into *Hidden Pictures* — the story of Laura who leaves David and finds Jane — and a chauvinistic thought occurs to me: perhaps the reason why we now have a full length novel depicting lesbians as boring and mundane, even listless is that this novel must have been written by someone who is *not* a lesbian. What the dust jacket calls "demystifying" the intimacies between women amounts to an emotional disinfectant that has scoured the uniqueness out of lesbian love.

Realistically, I will have to concede that this novel by young American writer Meg Wolitzer is quite likely the well intentioned work of a lesbian pen. I should say too that there is nothing wrong with straight women writing about lesbian life, especially if it is well wrought, and if insight is offered. Margaret Atwood's spunky dyke in *The Handmaid's Tale* is a good example of an authentically rendered lesbian.

The largest obstacle to one's enjoyment of *Hidden Pictures* is the depiction of the heroine Laura: life happens around her as she moves unsullied through a decade of change, raising a son, drawing the "hidden pictures" page for a children's magazine, coming out, but never getting into the foreground of the book. Like one of her own pictures, Laura remains a shape hidden in a tree, a bird or a nest perhaps, indistinguishable in the rendering of the whole.

Wolitzer has erred on the side of caution by presenting a book whose point is overstated. She presents Laura with a life of enviable privilege — a trust fund to dip into, a New England college education, a doctor husband who gladly pays child support, a job that allows her to work at home and give her son the most of her attention. Is Wolitzer trying to prove that nice white girls with good Iowa farm backgrounds and good educations and good husbands and good jobs, and even great apartments *still* want to become lesbians? As an antidote to tragic

drug store pnp that portrays lesbians as twisted and sick, Wolitzer's book is a straightforward response, although a dated one.

In its favour, *Hidden Pictures* considers the difficulties of lesbian child-raising in a sensitive and positive light. When Jane and Laura move to the suburbs, Laura joins the PTA despite the meddling and cautionary tales the lady next door offers. Ian, her son the math brat, loses a friend because his mother is "different." And Ian is able to begin unfolding his own sexuality after accidentally seeing Laura and Jane make love on the couch.

Yet the events of the book are altogether too mundane and Laura's passivity is infuriating. She endures sex with David, the young handsome intern, although sex is like getting a needle for her. When their marriage dissolves in ennui, the partners separate amicably and incredulously. After a time of celibacy, Laura is having her picture taken by a professional photographer when she falls in love. Julia seems more an archetype than a person, a cool, ascetic, thin lesbian with a professional profile and an obscure European past. Laura and Julia have an affair, and although it's love as far as Laura is concerned, Julia's cool demeanor keeps Laura at a distance and on the surface of her film, where she can see Laura without engaging her intimately.

Later Laura meets Jane, a carpenter, a working class kid from Florida, a handsome blond, disowned by her family. Again this relationship has an air of implausibility, with characters responding too stereotypically. Jane, with her hard life behind her, is attracted to Laura because of her maternal qualities. After their first night together, Jane studies Laura in a tatty bathrobe, "the kind only mothers seem to wear." Jane is seen as someone looking for a mother substitute rather than a lover. "She liked the idea of this woman having kids. Laura must know something about taking care of people; all mothers know a lot about that."

Laura further muses on how appropriate they all are for each other as Ian, Laura and Jane are all blond and fair, (or Aryan, you

might say). The book has no black characters except for two black youths who are portrayed (and here stereotypes become malevolent) as muggers on the subway. The mugging incident has far reaching racist significance, for after Jane loses her wallet to these two boys on an empty subway platform, she loses her nerve and refuses to commute to work and puts her job in jeopardy. It is as though the danger of the city has been summed up in this small incident, and it is this threat which prompts their move out of the city, to a 'safe' place, an apparently all *white* neighbourhood, a "better" place to live.

Although Wolitzer's writing is frequently clever, and her metaphors are vivid, her strength is as a miniaturist, as one who renders details well, while the larger aspects — the flow of time, structural organization and, for that matter, an interesting plot, seem out of her grasp. Details carry the book: "Julia was like an elegant baby dinosaur, the key to an era so unimaginable;" and (after making love to Julia for the first time) "Laura could barely bring herself to get dressed again; the clothing she had been wearing seemed so irrelevant."

