

Welcome to the Canadian Federation of Students - Pacific Region's
8th Semi-Annual General Meeting.

This package of information was prepared by Cindy King, the present
Women's Liaison Officer, and is intended for use by all delegates, women
and men, and not solely for the women delegates.

If you have any questions, comments or suggestions please feel free
to address me in person at the General Meeting, or in future at the
Langara Student Society.

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ENJOY!

INTRODUCTION

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BRITISH COLUMBIA

Accent on Women
c/o Special Action Group
220A Manor Park Avenue
Penticton, British Columbia
V2A 2R2
Tel. (604) 493-0948

**Advisory Committee on
Women's Education**
c/o 7560 Ludgate Road
Richmond, British Columbia
V7C 3N9
Tel. (604) 271-2354

Ariel Books
2766 West 4th Avenue
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6K 1R1

Armstrong Women's Association
c/o M. Borschown
2 Hayden Drive
Armstrong, British Columbia
V0B 1B0
Tel. (604) 546-6243

**Association of Women in the
Justice System**
P.O. Box 69579, Station K
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5K 4W7
Tel. (604) 873-5501

AWARE
417 - 6th Street
New Westminster, British Columbia
V3L 3B1
Tel. (604) 525-0294

B.C. Federation of Women
P.O. Box 24687, Station C
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5T 4E2
Tel. (604) 876-8283

COLOMBIE- BRITANNIQUE

B.C. Native Women's Society
293 - 1st Avenue
Kamloops, British Columbia
V2C 3J3
Tel. (604) 374-9412

**B.C. Task Force on Immigrant
Women**
622 Seymour Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6V 3K4
Tel. (604) 684-2561

**B.C. Teachers' Federation
Status of Women Committee**
105 - 2235 Burrard Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6J 3H9
Tel. (604) 731-8121

B.C. Voice of Women
P.O. Box 235
Nanaimo, British Columbia
V9R 5K9
Tel. (604) 929-1377

Battered Women Support Services
301 - 2515 Burrard Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6J 3J6
Tel. (604) 734-1574

**Business & Professional Women's
Clubs of B.C. and Yukon**
Suite 209
539 Main Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6A 2V1
Tel. (604) 682-0596

**Canadian Abortion Rights Action
League**
P.O. Box 6282, Depot C
Victoria, British Columbia
V8P 5K5
Tel. (604) 474-1482/382-6001

**Canadian Congress on
Learning Opportunities
for Women (CLOW)**
c/o Margaretha Hock
Douglas College
8th Avenue & McBride Avenue
New Westminster, British Columbia
V3L 5B2
Tel. (604) 521-4851

Chilliwack Status of Women
1758 Maitland Avenue
Sardis, British Columbia
Tel. (604) 794-7514/858-6420

**Concerned Citizens for Choice on
Abortion**
P.O. Box 24617, Station C
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5T 4E1

Contact Women's Group Society
P.O. Box 4094
Williams Lake, British Columbia
V2G 2V2
Tel. (604) 392-2446

Corrective Collective
372 East 5th Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V7L 1L9
Tel. (604) 980-6990

Denwomen
c/o Sandi Kennedy
General Delivery
Denman Island, British Columbia
V0R 1T0

**Ecumenical Women's Resource
Centre**
Room 175
6050 Chancellor Blvd.
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6T 1L4
Tel. (604) 224-3138

Elkford Women's Resource Group
c/o P.O. Box 565
Elkford, British Columbia
V0B 1H0
Tel. (604) 865-4568 res.

Everywoman's Books
641 Johnson Street
Victoria, British Columbia
V8W 1M7
Tel. (604) 388-9411

**Greater Victoria Multicultural
Women's Association**
1012 Douglas Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Tel. (604) 384-4525

Gulf Island Women's Place Society
P.O. Box 596
Ganges, British Columbia
V0S 1E0
Tel. (604) 537-9522

Inside Out Women's Group
620 View Street
Victoria, British Columbia
V8W 1J1

Island Women
P.O. Box 355
Port Clements, British Columbia
V0T 1R0
Tel. (604) 557-4230

Kelowna Status of Women
c/o Mary Grear
2160 Long Street
Kelowna, British Columbia
V1Y 7R6
Tel. (604) 763-3681

Kelowna University Women's Club
355 Dilworth Crescent
Kelowna, British Columbia
V1Y 4M6

Lesbian Information Line
501 West Broadway
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5Y 1P8
Tel. (604) 734-1016

Mature Women's Support Network
144 Robson Street
Vancouver, British Columbia

M.O.M.S (Morning Out of Mothers)
P.O. Box 513
Sparwood, British Columbia
V0B 2G0
Tel. (604) 425-2135

Malaspina College Women's
Resource Centre
285 Prideaux Street
Nanaimo, British Columbia
V9R 2N2
Tel. (604) 753-5921

Nanaimo Women's Resources Society
285 Prideaux Street
Nanaimo, British Columbia
V9R 2N2

Nanaimo Women's Network
2-2159 Departure Bay Road
Nanaimo, British Columbia
V9S 3V5

Multicultural Women's Group (ICA)
c/o Buncy Pagely
Room 417, 620 View Street
Victoria, British Columbia
V3W 1J4
Tel. (604) 388-4728

National Action Committee on
the Status of Women
c/o Jane Evans
P.O. Box 278
Armstrong, British Columbia
V0E 1B0
Tel. (604) 546-8222

North Island Women's Services Society
Women's Self-Help Network
145 Mansfield Drive
Courtenay, British Columbia
V9B 2M1
Tel. (604) 338-1133

Okanagan Native Women's League
c/o C-18, S-8
Vernon, British Columbia
V1T 7Z3
Tel. (604) 542-4430 home/542-3361 work

Okanagan Women's Coalition
P.O. Box 1242
Vernon, British Columbia
V1T 6M6
Tel. (604) 542-7531

Okanagan Women's Coalition
108-287 Bernard Avenue
Kelowna, British Columbia
V1Y 6N2
Tel. (604) 762-4355

Port Alberni Women's Network
North Island College
4006-8th Avenue
Port Alberni, British Columbia
V9H 4S4

Port Alberni Women's Resource
Society
4965 Argyle Street, Room 8
Port Alberni, British Columbia
V9Y 1V6
Tel. (604) 724-0313

Powell River Family Service's Society
6443 Walnut Street
Powell River, British Columbia
V8A 4K4

Press Gang
603 Powell Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6A 1H2
Tel. (604) 253-1224

Prince George Women's
Equal Rights Association
c/o 1306 - 7th Avenue
Prince George, British Columbia
V2L 3P1
Tel. (604) 564-8833

Prince Rupert Options for Women
c/o 1302 Overlook Street
Prince Rupert, British Columbia
V8J 2C8
Tel. (604) 624-9391

Professional Native Women's
Association
c/o 1154 Robson Street
Suite 16
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6E 1B2
Tel. (604) 669-5785

Professional Secretaries
International-Western Region (TM)
c/o Elizabeth Turner CPS
8531 Garden City Road
Richmond, British Columbia
V6Y 2P4
Tel. (604) 278-2144

Queen Charlotte City Women's Group
P.O. Box 387
Queen Charlotte City
Queen Charlotte Island,
British Columbia
V0T 1S0

Shuswap Outreach
P.O. Box 2127, Front Street
Salmon Arm, British Columbia
V0E 2T0
Tel. (604) 832-8450

Smithers — Deh Qua Women's
Society
P.O. Box 3881
Smithers, British Columbia
Tel. (604) 847-4846

Society for Canadian Women
in Science and Technology
P.O. Box 2184
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6B 3V7

Society of Transition Houses
P.O. Box 33904, Station D
Vancouver, British Columbia
V0J 2N0

South Okanagan Women in
Need Society
c/o 103-304 Martin Street
Penticton, British Columbia
V2A 5K4
Tel. (604) 493-0210

Three Rivers Women's Resource
Society
P.O. Box 497
Hazelton, British Columbia
V0J 1Y0

University of Victoria Women's
Action Groups
P.O. Box 1700
University of Victoria, M-3
Victoria, British Columbia
V8W 2Y3
Tel. (604) 592-9727

University Women's Club
Hycroft — 1489 McRae Ave.
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6H 1V1
Tel. (604) 731-4661

Valley Women's Network
P.O. Box 2074
Hope, British Columbia
V0X 1L0

Vancouver Association of
Women and the Law
c/o Faculty of Law,
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6T 1W5

Vancouver Council of Women
6351 Minoru Blvd. #323
Richmond, British Columbia
V6Y 1Y6

Vancouver Multicultural Women's
Association
P.O. Box 24672, Station C
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5T 4E2

Vancouver Status of Women
400 A West 5th Avenue
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5Y 1J8
Tel. (604) 873-1427

Vancouver Women's Bookstore
322 West Hastings
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6B 1K6
Tel. (604) 684-0523

Vancouver Women's Health
Collective
1501 West Broadway
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6J 1W6
Tel. (604) 736-6696

Vernon Women's Network
R.R. #1, Site 3, Comp. 37
Vernon, British Columbia
V1T 6L4

Victoria Caucus of the National
Association of Women & the Law
931 Tulip Avenue
Victoria, British Columbia
V8Z 2P8
Tel. (604) 727-3157

Victoria Status of Women Action
Group
P.O. Box 6296, Station C
Victoria, British Columbia
V8P 5L5
Tel. (604) 598-1704

Victoria Women's Network
6020 Old West Saanich Road
Victoria, British Columbia
V8X 3X3

Wen-Do West
2349 St. Catherines
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5T 5L5
Tel. (604) 876-6390

Westcoast Women's Network
Centre for Continuing Education
University of British Columbia
5997 Iona Drive
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6T 2A4
Tel. (604) 228-2181 ext. 240

West Kootenay Women's Association
307 Vernon Street
Nelson, British Columbia
Tel. (604) 352-9916/9959

Windermere Women's Resource
Group
P.O. Box 971
Invermere, British Columbia
V0A 1K0
Tel. (604) 342-3685

Womanvision Co-op Radio
c/o Patricia Hogan
Co-op Radio
337 Carrall Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6B 2J4
Tel. (604) 684-8494

Women Against Violence Against
Women (WAVAW)
201-636 West Broadway
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5Z 1G3
Tel. (604) 875-1328

Women for Political Involvement
P.O. Box 34463, Station D
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6J 4W4
Tel. (604) 732-8666

Women in Focus
204-456 West Broadway
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5Y 1R3
Tel. (604) 872-2250

Women in Trades
400A West 5th Avenue
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5Y 1J8
Tel. (604) 876-0922

Women's Building of Victoria Society
P.O. Box 6317, Station C
Victoria, British Columbia
V8P 5M3

Women's Employment Project
Room 307
2902 West Broadway
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6K 2G8
Tel. (604) 732-4107

Women's Friendship Centre
P.O. Box 171
Port Hardy, British Columbia
V0N 2P0
Tel. (604) 949-8317

Women's Group
P.O. Box 446
Sparwood, British Columbia
V0B 2G0

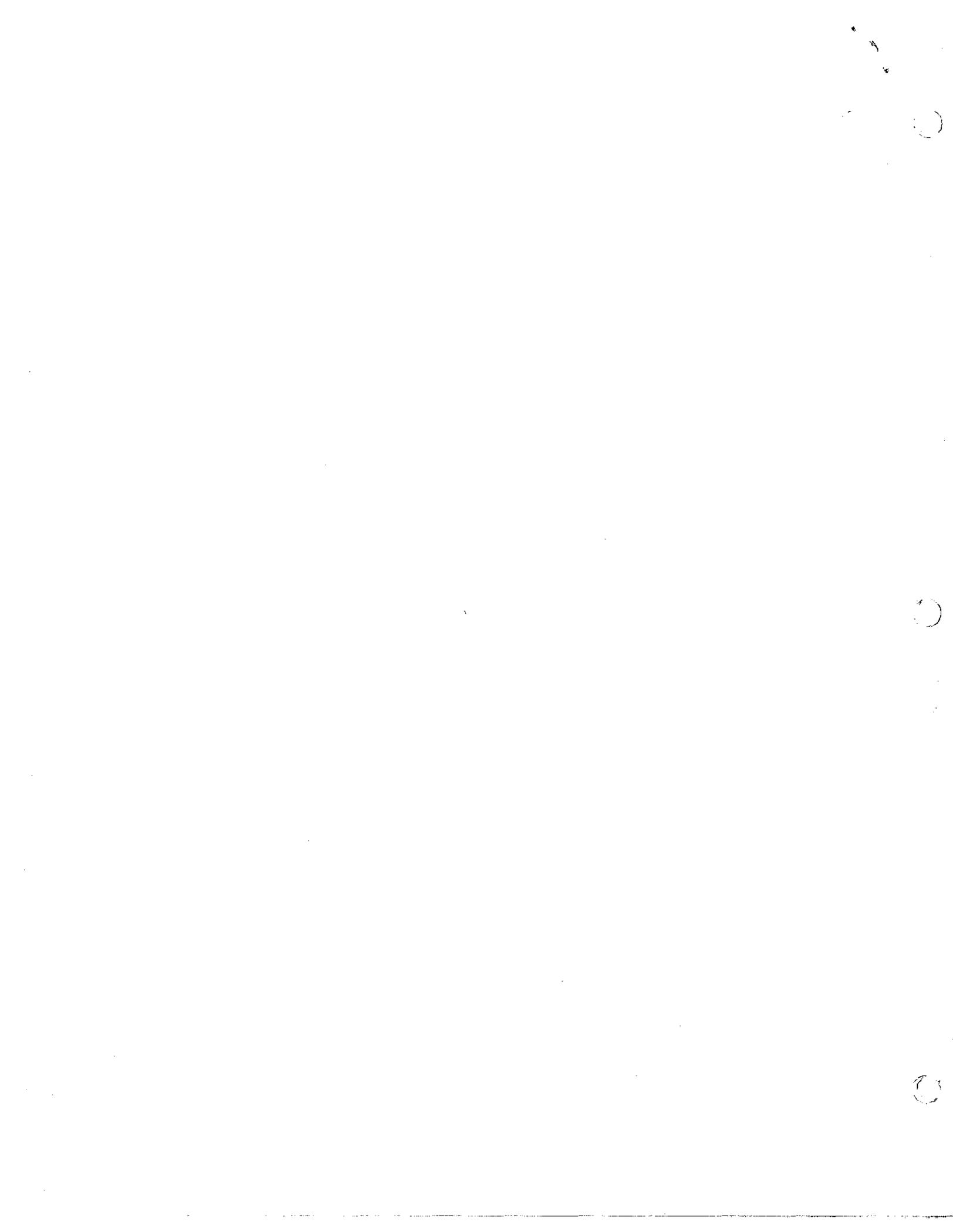
Women's Network of South
Okanagan
Leir House
220 Manor Park Avenue
Penticton, British Columbia
V2A 2R2
Tel. (604) 492-7997

Women's Research Centre
301-2515 Burrard Street
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6J 3J6
Tel. (604) 734-1574

Women's Self-Help
Gynecological Clinic
1985 West 4th Avenue
Vancouver, British Columbia
V6J 1M7



WOMEN'S RIGHTS



DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE WOMAN STUDENT

- all women have the right to freedom of choice of lifestyle, employment, and education as full and equal participants in Canadian society.
- all women have the right to access to post secondary education.
- all women have the right to employment, and the right to equal opportunity to employment with equal pay for work of equal value.
- all women have the right to access to quality, fully government subsidized child-care, provided by adequately trained and paid childcare workers, since access to education is limited by a lack thereof.
- the right to a financial student assistance program which meets the needs of full time, part time and single parent students, the majority of whom are women, and which does not require dependence on their parents or spouse.
- the right to concrete programs for re-entry of women into post secondary education to aid women in overcoming the barriers of interrupted studies and inadequate backgrounds.
- the right to academic counselling which informs women of all educational and employment opportunities available in order to actively combat streaming of women into traditional fields.
- the right of women students to organize as women since women's organizations within the student movement are necessary to actively raise the issues faced by women students, to provide a place for women to develop organizational and political skills and to provide a forum where women can develop a sense of unity and co-operation.
- to right of women students to a student government which recognizes, promotes and funds a women's organization on campus to facilitate involvement in womens' issues.
- the right to an education through non-sexist instruction, textbooks and materials, recognizing that some literature and materials must be viewed relative to their historical or social context but that all instruction, contemporary textbooks and materials should be free of sexual stereotyping and discrimination.
- the right to an educational environment free of advertisement, entertainment programming and/or materials which promote violence against women, sexual stereotyping and/or discrimination.
- the right to government funded women's studies courses in post secondary institutions.
- the fundamental right of all women to control their bodies:
 - access to safe, reliable birth control and family planning information and the right of choice in the method,
 - freedom of choice in the matter of abortion,
 - access to quality health services and counselling which meet the needs of women students and respect a woman's control of her body,
 - freedom of expression of sexual orientation,
 - freedom from sexual assault and all other forms of violence.
- the right to an educational environment free of sexual harassment.
- the right to effective, legal and academic grievance procedures recognized by students, faculty and support staff.
- the right to celebrate International Women's Day on campus.



July 2, 1985.

TO ALL MEDIA

"Generations of Native women who suffered legislated discrimination for over a century have been partly vindicated in their demands for equality status" commented Chaviva Hosek, President of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), about final passage in Parliament of Indian and Northern Affairs Minister David Crombie's Bill C-31, to amend the Indian Act (1869). The Bill received Royal assent June 28, 1985, the last day of the Parliamentary session, before the summer break.

The Bill restores Indian status and the right to band membership and to residence on the reserve, to Indian women who lost their status because of marriage to a man with no Indian status. It also restores Native rights to various categories of Native peoples who lost, or were denied status under the 1869 law.

Hosek recalled that on March 20, 1968, a group of Mohawk women from the Cagnawakah Reserve near Montreal, led by Mary Two-Axe Early, went before the Royal Commission on the Status of Women to demand equal rights for Indian women. Later, in April 1972 the National Action Committee, at its founding convention, espoused the cause on a plea from Mary Two-Axe Early.

Since that day, NAC has consistently supported the efforts of non-status Indian women to regain their rights.

However, Hosek added that while the passage of Bill C-31 is an indispensable step towards a return to equality status for Indian women, it suffers from certain grave inadequacies. For example, she explained that the Bill still discriminates against the women's children, who may gain Indian status but have no automatic right to live on their mother's reserve (except in their years of dependency).

According to NAC, the Government Bill, in an effort to strike a compromise between the human rights of non-status Indian women and their children on the one hand and self-government demands of the Bill's opponents on the other hand, has failed to recognize the desire of mothers to preserve family relationships and the right of individuals to live "in community with other members of their group..." as provided by a U.N. Covenant ratified by Canada in 1976 (1).

It must be added that prior to its latest amendment, the Indian Act provided that the non-Indian wife and children of Indian men enjoyed the right to Indian status and to live on band reserves.

For the future, NAC pledges its continuing support to Indian women, both in their efforts to implement the new law and to win transmission rights for their children, through court cases, if need be, under the Equality section (s.15) of the Canadian Constitution.

(1) "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966" ratified by Canada in 1976. Sandra Lovelace of the Tobique Reserve, N.B. was vindicated by the United Nations under the terms of this Covenant.



July 5, 1985.
le 5 juillet, 1985.

MEMO TO: ALL NAC MEMBER GROUPS
MEMO A: TOUTES LES GROUPES MEMBRES DU CCA

FROM: NAC TORONTO OFFICE
DU: BUREAU DU CCA A TORONTO

Attached is a letter that was sent in March to the Prime Minister, all Members of Parliament and all Senators.

We think it is a good letter because it emphasizes the achievements of the women's movement, the "radical" feminists, as REAL women consistently label us. We suggest you use this letter as a guide for a letter to your local Member of Parliament. In your letter, you should focus on the accomplishments and activities of the women's movement at both the federal and the local constituency level.

Be sure to send a copy of your letter to the NAC office in Toronto.

* * * * *
Vous trouverez ci-jointe une lettre qu'a été envoyée au Premier Ministre, à tous les députés fédéraux et à tous les sénateurs.

Nous trouvons cette lettre intéressante parce qu'elle met en valeur les réalisations du mouvement des femmes, les féministes 'radicales', comme nous étiquetons émanquablement les femmes de REAL women. Nous vous suggérons de prendre cette lettre pour modèle quand vous écrirez à votre député de conte. Dans votre lettre, pensez à mettre l'accent sur les démarches, les activités et les réalisations du mouvement des femmes tant au niveau fédéral que local.

N'oubliez pas d'envoyer une copie de votre lettre au bureau du CCA à Toronto.



March 15, 1985

The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney
House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0A6

Dear Mr. Mulroney:

We are writing to you today to express, in the firmest way possible, our concerns about the increasing trend towards polarization of women's concerns and women's organizations into supposedly pro-family and anti-family factions. We are aware that R.E.A.L. Women of Canada are mounting an organized campaign to portray the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and all other Canadian feminist organizations as anti-family. We believe this to be a total misrepresentation of the organized movement for equality for women in Canada.

Without exception, groups which consider themselves part of the Canadian women's movement and define themselves as feminist, stand firmly committed to two principles: choice and equality. We believe that neither principle can exist independently of the other. The right to choose - to marry or to remain single, to become a parent or to remain childless, to work inside or outside the paid labour force - is the cornerstone of the Canadian women's movement upon which all demands for equality are based.

Discrimination against women in Canada takes many forms. The women's movement in Canada has focussed its energies on achieving equality for women in employment because, as you have said yourself Mr. Mulroney, "We must not lose sight of Simone de Beauvoir's very accurate statement that equality for women will only stem from economic equality." Moreover the efforts of the feminist movement cannot in any way be construed as anti-family or even neglectful of women who choose to remain in the home. Feminists have worked hard to obtain legislation, of direct concern to women as workers, on affirmative action, equal pay for work of equal value, and sexual harassment. We have worked equally hard to obtain legislation, of benefit to women workers as mothers, on reproductive hazards in places of employment, parental leave, child care, etc. And we have not ignored the legislative concerns of women whose work is in the home. Family law reform, effective enforcement of maintenance and support orders, funding for services for assaulted women are all issues to which the women's movement in Canada has devoted enormous amounts of energy throughout the last decade precisely because they are issues which affect all women regardless of their status vis-a-vis the paid labour force. Issues of concern solely to women in the home, pensions for homemakers, the shameful economic status of elderly women, have not been forgotten by the women's movement. The women's movement in Canada over the last twenty years has continued to grow and to receive increasing popular support only because it truly reflects the opinions and concerns and desires of the vast majority

of Canadian women regardless of age, economic or marital status. To underline this point, we need only examine the policies and positions of the three federal political parties. During the recent election, all three federal party leaders came out in support of affirmative action, equal pay for work of equal value, access to affordable, quality child care, improved enforcement of maintenance and support orders, increased funding for services for women who are victims of violence. They did so because they recognize that the demands of the women's movement are just and reasonable. The motto of R.E.A.L. Women of Canada is 'women's rights but not at the expense of human rights.' The National Action Committee on the Status of Women, and all other women's organizations who are proud to acknowledge the 'feminist' label reject any insinuation that the potential exists for a conflict between women's rights and human rights. Her Excellency the Governor-General of Canada said in the Speech from the Throne which opened the 33rd Parliament of Canada that "My government is determined to ensure that social justice in Canada keeps pace with the changing needs and circumstances of our people. In this respect, the most significant development of recent years is the greater participation of the women of Canada and their rightful claim to equality with men everywhere in our society." That 'rightful claim to equality' and those who would promote it are now under attack from organizations which wrongfully interpret our quest for social justice for all Canadian women as an attack on women who are homemakers. This perception is not only misguided but rather it is dangerous in that it suggests that the advances the women's movement has made over the last twenty years have somehow been achieved at the expense of women in the home. I doubt very much that women who have benefitted from matrimonial property law reform, drop-out provisions in the CPP, or funding for parent resource centres would agree. And much work remains to be done.

Her Excellency the Governor-General acknowledged this when she said "As the women of Canada know, there is some distance between the principle of equality, widely accepted, and its reality, still far short of achievement. It is the duty of parliament and government to help ensure that Canadian society travels that distance as quickly as possible." And it is the duty of women's organizations such as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women and its 330 committed member groups to do the same. We hope we can be assured of your continuing support, and indeed the support of all parliamentarians, as we work towards a future that contains the possibility of choice, equality and peace for all Canadians.

Sincerely,

Chariva Hosek

Chariva Hosek,
President.

c.c. All Members of Parliament

All Senators

MM/mh



Some of you may have read the article entitled "R.E.A.L. Women, the Traditionalists take on the Feminists", March 1985 Chatelaine. The philosophy of this group is extremely narrow - pro-life and a return to traditional family values.

I've been following the work of this group for several months. Two facets of their philosophy bother me immensely. First, they do not believe a woman should have any choice in the way she conducts her life. Every woman should get married, have children (as many as possible) and stay home to nurture the husbands (R.E.A.L. Women assume husbands never leave) and the children. Second, R.E.A.L. Women have a stereotyped view of all feminists. They don't realize that feminists include a wide cross-section of women with differing backgrounds, incomes, lifestyles and opinions.

R.E.A.L. Women allege they have a membership of 20,000. (Apparently 12% are men.) Their actions, which began during the federal election, have centered upon removing or reducing government funding for women's groups promoting equality. Although their lobbying efforts have been forceful (there is money in this group) the federal Minister in charge of the Status of Women, Walter McLean, has stated that funding for equality groups will continue. However, while in Ottawa recently, I did a bit of digging and have learned that funding for R.E.A.L. Women is seriously being considered. My source told me that whatever is given to R.E.A.L. Women will be taken away from the equality groups. When asked why the apparent change, my source said that R.E.A.L. Women had lobbied very diligently and the government had received "not one letter from other groups".

Bonnie Vandenberg, Fernie B.C.

INFORMATION ON HERBAL ABORTIONS

*This information is culled from 20 books on herbal remedies and from talks with herbalists and women in the States and Europe. It is not all that exists on abortifacants but the most persistent. All of it works. The success of it depends on the women taking the herbs, her belief in it, her condition and the age of the pregnancy. These herbs are very potent and have worked to induce abortion about 40 to 45% of the time (very approximate).

HERBAL ABORTIONS

1. Best tried and proven, easily available, cheap, no known side effects; VITAMIN C. Dosage is 6 grams for 3 days. Should be taken in small quantities, ie. 2 grams 3 times a day for 3 days. Vitamin C can be taken immediately after unprotected intercourse to prevent fertilization or as soon as pregnancy is suspected. It seems to work best if taken when or just after period is due, but has been effective into the first month of pregnancy. Basically the sooner it's taken, the better.

The 3 day treatment can be repeated, but there is no known information on how often it can be repeated safely. Because no one really understands how or why it works, we limit it to two trials. It usually takes 2 1/2 to 3 days after the first dosage to work. Wait 4 or 5 days from the last day taken before repeating— if there is no blood after 3 days. Blood flow is slow at first. Possibly some cramps. It may not work for women who take doses of Vitamin C regularly. NOTE: It should not be taken by women with kidney problems as it puts stress on the kidneys in the elimination process.

2. Alternate to Vitamin C, or can be used together (more effective) is parsely, fresh only, in the vagina. Change every 24 hours, but should work (if its going to) within 12 to 15 hours after insertion. It may get smelly or hard to take out but it is not dangerous. Method: Take fresh parsely (a handful), wrap lightly in gauze and roll like a tampon. A string can be sewn on to make removal easier. Insert overnight preferably. This can be repeated without danger but it usually works quickly if its going to.
3. HERBS: These are the most common herbal abortifacants, in decreasing order of effectiveness:

BLACK COHOSH- causes uterine contractions

BLUE COHOSH- stimulates contractions and helps to slough off uterine lining

PENNY ROYAL- stimulates release of oxytocin in the brain which is the hormone which induces contractions

MUGWORT GINGER YARROW- helps to slough off lining of the uterus

SAFFRON RUE COTTON ROOT BARK- stimulates contractions

TANSY SOUTHERNWOOD SQUAW VINE GOLDEN RAGWORT- stimulates contractions.

Any of these can be taken individually or in combination and may cause contractions and subsequent bleeding. They are most effective in combination. They are all called 'emmenagues', but have a

....2

different function in the body. That's why its best to combine them, eg. one to slough off, one to stimulate contractions, one to tone, etc. The general recipe for any of these is :

an infusion (tea) of one teaspoon herb per cup of boiling water. Steep 20 minutes. Drink one cup of tea 4 times a day for 5 days.

A recipe that has worked best for women in Montreal, and has also been used in San Francisco and New York is:

] tablespoon Penny Royal
] tablespoon Blue Cohash
] tablespoon Yarrow
] tablespoon Rue

Boil 3 cups of water. Add Blue Cohash. Allow to simmer 10 minutes. Add other herbs. Remove from flame and allow to steep 30 minutes. Drink 1 cup every 4 hours for up to 5 days

OR (not together and is less effective)

Saffron_] gram per] litre of water. Steep 30 minutes. Makes 9 portions. Drink 1 portion every 2 hours for 1 day. Period may appear at the end of the day. If not, do not repeat.

OR

American Indian recipe:

Penny Royal and Brewers Yeast_] teaspoon penny royal per cup of boiling water. Steep 20 minutes. Add Brewers Yeast. Drink 1 cup every 4 hours for 4 days.

The first recipe is the best. The others have worked, but not as consistently. The herbs are potent. What may work for one woman may not work for another. If a woman starts to feel sick, she should stop taking the tea. Some cramps and any normal pre menstrual feelings and aches are not dangerous, but feeling "sick" is not okay. If the herbs are going to work, they usually do so after the first try. 2 dosage periods are okay for all the recipes, except for the Saffron, but the dosages are not recommended more than twice and then only in the early stages, up to 8 weeks. (The herbs have worked for some women a bit later, this depends on the woman.)

NOTE: If any of these herbal remedies are unpalatable for the woman, any mint teas may be added to the recipe. Do not add more water, just the mint. Women should eat very lightly when taking the teas—vegetables and tea. Oil of herbs is much more potent and concentrated than dried or fresh herbs. All of these recipes are for dried herbs. Do not substitute oils or fresh."

HERBAL ABORTIONS.....3

" If I suspected I were pregnant, I would start with the Vitamin C, and then go on to the herbal concoction. I would do the Saffron last and probably not try any of it after 8 weeks, unless I was sure of getting a mechanical abortion if the herbal abortion didn't work. I'd probably do the Vitamin C and the herbal recipe twice each before the Saffron, and then I'd give up in favor of a medical abortion. I would do everything I could to get an appointment for a mechanical abortion, even if I was trying the herbal recipes. The appointment can always be cancelled."



NATIONAL ACTION CTTE. on
the STATUS of WOMEN

2



CONGRATULATIONS AND WELCOME

TO THE NEW NAC EXECUTIVE

ELECTED AT THE 1985 ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING!

NAC EXECUTIVE 1985-86 CONSEIL DE DIRECTION DU CCA

<u>PRESIDENT/PRESIDENTE</u>	CHAVIVA HOSEK	Toronto, Ont.
<u>PAST PRESIDENT/ PRESIDENTE SORTANTE</u>	DORIS ANDERSON	Toronto, Ont.
<u>VICE PRESIDENT/ VICE PRESIDENTE</u>	MARJORIE COHEN LOUISE DULUDE JON LEAH HOPKINS	Toronto, Ont. Vanier, Ont. Whitehorse, Yukon
<u>SECRETARY/SECRETAIRE</u>	ELLIE SILVERMAN	Calgary, Alta.
<u>TREASURER/TRESORIERE</u>	ANN WOOD	Toronto, Ont.

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<u>N.B./N.S./P.E.I. N.B./N.E./I.P.E.</u>	KIT HOLMWOD	Halifax, N.S.
<u>QUEBEC</u>	MADELEINE PARENT	Montreal, Que.
<u>SOUTHERN ONTARIO SUD</u>	LYNN KAYE	Newmarket, Ont.
<u>NORTHERN ONTARIO NORD</u>	KATHRYN FOURNIER	Hearst, Ont.
<u>MANITOBA</u>	DONNA LUCAS	Winnipeg, Man.
<u>SASKATCHEWAN</u>	PALMA LITTLE	Spalding, Sask.
<u>ALBERTA/N.W.T. ALBERTA/T.N.O.</u>	TRUDY RICHARDSON	Edmonton, Alta.
<u>SOUTH/CENTRAL B.C. C.B. SUD/CENTRALE</u>	SAMANTHA SANDERSON	Vancouver, B.C.
<u>NORTHERN B.C./YUKON YUKON/C.B. NORD</u>	BUFFY BLAKLEY	Whitehorse, Yukon

MEMBERS AT LARGE / MEMBRES SANS POSTE DESIGNE

MOIRA ARMOUR	Toronto, Ont.
JERI BJORNSON	Winnipeg, Man.
LORRAINE GREAVES	London, Ont.
DEBBIE HUGHES-GEOFFRION	Ottawa, Ont.
DONNA STEWART	North Vancouver, B.C.

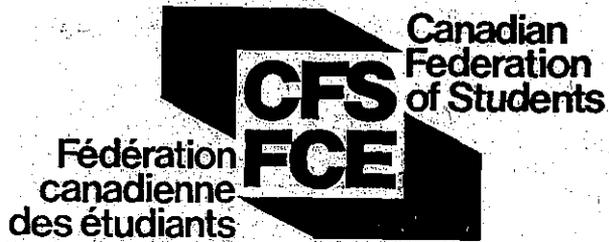
Our regional workshop at the NAC AGM recognized that there is an urgent need for groups to tighten up their constitutions so that:

- (1) people who have not been a part of the work for a significant length of time have no vote, OR
- (2) a clause on reproductive choice is built right into the constitution.

This need was made obvious by the events in Quesnel, where an anti-choice group has apparently taken over the transition house and is excluding women who are thinking of having an abortion. Since women often leave battering situations when they realize that they are pregnant, but may be in no emotional or financial condition to take on the raising of yet another child, this directive exclusion seems another form of abuse.

Identifying issues for a possible regional NAC member groups' conference, we listed: funding (especially for wages), pornography, abortion, Politics and politics, and media relations.

The AGM passed an emergency resolution of support for the workers in Vancouver Transition House, who had received notice that weekend that the YWCA would not be picking up next year's contract.



UBC Graduate Students' Society
Capilano College Students' Union
Cariboo College Students' Society
David Thompson Student Society
Douglas College Student Society
Emily Carr Student Association
King Edward Student Association
Kwantlen College Student Association
Langara Student Society
Malaspina College Student Society
Northwest College Student Association
Okanagan College Student Association -
Kelowna
Selkirk College Student Society
Simon Fraser Student Society
University of Victoria Alma Mater Society
VVI Student Association

8th Semi-Annual Pacific Region General Meeting

Sexual Harrassment



SEXUAL HARASSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

THIS SURVEY IS FOR BOTH MEN AND WOMEN.

This survey was designed by the women's liaison officer of the Pacific Region of the Canadian Federation of Students.

The intent of this survey is to 1) approximate the level of awareness of students about sexual harassment (what it is, how often it occurs) 2) find out how familiar students are with their institution's policy re: sexual harassment 3) find out what the most effective steps would be to take to alleviate sexual harassment on campus.

Please fill this survey out and return it to; Cindy King
Langara Student Society
100 West 49th Ave.
Vancouver, B.C.
V5Y 2Z6

1) PERSONAL INFORMATION

- A) Age _____
B) Gender _____
C) Institution _____

2) PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

please indicate the extent to which you believe that each of the following behaviours constitutes sexual harassment

	Always	Frequently	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
(A) looks / stares	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(B) sexually orientated gestures, signals	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(C) casual touching, grabbing, pinching	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(D) sexist remarks, behaviour	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(E) sexual advances	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(F) implied or expressed promise of reward for sexual favors	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(G) implied or expressed threats for refusal of sexual favors	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Always Frequently Sometimes Seldom Never

- (H) sexual assault _____
(I) other (specify) _____

- 3) Does your institution have a sexual harassment grievance policy?
yes _____ no _____ don't know _____

- 4) How familiar are you with this policy?
very _____ somewhat _____ not at all _____

- 5) How effective is this policy?
very _____ somewhat _____ not at all _____

- 6) What improvements in the policy/procedures would you suggest?

- 7) Do you think that this policy is enough to deter sexual harassment from occurring?
yes _____ no _____

- 8) What other steps do you think would be helpful in deterring sexual harassment?

	yes	no
(A) on campus workshops	_____	_____
(B) speakers / films	_____	_____
(C) in class discussions	_____	_____
(D) stricter policies	_____	_____
(E) heavy repercussions for offenders	_____	_____
(F) other (specify)	_____	_____

9) Did you fill out this questionnaire before or after reading the enclosed information package on sexual harassment?
before _____ after _____

10) Do you have any additional comments or questions?

THANK YOU

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

SEXUAL HARASSMENT WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW

Sexual Harassment is a term that has been defined by many in many different ways. Even so, most women or men know when they have been sexually harassed. Here is one possible definition of sexual harassment that is comprehensive:

"Sexual harassment is any attention of a sexual nature which has the effect of making a student or employee uncomfortable, impeding their ability to work or interfering with their employment or academic opportunities. It can be manifested by looks, touches, jokes, innuendoes, gestures, epithets or direct propositions. These can range from direct demands for sexual compliance to being forced to work in an environment in which, through sexual slurs, the display of derogatory images, etc. an individual is subjected to stress or humiliation because of their gender. When sexual harassment becomes coercive, it threatens an individual's security and personal freedom."

HAVE YOU BEEN SEXUALLY HARASSED ?

The boundaries of what constitutes sexual harassment can sometimes be unclear. Here are some examples of what would constitute sexual harassment under the above definition.

- * An instructor propositions or makes sexual advances to one of her/his students with or without explicit mention of academic reprisal for non-compliance.
- * A student makes repeated phone calls, sends letters or makes verbal or physical advances of a sexual nature to someone who has voiced their objection to this behavior.
- * An employee refuses to remove a centerfold or any other derogatory image from the work environment after a request to do so has been made.
- * An instructor persists in using sexist material and making sexist comments or jokes in class after having the objectionable nature of this behavior pointed out.
- * A faculty member is made to feel uncomfortable because of their manner of dress by a colleague who is constantly leering at them.

These are just a few examples of what constitutes sexual harassment. If you are in doubt about some of your own experiences, please contact the ombudsperson of the Langara Students' Society or the Langara Collective for Equality. For the purposes of comparison, here is one example of what is not sexual harassment.

- * A staffperson asks a student to come for coffee or phones the student at home in order to discuss course work on a number of different occasions.

MYTHS ABOUT SEXUAL HARASSMENT

* Only people who "ask for it" are sexually harassed.

Like with rape, anybody can be sexually harassed. People should have the equal right to participate in society without warranting sexually abusive behavior.

* Sexist comments and jokes in class are alright if the instructor states that he/she is going to tell the joke or make the comment.

Apologizing for making a sexist joke and then making one anyway is irresponsible. If this is an ongoing problem, then it can be considered sexual harassment because it makes students uncomfortable in their work environment.

* Sexual Harassment and Sexual Assault are the same thing.

Although the two are closely related and are symptoms of the same system that casts women as sexual objects, sexual harassment and sexual assault are not the same. Sometimes, the line between them can be quite unclear, particularly when the harassment progressed beyond a verbal or visual stage. In general, sexual harassment is different in that it threatens people economically, socially or academically, whereas rape is usually a physical threat.

* Everyone who is accused of sexual harassment is guilty.

If you feel you have been falsely accused of sexual harassment, you are also a victim. It is equally important for those accused to fill out the survey in order to protect themselves.

* Only a few "radical women" object to wolf whistles, being called "chick" or "baby", or having comments made about their bodies or dress.

Just because women have been socialized to be silent about such behavior, this does not mean they appreciate it. Such behavior makes most women uncomfortable thus creating an unfavorable environment for work or study.

* There is nothing that anyone can do about Sexual Harassment.

Yes there is. The first thing you can do is fill out the sexual harassment survey that is being distributed. Once an official grievance procedure is in place at this college, it will be safer for harassed individuals to speak up and fight back.

In the meanwhile, read the unofficial procedure in this pamphlet and if you are harassed, go see the Langara Ombudsperson or the people in the Langara Collective for Equality. All of these people can be contacted through the Students' Society office.

"Sneak up and fight back"

STAFF
 Director: Bruce Hancock Swisher
 Staff Associate: Grace L. MacCall
 Staff Associate: Brita Cowan
 Administrative Associate: Kathleen Wilson
 Staff Assistant: Cecelia Field
 Staff Assistant: Aileen FitzCoy
 Staff Assistant: Mary De Wray
 Staff Assistant: Marilyn Lyons

women
 Project on the Status and Education of Women

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Sexual Harassment: A Hidden Issue*

MYTHS ABOUT SEXUAL HARASSMENT*

Myth: Sexual harassment only affects a few women.
Fact: Several surveys have documented the widespread nature of sexual harassment. In one study, 88% of the women said that they had experienced one or more forms of unwanted sexual advances on the job.

Myth: Sexual harassment is rare on the campus.
Fact: The long hidden problem of sexual harassment of students, staff and faculty. Fear of retaliation, and a sense of helplessness about the problem and a feeling that it's a "personal" dilemma have kept the problem concealed.

Myth: Women should ignore sexual harassment when it occurs.
Fact: In one survey, 33% of those reporting sexual harassment reported that they had not complained. In 75% of those who did complain, the women who ignored the sexual propositions received unwarranted reprimands from their bosses or had their workloads increased.

Myth: If a woman really wants to discourage unwanted sexual attention, she can do so. If she's sexually harassed, she must have asked for it.
Fact: Many men believe a woman's "no" is really "yes," and therefore do not accept her refusal.

*This section was adapted from a pamphlet, "Sexual Harassment at the Workplace," published by the Alliance Against Sexual Coercion, P.O. Box 1, Cambridge, MA 02139.

This paper could not have been prepared without the research and assistance of Margaret Scott, a student at the University of California at Berkeley, who was an intern with the Project.

THE PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN of the Association of American Colleges provides information concerning women in education, and works with institutions, government agencies and other associations and programs affecting women. The Project is funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York and The Ford Foundation. Publication of these materials does not necessarily constitute provided credit is given to the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20008.

INTRODUCTION

- A Yale undergraduate recently charged her political science professor with sexual harassment, alleging that he offered her an "A" in exchange for sexual favors. She refused, received a "C" in the course, and has since filed a lawsuit against the university.
- A senior communications major at a large university in California testified before the California State Assembly in 1973 that she had been sexually harassed by her professor for several years.
- A female cadet at West Point resigned from the military academy in 1977 after charging her male squad leader with improper sexual advances. The Academy dismissed her charges when the squad leader denied any wrongdoing.
- An administrative assistant at the Environmental Protection Agency resigned her job after reporting her boss' sexual advances to the EPA and the court ruled that sexual advances as a condition of employment are illegal. EPA settled out-of-court with a back pay award.
- A woman complained that her boss was continually embracing her shoulders and touching her arms and waist. When she protested, she was told that he was just being "friendly" and she, a poor sport.

Often women have been quiet about the problem of sexual harassment because they felt that nothing could be done. Many believe it is their own personal dilemma or "women's lot." Some believe that their own behavior caused it to occur or that they should have been able to avoid it. In recent years, the issue has begun to be discussed more openly as women have evaluated their positions in the workplace and on the campus. What emerges is a growing awareness of the scope and complexity of the problem, as well as an urgency for the development of legal and institutional mechanisms for the redress of sexual harassment.

WHAT IS "SEXUAL HARASSMENT"?

This paper focuses on male harassment of female students and employees, for in most work and academic settings the mobility of supervisors or professors is high.

Sexual harassment is difficult to define. It may range from sexual advances made in inappropriate times and places to sexual harassment in the workplace. Sexual harassment may be harassment of a woman's body, or harassment of a woman's dignity. Sexual harassment may be harassment of a woman's reputation, or harassment of a woman's ability to work. Sexual harassment may be harassment of a woman's ability to learn, or harassment of a woman's ability to advance in her profession.

- verbal harassment or abuse
- subtle pursuit for sexual activity
- sexist remarks about a woman's clothing, body or sexual activities
- unnecessary touching, patting, or pinching
- teasing or ogling of a woman's body
- constant brushing against a woman's body
- sexual harassment accompanied by implied or explicit threats concerning one's job, grades, letters of recommendation, etc.
- physical assault

Sexual harassment may be in a position of authority, as professor, supervisor, or superior; a woman, therefore, may be at

great risk if she objects to the behavior or refuses the overture. It is in this context which underlines the gravity of the problem of sexual harassment.

Whereas in rape cases, the man overpowers a woman with a weapon or threat of loss of life, in sexual harassment the man uses his position of authority to exert his power. He may use his position of authority to exert his power. He may use his position of authority to exert his power. He may use his position of authority to exert his power.

How Widely is Sexual Harassment?

Prior to 1976, there were few reliable statistics of the incidence of sexual harassment. Most of the data collected since that time has focused on women in the workplace. A February magazine survey of 9,000 clerical and professional women provided the first national data: 97% of the respondents had experienced overt physical harassment, sexual remarks and kidding, with the majority regarding this behavior as a serious problem at work; nearly 50% said that they or someone they knew had quit or been fired because of harassment; and 75% believed that if they complained to a supervisor, nothing would be done. In a study conducted in 1976, 70% of those surveyed said that they had experienced sexual harassment. 70% of those surveyed said that they had experienced sexual harassment. 70% of those surveyed said that they had experienced sexual harassment.

Sexual Harassment on Campus

The well-studied Yale University for sexual harassment has taken the issue as far as the extent of such problems on campus. If this extends cited in the beginning of this paper, were merely exceptions to women's experiences as students, one might simply attribute these problems to an unfortunate situation in an otherwise fair and responsible work environment. But what if they are not exceptions? What if sexual harassment is a common occurrence?

The Association for Women in Science, a national organization for women professionals, has conducted a national survey of women professionals in Washington, DC. All recent Ph.D. recipients—a substantial number reported in their group sessions that as students and as professionals, they had experienced sexual harassment by men who were in a position to affect their careers. Note had discussed the subject publicly before, and most had not realized how widespread the problem is.