Near the end of the book Wolitzer shines with her treatment of the young Ian, so much so that one regrets that she did not write a book about the son instead of the mother, as she shows so much more imagination when rendering him, as in this scene of him discovering masturbation.

But now he just lay there, and felt his body go tense. His pyjamas had tiny pictures of airplanes on them, and every airplane was exactly the same. They were flying up into the sky in neat rows. It was a yellow sky filled with red airplanes. Ian suddenly felt that he was too old for pyjamas like that... he hugged himself as though he was very cold, but he wasn't really cold anymore. He ran his hands across his chest. He pretended he was blind; he pretended he was Helen Keller, learning.

Although the reference to Helen Keller is in

questionable taste, Wolitzer can clearly write exciting vignettes. Perhaps a change of subject area, one where the author needn't feel so obliged to portray women as wholesome and banal, could result in a book that can be enjoyed in all aspects. Laura might be a lesbian but she is too removed from the actions even in her own life to be a heroine of any substance.

Ingrid MacDonald just returned from a year in England.

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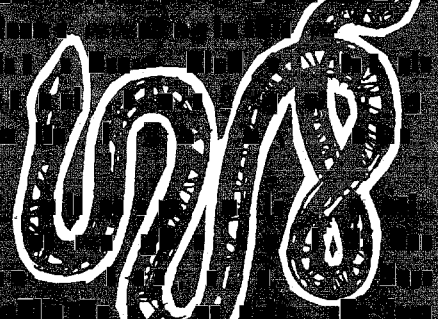
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Home for the Night

by Cassie Doyle

Women in Crisis: Heading West but Going East

by Delia E. Carley and Mary King

Every evening outside the church hall at Ottawa's All Saints Anglican Church, a group of about 20 women gathers to wait for the doors to open. They range in age from teenagers to close to sixty; some are ill or abused, most are hungry, tired and poorly clothed. At 10:00 pm. they are ushered inside to the row of cots that is "home" for the night. The next morning at 7:30, the doors open again and "home" moves elsewhere: to the Day Centre at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, or to a shopping mall, a city park or just back onto the streets.

For some of the women, the shelter provides emergency accommodation while they search for somewhere to live. But for many, it is an open-ended solution. Week after week they spend their nights here, without privacy, comfort or security, in the most powerless and isolated of all conditions. For Mary King, co-ordinator of Ottawa's Women in Crisis project and one of the shelter's organizers, they represent "the most oppressed of all oppressed groups of women because somehow they've fallen through the cracks in the system."

Heading West but Going East, the story of the All Saints Shelter, by Mary King and shelter co-ordinator Delia Carley, describes just how wide and hazardous those cracks have become. More than ever before, women are finding themselves without a secure home and living in poverty. Many have suffered abusive relationships or have ended up with nothing after a family break-up; others have left institutional care of some type and are without any form of security. At the same time, the stock of low-cost housing on the market is fast disappearing under the pressure of gentrification and redevelopment. When the shelter was first opened, most single women would not have

been eligible for any type of assisted housing (being neither a family nor a senior). The result of the steadily dwindling options for these women, was the increased demand for the shelter cots.

Women arrive at All Saints from hospitals, police stations, correctional institutions and



ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN BEND

the courts. The book provides amazing insight into how quickly these major institutions abdicate any responsibility for the women involved. Within weeks of operation, taxis were

delivering women to the shelter from all over, including, as King and Carley describe, "those that were so psychologically ill, they couldn't tell us their own name;" and those "that arrived with bottles of medication and instructions to shelter workers about when to administer it."

It is easy to understand the frustrations described in this book and to share the authors' anger at our society's inability to meet the needs of its most vulnerable members. When reports of homeless women first reached workers at the Anglican Diocese's counselling centre in 1983, a funding proposal for a four-month emergency shelter program was quickly put together — time enough, it seemed reasonable to expect, for permanent housing to be found.