In 1977, Donna Benson, a social science major at the University of California at Berkeley, distributed a questionnaire to one-sixth of the female graduate student population. Of the over-500 who returned the questionnaire, 20% stated that they had experienced sexual harassment from their professors. Most responded that they were bewildered or confused about how to deal with the situation.

Although the data concerning the scope of the problem on campus is slim, it seems likely that the campus is not exempt

Title IX and Grievance Procedures

The Yale lawsuit asked for a formal grievance procedure to handle complaints of sexual harassment. Additionally, in November 1977 the Yale Undergraduate Women's Caucus Grievance Committee presented petitions signed by 1,300 students, faculty and staff to the Acting President Vinton H. Gray, requesting that Yale University set up an adequate grievance procedure to handle complaints of sexual harassment and take appropriate action when necessary.

The absence of a formal administrative procedure for bringing complaints to the attention of responsible officials may violate Title IX. Under Title IX, institutions receiving federal financial assistance must adopt grievance procedures for complaints of sex discrimination, although individuals may opt not to use the procedures and can instead file directly with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Thus far, HEW has not received any complaints of sexual harassment under Title IX, nor has HEW ruled when on a grievance procedure. Should the court rule that sexual harassment is discrimination covered by Title IX, institutions probably will be required to develop grievance procedures to handle such complaints.

Some Other Legal Issues

Several legal aspects of sexual harassment are not yet clear, such as the following:

- Does the Executive Order, banning federal contractors from discriminating in employment, cover sexual harassment?
 - If a woman quits or is fired because of sexual harassment, can she collect unemployment insurance?
 - Do state labor laws have jurisdiction? (These boards would not handle sexual harassment cases but might be involved if a person loses a job or suffers some form of retaliation.)
 - Can students and/or employees file charges of assault and battery? (A Massachusetts dentist who kissed a patient without warning was convicted and fined \$1000 plus interests and costs in May 1977 by a Boston municipal judge.)
 - Are rape laws, as well as assault with intent to rape applicable?
 - Sexual abuse laws relevant? (In November 1977 a man who pushed a woman's backside in a New York subway was convicted when a judge ruled that "hustocks are an intimate part of a person" and therefore covered by the state's sexual abuse laws.)
 - If criminal laws apply, can an institution be charged with "aiding and abetting" if it ignores complaints and has no grievance procedures?
 - Can a woman sue, under common law, for damages resulting from intentional infliction of severe emotional distress?
 - Can male faculty members claiming he was forced to resign because of sexual harassment of a woman student sue for \$1 million? (New York Law School is being sued for \$1 million by a former professor who denies misconduct and claims he was not allowed to be heard or confront witnesses during the school's investigation. The school denies the charges.)¹⁶
- Additionally, state laws covering harassment are likely to be introduced in the near future and will bear watching. In Wisconsin, for example, bills have been introduced to allow employees to sue employers for damages and back pay under the state's Fair Employment Practices Act.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONS: WHAT CAN BE DONE TO DEAL WITH SEXUAL HARASSMENT?

Although the issue of sexual harassment is still a comparatively new one, it is being treated with increasing seriousness by the courts, government agencies, and academic institutions. Women's groups have suggested a number of ways to address the problem, and many of these suggestions are likely to be helpful in alleviating the problem.

- Development of clear policy prohibiting sexual harassment. Such a policy might help eliminate some instances of sexual harassment.
- Development of a grievance procedure to handle complaints. The procedure need not be identical to other grievance mechanisms if not appropriate. Institutions might find a two step procedure helpful: a mechanism to resolve complaints informally, followed by a formal procedure if the first procedure has been unsuccessful. Institutions and faculty members who wish to pursue grievances are likely to go to court if the institution has no procedure for them to use.
- Development of union grievance procedures.
- Public communication of the policy and procedures to students, staff and faculty.
- Documentation of the problem by survey, hearings, meetings or other means. Bringing sexual harassment into the public arena will build support for institutional action.
- Development of a faculty code of conduct.
- Inclusion of policy language in affirmative action plans and in union contracts such as agreeing "to afford protection to male and female employees alike against unfair abuse of sexual privacy."
- Pamphlets advising women students and employees of their rights as well as advice on how to handle, and where possible avoid, sexual harassment. Such a pamphlet could be developed by a campus committee on the status of women or a women's center (off and faculty about the nature of sexual harassment and its legal implications).
- Inclusion of material on sexual harassment in courses on human sexuality.
- Inclusion of material on sexual harassment in student handbooks.
- Training of counselors and other student personnel to deal with sexual harassment issues raised by students.
- Establishment of a 24-hour crisis center to provide counseling and support to victims of sexual harassment. This could be sponsored by a campus counseling center or women's group.
- Campus-wide conference or breakout organized by students, staff and/or faculty to sensitize the academic community to the issue of sexual harassment.
- Additionally, research is needed to analyze the causes, extent and remedies concerning sexual harassment on campus.

The problem of sexual harassment will not go away, nor are there easy answers. The issues are complex and not readily resolved. It is hoped that the attention given to this problem by the courts and the media will help to bring about a better climate for its women students and employees.

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE WORKED ON THE ISSUE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

- **Alliance Against Sexual Coercion (AASC)**
P.O. Box 1
Cambridge, MA 02139
Provides counseling and referral services concerning sexual harassment in the workplace and on campus. A literature packet is available for a \$2.00 donation.
- **Cambridge Women's Center**
110 North Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02139
Sponsors a Women Against Violence Against Women (WVAVAW) Project; provides counseling and referral services.
- **Cleveland Women Working**
128 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115
Membership organization for women; office workers; provides counseling and referral services; makes recommendations to government agencies, and operates a speaker's bureau.
- **860 S. Dearborn Street**
Chicago, IL 60605
Addresses the problem of sexual harassment and abuse in the "intensity and secondary schools. The group is presently gathering data on the incidents and scope of the problem; has established two 24-hour hotlines to provide crisis counseling and referral. An information sheet is available for \$30.
- **Vocations for Social Change (VSC)**
353 Broadway
Cambridge, MA 02139
Assists victims of sexual harassment in the workplace with job-counseling, legal options, and employment completion.
- **Working Women United Institute (WWUI)**
593 Park Ave.
New York, NY 10021
Conducts research on sexual harassment in employment; conducts workshops and educates the public and employers on the issue. Will be available for speaking engagements. Speaking fee: \$100.

FOOTNOTES

1. Although there may be instances of a female professor propositioning male students at a homosexual institution, harassing gay students, there is little or no evidence to show that these are more than isolated cases.
2. "Conference on the Participation of Women in Scientific Research," *The Association for Women in Science Newsletters*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January/February 1978; pp. 3-6.
3. "Some Thoughts on Counseling Women Who Perceive Themselves to be Victims of Non-actionable Sex Discrimination: A Survival Guide" by Ellen Shapiro, *University of California Press*, 1977.
4. "Sexuation in Adolescence" by Adrienne Blumich, *Psychology Today*, February, 1978, p. 83.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
6. "The Working Woman: Sex Harassment" by Letty Coltin Pogrebin, *Ladies Home Journal*, June 1977, p. 34.
7. "Student-Faculty Sex: A Plethora," *A Current*, *The Physicist*, November 8, 1973, p. 3.
8. *Psychology Today*, p. 84.
9. "UC Women's Clinic: Sexual Coercion," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 21, 1977.
10. Title VII also prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion and national origin. All educational institutions are covered, whether or not they receive federal funds.
11. In a case involving the U.S. Department of Justice, the court upheld a claim of sexual harassment but awarded somewhat differently, stating that it would also be case if the sexual harassment was by a homosexual supervisor imposed upon a worker of the same sex. (*Williams v. State*, 413 F. Supp. 654, 657 (D.D.C. 1976).)
12. *Alexander v. Fair University*, Second Amended Complaint.
13. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 23, 1978.

1115. 1. 14. 1982. 1. 14. 1982. 1. 14. 1982.

The Man in the Street: Why He Harasses

BY CHERYL BENARD AND
EDIT SCHLAFFER

It is a violation of my natural external freedom, not to be able to go where I please ... my personality is wounded by such experiences, because my most immediate identity rests in my body.

—Hegel
Texte Zur Philosophischen
Propädeutik

I am standing at Wittenbergplatz waiting for the light to turn green ... behind me I sense the approach of two men and turn my head, at that moment the man on my left reaches for my hair, he runs his fingers through it experimentally and says to his friend: "Great hair" ... An ordinary everyday experience for the colonized in a city of the First World.

—Verena Stefan
Haetzungen

What kinds of men harass women, what do they think they are doing? On the whole, the behavior of the "man in the street" has received little attention, and that is odd, because it captures in quintessential, almost primordial form the combination of the oppressive and the bizarre that we have learned to regard as normal. The language clearly reflects this. The "man in the street," a phrase dear to the media and politicians, is a synonym for the citizen, the voter, the average person, and at the same time the male. There is no "woman in the street" in our language; only a street-walker, or an intruder who can be treated like one.

Stamped as trivial, the harassment of women has received no attention from sociology, and cities that regulate almost everything from bicycles to dogs and the use of roller skates in order to keep the traffic moving have no ordinances or rules to guarantee women the right to free passage. Men, yes: the solicitations of prostitutes are carefully restricted in order not to offend them. The language itself puts women at a disadvantage; it is hard to exchange serious insults without using sexual put-downs that invariably go against women. And passersby will shed their indifference to disapprove of feminine vulgarity.

Explanations of harassment, where they are attempted at all, often try to minimize the universality: it's the Mediterranean cultures, one school of

thought believes; or the United States cities, with their extremes of female fashion and their sexual liberalism; or the Arab societies, full of repressed male libidos ready to explode at the sight of a Western female tourist. However, this form of male behavior is quite independent of continent, race, generation, and degree of individual frustration.

In adolescence, experiences of this kind are particularly disconcerting and reinforce the awareness that hostility and sexuality seem to go together.

"When I was about sixteen," one Western woman remembered, "I had real moments of anxiety. In elevators and on the subway men would sometimes look me over with a sort of aggressive, superior little smile. I would always try to stand in quiet corners or look for a family and then stand with them as if I were one of their kids."

Women who are often in public places learn to get used to harassment and develop their own strategies for avoiding or responding to it. A sociology student and feminist reported: "For a while I used to talk back to all of these guys. I tried to educate them, then just to put them down. I got pretty good at it, but it took up a lot of my time. I used to mind it a lot less, because they just seemed so ridiculous. But now it makes me angry."

What is going on in the minds of the men who do this? Not much, judging from their difficulties in articulating their intentions. We interviewed 60 men, choosing a range of age groups out of those who addressed us on the street. (Incidentally, this was the only female response we found that genuinely and predictably disarms the harassing male, so if you want to transform a lewdly smirking man into a politely confused one within a matter of seconds, you need only pull a mimeographed questionnaire out of your bag and inform him that he is part of a research project. This method has the disadvantage of being rather time-consuming.)

Pressed for an explanation of their behavior, most of the men initially were at a loss. It alleviates boredom, it gives them a feeling of youthful camaraderie when they discuss women with other men; it's "fun" and it "doesn't hurt anybody," they often added a little defensively. The notion that women dislike this was a novel idea for most men, not

because they had another image of the woman's response but because they had never given it any thought at all. Only a minority, around 15 percent, explicitly set out to anger or humiliate their victims. This is the same group that employs graphic commentary and threats.

One out of five said they'd harass only in the company of male friends.

As is the case with rape, other causes of antagonism become mixed up with the sexual, especially race and class. Some migrant laborers or construction workers, selecting a well-dressed, middle-class woman, insult not so much the woman as the snobbish privileged class she symbolizes to them. Another minority of men believes with firm conviction that women enjoy receiving their attention. One 45-year-old construction worker portrayed himself as a kind of benefactor to womanhood and claimed to specialize in older and less attractive women to whom, he was sure, his display of sexual interest was certain to be the highlight in an otherwise drab existence. A significant group of men, around 20 percent, said that they would not engage in this behavior when alone, but only in the company of male friends. This supports the explanation that the harassment of women is a form of male bonding, of demonstrating solidarity and joint power.

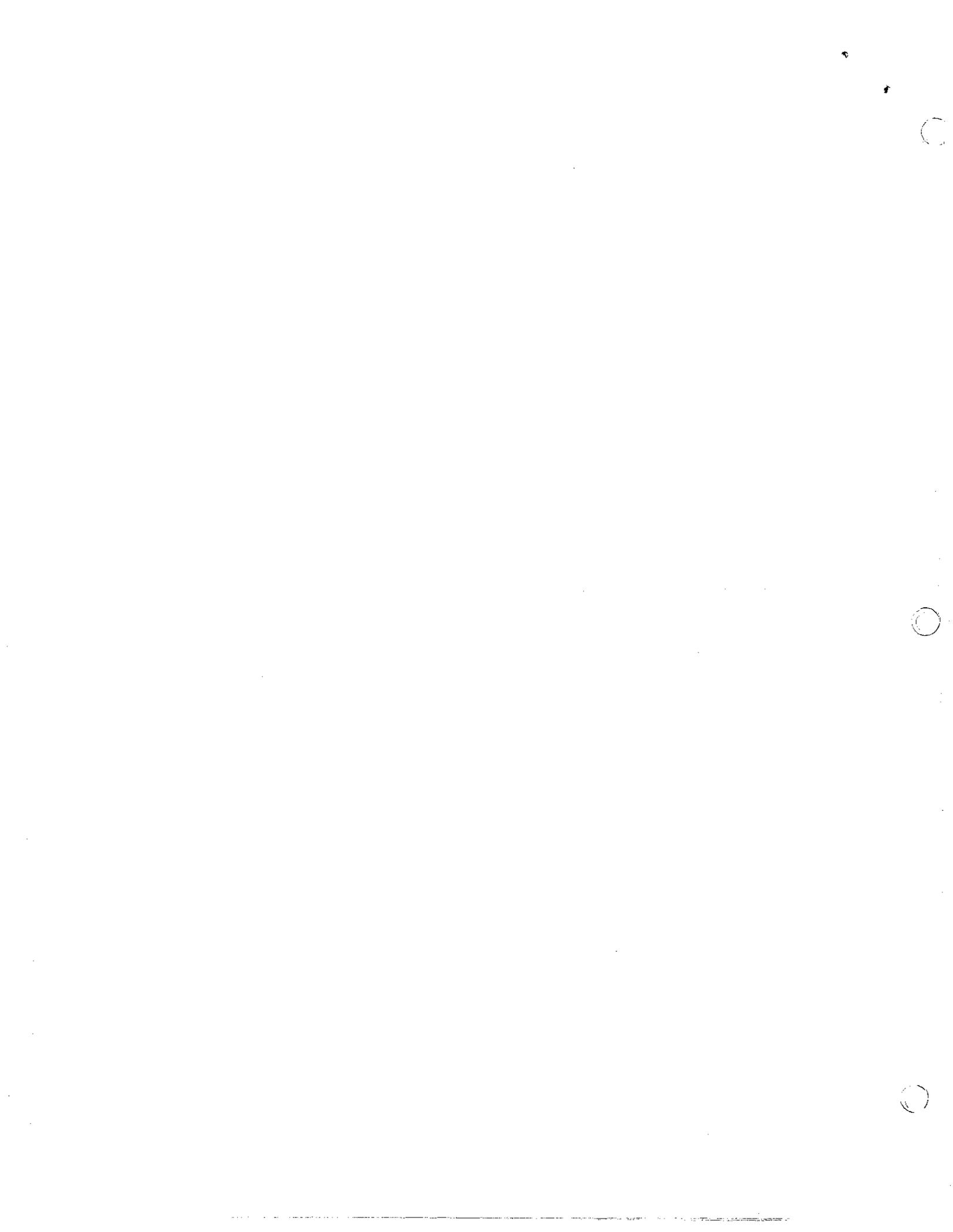
The symbolic nature of the behavior is its most important attribute. A surprising finding was that harassment declines in the late evening and during the night, and that men are then more likely to display the kind of behavior typical of the avoidance usually shown to strangers in public or crowded situations: averting one's eyes, accelerating the pace of walking to keep a distance, and so on. It would seem that harassment would be even more effective at night, even more intimidating to the woman. Probably this is precisely the

reason it declines: during the night on a deserted street, it would be too effective. The woman, not merely annoyed or unnerved but genuinely alarmed, may well be driven to an "extreme" response (such as calling for help) that the good citizen would not like to have to explain. In the daytime, he takes no such risk.

The age, education, and income of the men make little difference; in their street behavior, they revert to a primarily uniform condition across the lines of class and generation. Younger men tend to be more aggressive, and older men to lower their voices and whisper hastily as they pass you. Some areas are exempt altogether: small villages, where all the inhabitants know each other, and residential suburban areas. The genuinely public world is the main arena for harassment. The street, as a place where strangers encounter each other, is also the place where societies have always taken care to clearly mark the lines of order and status. It is on the streets that members of subordinate groups wear special clothing, uniforms, or identifying marks, that they must salute, take off their hats, or show symbolic deference to members of the superior group. Harassment is a way of ensuring that women will not feel at ease, that they will remember their role as sexual beings available to men and not consider themselves equal citizens participating in public life. But the ritual of harassment does more than that. By its seeming harmlessness, it blurs the borders of women's right to personal integrity, and encourages men who would never commit a violent crime against a strange woman to engage in minor transgressions against her right to move freely, to choose which interaction to participate in and which people to communicate with. By making the average "man in the street" a minor sex-offender, it also makes him an accomplice in the more massive forms of violence against women.

Cheryl Benard and Edit Schlaffer coauthored "Violence in the Family" and "The Man in the Street" (both books published in German by Rowohlt). They teach at the Institute of Political Science of the University of Vienna, and are doing research in the field of women's studies.

BATTERING
VIOLENCE AGAISNT WOMEN



Battered Women

At least one in ten Canadian women is beaten by the man with whom she lives — 500,000 women are battered each year. The beatings are not isolated incidents; women are battered repeatedly and left with bruises, cuts, burns and broken bones. Some are permanently disabled; some are killed. The response of our legal, social, medical and welfare institutions has been to ignore the problem, to blame the women, and to deny them protection and support. Since many of these women are economically dependent on the man who abuses them, they are left to choose between a life of terror and a life of poverty for themselves and, often their children.

Since the first transition house for battered women was opened in Canada in 1972, these shelters have provided almost the only reliable help for battered women and their children. The shelters provide information about legal and social services, and give temporary homes to those who need them. Transition houses have been established by groups of women whose commitment to providing these essential services has kept the shelters open in the face of scarce and unpredictable funding from governments and social agencies. They are run by women working long hours for low pay, and they rely heavily on volunteer help. Even with this dedicated work, some shelters finally fold for lack of funds. Their numbers are pitifully few in relation to the need for them; in 1983 there are about 155 across the country. In 1980, approximately 45% of the Canadian population lived in areas where no such services were within commuting distance. Rural and northern women, already the most geographically isolated, have the least access to these houses. Those houses that do exist cannot accommodate all of the women who come to them for help.

Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle, by Linda MacLeod, was published by the

CACSW in 1980. This study focuses on the social system which perpetuates and accepts wife battering throughout our society, and reveals the social and institutional barriers facing women who are battered. The CACSW accompanied the release of this book with recommendations for specific action by the federal government in four priority areas:

- *The immediate need: making funds available for the creation and operation of transition houses, for support and follow-up services, and for income support programs for battered women.*

Funding for transition houses remains insufficient. Most houses still rely on a combination of provincial/local money, (provided on a *per diem* basis to cover room and board for each woman or child who is eligible for welfare), short-term federal grants, and charitable donations.

The costs of welfare are shared between the provinces and the federal government, but the provinces determine which services will be funded and who is eligible for support. In general, provincial governments do not see shelters for battered women as an essential service but as a welfare measure. Strict eligibility criteria are applied to each woman who claims income assistance and on whose behalf transition houses claim the costs of room and board. Welfare eligibility criteria exclude many women and effectively deny them access to transition houses, which need the *per diem* payments to survive. Moreover, welfare sources frequently restrict the length of time a woman may stay in a house, and also attach other strings to the use of funds provided.

In some provinces, the situation is worse than in others. Québec and British Columbia have both had a good record in supporting transition houses. However, the cuts in British Columbia's social

service spending, proposed in the summer of 1983, could mean that those houses will lose essential funding. Ontario, with the greatest number of transition houses, provides almost no financial support. Manitoba set up a new *volunteer* service in 1983, a 24-hour crisis line, a network of safe houses and programs for batterers, with joint funding from the federal government.

At the federal level, there is no specific program of support for transition houses, although there is 50-50 cost-sharing through the Canada Assistance Plan. Several different departments (e.g., Department of Justice, CEIC, Secretary of State Women's Program, Health and Welfare Canada) do provide various short-term grants, which end after a specified period, either leaving the houses to search for alternate funds, or to re-apply year after year. The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) provides low interest mortgages to a number of transition houses, and has recently instituted a program of financial assistance in building, buying or renovating non-profit housing, including transition houses.

The overall lack of funding affects support and follow-up services too. Many transition houses do not have the funds or staff to offer programs for children, who are as much in need of care and counselling as their battered mothers even if they have not been beaten themselves. In 1982, in all of Canada there were three houses where women and their children could go after the few days or weeks allowed in a transition house.

Governments in Canada have not opened their pockets to help battered women, whose immediate needs for shelter and support are unmet. Some action is, however, visible in other areas.

- *Prevention of the problem: promoting public education and awareness, and training professionals to provide services for battered women.*

Throughout the 1970s, the work done by women to publicize the issue of wife battering went almost unnoticed by those in power. It was not until 1981 that a Parliamentary committee was directed to study and draft recommendations on "family violence", including wife battering. The laughter of male MPs when the committee's report was introduced in the House of Commons in May 1982 went far to focus public attention and outrage on the issue. In October 1982, a brochure on wife battering was sent with family allowances to 3,500,000 women (a measure that the CACSW had recommended be taken before June 1980). In June 1983 a federal/provincial committee was set up to compile a report on the steps taken by both levels of government and to propose new approaches to dealing with wife-battering.

It is possible that increased public awareness may also affect awareness within the helping professions, but few concerted efforts have been made to bring this about. One recent trend is an increase in counselling services for men who batter, as such treatment is an essential part of prevention.

- **Improvements to the legal system: ensuring that wife battering is treated as a serious offence and that women are protected.**

The inadequacies of the legal system with respect to wife battering exist at all levels: legislation, administration and enforcement. In most jurisdictions, a woman has had to prosecute her abusive husband herself, since the police would almost never arrest or charge a wife batterer. Men were found guilty in less than one percent of the cases of wife battering, partly because a woman's uncorroborated testimony to the battering was not considered sufficient; eye-witnesses to the assault were preferred. Until 1983, it was not an offence for a husband to sexually assault his wife. Although a woman can obtain various orders and injunctions forbidding

her husband from harming her, these orders are difficult and time-consuming to obtain, and difficult to enforce. Few battered women are ever informed by police of other avenues, however limited, that are open to them.

Some of this has changed. In July 1983, three provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario) followed the federal government's lead by ordering their police forces to press charges against wife batterers, and instructed their Attorneys-General not to drop charges without good reason. Women were thereby relieved of the burden of laying charges themselves. The RCMP and some other police forces now receive training in "family violence intervention". The Criminal Code was amended in 1982, by defining police powers of arrest in battering situations more clearly and by removing the immunity from prosecution of husbands who rape their wives (see Sexual Offences).

- **Definition of the problem: developing specific programs and policies to deal with wife battering as a priority area in its own right.**

The federal government's response to wife battering has so far been in the form of isolated efforts, half measures and further study. The creation in 1982 of the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, to collect information and publicize the issue, added an important resource for those who address the plight of battered women, but once again their particular situation was submerged in the general category of "family violence". Once again the fact that women are overwhelmingly the targets of this violence was obscured. The violence continues unabated.

Further Reading

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- Women's Research Centre. *A Study of Protection for Battered Women*. Vancouver: Women's Research Centre, 1982.
- Women's Research Centre and Vancouver Transition House. *Battered and Blamed: A Report on Wife Assault from the Perspective of Battered Women*. Vancouver: Women's Research Centre, 1980.

See Also Volunteer Work

WIFE BATTERING IN BRITISH COLUMBIA: A FACT SHEET

HOW COMMON IS WIFE BATTERING?

Wife battering is a widely spread, but often hidden crime. The best estimates available to date indicate that 1 in 10 Canadian women is assaulted by her husband or by the man with whom she is living. Other studies show that this may well be a conservative estimate.

Women often do not admit that they have been battered, frequently because they do not see any alternatives for themselves and their children. **SOMEONE YOU KNOW — AS A FRIEND, CO-WORKER, OR CLIENT — IS A BATTERED WOMAN.**

DOES WIFE BATTERING RESULT IN SERIOUS INJURIES?

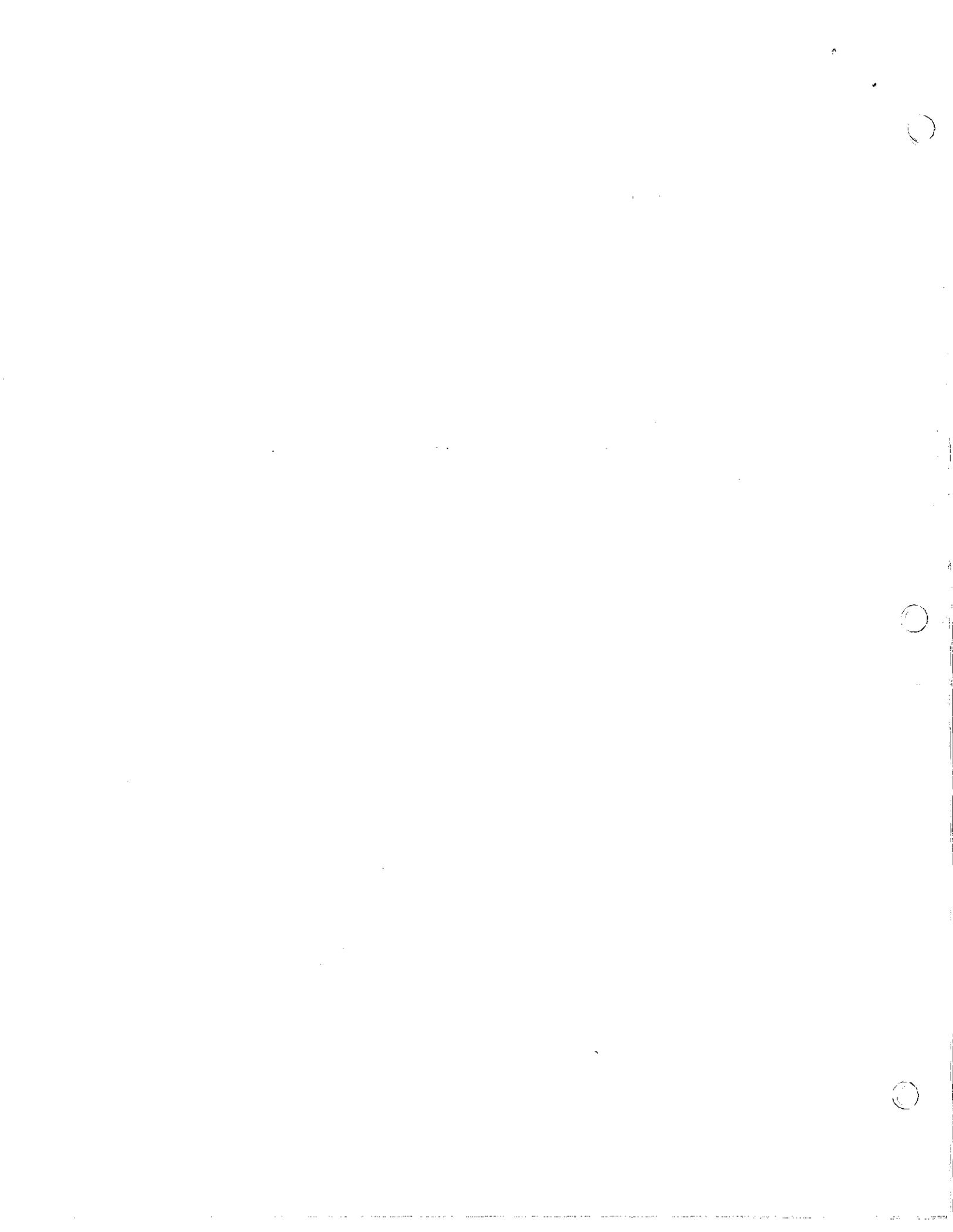
Frequently, yes. Injuries reported by women at Vancouver Transition House include 'broken nose, arm, ribs; black eyes', 'knife wounds, fractures, burns'; 'dislocated neck, spine, collar bone'; 'black eyes, bleeding nose, bruises'. Of the women who indicated how often they had been beaten, well over half reported "often" or "regularly". Being punched or kicked in the stomach while pregnant is also a frequent occurrence.

Wife battering is responsible for 1/5 of Canadian homicides. Approximately 20% of all homicide victims are those murdered by their spouses. Most of these victims are women. In addition, the woman who kills her husband is most often a battered wife acting in self defense.

WHO IS THE MAN WHO BATTERS HIS WIFE?

Wife batterers come from all socio-economic groups, all educational levels, and all cultural and ethnic groups. Men continue to batter because no one stops them.

While alcohol is frequently thought to be a cause of wife abuse, it is clear that the husband's use of alcohol is at most a contributing factor. In *Battered and Blamed*, the authors note that alcohol abuse was not a consistent feature of the assaults in the majority of cases. Several transition house workers pointed out that alcohol does not cause wife battering; it merely "gives (husbands) permission to do what they want to do anyway." Other studies indicate that less than 1/3 of battering incidents involve drinking by either party.



DO WOMEN WHO ARE BATTERED PROVOKE THE ATTACK?

It is clear that wife battering has very little to do with the actions of the woman involved. While many women do try to change their behaviour in order to avoid being beaten, it later becomes clear to them that there is little or nothing they can do to avoid the attack.

Women report that a wide variety of situations may trigger an assault. Women are beaten for 'talking back', for 'not turning the radio down enough', for 'asking for money for groceries'. Some women are taken from bed and beaten.

Far from provoking the attacks, battered women generally do anything they can to avoid them. Further to this, "A WOMAN DOES NOT DESERVE TO BE BEATEN, NO MATTER WHAT SHE DOES. NOBODY DESERVES BEATING, EVER."

WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN?

Sometimes battered women will remain in the situation because of concern for their children. They may believe, as many do, that 'children need a father'—regardless of that father's behaviour. But it is clear that a man's violence against his wife has significant effects on the children, whether or not he has turned his violence directly on them. They are emotionally damaged by witnessing the on-going violence—physical or psychological.

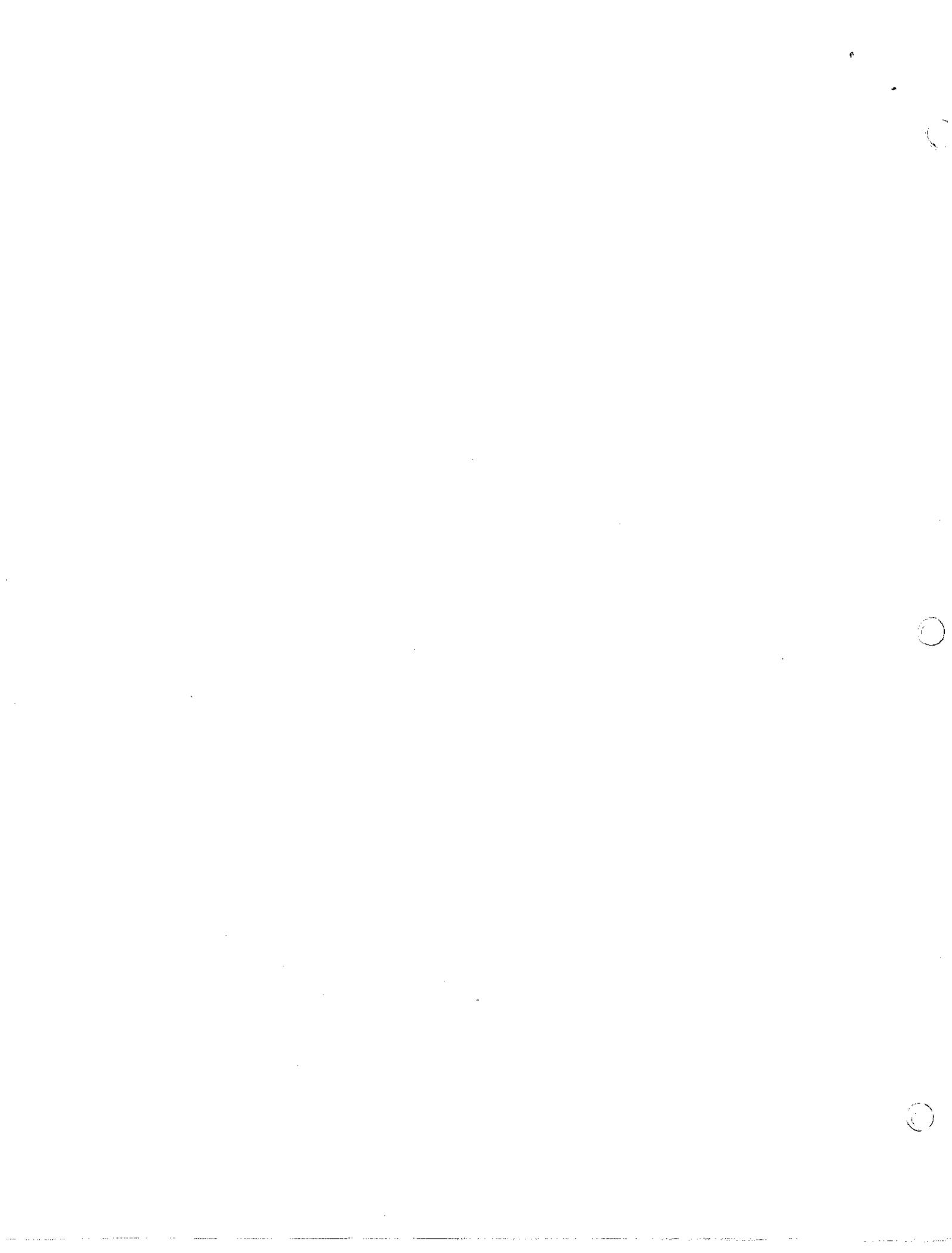
Fear is a common reaction of children who have witnessed their mother's battering. They may be afraid that their father will use violence against them as well. They may also be afraid, if their mother has left her husband, that she will also leave them. Children may feel guilty—they think they could have prevented the situation or that their mother has chosen to leave their father because of something they have done.

A woman's concern for her children may put pressure on her to stay in or return to the marriage. If she leaves, the children may pressure her to go back, because they like their father or because they have taken on their father's attitudes toward their mother. Sometimes fathers bribe or threaten the children to convince their mothers to return. Other women may be trapped between a legal system that says a father has the right to see his children and her own children's wishes not to visit him because they are afraid.

WHY DOESN'T SHE LEAVE?

First of all, many women do leave. But in any case, battered women are *not* passive victims who merely accept the abuse. They are constantly working to stop the violence, and to protect their children from its direct or indirect effects.

A woman often stays because, at least in the early stage of the battering, she sincerely hopes that her husband will change, that the battering will stop, and that she will be able to continue in the marriage. When it becomes clear that this is not going to happen, she may well try to leave or get help. However, family and friends may be unwilling to get involved, or the woman may not want their involvement because of fear for their safety as well as her own. Her husband may threaten her with even more violence if she leaves—and she knows that he is capable of carrying out those threats. In addition, she may have nowhere to go and no financial resources.



Most agencies have been unprepared to give real support to women who have been battered. A study by the Women's Research Centre showed that the legal, medical and social service systems provide little or no protection for battered women and their children. Battering men frequently continue to follow, harass and assault their wives after the women have left the relationships.

For many battered women, the choice is between the battering and a life of poverty and fear for herself and her children. Considering the obstacles women must overcome, it is important to acknowledge that leaving a battering situation is an act of courage and strength.

WHERE CAN WOMEN GO?

In many B.C. communities, transition houses exist to provide temporary protection and support for women and their children. Such houses currently operate in Vancouver, Burnaby, Chilliwack, Coquitlam, Langley, Maple Ridge, Mission, North Vancouver, Richmond, Powell River (safe house programme), Sechelt, Squamish, Nanaimo, Parksville, Port Alberni, Victoria, Fort Nelson, Dawson Creek, Fort St. John, Prince George, Prince Rupert, Quesnel, Terrace, Cranbrook, Kamloops, Kelowna, Salmon Arm, Trail, Nelson (safe house programme), and Vernon. A woman who contacts these houses can receive immediate shelter if she so wishes, but also information on other resources which may be available in her community.

In addition, a support group programme for women who are or have been in battering situations is offered by Battered Women's Support Services in the lower mainland.

SOURCES RELEVANT TO BRITISH COLUMBIA/CANADA

Lewis, Debra J., "A Brief on Wife Battering with Proposals for Federal Action," Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (Ottawa) 1982

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Women's Research Center, *Battered and Blamed: A report on wife assault from the perspective of battered women*. Women's Research Centre (Vancouver) 1980

Women's Research Centre, *A Review of Monroe House second state housing for battered women*. Women's Research Centre (Vancouver) 1980

Women's Research Centre, *A Study of Protection for Battered Women*. Women's Research Centre (Vancouver) 1982

AVAILABLE FROM BATTERED WOMEN'S SUPPORT SERVICES

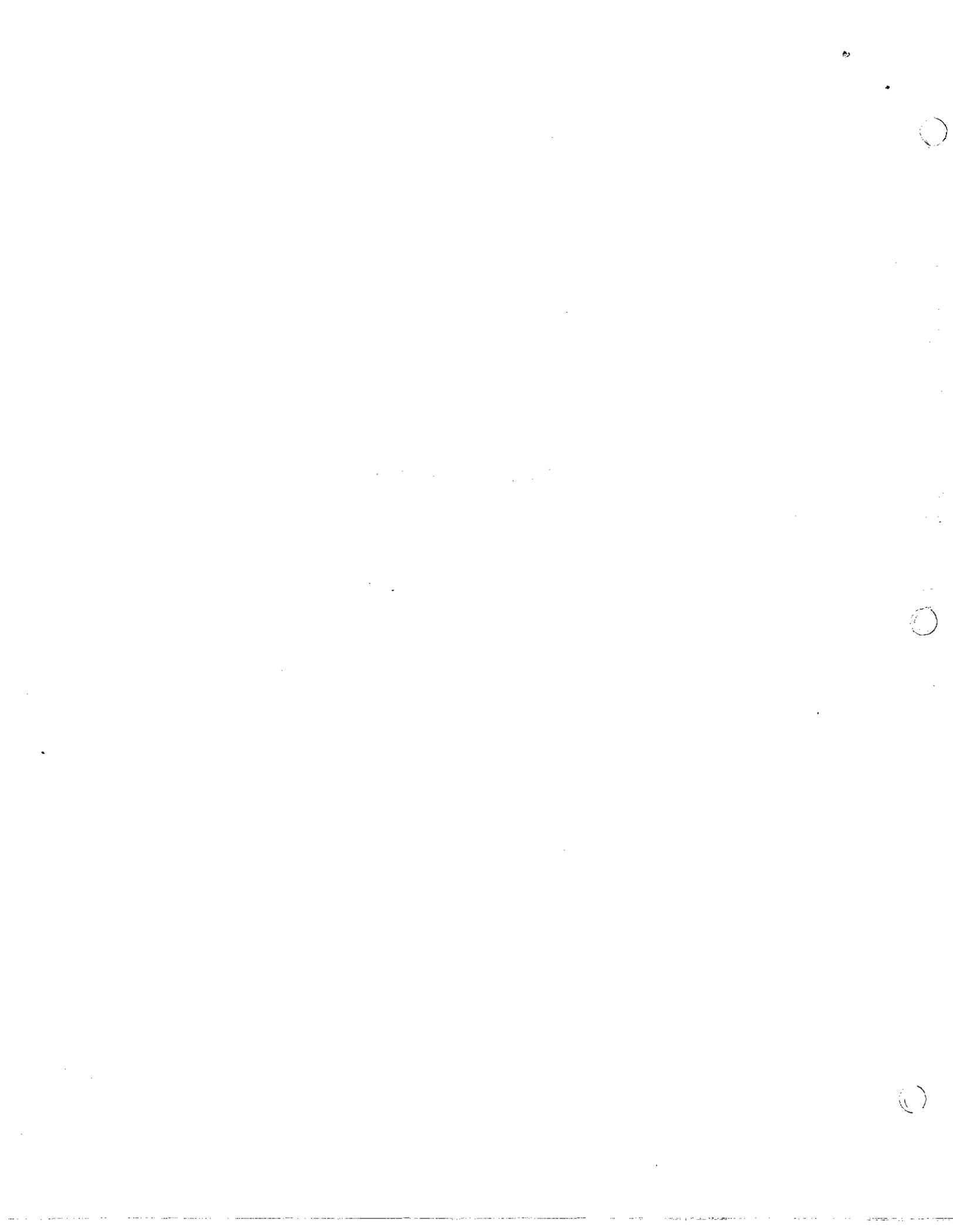
Lewis, Debra J., "Health Care Services and Battered Women," Battered Women's Support Services (Vancouver) 1983

Brown, Margaret and Debra J. Lewis, "Battered Women: A Nursing Approach"

Wife Battering in British Columbia — A Fact Sheet

Dating Violence — Battering in Young People's Relationships (pamphlet)

Forced Sex in Marriage (pamphlet)



GROUNDING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY

(excerpted from Gillian Walker, "Pilot project for a women's support group programme")

■ 1 ■

Violence is not an acceptable form of family interaction.

■ 2 ■

It is men who beat women. There appear to be exceptions, but men who are in danger or in abusive situations have the economic option of leaving, which is less available to women.

■ 3 ■

A woman does not deserve to be beaten, no matter what she does. Nobody deserves beating, ever.

■ 4 ■

There are very real pressures, not only *on* the family but *in* the family as a result of what 'the family' has come to mean and is expected to do in our current society. These pressures are enforced by the institutions which make up our system in such a way that 'the family' can become a trap, especially for women, and more especially for women with children. The dimensions of the trap are seldom visible when a family is not in difficulties, but become apparent when family relations break down. We need to understand the demands and expectations which society makes on the family and how these are sanctioned by the law, social assistance policies, police action, employment and housing situations, and so on. These aspects are as much a reality as the internalized feelings and experiences of the individuals concerned.

■ 5 ■

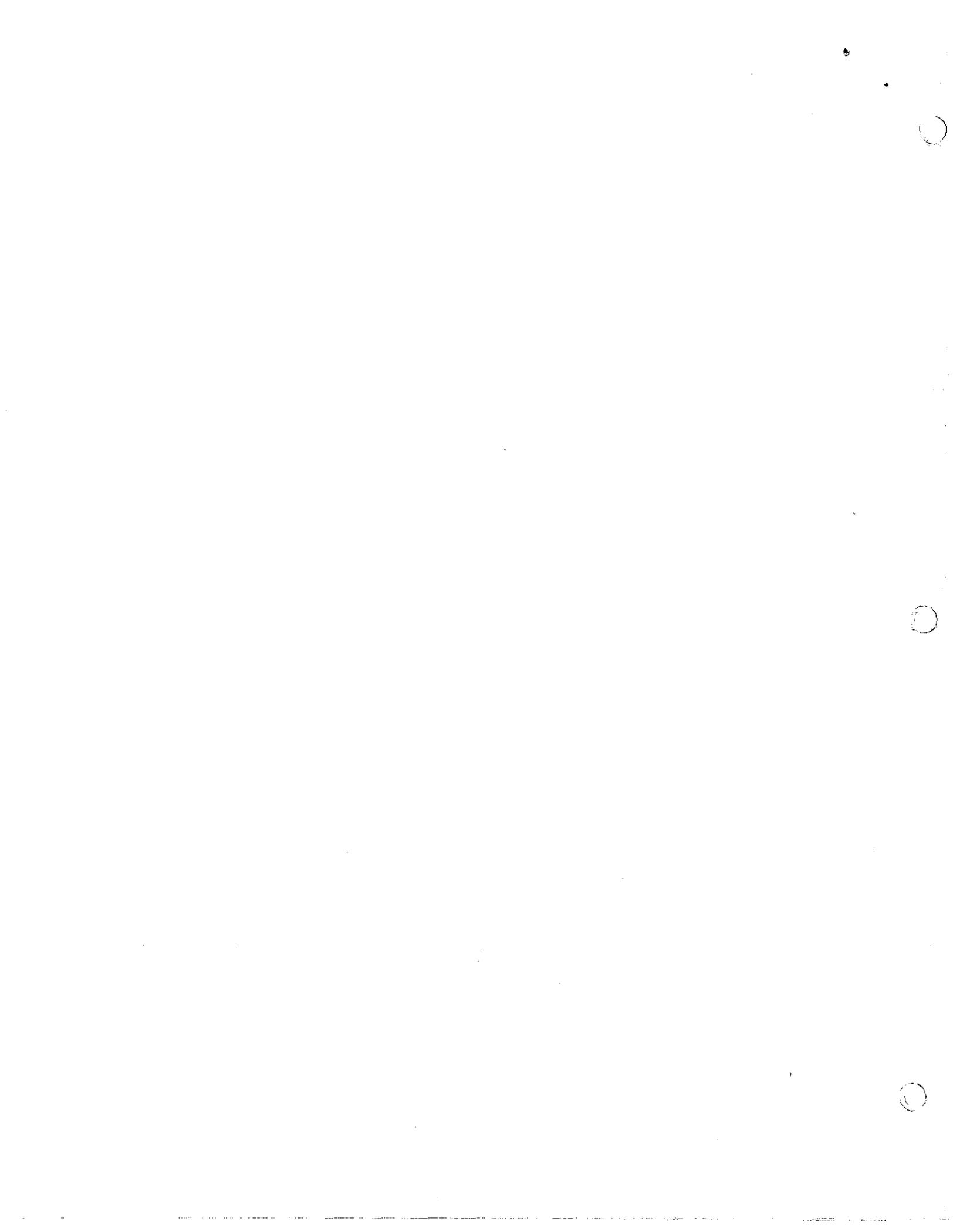
Women stay in abusive situations for a number of reasons. So far it is apparent that:

1. They do not perceive the situation as avoidable or remediable;
2. They do not see any real alternatives outside the family;
3. There are very few alternatives and the institutions of society are not set up to provide alternatives but to reinforce the family as such. (This includes many counselling and therapy services.)