"Gradually," writes King, "we realized that no one was planning to provide such housing, that our society was content to allow some of its members to live like wandering animals and that the existence of the shelter acted as a balm to the collective conscience."

It is also easy to share their indignation at this situation: that yet another essential service for women should be carried out by volunteers and low-paid workers, by relying on fundraising, donated goods and the resources of the churches; at having to deal with the dilemma of whether by opening the shelter they have only made things worse, and whether they could have forced the community's hand if they had held off opening. The authors deal with the contradictions involved in their work in an honest and provocative way. Obviously, they have no problem seeing the larger picture as they struggle to keep the day-to-day operation going. And, finally, there is a familiar bitterness that, as with so many women's needs, the provision of last resort housing for homeless women should depend solely on the absolute determination and commitment of other women.

Carley and King's story of the development

of the All Saints Shelter and their observations on what has produced the present crisis in women's housing in Ottawa are thoughtful and clear, but it is their stories of the shelter residents that make this book a special contribution to a subject too often weighed down with statistics and dry analysis. Some are painful stories, of women so lost and disturbed that the only hope is that they will be accepted back into psychiatric care. But there are also stories of women who have succeeded against the odds, like Catherine, who found after two and a half months at Martha's, a 12-woman permanent residence associated with All Saints, that her life had been given new purpose. Though she lives on her own now, she still spends up to 12 hours a day at the residence, supporting other homeless women. These stories, and the book as a whole, benefit greatly from John Benn's sensitive illustrations.

Homeless women are a relatively new phenomenon in Ottawa. In other Canadian cities, emergency shelters have been operating for more than a decade. Perhaps because it seems so difficult to accept the presence of a shelter like All Saints in such an affluent and well-organized city, the nation's capital, we are reminded of how unacceptable this solution is anywhere in Canada. It also makes the conclusion of the authors hard to avoid: "... the single reason why we have homeless people is that we, as a society, don't care. If we cared, we would be motivated to do something. We would make economic choices to ensure adequate, affordable housing and incomes to all our citizens. We would demand that housing be a right for all!"

Think for a moment about what the security "home" means to you, and think about the cracks in our system. Then buy this book. All proceeds go to support Ottawa's Women in Crisis project.

Cassie Doyle works in developing social housing in Ottawa.

• continued from page 7

force and tend to work fewer years because of family responsibilities. The current pension system does not acknowledge women's work in the home. To ensure an adequate standard of living for all women in their retirement years, the Canada/Quebec Pension Plan benefits should be doubled to 50% of earnings. In addition, spouses should be required to share their benefits when both reach retirement age. This would ensure that women in the work force, as well as women who spend their lives as full-time homemakers, would be able to live in dignity in their retirement years.

What changes will your party make to Canada's pension system to ensure adequate retirement incomes for all women, whether they work in the paid labour force or in the home?

Free Trade

Many women are employed in labour-intensive industries which are most vulnerable to trade liberalization. Studies have shown that a large number of women may lose their jobs as a result of the free trade agreement. Because women in the work force are segregated into a

few low paying occupations, there is no guarantee they will have access to any new jobs that may be created as a result of free trade—especially if such jobs are in non-traditional areas for women. Often in the past, training programs and labour market adjustment initiatives either have focused on industries which employ primarily men or have channelled women into low-paying, traditionally female occupations. Women must be included in the planning and implementation of training and labour adjustment strategies.

What will your party do to help women who lose their jobs as a result of free trade?

How will you ensure that women will not be ghettoized into low-paying jobs as a result of free trade?

Reproductive Health

In our society, women become pregnant, and bear and raise children under conditions of inequality. Reproductive choice is an equality issue. Reproductive health services, including information on birth planning, contraception, sex education and abortion must be available to women in all parts of Canada and be fully funded by provincial health insurance plans. More research on contraception is needed.

Legislation on abortion is neither necessary nor warranted.

What will your party do to ensure equitable access for all women in Canada to reproductive health services, including research on contraception, more sex education in schools, increased information on birth planning and access to abortion services?