■ 6 ■

There are presently fewer than 20 per cent (8% U.S.) "traditional" families in Canada, i.e. father, breadwinner; mother, homemaker; and two children. In offering support and assistance to women in or leaving abusive situations, we are not seeking to break up the family but to maintain the part of the family which is a viable unit, i.e. the mother and the children. A man who beats or brutalizes his wife and/or children is not a viable part of a family unit until such time as he stops.

Produced by
Battered Women's Support Services
3013 2515 Burrard Street
Vancouver, B.C. V6J 3J6
(604) 734-1574



Save Vancouver Transition House!!!

Women in Vancouver established Transition House in 1973. It was one of the first transition houses in Canada.

A transition house is a place where battered women and their children find a safe environment and services appropriate to their particular needs. Transition houses have proven to be the most effective resource for battered women.

When the B.C. government privatized Vancouver Transition House in April 1984, by contracting it out to the YWCA, they were trying to avoid their social responsibilities. Privatizing Vancouver Transition House was part of the Socred government scheme to shift government run social services to the private sector.

The government officially closed the doors of Vancouver Transition House on 28 June 1985, after the YWCA decided not to renew their contract. On that day, a group of concerned women occupied the house saying they intended to keep the doors of Vancouver Transition House open for battered women and their children. The women are there to ensure that emergency

shelter and counselling services are available to battered women.

Until June 28th, Vancouver Transition House was providing the following services:

- * 24 hour crisis line
- * 24 hour staffing
- * Guaranteed confidentiality
- * Child-care workers
- * Accompaniment to court and legal appointments
- * Co-operative environment, where battered women can learn they are not alone.
- * Positive, non-judgemental atmosphere.

All these services were provided by experienced, unionized, women staff.

On August 6, 1985 the government announced that it was going to award the contract for the service to the Salvation Army and Act 11. The government has refused to reveal what kind of services will be offered. They are proposing two unsatisfactory services which do not guarantee safety, confidentiality or a supportive non-judgmental atmosphere.

Vancouver Transition House must again be operated by its former staff, under the previous working conditions.

Battered women do not need therapy or salvation.

Battered women don't need charity, they need transition house.

Battered women cannot afford to wait any longer.

What You Can Do:

Send a letter to the editor of your newspaper, or a telegram to Grace McCarthy, Minister of Human Resources, Victoria, demanding the immediate re-opening of the Vancouver Transition House.

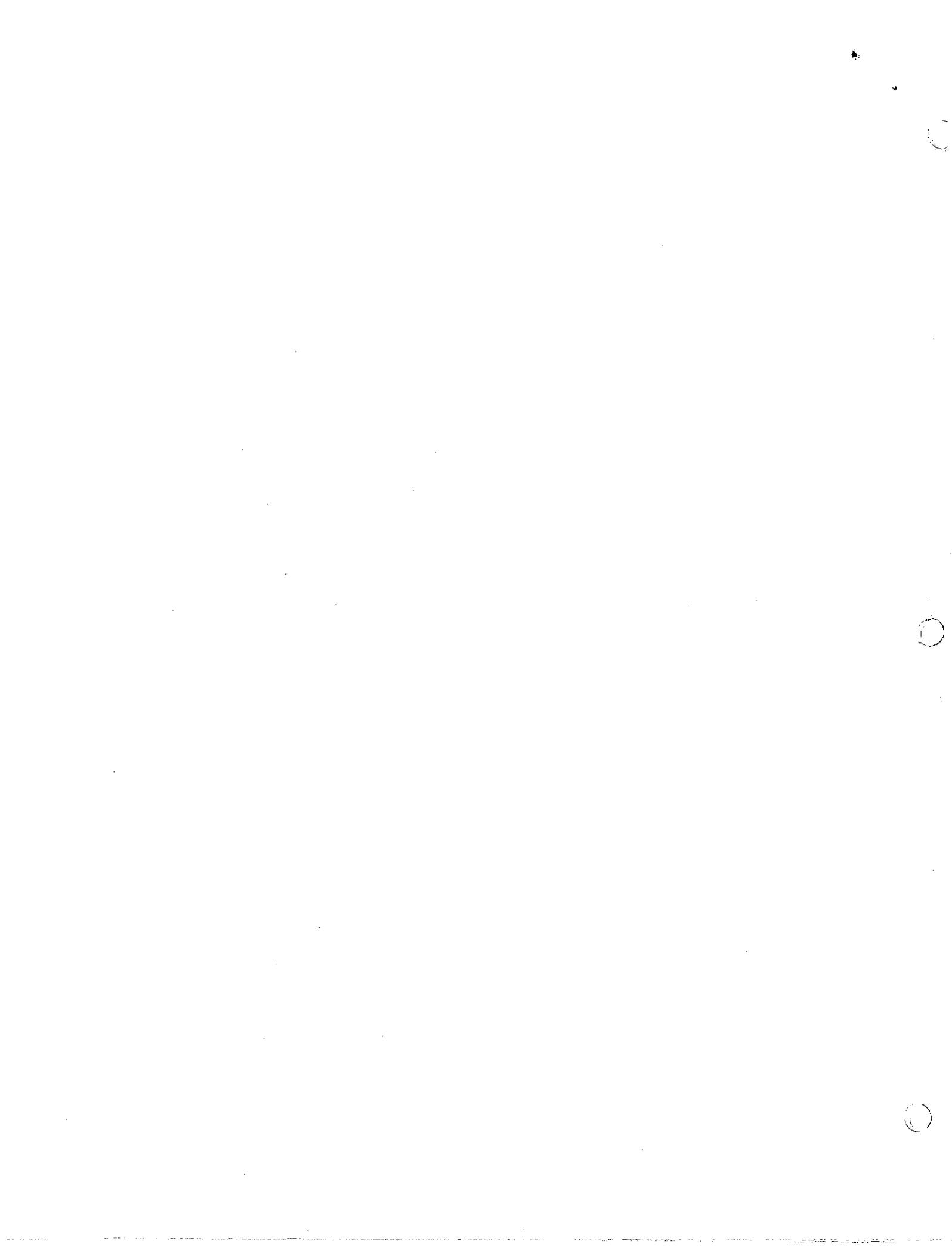
Call Elaine Murray, Regional Manager, Region 1, MHR, telephone 254-7277, telling her you want Vancouver Transition House reopened.

Send letters of support and donations to the occupiers c/o Women's House Saving Action, P.O. Box 4237, Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3Z4.

For more information or details on how to get involved in the Women's House Saving Action, please phone 876-2849.

Women in crisis can call the 24 hour women's house emergency line

681-4563



WIFE BEATING: MYTH AND REALITY

by Betsy Warrior

Ten years ago mention of wife beating would almost certainly have elicited a response of either incomprehension or derision. Although these reactions are still heard, they are no longer encountered with such unflinching regularity. During the past several years great effort has been made to develop a more humane and effective response. Gradually, and to a limited extent, this effort has been rewarded. Successfully challenged in many instances, the public's former attitude of indifference to battered women is not nearly as pervasive as it was. More importantly, battered women themselves have been given hope that their situation can be changed - rather than silently endured as in the past.

The change in public attitude toward battered women has been a positive accomplishment, but it has not been responsible for the hope that many battered women now harbor. Instead their hope has derived from the existence of shelters where they can find temporary refuge from the violence threatening them and where, with the help of other services, they can plan a better life.

Established by a feminist initiative, these shelters and services were especially designed to aid women in freeing themselves from physically abusive men. Analyzing the social and political methods used to control women, feminists maintained that little escape is possible for women who are subjected to male violence hidden within the family and tacitly sanctioned by many social institutions that might, but don't, intervene to halt it. Because of the lack of options and support for battered women that this analysis pointed out, the provision of shelter and support services was deemed a priority. The effort to provide these services was fraught with obstacles and hampered by lean resources. In spite of this, feminists finally managed to provide such services as an integral, critical part of their effort to aid women who were being beaten by the men they lived with. The need for services (as demonstrated by their use) vividly confirmed the magnitude of wife beating in a way that the initial exposure of this problem and resultant protest hadn't.

The struggle to establish services for battered women was at first met with great resistance. Zoning permits for shelters were denied, as were health inspection clearances; funding was slow in coming, and the very existence of the problem was often denied. Although much of the initial resistance to recognizing and aiding battered women has been silenced, it is not to be taken for granted that this resistance has been truly overcome. While some people have genuinely changed their attitudes, others have merely become more subtle and circumspect in their expressions of hostility or disregard for the welfare of battered women.

Those engaged in the early struggle to have woman abuse recognized and dealt with are all too familiar with the many justifications and rationalizations that have been used to protect battering men from repercussions for their behavior, deny protection to battered women and, thus, insure perpetuation of the problem. Often, the first replies to those who brought up the subject of wife beating were that the problem didn't exist, or that it existed only in such minuscule proportions that it was not deserving of attention. Once it became established that wife beating was in fact widespread (estimates ranged from ten to twenty-eight million battered women), a constellation of other excuses for preserving the status quo came into play.

"The sanctity of the home" and "keeping the family intact" aroused great concern when the exposure of battering carried with it the potential option of dissolving the relationship that contained it. This excessive concern over the "intactness of the family" made appallingly clear a lack of regard for the physical and emotional "intactness" of the wife, while it highlighted an overriding concern that the husband not be deprived of his control and rights over his family - no matter what his behavior. Shelters that kept their location confidential were accused of contributing to the break-up of the family by denying battering husbands access to their wives. From Minnesota to the Netherlands, shelters encountered problems on this score with the law and social service agencies. The need of the children for their father as a male role model was also voiced in this regard, implying that a man who battered their mother could still be an appropriate example of masculinity for his children. As the home was no "sanctuary" for the battered wife, it became clear that the "sanctity" of the home could only refer to the inviolability of the husband's freedom to act however he chose within that sphere. Ironically and tragically, statistics indicate that women may be safer from physical violence on the streets than they are in their own homes. For example, four out of five murders of women are committed at home.*

Many other objections have been raised, and continue to be raised, against breaching the privacy of the man's castle to intercede in behalf of the woman. These objections have revealed much about the dynamics of the sexual politics that sustain and perpetuate wifebeating. Resistance to dealing with the problem of abuse is clearly apparent in the many and various myths that serve to blame the victim.

Along with the supposed sacredness of the privacy of the home, the myth that women provoke the violence they are subjected to often was, and is, a standard explanation given by police to justify their failure to protect battered wives. This failure has in turn provoked some women to sue the police and courts in an effort to secure the same protection for battered women that is provided to other victims of assault. Legislative reform has also been sought in places where the law, as well as those who enforce it, has denied women protection from battering mates. The courts, claiming battered women almost inevitably fail to press charges against their batterers, have gone out of their way to discourage women from filing charges. When charges have been filed, the courts are often less than helpful in processing them. Their claim of women's failure to press charges then becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy because of their refusal to act in the women's behalf.



When responding to calls from battered women the police frequently con-

* "A Statistical Portrait of Women in the United States", U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 4/76, from *Women Who Kill*, Ann Jones, p. 320, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1980.



tribute to the danger women are in by refusing to take battering seriously or offer protection. This tacit endorsement indicates to the man that his behavior is being sanctioned by the law and implies to the battered woman that she has no legal recourse. As a result, the man feels more confident of getting away with beating his wife, while the woman feels more hopeless and trapped. This inaction by the police is rationalized under the guise of "neutrality toward both parties." In the face of the stronger position of the man, and his use of power, this supposed neutrality merely tips the scales more in his favor.

Despite the vast amount of time and energy that has been spent on amending legislation and reforming police practices, the law still frequently fails to protect battered women. It matters little what the law dictates if the courts and police are resistant to enforcing it. Though time-consuming and sometimes inefficient, constant monitoring of police and court performance appears to be the only way to extract some semblance of justice for battered women.

Drawing on the myths of the psychobabble set, the medical profession has used a slightly different approach than the police have used to rationalize battering. Masochism and individual pathology have been their contribution to blaming the victim and maintaining patriarchal hegemony.² Not surprisingly, it is the battered woman who is more frequently given psychiatric "treatment" than her batterer. In the much cited article by psychiatrists Snell, Rosenwald and Robey, "The Wifebeater's Wife," battered wives are characterized as, among other things, masochistic, masculine, castrating, sexually frigid, controlling, and aggressive. Published in Time Magazine, these views received wide currency.* Emergency room procedure at many hospitals requires that the battered women they treat be referred to psychiatric services.

Studies have shown that it is usually the battered woman (and women in general) and not her husband to whom tranquilizers and anti-depressants are prescribed. This would certainly be one predictable result of referring battered women to psychiatrists. One study reported that 72 percent of the residents at one shelter had at some time been prescribed various mood-altering drugs, including tranquilizers, anti-depressants and sleeping pills.** This leads one to speculate about the origins of the contentment of some contented housewives. Any contentment on the part of drug manufacturers, though, should be obvious.

In an English social service journal, psychiatrists James McKeith and John Gayford respectively (if not respectfully) assert that, "... some women seem prepared to seek out violent situations and in some sense enjoy them," and, "There is definitely this subgroup of women who are fascinated and can't leave violence alone".*** Their associate Erin Pizzey, who has long been at odds with the mainstream of the British shelter movement, "reckons she has identified a section of the battered wife population who actually need violence in the way others need drugs." Gayford's prognosis for these battered women is: "Such women need to be taken into care with their children and allowed to de-escalate at their own pace. And helping them can take years." In British terminology the "care" he proposes they "be taken into" is institutionalized psychiatric care - years of it. This of course could augur a profitable expansion of the psychiatric patient population, at a time when so many psychiatric theories are being debunked that their credibil-

* Time Magazine, 9/25/64 and Archives of General Psychiatry, p. 107-112, 8/64.

** "Domestic Violence: Patterns of Illicit Psychotropic Drug Use of Battered Women", Herbert, Leith and Papall of Bryony House Shelter, Nova Scotia, Canada, 9/79.

*** Community Care, March 1979.

@hegemony: predominant influence of one state over others, as in league or alliance.

ity and usefulness are in grave doubt, if not outrightly rejected.

These theories neatly place the blame for battering on the victim's doorstep. Without ever mentioning the discredited "masochism", that hoary concept is once again served up - only slightly warmed over. Although it is no more palatable than the first time around, it is repeatedly offered to explain woman abuse and rationalize the status quo.

Paradoxically, it has been asserted that women are just as, or even more, violent than men. Women assaulting men in great numbers, we are told, is spawned by women's rampant (but well-concealed) violence. This bizarre hypothesis was dreamed up by a trio of sociologists who, one must admit, displayed great imagination in concocting a theory to obscure the real nature of the violence we are confronting. Besides ignoring the power dynamics within the family, the claim of ubiquitous "husband battering" blithely skips over the social and political context of male supremacy in which the family operates. This context assures us there could never be enough men being beat up by women to merit them a designation analogous to "battered women". The economic resources, judicial biases and political structure of a male supremacist society categorically precludes the existence of "battered husbands".

Nevertheless this hypothesis was welcomed with a sigh of relief by those who would prefer to have us believe that what we are dealing with is *female* violence - not *male* violence. In spite of reams of statistics to the contrary (from hospitals, police files and shelters), showing an overwhelming preponderance of battered wives, and a less than negligible incidence of men being assaulted by women, this theory was frequently trotted out to deny male responsibility for "family" violence. Coined to obscure the connection between battering and male supremacy, the use of the terms "spouse abuse", "family violence" and "domestic violence" embodies in language the same necessity that invented "battered husbands".

Sociologists and social service providers have often reinforced the myth of individual pathology as the cause of wife beating with a complementary theory of episodic pathological behavior brought on by stress. Unemployment, alcoholism, discrimination, drugs and work difficulties have been a few of the stressors cited as causing the batterer's behavior. These stressors are common. Many men who are subjected to them never batter - others batter in their absence. Obviously, if stress was the real reason for battering, then women, due to greater economic and job discrimination, harassment in the workplace, battering, rape, lack of political representation and a host of other stressors not even applicable to men, would be expected to be the sex to do the most violence. Any relationship between stress and battering occurs only when the batterer uses stress as an excuse to assert male supremacy physically and fortify his ego or gain greater control over his victim. When battering is associated with stress, it may serve to perpetuate and compound it - but not resolve it.

Take alcohol for instance, and not many don't occasionally, it has long-served and well as an excuse for all kinds of behavior - not just battering. Congressmen have even cited its "influence" when attempting to elude responsibility for bribetaking. Yet most people don't become corrupt or violent when they've had a drink. Batterers, like corrupt Congressmen, give alcohol a bad name.

Although men who batter can and do find reasons to justify their behavior, those who gain sympathy for themselves despite it, or encourage enmity* for their victims, find more acceptance for their behavior than those unable to arouse sym-

* Omnipresent

* enmity: hostility

pathy for themselves or dislike for their victims. As the theory of stress points out, even men who beat women are more worthy of sympathy than the women who are subjected to the stress of men's beatings. The double standard used in responding to the abuse and treatment of women by men can only be truly appreciated when juxtaposed to the abuse and treatment of other groups. One can imagine the derision and scorn that would meet with any suggestion that Nazis are abusive to others only because they are under stress, have an high unemployment rate, are heavy drinkers or were abused as children.

By gaining sympathy for the abuser and diverting attention away from sexism, the theory of stress itself plays a role in woman abuse. Trivializing the impact of this abuse on women and discounting women's suffering, male supremacy turns our attention to the man's problems and seeks to enlist our sympathy in his behalf. Since men of all nationalities, drunk or sober, rich or poor, with prestigious jobs or jobless have been guilty of beating women, what then besides sexism is any rationale for this behavior, but a cowardly and self-pitying denial of responsibility?

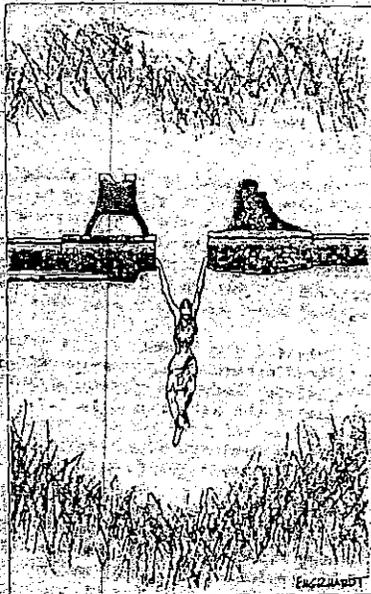
The amount of misogyny revealed by documented economic discrimination against women, and by rape and battering statistics, constitutes only the tip of an iceberg of unacknowledged hostility and hatred women are daily and routinely subjected to. BATTERERS and rapists believe, with justification, that the contempt they have for women is widely shared. Viewed and treated as inferior and subordinate to men, any indication that a woman has some advantage over a man may be construed by him as stressful, provocation for putting her in her place. This may be the reason why one sociological study found that in marriages where wifebeating occurred there was more likelihood that the wives had more education than their husbands.

Ironically, the advantages a man might perceive a woman to have over him are usually illusory because they would be advantageous to her only if she were a man. For instance, if she has a better education than he, she will still get paid less for her work, her chances of getting sexually harassed on the job far outweigh his, while rape and battering pose an additional threat. This reality profoundly affects all women's mobility, self-image, opportunities and freedom - no matter how "uppity" a woman may appear to a man.

Since approximately nine out of ten rapes and probably even more beatings of women are never reported, and street and work harassment of women is rarely even noticed except by the victim herself, women are often used by abusive men as scapegoats, allowing them to vent their resentments against other men with little risk of retaliation. The interests of men are well served by having women act as buffers to absorb hostility that they might otherwise direct at each other. This makes it more understandable why any feeling or circumstance stressful to a man is accepted so readily as an excuse for woman abuse.

A multiple murderer/rapist was quoted as choosing his victims, who were strangers to him, on the grounds that they appeared "uppity". In spite of his reasoning and the severity of his crimes, he has been given sympathy and support. "The Case of William Fuller" in *Argo*, July/August 1979, Washington, D.C.

** Based on the 1980 census, the median income for men is \$12,500 and for women \$4,920. Consumer Income, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March 1981. According to a report by Ruth Brown before the Congressional Subcommittee on Federal Job Harassment, 42% of women federal employees reported being sexually harassed on their jobs in the last two years. Eight thousand quit because of this. Harassment rates are thought to be smaller in other employment sectors.



When male supremacy is most outspoken, contempt and hatred for women are more prominent in the myths constructed to explain wife abuse. These myths portray the woman as causing her own abuse, being "uppity", provoking abuse, asking for it and apparently getting what she deserves.* As the falsity of these myths is exposed, new ones in which the sexism is more subtle are constructed. Still, old myths linger on to coexist with the new in spite of contradictions between them. Any social problem that catches the attention of the public at a particular time may be used to explain the abuse of women. Unemployment, a currently popular explanation for wife beating, may be dropped and replaced by something else when the economy improves; because even if high unemployment rates don't continue, sexism will, and with it wife beating.

Another theory frequently used, the "cycle of violence", is an apt illustration of how circumstances beyond the control of the batterer and mitigating circumstances (that is, circumstances that pardon or lessen responsibility) are used to explain wifebeating. This theory assumes that in families where wifebeating occurs the children will adopt the violent behavior and transmit it to the next generation - either as batterers or as victims. Even though this theory gives the impression of being part of a broader social analysis it also uses individual pathology to explain wifebeating. Always of questionable validity, the "cycle of violence" is further cast in doubt by the Dobashes' finding that 88 percent of the adult brothers and sisters of batterers and victims don't use violent behavior in relating to others, including their wives and children.** Because the childhood environment of their siblings would most closely approximate the childhood environments of the batterers and victims, this finding sharply contradicts the assumption that children in families where violence is used necessarily adopt that behavior themselves. In fact, from this particular statistic one could conclude that the majority of children of wifebeaters react to this violence as they would to "aversion therapy".

Obviously, there is great variability in the way different people react to similar conditions or conditioning. The values one adopts and the needs one gives priority to are based on many other factors besides childhood experiences within the family. Children can reject behavior that causes them anxiety, pain or repugnance, as well as imitate through simple observation or identification. Many influences and experiences supersede the influence of the family.

When working with victims and batterers it is apparent that both personal and social factors contribute to the batterer's behavior. Many batterers learn at an early age to manipulate and exploit the women in their lives. Often they are able to see only their own needs and are unmoved by any consideration for the personhood of women. In all societies where women are devalued, batterers' attitudes towards women are influenced by certain assumptions that are constantly reinforced by being so widely held: mothers should sacrifice their own comfort and happiness for their children, wives should sacrifice their interests and egos for their husbands', and women's welfare and interests are naturally less important than and subordinate to men's. Since all schools of psychology enthusiastically collude in blaming wives and mothers for almost everything negative men do, batterers find critical support for attitudes that foster battering and assign blame to women. The batterer has little reason or motivation for self-control when he can so easily avoid repercussions or responsibility for his actions.