Women in Politics

The 1984 federal election saw dramatic gains in the number of women who ran and who were elected to the House of Commons. But politics is still dominated by men. In the 66 years since Agnes Macphail was elected as the first woman MP, only 65 women have been elected at the federal level. Although the proportion of women in the House increased to 9.8% in 1984, at this rate of increase, it will take decades before equal numbers of women and men are elected to the House of Commons.

How many women has your party put forward as candidates in the winnable ridings in this election?

What opportunities does your party provide to ensure that women's concerns are central in formulating party policy?

Women in Decision Making

Canada's constitution is more than a simple legal document. It sets out the framework for decision-making and power in Canada through institutions such as the Supreme Court, the Senate, the House of Commons, and the provinces and territories. As a result of the Meech Lake Accord, a new process of annual first Ministers' conferences has been added to the decision-making process. Historically, women have not been and are still not participants in these fundamental processes. Women's experiences are not taken into account in our decision-making and power structures.

What steps will your party take to ensure that women participate in all stages of the political and legal constitutional decision-making process?

(Original copies of the "Shocking Pink Paper" may be obtained by contacting the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW), 110 O'Connor Street, 9th floor, Box 1541, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5R5. (613) 992-4975.)

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OUTSIDE BROADSIDE

OCTOBER 1988

Compiled by
Helen Lenskyj and Jackie Edwards

WEEKLY

• **Saturday, October 1:** Come and join WARC (Women Arts Resource Centre) for our annual bash. 363 Sorara Avenue, Apt. 402A, 10 pm – till dawn. Volunteers needed. Info: 324-8910.

• **Saturday, October 1:** The YWCA's International Boutique fall opening at the YWCA, 2532 Yonge Street. Featured will be guest speaker Fresia Perez who will speak on refugee women from a personal perspective. Info: 961-8100.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 2

• **Sunday, October 2:** Metropolitan Community Church of Toronto presents a Service of Remembrance (an AIDS vigil of prayers), followed by lunch and an open forum on "Holding Up" and "Holding On." Info: 690-2133.

• **Monday, October 3:** OISE Popular Feminism Speakers' Series begins its 4th year with Dionne Brand and Linda Carty speaking on Black Feminist Issues. Room 2-211, OISE, 252 Bloor St. W. 8 pm. Free. Info: 923-6641, x2204.

• **Tuesday, October 4:** Feminist Film Series presents *Le Destin de Juliette* (Aline Isserman, France 1983). 8 pm. OISE Auditorium, 252 Bloor St. W. \$3. Info: 923-6641, x2204.

• **Tuesday, October 4:** Black Women at U of T and OISE (BWAUTO) holds its first general meeting. 5 pm at the U of T Women's Centre, 49 St. George. Info: Women's Centre, 978-8201.

• **Tuesday, October 4:** Public Access Collective: Counter Talk: The Body, a lecture series which explores the interdisciplinary aspects of discourses on the body. With Charles Levin, Nicole Brossard, Mira, John O'Neill. A.R.C., 658 Queen St. West, Toronto. Ont. Info: 860-0701.

• **Wednesday, October 5:** The DuMaurier Showcase Season presents an Equity Showcase Theatre Production, *The Woolgatherer*, a play that careens the path between fantasy and reality. Enjoy stimulating theatre free of charge. To reserve your free tickets call 963-9226. To Saturday, October 15.

• **Wednesday, October 5:** "Mozart's Sisters": a non-credit course, open to all, surveying women composers of mostly classical music, from the medieval Abbess Hildegard von Bingen to New Wave artist Laurie Anderson begins. Instructor: Tamara Bernstein. Info: 920-2143.

• **Thursday, October 6:** Premiere and Benefit for the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre of the controversial Australian movie "Shame." Discussion to follow. \$15 at TRCC and Toronto Women's Bookstore. Showcase Theatre, 651 Yonge, 7:30 pm. Info: TRCC 597-1171.

• **Thursday, October 6:** Rexdale Women's Centre and Next Door Child Care Project presents a parenting course. Free and free care provided at the Albion Community Centre. 1:30 to 3:30 pm. Info: 745-0062.

• **Friday, October 7:** Gaia's presents Barbara Lynch. Blues, keyboards and original vocal material. 24 Baldwin Street. Info: 596-2397. To Friday, October 28.