* "There are all kinds of institutions to service these so-called battered wives. What nobody's saying is that most of the time the bitch needed her ass kicked." Eldridge Cleaver, *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1980.

** *Violence Against Wives*, R. Emerson Lobash and Russell Dobash, Free Press, a division of Macmillan, 1979.

When dealing with other social problems, it's acknowledged that peer group pressure, movies, books, T.V., church, school, military service and sports all exert a strong influence on behavior and the formation of values. Yet when it comes to woman abuse we are expected to view it only within the confines of some narrow set of circumstances often carefully chosen to avoid any reference to male supremacy, which is scrupulously ignored or noted only to be downplayed or dismissed.

The theory of the "cycle of violence" makes families and batterers appear all but impervious to outside social influences and the batterer without any individual personal will. This static, fatalistic theory can easily lead one to the conclusion that battering is the result of genetic programming. Neither accidentally nor naively formulated, such theories and myths protect and preserve the prerogatives of male supremacy. Each reflects a particular strategy used to oppress women, and each tells a tale of how women are oppressed.

It is sometimes asserted that woman abuse is merely incidental to our particular stage of industrial development. On the contrary, evidence of wife beating reaches back to biblical times and beyond. A large body of material indisputably documents the widespread historical and cross-cultural existence of wifebeating. The excellent research of Dobash and Dobash, Jo Sutton, Julia Hamner, Del Martin and many others has brought to light some of this material.*

In all cultural and historical periods the factor most critical to the existence of woman abuse has been a male supremacist social organization - especially as manifested in the family. To say "patriarchal" family would be redundant as the concept of "family" is based on the Latin "familia", meaning head of household (father/husband), and all his *subordinates* (servants, wife/wives and children). This model is dominant cross-culturally. The relationship of wife - whether or not the woman is married to the batterer - is the relationship within which women are most commonly beaten.

The individual "personal" relationships of women with men are standardized and controlled by a patriarchal formula that has been institutionalized in marriage, most commonly seen in nuclear and extended families. Elevated to the status of a contract in law by male legislators and enshrined as a blessed sacrament by patriarchal religious bodies, this formula provides the officially sanctioned pattern for *all* male/female relationships - even the most informal and temporary.

Polygyny, the possession of more than one wife (which exists in the United States without the seal of legality), is one interesting example of this relationship. In cultures attempting to observe an ideal of democracy *among men*, polygyny is outlawed because it gives a greater personal monopoly on the services of women to some men, while other men, lacking women, may be constrained to perform even domestic services for themselves. Despite the disincentive of its illegal status in the United States, polygyny continues to be practiced by the adherents of various religions (Mormons, etc.) and by pimps living off the labor of more than one woman, as reflected by the use of the term "wife-in-law" between women who are in the possession of the same pimp.** In contrast to the usual wife relationship though,

* Violence Against Wives, Dobash and Dobash, Free Press, 1979. "The Problem of the Problem of Battered Wives", Jo Sutton, Leeds, England. "Violence and the Social Control of Women", Julia Hamner in *Power and the State*, G. Littlejohn, et al., Pion, Hein, London, 1978. *Beating Wives*, Del Martin, Volcano Press, San Francisco, California, 1976.
** "Adventures Among the Polygamists", Jack Anderson, also "Harem in America", Dale Van Atta in *The Investigative Reporter*, January 1982. What is referred to here is actually polygyny, which indicates two or more women belonging to one man. Polygamy, on the other hand, refers to either sex having (cont'd next page)

the pimp profits from many men using the women under his control. That this relationship isn't a strict monopoly, but in fact benefits many men, accounts for its widespread though often illegal existence.

As well as being tailored to meet men's needs generally, men's "personal" relationships with women are endowed with the qualities of sanctity and privacy which allow them to be further adapted to the specific requirements of individual men. The sacrosanct "private" domain within which these relationships function shields them from public scrutiny or criticism. This in turn exempts them from many standards of conduct applied to other relationships. Women who publicly reveal injuries caused by the internal dynamics of these relationships are condemned for breaking tacit taboos by "washing their dirty linen in public." The marriage (or similar) relationship is characterized by an economic, sexual, menial and emotional servitude and subordination on the part of the women. Reinforced by the society outside the relationship, this servitude and subordination lies at the root of woman battering.

Viewed as both an intrapersonal and social phenomenon, it becomes clear why women encounter such difficulty in getting out of a battering situation. The social obstacles a woman must overcome to leave the situation assures the batterer that his behavior won't be likely to cause the irrevocable loss of his wife and victim. Because of the uniquely vulnerable and restricted position of the wife (or woman in any equivalent relationship), the concept of "wife abuse" or "wife beating" more accurately describes this phenomenon than "woman battering."

Misnaming wife beating, diverting attention onto unemployment, alcoholism, childhood experiences, post-industrialism, masochism and so on as the causes of wife beating serves to direct attention away from the foundations of male supremacy within the patriarchal family. The list of justifications that have been used to maintain the male supremacist status quo (the most critical factor contributing to woman abuse) could be endless. But more important than the myths and endless justifications is the function they serve.

One cannot be concerned with defending and preserving the family as it now exists and simultaneously be committed to ending wife beating, incest, or "granny bashing" (the latter being a popular term for the beating of old women). The many myths upholding the family as "the last bastion of privacy and emotional comfort" are belied by the reality of the horrors that routinely occur there. Resistance against taking an honest approach to the beating of women is especially apparent when such an approach threatens aspects of male privilege that are built into the structure of the family. Rejection or avoidance of solutions that threaten this power hierarchy indicates an allegiance to the present status quo. When such a reaction holds sway, efforts to implement effective solutions to wife abuse are sabotaged. Unfortunately, as long as these myths obscure a clear understanding of

more than one spouse. Although the term "harem" is not generally used in the United States, its use in the title of the article above acknowledges the dominance of Muslims as cultural pacesetters in this practice. Widespread and legally sanctioned in some Muslim countries, this practice sometimes requires the importation of women from foreign countries to satisfy the demand. Recently for instance, \$35,000 was offered by an Arab sheik to buy an American teenager who was working in a film on location in the Mideast - hardly the price of a modest house today. *People*, 1/82. In the United States there are an estimated 30,000 practicing Mormon polygamists not to mention other cults and pimps who appropriate the sexual and domestic services of more than one woman. Most practitioners of polygyny claim divine, if not legal sanction. Collectively, the women under the control of one pimp are referred to as his scale; a term more suggestive of animal than human chattel. For information on the international traffic in women see the groundbreaking work *Female Sexual Slavery*, by Kathleen Barry, Prentice Hall, 1977.

DOONESBURY



why wifebeating occurs, a solution to this problem will always remain beyond our grasp.

In the wake of the creation of services for battered women a need also to address batterers was recognized. Since batterers whose wives had already left them often continued their violence against women in new relationships, an endless procession of victims loomed in the future. Besides this future threat, there was the ever-present threat that the batterer presented by his continued harassment of his former victim. Finding some effective way of changing the behavior of already identified batterers held promise of helping to ameliorate this dilemma.

Feminists, however, were reluctant to indiscriminately support any program that might offer to provide services for batterers. This reluctance was solidly based on plentiful experience with battered women who had sought help through customary social service channels only to find their problems aggravated or compounded. They realized that any program which focused only on factors particular to the individual and excluded the political and economic context that caused and sustained violence against women was doomed to failure in the long run. By viewing wifebeating as a personal quirk of some relationships or as merely a response (unquestionably male but with no questions why) to stress, without recognizing the pervasiveness and consistency of violence against women or the context in which personal relationships reside, new programs would fail as miserably as their predecessors had, wasting time and money and giving the illusion of progress while being an obstacle to it.

The first successful programs for batterers in this country were started by men who were already involved in anti-sexist work and who recognized the need to work with batterers in a new way which implemented feminist concerns. Committed to working against sexism and believing that shelter work should be rightly undertaken only by women, they

chose to work with batterers. As innovators with few guideposts to follow in developing their programs, the goals they shared with feminists

By Garry Trudeau

served as guiding principles for the development of their programs which have become models for other such programs to emulate.*

Other "new" programs though, continue to incorporate beliefs and methods that have long since failed to meaningfully change the batterer's behavior or restore his victim's physical safety and emotional well-being. The numerous programs that now exist for batterers are based on a variety of analyses of what the problem is and what the solution should be. Some programs still chose to see batterers in a social vacuum, while others, to their credit, have chosen a much more complex approach. Dispensing with theories that blame the victim, refusing to view the batterer in a social vacuum, they instead assess how values and beliefs are created to rationalize the uses of power effecting individual, social and historical interactions. This perspective supplies a prerequisite without which such work is futile or, worse, harmful. Effective programs must deal with both the public and private spheres of the batterer because, while it is the private sphere of the home where the rewards of this behavior are secured by the control it gives individual men over women, it is the public sphere that sanctions wifebeating by being indifferent to it or offering rationalizations that excuse it while purporting to explain it. Thus, these programs see public education and change, as well as work with the batterer, as necessary to ending wife abuse.

Most programs for batterers are organized and housed separately from shelters, for well-considered reasons. To have these services combined would present a conflict of interest, as the interest of the woman is to avoid the possibility of contact with her batterer (which is implicitly demonstrated by her move to a shelter), while the batterer is often interested in resuming the relationship. The interests of both parties cannot simultaneously be furthered by the staff; indeed, ample past experience in different settings has shown us that the interests of the battered woman are usually sacrificed to the desires of her abuser. Whether or not the abuser states a desire for reconciliation, his motivation for availing himself of the program, if it's connected to a shelter, may be suspect; as locating his victim for continued abuse, may just as well as reconciliation, be prompting his contact. In any case, it will be impossible to be sure of the batterer's sincerity in such a situation.

Protecting the interests of the victim in a setting of combined services also presents an impossible ethical dilemma. Many battered women simply won't use a shelter that their batterer may learn the location of. Neither could they trust or be open with a staff that might be providing succor to their batterers. As well as undermining the efficacy of shelters and batterer's programs for potential clients, such combining of services may demand an insupportable financial and work burden on the shelter and its staff. One's sense of justice protests at sacrificing any of the already inadequate resources for battered women in favor of their abusers.

While aid to individual battered women is an indispensable prerequisite for eventually stopping violence against women, taken alone such one-by-one aid holds little promise of achieving this far-reaching goal. Intercession into individual relationships in an effort to halt the violence therein may alter their dynamics, but only as individual units and perhaps only temporarily. Such alterations occurring in scattered individual relationships won't necessarily change the conditions that give rise to such abuses. Yet taken together, enough individual changes

* See articles by Emerge and R.A.V.E.N. (in Battered Women's Directory)

will have an impact on social patterns. Combined with the work being done on sexual abuse and economic discrimination against women, anti-battering work could have a significant influence on the social institutions and public mores that provide the preconditions for our personal relationships. Only when the indifference or tolerance that masks complicity on a public level changes to an active and sincere commitment to stemming the tide of violence and poverty that threatens women will we have reason to hope for any fundamental improvement in our lot.



**Vancouver Rape Relief
& Women's Shelter**

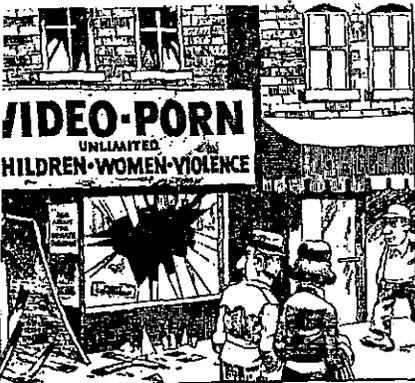
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PORNOGRAPHY



THE CASE AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY

by Bonnie Kneps



Speak out against pornography and you'll run the risk of being called a man hater, unliberated, reactionary, a prude, or a pro-censorship fascist. This abuse is designed to silence the debate, but the debate must continue if we are to cut through these specious* arguments and free ourselves from pornography's degrading, abusive, dehumanizing brutality against women and children.

- Item: "Playing soon: Penetration, Unbelievably violent, graphic, a double turn-on. He always hurts the one he loves. Some women deserve it."
- Item: Radio ad for Nazi Love Camp: "Women beaten, women tortured, and more... Come see Nazi Love Camp".
- Item: Book titles: Total Humiliation: Making Girls Behave Sexually
Anal Rape: Abused and Beaten Victims
Sound for Glory
Raped and Beaten by Daddy
- Item: Playboy magazine cartoon: A girl who looks about eight years old is leaving the apartment of a middle-aged man. He is in a bathrobe, lighting up a cigarette; she is fastening her belt around her waist and looking contemptuously over her shoulder at him. Caption: "You call that being molested?"

*specious: misleading, faulty, deceptive

These items are samples from pornography as it now flourishes in North America. I was introduced to the subject by a National Film Board film called Not a Love Story: A Film About Pornography. I say "introduced" because I, probably like most women, had hitherto managed to live in virtual ignorance of this major part of our culture - using the word loosely. I was so stunned by the film and by my own ignorance that I decided to investigate further. I bring you here the first fruit of that endeavor and urge you to take the investigation for yourselves. Women have been silent about pornography for too long. Men have accepted pornography as part of their sexuality for too long.

Of the 10 most profitable magazines on the newsstands today, six are what is called "men's entertainment" magazines. The top two of these, Playboy and Penthouse, have a combined circulation greater than Time plus Newsweek. Pornography is published almost exclusively by men for men. Even most copies of Playgirl are bought by men, not by women according to a survey conducted by Wilson Bryan Key and published in his book Subliminal Seduction (New American Library, 1974, \$2.95).

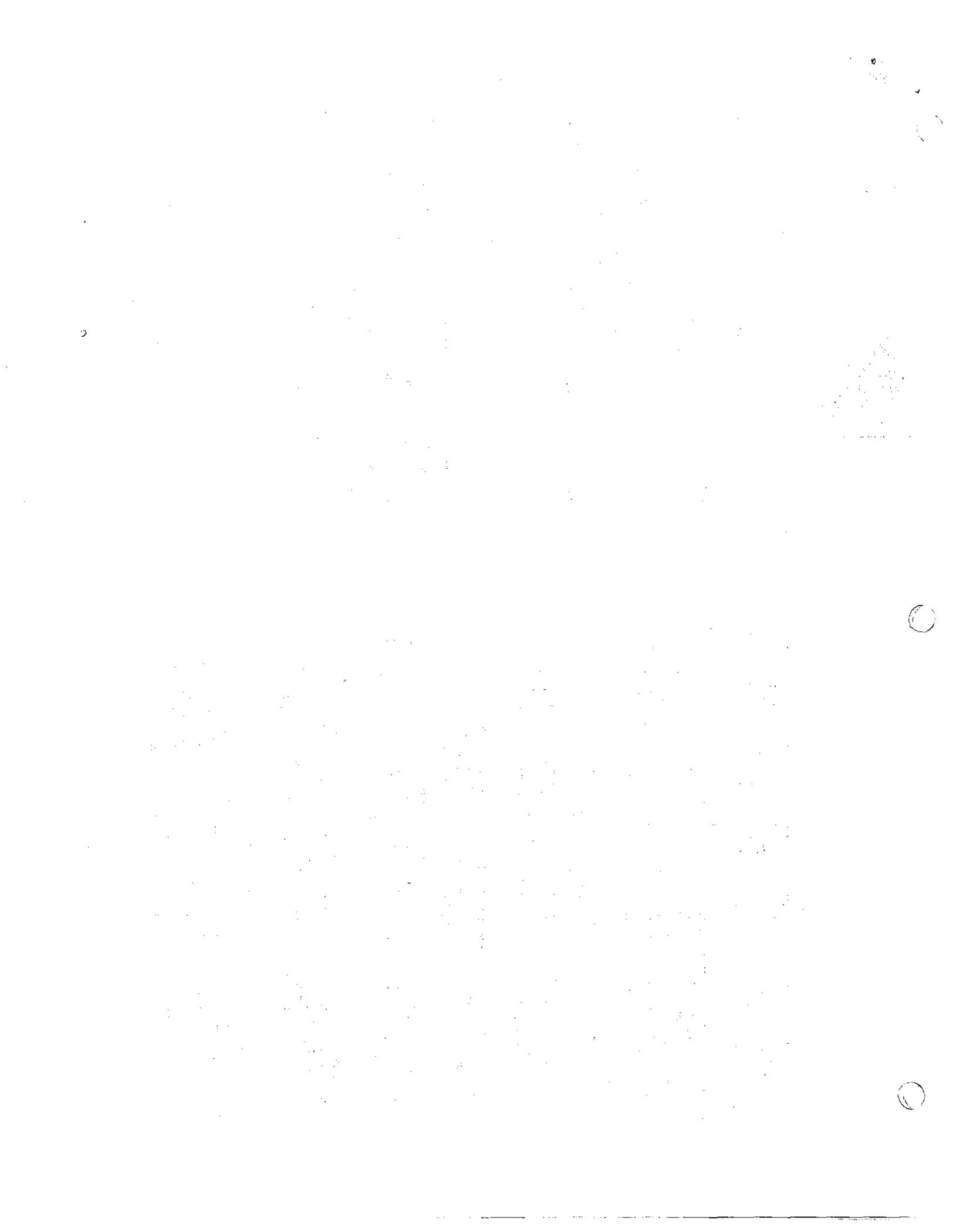
"We are just publishers of Canadian entertainment magazines", says David Wells in Not a Love Story. He publishes five such magazines - "and spin offs, of course". He estimates there are now 32 American magazines on the stands in Canada, compared to eight two years ago (these are 1980 figures; the total has probably increased since the film was made).

In the home and hotel room videocassette market, pornography outsells conventional films three to one. Pornography movie houses in North America claim to gross \$10 million a week. An estimated 20,000 "adult" bookstores offer books, magazines and often peep shows. A well-located store of this kind can take in as much as \$10,000 a day.

By conservative estimates, the pornography industry has grown from a \$5-million to a \$5-billion annual take in the past dozen years. Florence Rush, one of the major investigators of child pornography, has estimated that about one quarter of the annual pornography income is from what known in the trade as kiddie porn. Robin Lloyd, reporter and author of For Money or Love, a book about boy prostitution, collected 264 different child-porn magazines, costing an average of \$7 each. In kiddie porn films, girls as young as six are shown engaging in sex acts with adult males.

The standards in pornography have indeed - as David Wells acknowledges in Not a Love Story - become a "little rougher" since 1969, the year Penthouse introduced pubic hair. Currently, this summary by Laura Lederer, the editor of Take Back the Night: Women on Pornography (William Morrow & Co.; 1980 \$20.95, pb \$11.25; distributed in Canada by Gage Publishing Ltd.), is no exaggeration: "The media have subjected women to dramatized rapings, stabbings, burnings, beatings, gaggings, bindings, tortures, dismemberments, mutilations, and deaths in the name of male sexual pleasure or sheer entertainment".

Along with these "rougher standards", the general trend in pornography has gone from 38D to pedophilia, in the words of Dr. Judith Bat-Ada. Her doctorate is in mass media. Her work revolves around trends in pornography, changes in the portrayal of females and female sexuality in the industry, and the effect of those changes on women and men. Her conclusion is that the media



"have moved into an acceptance of pedophilia, and are progressing very rapidly toward the endorsement of incest. I believe the final taboo now being breached is child sodomy".

Not a pretty picture. If it sounds unbelievable, you probably need go no farther than your corner store for verification. That is what I did. After amassing all this depressing research material, I left my house and went to the nearest store. It was a small store, the kind that sells convenience foods and is open when supermarkets aren't. I had gone in there often. This time I headed straight for the magazine display. Like the store, it was small. There were five magazines prominently displayed. Two of them were Playboy and Penthouse. On the few shelves above, I found 35 magazines I would classify as pornographic and three marginal ones dealing with "human relations".

I recommend my neighbourhood exercise to you. It is a freeing experience to stand there in your corner store, pulling out one porn magazine after another, staring firmly at their world. That world may not be your world, but it certainly is part of the world. If brutalizing women and children is "men's entertainment", women should know about it. If pornography reflects men's sexuality there must be men who feel viciously slandered by it. Why don't we get together?

"But is pornography a problem?" An amazing question, considering the facts. One would think the answer self-evident. But no, even much of the scientific research is pondering that very question. In my opinion, a major part of the "problem" is that we confuse pornography with erotica with sex education. Scientists use the terms interchangeably. Not surprisingly, there is a bit of confused research coming out.

So let us try to define our terms. I like these definitions by feminist philosopher Helen Longino: Pornography is material that represents or describes degrading and abusive sexual behavior so as to endorse and/or recommend the behavior as described. Since the participants treated in this manner in virtually all heterosexual pornography are women and children, heterosexual pornography is, as a matter of fact, material that endorses sexual behavior that is degrading and/or abusive to women and children. This definition certainly fits the material I found in my corner store.

Longino draws some fine distinctions. Pornography is immoral, not because it presents explicit sexual material, but because of the kind of sexual material it endorses. Sadistic, abusive, or forced sex is immoral because it injures and violates another. What is wrong with pornography, then, is its degrading and dehumanizing portrayal of women and children - in its sexual content.

POBNOGRAPHY

HATE LITERATURE

STOP THE WAR



SOBNOGRAPHISTS

AGAINST WOMEN ♀

- GRABBY ON WALL IN VANCOUVER, 1985

Erotica is different from pornography because of the kind of sexuality it endorses: "A representation of a sexual encounter between adult persons which is characterized by mutual respect is, once we have disentangled sexuality and morality, not morally objectionable," Longino writes. "Such a representation would be one in which the desires and experiences of each participant were regarded by the other participant as having a validity and a subjective importance equal to those of the individual's own desire and experiences. In such an encounter, each participant acknowledges the other participant's basic human dignity and personhood."

Sex education material differs from both pornography and erotica in that its intent is merely to educate. It would be morally objectionable only if its explicit sexual material showed persons in such a manner that they did not maintain self-respect; that is, if it showed them in a degrading position.

I go into these distinctions in detail because there is a lamentable lack of such definitions around. To have sociologists and psychologists talk interchangeably about pornography, erotica, and sex education merely highlights the confusion our whole society suffers from. We are so ignorant and/or unhealthy (take your pick) that we can actually let a porn magazine producer like David Wells tell us, "I think this is sex education. I think any good psychologist will tell you there's no harm in them. . . They do good." Which is what he said in Not a Love Story.

All I can say is, if pornography is sex education, then we're really in trouble. I am personally convinced that pornography is a problem by the mere fact that too many of us cannot tell sex education from erotica from pornography. If that fact does not convince you, perhaps some more information about pornography will. Here goes.

Ever hear of "water works" films? As in the film Water Power? "Waterworks" is the term used for movies about men urinating on women. Then there's the film in which a doctor takes a nurse by surprise, binds her into a wheelchair, and gets sexually aroused by gassing her to death. The film ends with her death and his climax.