• **Saturday, October 8:** A Space presents *Renovate*, an exhibition of work by Toronto-based women artists. 2 to 5 pm. 183 Bathurst St. Suite 301. Free. Info: 364-3227/8.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 9

• **Tuesday, October 11:** Feminist Film Series presents *The Passion of Remembrance* (Sankofa Film and Video Collective, UK, 1986). 8 pm. OISE Auditorium, 252 Bloor St. W. \$3. Info: 923-6641, x2204.

• **Tuesday, October 11:** Film night at the Woman's Common: 3 Nuke Films. 8 pm. \$1/2. 580 Parliament. Info: 975-9079.

• **Wednesday, October 12:** Women's Studies Union presents a getting acquainted benefit at Lee's Palace with The Company of Sirens, Bratty, Janine Fuller, Marie-Lynn Hammond and others. Info: 978-8201.

• **Thursday, October 13:** Symposium on Women and Health. Topic: Making Healthy Choices, presented by The Mount Sinai Hospital Auxiliary and the Division of Community Health, University of Toronto. Key note speaker: Jessica Hill. OISE Auditorium, 252 Bloor Street West. Info: 923-6641.

• **Saturday, October 15:** Womynly Way Annual Book Sale. Info: 925-6568.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 16

• **Monday, October 17:** Sepia Productions presents *Ebony Voices*, a Black Women's Theatre Collective. Performing a play incorporating mind, music and dance. Rose Cafe. \$5. Info: 588-2934.

• **Sunday, October 16:** Woman's Common presents the Working People's Picture Show. 4 pm. \$3/4. 580 Parliament Info: 975-9079.

• **Sunday, October 16:** DisAbleD Women's Network (DAWN) monthly meeting. Topic: Access for Hearing Impaired Women. Guest speaker t.b.a. Info: 755-6060 voice or TDD.

• **Tuesday, October 18:** Hallowe'en Mask Show opening at the Woman's Common. 6-9 pm. 580 Parliament. Info: 975-9079.

• **Tuesday, October 18:** Feminist Film Series presents *Dance, Girl, Dance* (Dorothy Arzner, USA, 1940). 8 pm. OISE Auditorium, 252 Bloor St. W. \$3. Info: 923-6641, x2204.

• **Wednesday, October 19:** Good For A Girl plays Showcase Gig at Lee's Palace. Featuring back-up singers Vid Lake and Kathryn Rose. 11 pm. \$2. Info: 367-0338.

• **Thursday, October 20:** Williams-Wallace Publishers, book launch party for "Sans Souci and Other Tales" by Dionne Brand at SCM Book Room. Info: 979-9627.

• **Saturday, October 22:** Womynly Way is holding a technical production workshop series in stage management, lighting and sound. Info: 925-6568.

• **Saturday, October 22:** "Making your own acquaintance." Un-masking workshop presented by Positive Alternatives Wellness Education Centre. Counselling techniques for friendship with our Self, with Mary Simpson. Info: 454-2688.

WEEK OF OCTOBER 23

• **Sunday, October 23:** A Space in conjunction with AIDS Action presents a series of nightly thematic screenings (ie: women and AIDS, the black community and AIDS). Info: 364-3227. To Friday, October 28.

• **Monday, October 24:** Pemmican Publications and the Toronto Women's Bookstore presents a reading by Ruby Slipperjack from her new book "Honour the Sun," at the Native Canadian Centre talking room. Info: 922-8744.

• **Tuesday, October 25:** Film night at the Woman's Common: PMS, Thin Dreams, Beyond Memory. 8 pm. \$1/2. 580 Parliament. Info: 975-9079.

• **Tuesday, October 25:** Feminist Film Series presents *It Can't Be Winter, We Haven't Had Summer Yet* (Louise Carre, Quebec, 1982). 8 pm. OISE Auditorium, 252 Bloor St. W. \$3. Info: 923-6641, x2204.

• **Thursday, October 27:** Therapy training workshop presented by Community Resources and Initiatives: Counselling Techniques for Retrieving Lost Traumatic Memories, with Margo Rivera. Info: 658-1752.

• **Thursday, October 27:** A presentation on Social Work as a field for lesbians and gays. Discussion and light refreshments. Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. Free. 8 pm. Info: 979-5179.

• **Friday, October 28:** Women's College Hospital Social Work Department presents a conference on Violence Against Women: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. Keynote speaker: Rosemary Brown. \$10 advance registration. Space limited. Info: Angela Watson, 323-6153.

VIOLENCE
against
WOMEN



• **Friday, October 28:** Second Wreath Toronto, a Ukrainian women's group presents *Ukrainian Women—Tradition and Change*, a conference exploring the themes of feminism and ethnicity. St. Vladimir Institute. 620 Spadina Avenue. Toronto. Space limited. Info: 962-2444/534-0774. To Sunday, October 30.

• **Friday, October 28:** Women's Independent Thoughtz (WITZ), a feminist seminar/discussion group. Topic: TBA. Location and info: 234-5281.

• **Saturday, October 29:** Discovering personal and collective myths, a one-day workshop for women. Particular attention will be focused on the myth of patriarchy and the challenges and problems women encounter. 10 am to 5 pm. Location: t.b.a. Info: 537-6464.

• **Saturday, October 29:** Woman's Common presents the Hallowe'en Masquerade Ball. 580 Parliament. Info: 975-9079.

• **Sunday:** Lesbians of Colour (LOC), a social and support group for Native, Asian, South Asian, Black and Latin lesbians regardless of age meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday of the month, 519 Church St. 3:45–5:30 pm. Info: Michele, 588-2930. (Out-of-town lesbians of colour can write for information: LOC, PO Box 6597, Station A, Toronto, M5W 1K4.)

• **Sunday:** New Women in Sobriety (NEWS), support group for lesbians and lesbian-positive women recovering from alcohol or drug addiction. 3:30–5:30 pm. Info: Mary, 653-8614; Shirley, 920-0582.

• **Monday to Friday:** "By All Means," a noon-time women's radio magazine show. Every day at 12:15 on CIUT-FM 89.5. Interviews, reviews, commentary and chit chat. Tune in! Info: 595-0909.

• **Monday:** Women-only night at the Rose Café, with films and discussion. \$2 admission includes buffet. 8 pm. 547 Parliament St. Info: 928-1495.

• **Monday:** The Women's Group, an open lesbian discussion group, meets at 519 Church St. 8 pm. Info: 392-6874.

• **Monday and Wednesday:** The Women's Information Line is open from 7–9 pm. Messages may be left any time, at 598-3714.

• **Tuesday:** Ontario Coalition of Abortion Clinics planning meeting every second Tuesday, 7 pm at Trinity-St. Pauls, 427 Bloor Street West. Info: 532-8193.

• **Tuesday:** Lesbian and Gay Youth Toronto meets at 519 Church Street Community Centre, 7–10 pm.

• **Tuesday:** International Women's Day Committee meets alternative Tuesdays. Info: 531-6608.

• **Tuesday:** Lesbian fuck-the-discussion group meets for informal basketball, movie nights and other events. 7 pm, U of T Women's Centre, 49 St. George. Info: 978-8201.

• **Tuesday:** Running Wilde, gay and lesbian running club meets for a run at University Settlement House, 23 Grange (off McCaul), 6 pm sharp. Facilities available.

• **Tuesday and Thursday:** The Lesbian Phone Line is open for calls from women. 7:30–9:30 pm. 533-6120.

• **Wednesday:** International Women's Day Committee (IWDC), a socialist feminist activist group, meets on alternative Wednesdays. Info: Nancy, 531-6608.

• **Thursday:** Zami, support and discussion group for Black and West Indian lesbians and gays. 8 pm. 519 Church Street.

• **Thursday:** Gaycare Toronto, counselling group for lesbians and gay men. 8–10 pm. 519 Church Street.

• **Thursday:** Gaywire, a weekly radio show on gay and lesbian issues. 6:15–7 pm, on CIUT 89.5 FM.