How about "Home and Family Sex"? That is one skin-magazine publisher's term for incest.

Then there's Snuff. Advertised as "The Bloodiest Thing That Ever Happened in Front of a Camera", this South American film surfaced in New York in 1976. It claimed that its female star was tortured, murdered, and then disembowelled on film. For real. Soon a new genre appeared: the North American "snuff" film, thus called because the original actress was murdered (snuffed out) in front of the camera.

What we see over and over again in so-called "hard core" pornography is men getting sexual enjoyment out of degrading, abusing, torturing, and even killing women. And we see women smiling and enjoying what is being done to them. Even when there are no men around to mutilate them, the women in pornography will smilingly mutilate themselves. As, for example, in a series of photos with text in Chic magazine called "Columbine Cuts Up". Here, Columbine is shown stabbing herself in the vagina with a large butcher knife and cutting her labia with scissors. She is



smeared with blood and on her face is a fixed smile. In a purported interview with this "panting mime", Chic has Columbine say, "I would much rather masturbate with a knife than a dildo. I guess, because I've always had an inferiority complex, I think of myself as deserving to be stabbed and killed." You may think this description goes beyond the pale of what you can stomach. I saw it, and much more, in a slide show called Abusive Images of Women in Mass Media and Pornography compiled by the San Francisco group Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media.

What we see over and over again in so-called "soft-core" pornography is men getting sexual enjoyment out of treating women like objects. The most famous "soft-core" object of them all is, of course, the Playboy bunny. "Playboy isn't playing", Judith Bat-Ada is fond of saying. What Playboy is doing, along with the genre of pornography it spawned is "programming a female identity which features female masochism during our youth and early 20's, and female obsolescence when we have barely achieved womanhood. This programming is based upon the dehumanization of women, and the 'object' erotization of homosapiens."

In the late '60s, when women again began a concerted effort to raise their status as human beings in our society, Hugh Hefner immediately moved into battle. Correctly perceiving the vast difference between a "Playmate" and a woman with dignity, he commissioned an article in September 1969 on the emerging women's movement. In a confidential memo distributed to his staff, he delineated his objectives for the article. The memo was discovered and disclosed by a Playboy Club secretary, who was fired for doing so. It read: "These chicks are our natural enemy...it is time we do battle with them... What I want is a devastating piece that takes the militant feminists apart. They are unalterably opposed to the romantic boy-girl society that Playboy promotes... Let's get to it and make it a real winner."

You can read all about it in "The Article I Wrote on Women That Playboy Wouldn't Publish", by Susan Braudy (Glamour, May 1971). The article Playboy did publish was called, "Up Against the Wall, Male Chauvinist Pig". Its author, Morton Hunt, not surprisingly, relegated the women's movement to the "discard pile of history". Two secretaries who refused to type the final manuscript of this article were also fired.

What characterizes this "romantic boy-girl society" that Playboy promotes? The Playboy way of life, says Bat-Ada, portrays men as play-boys: boys forever playing. A boy plays, and women are his toys. Woman cannot be mate, companion, lover - she must be his thing, his pet, his chick, his "bunny". Playboy readers are conditioned by text and images to disavow their sentiments of caring, and to abdicate their social responsibility for respect in female-male relationships and for nurturance in adult-child relationships."

Playboy is often considered innocuous, even by people who don't claim to like pornography (and besides, it's full of serious and interesting articles, right?). Look at it again from Bat-Ada's perspective: "I consider Playboy the most dangerous", she says, "because it is the leader and the 'philosopher', precisely as Hugh Hefner likes to claim. The hatred



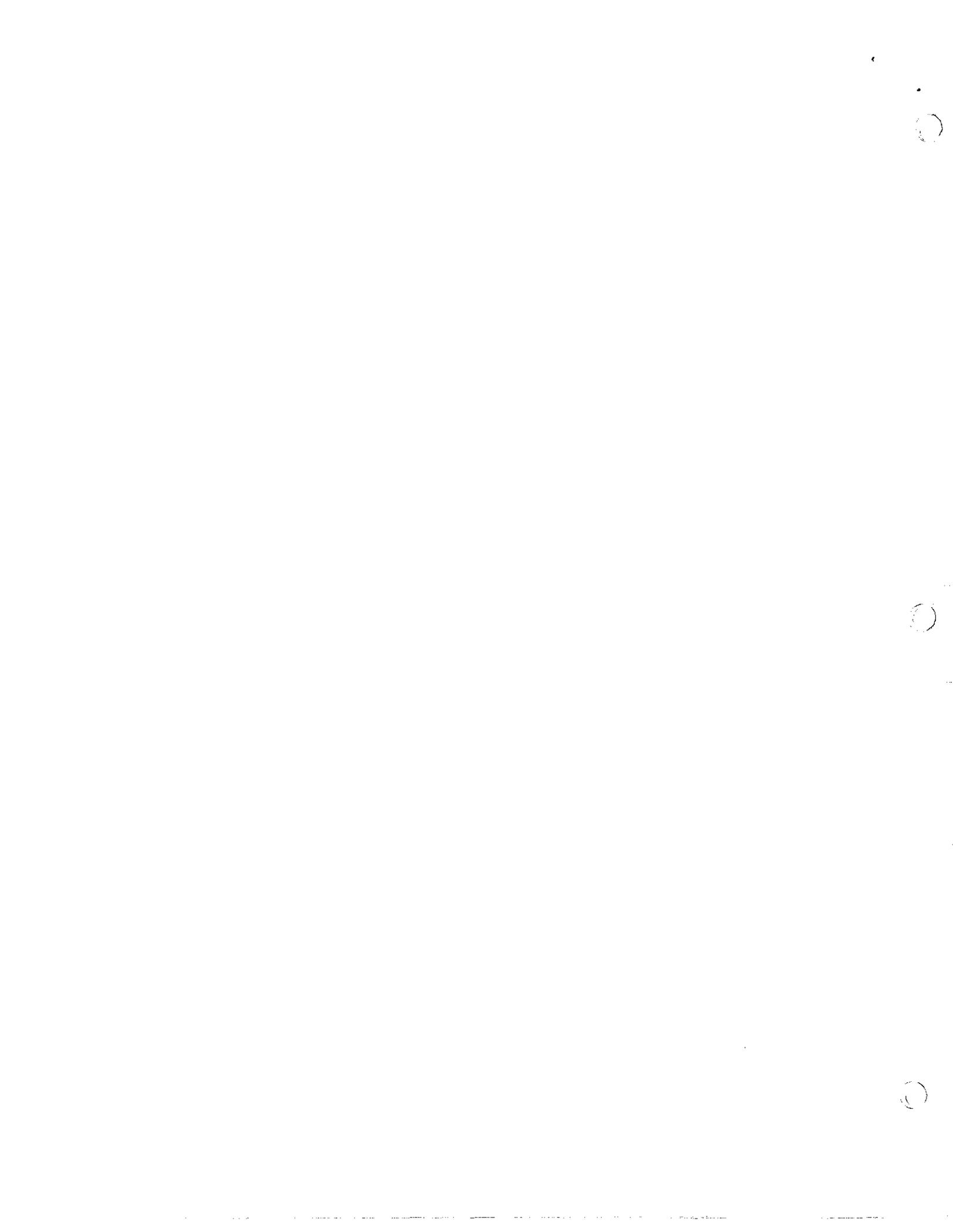
of women in Playboy is much more insidious and evil than in the other pornographic magazines. Hustler is simply the gross exaggeration of Playboy and Penthouse. It is filled with hate, but at least it is hate you can see. Playboy has made its fortune on creating a soft focus for the hate".

Nothing I can say about pornography will be as powerful as seeing it for yourself. This is truly an instance of "one picture is worth 10,000 words." And one moving picture is worth 10,000 stills. Some American antipornography groups run tours of porn districts to acquaint women and men with the reality. We need such groups in this country. Meanwhile, we have Not a Love Story. The experience of seeing, for example, the short film called Busted is indescribable. But for Not a Love Story I probably never would have seen it. For me, Busted is the essence of pornography: A woman is tied down on her stomach in a contorted position. Her head is propped up by the hand of a cop-looking man. Most of the film is a close-up of the woman being forced to perform fellatio on a pistol held in the other hand of her captor.

And North American men pay \$5 billion a year for that stuff. This is sexual liberation? This is sex? Women have often believed that we were somehow more sexually repressed than men. We believed it during the Victorian era, and we believe it now during the era of so-called "sexual liberation". Because we are more sexually repressed than men, we are exhorted (sometimes even by ourselves) to follow the lead of men so that we may become sexually liberated too. Study pornography - hard and soft core. If it is any indication of masculine sexuality, then we are following the lead of people who know nothing at all about what is erotic. Real erotica is life-affirming, passionate, mutually joyful. Such feelings are never - not ever - represented in the pornography I have seen - which is a lot. I totally agree with Gloria Steinem's observation that "pornography could serve as aversion-conditioning toward sex". I do not want to believe that pornography speaks for men's sexuality. God knows it doesn't speak for women's.

We come to a sad but real corollary to Not a Love Story. I'm talking about the reaction to that by the majority of the male critics who first reviewed it. Only darkest cynicism could have prepared one for the vituperation of those reviews. I mention them now, because they provide a microcosm of the worst you will encounter if you speak out against pornography.

Most fascinating of them all is Sid Adelman's in The Toronto Star. On September 4, 1981, just before the film's world premier, Adelman thinks that if the Ontario Censor Board tampered with the film, it "would be committing a disservice to all women, to men who for centuries have deliberately or not downgraded women, and to the National Film Board, one of Canada's prime cultural agencies, which made the movie". He also thinks director Klein "bridges the necessary gap between moviemaker and involved participant". On September 11, however, he finds that the film "goes beyond boring. It's an offensive belch" and that Klein made "a one-sided tract of outrage that only feminists and Moral Majority believers will take to their bosom". Although he finds the film "technically well-made", he ponders, "Why the distinguished National Film Board let this one out of the plant without ordering it reshaped is a mystery." On September 16, writing in Variety, Adelman finds that "the pic is amateurishly done" and tells the U.S. that "Canada's National Film Board hasn't got a chance with this feature doc."



What, the confused reader may ask, happened between September 4 and September 11 to so addlepate Adilman? One thing that happened was this: On September 7 in The Globe and Mail, Jay Scott launched the prototype of the attacks to follow from his colleagues across the country. "The film, a crassly structured collage... of ... images 'degrading to women', is another salvo of the strange alliance between radical feminism and the Moral Majority: It's an example of bourgeois, feminist fascism." He apparently felt the need to put quotes around "degrading to women" because "a psychologist confidently links pornography and aggressive sexual behavior as if the linkage had been established in the Scientific literature (not true) and..."

Across the country, the words vary but the tone is remarkable constant. In response to writer Robin Morgan's tearful reaction to pornography, The Winnipeg Sun's Morley Walker (October 27, 1981) pleads, "Excuse me while I shed a tear for all those oppressed female poets out there. It's a rough life, baby." Meanwhile (October 30) in the Winnipeg Free Press Gordon Sinclair (not the one from Toronto) writes flippantly for more than half his column and then says:

"Actually, I shouldn't make light of sadism and porn. Especially some of the horrifying footage revealed in Not a Love Story.

"But after the movie is when the show really began". The discussion afterward "sounded like the battle of the sexes, and the women weren't taking prisoners. They didn't want peace. They wanted a piece. A piece of a man's scalp.

Any man.
"Well, maybe not the bald guy in the second row. They'd figure out something for him later, I'm sure."

Anyway, if we are to believe the Hamilton Spectator's Lyle Slack (September 9, '81), the problem doesn't exist. "In an effort to suggest pornography is rampant", Slack writes, Klein reaches for some "bizarre comparis

and her "ranting ignores the fact that the majority of men have little regular contact with pornography of any sort." If this blanket assertion is correct, there must be a few North American men who are awfully rich and who are kept awfully busy running around buying and viewing the stuff. And note, please, that the worst material in Not a Love Story (torture, child pornography) was obtained in Canada.

I have now spent long hours poring over this string of reviews. The men who wrote them have, in the process, revealed much about themselves. Most obviously, that they know little about 1) film criticism, 2) documentary film as a genre, 3) facts and proper use of evidence, 4) Not a Love Story, 5) minimal distinctions between pornography, erotica, and sex education, and 6) women.

What they do know something about is how to hurl abuse and how to silence argument. I used to teach rhetoric at a large university. Basically, what I taught was how to construct a proper argument on the basis of facts, evidence, and rationality. If even my first-year students had turned in work like this, I would have flunked them.

If you speak out against pornography, you will run into this kind of reaction. I have already met much of it in person. In an effort to maintain clarity and mental health, I have put together a First Aid Kit. Since pornography is anti-woman, my kit is for us, women.

Now, first, that you will encounter the vagaries of male logic. You say pornography is a vicious lie about women and that you refuse to believe it isn't also a lie about most men - and they call you a man-hater. You speak out against pornography as promoting violence against women and children - and they call you a proensorship fascist. You protest that pronography is so unsexy it amounts to aversion therapy toward all sex - and they call you a prude.

These are terrorist tactics. They all have one thing in common: They silence debate on pornography. If "man hater" won't terrify you (it usually does), then "prude" might. If you still are undaunted, you are threatened with the horrendous fate, in our liberal and "liberated" society, of being an unliberated, man-hating, reactionary prude. Nice going.

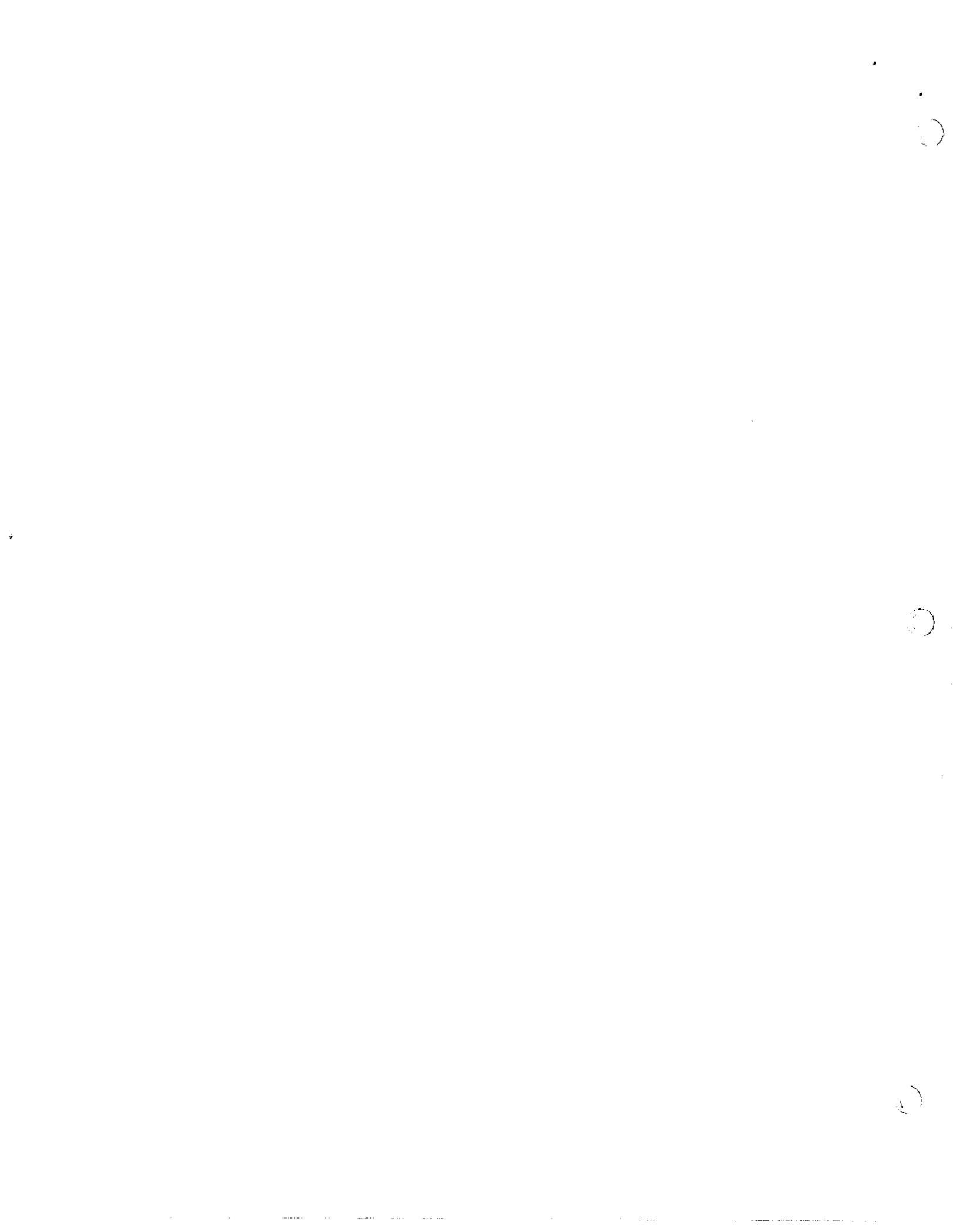
What passes more readily for rational discussion usually centres around that link Jay Scott mentioned between pronography and aggressive sexual behavior by men. "But you haven't shown me that pornography is actually harmful", is the usual rejoinder. To talk about the merits of that link is to talk about the major area of psychology called behavior therapy. That's because one of the most relevant and well-researched theoretical approaches to sexual behavior is based on learning theory - upon which behavior therapy is built.

You will hear a lot of talk about the "catharsis" theory. Proponents, usually nonscientists, claim pornography offers a safety valve for aggressive tendencies in men - which they would otherwise act out on women and children. Thus, pornography is claimed as a method of saving society a lot of unwanted nasty behavior.

Actually, the "catharsis" theory is not a theory at all. It is merely a claim - and a claim that the scientific literature does not substantiate. In fact, behavior therapy argues and provides evidence in direct contradiction to the so-called cathartic effect. The Danish Experience, which is often cited as evidence for the claim of "catharsis" is also evidence, if anything, for the opposite. When Denmark decriminalized pornography, the expectation was that men would so sate themselves on it that they would commit fewer sex offences. Since Denmark decriminalized a number of sex offences along with pornography, we might look here for the reason why there was a "marked decrease" in officially reported sex offences. And, since the climate now favored a more liberalized attitude toward sex offences, we might find here an explanation for the fact that while the number of officially reported rapes went down in subsequent years, the numbers of rapes went up.

Most of us are not scientists. So if we want to rely on scientific evidence we are forced to some extent to rely on the word of scientists to tell us what the evidence signifies. It would behoove us, then, to find a reliable expert in this matter - in other words, someone knowledgeable about fundamentals of behavior therapy and also extensively familiar with the scientific literature. Fortunately, such a person has written a book on the very subject of the link in question. I am referring to Dr. Hans Eysenck, a founder of behavior therapy and one of its most influential figures since. You can check out his credentials yourself in a recent book by psychologist H.B. Gibson, Hans Eysenck: The man and his work (Peter Owen, 1981\$45; distributed in Canada by General Publishing Ltd.)





In *Sex, Violence and the Media* (Harper & Row, 1979, pb.\$8.25),

Eysenck and colleague D.K.B. Nias do a rigorous, in-depth examination of the scientific literature. Conclusion: "The evidence is not really contradictory, except in the sense that a good study, properly planned, executed and analyzed, may be contradicted by a bad study, carelessly planned, badly executed and improperly analyzed... When there is such an impressive amount of agreement in studies employing different methods, different workers, and different populations investigated, we may conclude that there is sufficient evidence in favor of the theory that the media do influence the way people think and act and that only the most prejudiced could reject all this evidence..."

An excellent example of how the media can influence behavior is the U.S. Army's use of films to "desensitize" future combat troops. "Desensitization", explain Eysenck and Dias, "in this case, is the technical term for what many critics of the media call "brutalization"; the idea is the same". Bear in mind that this program is specifically designed to influence the behavior of average men. "The object of the training is to desensitize the viewer's reaction to pain and suffering in others, so that in the end they will inflict pain and death without qualms. Physiological reactions are monitored to the explicit exposure of the viewer to harrowing scenes involving the loss of limbs, torture, etc..."

And what are the effects of this exposure? "... At first these reactions are quite marked, and indicate severe emotional upheaval. Gradually these reactions become less severe, until finally there is almost no reaction of an emotional kind to the sight of such scenes." After sufficient desensitization has taken place, the conditioning enters a more specific phase during which "the target is more closely identified": This phase is called "dehumanization of the enemy", and here "the potential target is presented as belonging to some inferior form of human life."

Is it really reasonable to argue that what works for the U.S. Army works only for the U.S. Army? Especially when sexual behavior in particular has been found to be "strongly susceptible to methods of conditioning," according to Eysenck and Dias. And when pornography so permeates our media. Reading their report on this program, I was struck by the following: Think about taking in a steady diet of pornography. Then look at the two phases of training above. Phase one: "brutalization" corresponds chillingly to the harrowing scenes found in hard-core pornography. Phase two: "dehumanization of the enemy" neatly tallies with the objectification of women by soft-core pornography.

Violence begets violence, and sexual violence begets sexual violence. That is the truth of the link between pornography and sexual behavior. So when we're talking about pornography, we're also talking about incitement. As in "incitement to violence." In the words of Eysenck and Dias, we have here "a clear case of incitement to maltreat women... Evaluative conditioning, modelling, and desensitization all point to the same conclusion, that such presentations have effects on men's attitudes which are detrimental to women."

Fortunately, if behavior can be learned, it can also be unlearned. "I approach men from the point of view that we have been taught to make ourselves the enemies of the women and children (and other men) whom we would like to love." Speaking is Rich Snowden, who runs workshops on pornography and male violence. "Men don't start out violent. As little boys, we like people, we like hugs, we care about living things, we care about our pets. We grow up to become men for whom even people are inanimate. What I do when I'm working with men is get in touch with the part of them that's still surviving that really hates the violence and aggression, hates all those things we learned."

What can men do about pornography? Says Snowden, "We cannot be missionaries, 'helping women with their problem', because male violence is our problem - a men's problem that we force women and children to deal with. I am really convinced that for men pornography is a complicated and very deep, very personal, important issue. The real question is, how can we go about looking truthfully and honestly at what's in pornography and at what's in us?"