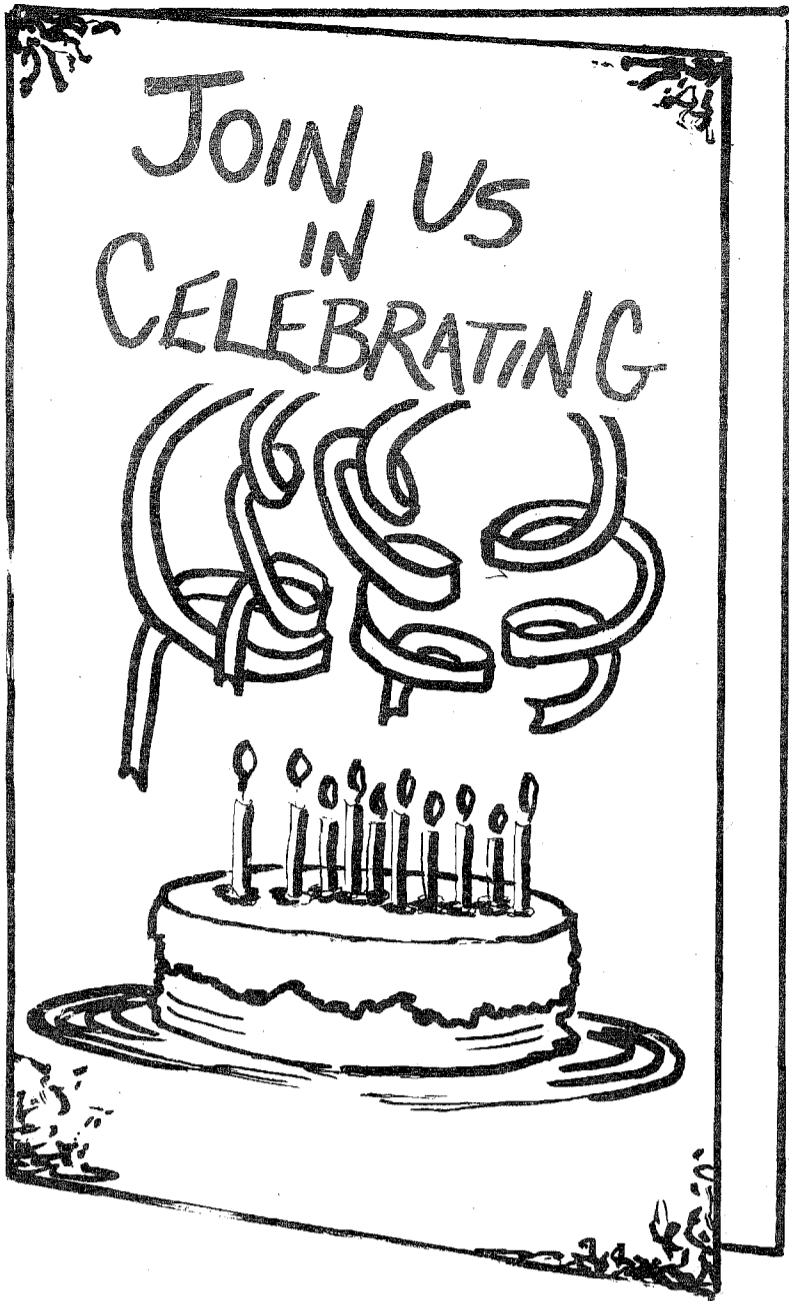
• **Thursday:** Lesbian and Gay Alliance at York. 5–7 pm. 107 Stedman. Info: 736-5324.

• **Friday:** Bratty performs at the Cameron, 408 Queen St. every Friday 6–8 pm.

• **Friday:** Feminist bisexual women's support group meets on the second Friday of the month, 519 Church Street, room 23, 6–8 pm.

• **Saturday:** Running Wilde, gay and lesbian running club, meets for fitness and fun at 9 am at 519 Church Street. Come dressed to run.

• **Saturday:** Alternatives, drop-in for youth 26 and under, sponsored by Lesbian and Gay Youth Toronto. 1–4 pm at 519 Church Street.



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