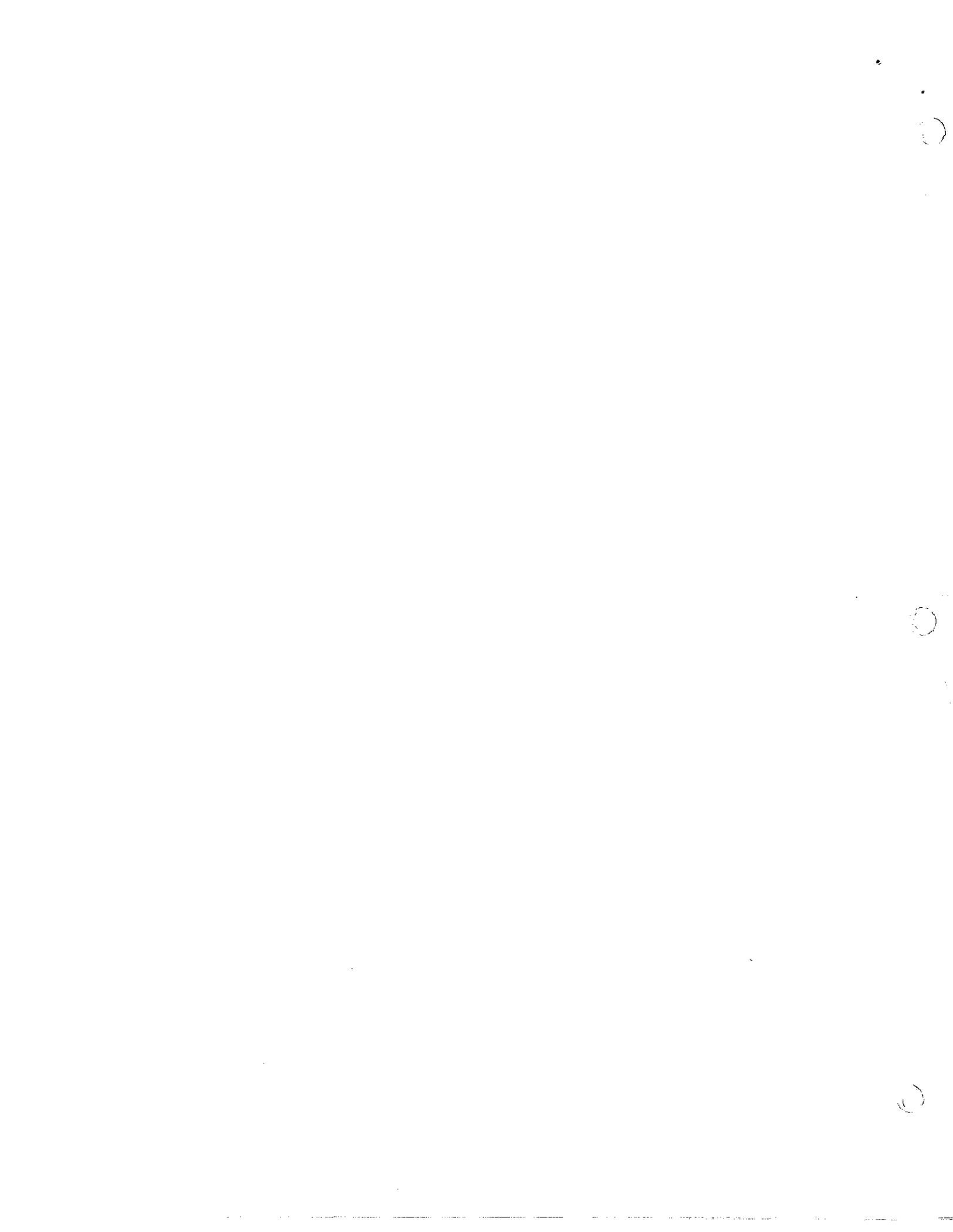
My hope, then, is this: that women will end their silence about pornography; that with real knowledge about the situation, and paying attention to our own feelings, we will be brave enough to speak out. For men, that they will have the courage to look honestly at the link between pornography and their own sexual behavior. Only then can we all hope to have a society with a sexuality that is kind and life affirming instead of hateful and violent.



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**We who believe in
freedom cannot rest
until it comes.**





Model Antipornography Law

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

Section 1. STATEMENT OF POLICY

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

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

undermine women's equal exercise of rights to speech and action guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitutions and laws of the United States and [PLACE, INCLUDING STATE].

Section 2. DEFINITIONS

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

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

Section 3. UNLAWFUL PRACTICES

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

Proof of one or more of the following facts or conditions shall not, without more, negate a finding of coercion: (i) that the person is a woman; or (ii) that the person is or has been a prostitute; or (iii) that the person has attained the age of majority; or (iv) that the person is connected by blood or marriage to anyone involved in or related to the making of the pornography; or (v) that the person has previously had, or been thought to have had, sexual relations with anyone, including anyone involved in or related to the making of the pornography; or (vi) that the person has previously posed for sexually explicit pictures with or for anyone, including anyone involved in or related to the making of the pornography at issue; or (vii) that anyone else, including a spouse or other relative, has given permission on the person's behalf; or (viii) that the person actually consented to a use of the performance that is changed into pornography; or (ix) that the person knew that the purpose of the acts or events in question was to make pornography; or (x) that the person

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section 4. DEFENSES

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

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

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

Section 5. ENFORCEMENT*

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

reasonable attorney's fees.

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

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

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

Section 6. SEVERABILITY

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

Section 7. LIMITATION OF ACTION

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

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

"A Word People Don't Understand"

When we wrote this law, we used a word that people are saying they don't understand. The word is subordination. Subordination is a social-political dynamic consisting of several parts.

"The first is that there is a hierarchy. There's somebody on the top and somebody on the bottom—it's very simple. It's not a complicated hierarchy. We're on the bottom of it.

"The second element of subordination is objectification. That is, the person is dehumanized, made less human than the person—whichever it is—who is on top. And the person who is on top becomes the standard for what a human being is. The consequences of being turned into an object are very significant because nobody needs to treat an object the way they need to treat a person.

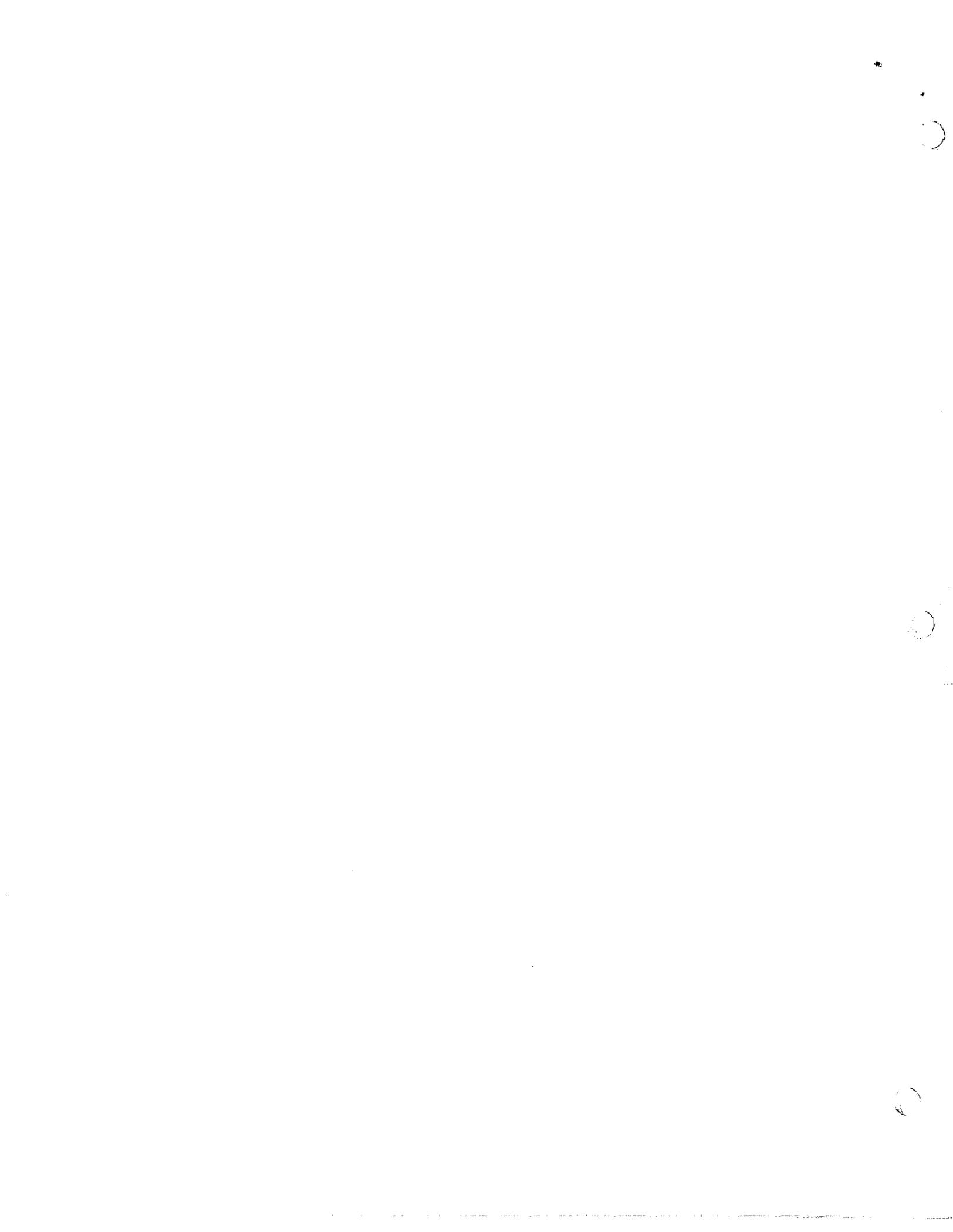
"The third element of subordination is submission. When people on the bottom of a hierarchy have been turned into objects by those who have power

over them, then their behavior becomes submissive. It doesn't just become submissive when a direct order is given, but it's a characteristic of oppressed people that they can anticipate the order.

"The fourth element of subordination is violence. Whenever you see a social situation in which violence is widespread—so widespread that in fact it's normalized—then you know you already have the other three existing elements solidly in place.

"It probably would have been a lot easier to get public acceptance if we had been as vague as the obscenity law, with some kind of moralistic base. We tried hard not to do that because we do not have a Puritanical, moralistic intent. We wanted to target what the pornography industry is actually producing and doing to women in a way that would advance our political struggle as well as our legal struggle."

—Andrea Dworak



At the final meeting of the 1984-85 NAC executive, we passed a motion of support for "A Statement of Principles in Regard to Control of Pornography". (follows report)

The Fraser Report has now been released, and recommends many of the initiatives that women's groups asked for: a new offence, (using the term pornography) to replace the old obscenity offence; strengthening of the hate literature sections of the Criminal Code; consistency of definitions in Customs and Post Office laws; stiffer penalties for child pornography; abandonment of the "community standards" test; heavier penalties for distributors and publishers rather than retailers; research into a counter-technology against satellite broadcasting; human rights remedies; regulation of video-tapes; an inter-ministerial secretariat to work on the educational programs that will help deal with the underlying causes of sexism.

The three-tier definition of pornography seems to omit pornography that presents children as legitimate objects of sexual attention by presenting older women as children, and it seems to omit some of the degrading material (men ejaculating in women's faces, for instance) that women find particularly offensive, degrading, and humiliating.

Certainly groups will want to study the Report carefully and inform the Justice Department of their responses. They will need to do that over the summer, so that they can effectively monitor any new legislation brought down in the autumn.

Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children has provided us with their action plan. (follows report)

Tell the NAC Pornography Committee what you are doing and we will pass your suggestions on to other groups.

Statement of Principles in Regard to Control of Pornography

The following groups believe that pornography is an important problem on which our society should take prompt and effective action. While we agree that action on this issue is important, we want any federal legislative action to wait for the report of the Fraser Commission and the comments and recommendations of community groups following that report.

This statement does not set out legal definitions, but it does describe the principles on which we agree any further legislation should be based.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. We must distinguish between pornography and erotica.
2. Erotica should not be prohibited by the Criminal Code.
3. Pornography includes material which seeks to sexually stimulate the consumer by portraying violence against human beings, or the degradation, coercion, or humiliation of human beings. Although we feel that all pornography is harmful, we do not feel that it should all be covered by the Criminal Code.

CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENTS

4. Section 159 of the Criminal Code, which defines obscenity and covers most of the obscenity-related offences, should be repealed for many reasons which include its vagueness, its lack of distinction between pornography and erotica, and its emphasis on outdated sexual morality rather than violence against women.
5. A new section of the Criminal Code which creates a definition of a new term "pornography", and which outlines various offences associated with the distribution and creation of pornography, should be added to the Criminal Code.

6. This new section of the Criminal Code should clearly define what is meant by pornography; the "community standard of tolerance" test should be abolished.
7. This new section of the Criminal Code should prohibit material which portrays violence against human beings (including bondage) in a sexual context.
8. This new section of the Criminal Code should prohibit material which shows the extreme degradation of human beings in a sexual context. By extreme degradation is meant such acts as defecating or urinating on a human being, bestiality with a human being, or treating a human being as an animal.
9. This new section should not prohibit material that in its overall context condemns such violence or degradation.
10. Other sections of the Criminal Code that refer to "obscene, indecent, or immoral" material should be replaced by references to pornography which would be defined in the new section of the Criminal Code.

OTHER CHANGES

11. The terms "obscene" or "indecent" in the Custom Tariffs Act and the Post Office Act should be replaced by the term "pornographic" which would be defined in the same way as it is defined in the Criminal Code.
12. The display and conditions of sale or rental of pornographic magazines, films, and videos that are not prohibited by the Criminal Code should be covered by municipal legislation.

METRO ACTION COMMITTEE'S SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION ON THE FRASER REPORT

1. Municipal Government

Mayors, Council, Councillors, Aldermen:

The control of pornography in municipalities will be more possible with legislative amendments to the Criminal Code such as those recommended in the Fraser Report.

Suggest to your municipal politicians that it would be in their interests to support such Criminal Code recommendations.

Have a meeting with local politicians, school board leaders and community groups to explore local actions. Prepare a statement of support for the Fraser Report from your municipality and send it to Justice Minister Crosbie.

Suggest Fraser related stories to newspaper, radio and television reporters.

School Boards:

Send copies of Chapters 47 and 51 from the Fraser Report to Chairs of School Boards and Directors of Education and/or urge them to study the Report at their earliest convenience, stressing its importance for the educational system. Highlight Recommendations 52 and 104 (see below).



2. Provincial Government

Premier:

Ask when and how the Province will address the Fraser Committee recommendations on pornography. Offer your group's support in that process.

Attorney General:

Ask what support the Province is giving to the implementation of the Federal recommendations regarding pornography. Ask for a provincial response to the recommendations regarding human rights legislation and/or enactment of legislation along the lines of the B.C. Civil Rights Protection Act. Find out what kind of participation the public might expect in that process.

Minister of Education:

Write and tell the Minister you look forward to hearing how he/she might support the implementation of recommendations 52 and 104 in the Fraser Report:

"The government of Canada in co-operation with the provinces and territories, should provide financial support for both research into and the implementation of sensitive and relevant educational programs on human sexuality for use in the country's schools; in particular the governments should jointly fund a National Centre and Program in Sexuality and Life Education to bring together the leading scholars and clinicians in the field to conduct research and formulate program and pedagogical models." (52)

"Provincial and Territorial Governments should give high priority to programmes in family life, human sexuality and media literacy." (104)

Status of Women, Health, Community Services, etc.:

Ask them to study the Fraser Report and then tell you how they might support the implementation of the recommendations.

3. Federal Government:

The Federal Government must hear our support for the Fraser Committee Report. Of course, your group's response to the Fraser Report will guide your choice of resolutions, but here are some samples:

Sample letter or telegram to Justice Minister Crosbie:

1. We urge you to introduce by September comprehensive amendments to the Federal legislation concerning pornography in keeping with the principles established by the Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution

and

We urge you to ensure that there is the opportunity for adequate consultation with concerned groups (1) prior to the drafting of the legislation and (2) after the legislation has been introduced by you into the House.

2. We urge the Minister of Justice and the other appropriate Ministers to establish immediately a Secretariat as described in Recommendation 108 in the Report of the Special Committee on Pornography and Prostitution to assist in coordinating existing programming and in implementing new educational and social initiatives with equal time being given by the Secretariat to pornography and prostitution.



"Playboy Isn't Playing," An Interview with Judith Bat-Ada

Laura Lederer

Judith Bat-Ada has earned a doctorate in Mass Media and Speech Communications at Case Western Reserve University. She has conducted research on the influence of sexual media, such as *Playboy* and *Penthouse* magazines, on female identity. Her work revolves around trends in pornography, changes in the portrayal of females and female sexuality in the industry, and the effect of those changes on women and men. She has focused on big pornography producers like Hugh Hefner, Bob Guccione, and Larry Flynt, examining their use of advertising techniques, slick tricks, and cartoons to break down sexual taboos and to further exploit and objectify women.

Laura Lederer (LL): *Judy, what kind of work are you doing?*

Judith Bat-Ada (JB): We have placed what we call the *Playboy* genre in a systems-analysis perspective, viewing it not as a collection of disjointed "girlie magazines," but rather as an integrated whole. We have been examining the evolution of the so-called soft-core pornography, whose images pervade the media—from the 1950's "38D" fantasy to the present trend toward pedophilia (the view and use of children as sexual objects). Our analysis has revealed a "hidden agenda" which is different from the overtly expressed aims and goals of the particular pornographic magazines. *Playboy's* successive manipulations and distortions of the image of women typifies the pornography-conditioning process. As the most influential and pioneering magazine of its kind, it laid the groundwork for the whole media exploitation movement which we are in the midst of right now.

LL: *Can you talk more about the trends you mention? What do you see happening and why is it happening?*

JB: In sheer numbers, newsstand pornographic publications have increased from zero in 1953 to well over forty in the last five years.

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TAKE BACK THE NIGHT

Historically, male culture has devised techniques to keep women powerless and to shut us out of mainstream society. It is not a casual coincidence that *Playboy* began eight years after the end of World War II, when women were getting restless; *Penthouse* and the rest of the pornography industry merely followed the path *Playboy* had blazed. They picked up steam in 1965, right after the publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. These magazines began by peddling the female as "other." They are now unabashedly peddling the dehumanization of women, and, as a result of cultural conditioning and pressures, young girls and women are buying the images.

LL: *What does this mean for women?*

JB: A decade ago Gloria Steinem said, "A woman who has *Playboy* in the house is like a Jew who has *Mein Kampf* on the table." The *Playboy* genre is programming a female identity which features female masochism during our youth and early twenties, and female obsolescence when we have barely achieved womanhood. This programming is based upon the dehumanization of women, and the "object" eroticization of homo sapiens. In other words, as the commercial establishment inundates us with images of women as "objects," the rewards for women who grow and become strong decrease, while the rewards for women who present themselves as sexual objects increase. There is a strong female tendency to "be" whatever the male society demands at the time: Victorian in one period, and explicit and erotic objects in another. The process of identity is a learned one, and millions of women are accepting the culturally preferred, dehumanized sex-object symbols of themselves.

LL: *Do you think this is really happening?*

JB: There is ample evidence for this transformation in the past few years. One of the more telling instances is the *Hustler* magazine competition, which offers prize money (or just instant fame) for the "best" or most pornographic photo of a wife, sister, or girl friend. Some daughter photos have been submitted as well.

LL: *You talked about a trend from "38D" to "pedophilia." Can you explain that?*

JB: Saturation with straightforward female sexual stimulus leads slowly but inevitably to the need for, and the acceptance of, such things as child molestation, incest, and sexual violence. Hard-core pornography is like any other marketed product—it needs to be revamped periodically to stimulate flagging sales. We have made women easy and accessible targets for sexual violence, so there are very few final taboos left to break—children and incest are the last.

Pornography: Who Benefits

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The American media have moved into an acceptance of pedophilia, and are progressing very rapidly toward the endorsement of incest. I believe the final taboo now being breached is child sadism. For example, a recent edition of *Forum* magazine, published by Bob Guccione of *Penthouse*, carried no less than twenty accounts of adult-child sex (the children being from eight to twelve years of age) in the first quarter of its pages. The issue then moved on to incest, which it has cozily familiarized under the title "Home and Family Sex." *Forum* claims it is simply reflecting readership views, but I think the selling of incest is part of a process whereby a particular kind of pornographic imagery percolates through all the media until it has saturated them, and then a new level of degradation begins to become acceptable.

The May/June 1977 issue of *UCLA Monthly* magazine ran an article entitled "Help for the Child Abuser." One paragraph in particular caught my eye: "Adolescents have been the primary targets of sexual abuse, but there is a recent sharp increase in oral venereal disease among children under five years of age, who have been infected by their fathers, older brothers, or boyfriends of the mother." This "sharp increase" is a national phenomenon and can reasonably be related to the breaking of taboos against incest. The *Playboy* genre has been the original educator in this breakdown from a broad social perspective.

LL: *How does this breakdown of the taboos work?*

JB: Taboos are broken by the use of advertising techniques and slick tricks, which *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and *Hustler* have learned from the major marketing industries of this country. Patterns are visible when these magazines are studied over a period of years. We first began to realize this when we noticed a spate of what I used to call "incest" cartoons and features. I now call this trend "malecest," since it is almost always males who commit incest. *Playboy* began its malecest push with joking little features. One I remember distinctly pictured a girl sleeping on Mickey Mouse sheets holding a Raggedy Ann doll. The caption underneath read: "Baby Doll. It's easy to feel paternalistic to the cuddly type above. Naturally she digs forceful father figures, so come on strong, Big Daddy." That was in November 1971. Since then there have been hundreds of short pieces, letters, and cartoons which poke fun at the taboos against father-daughter sex, and rhapsodize about adult male-little girl sexual relationships.

According to sociologist Donald Johanson, human beings have a biological need to care. The roots of pornography are in hostility and



violence. It must attack and negate the caring sentiments of its consumers in order to maintain its readership and attract potential customers.

The language used in *Playboy*-genre magazines is emphatically negative toward the loving aspects of human beings. In cartoons, photographs, drawings, and text, there is a clear isolation of the male from the traditional view of male-female, father-child relationships, which, although patriarchal, at least involved some norm of responsibility and concern. *Playboy* readers are conditioned by text and images to disavow their sentiments of caring, and to abdicate their social responsibility for respect in female-male relationships and for nurturance in adult-child relationships. The *Playboy* way of life portrays men as play-boys—boys forever playing. A boy plays, and women are his toys. Woman cannot be mate, companion, lover—she must be his thing, his pet, his chick, his "bunny," as *Playboy* puts it. Boys cannot produce children because children mean responsibility—they make a boy into a man. That is why the realities of everyday life are hidden in *Playboy*. You rarely see a father and children, you rarely see a man and his wife or woman friend having a good nonsexual conversation. You rarely see mothers, daughters, mothers-in-law, or sisters engaged in nonsexual family relationships. You rarely see a recognition of women menstruating, you never see people growing old together. All this MUST be invisible in the *Playboy* way of life because it threatens the isolated, mechanistic, aggressive male life-style the magazine is promoting.

The idealized *Playboy* man, the "winner" male, is depicted as reasonably, pleasantly sexually-exploitive. This stance requires the dehumanization of woman and the ridicule of family members, relatives, and children. Thus, a staple joke image of the *Playboy* genre is the devalued wife. In thousands of repetitions over and over again, females are depicted as nonhuman, as whores, as animals—thereby removing any obligation on the part of the male to treat them as equal beings.

By socializing the view of women as unreal sex objects, *Playboy* and the magazines that have followed its lead have contributed to the increasing antagonism and subsequent violence between males and females, methodically helping break down the ability and need to care which, if Johanson is correct, human beings are born with and which, as social animals, we need in order to survive.

This breakdown in social relations between women and men is directly attributable to the current pressures being exerted by men against the incest taboo. Up until now this taboo has offered some

protection to children in our country against sexual exploitation by adults. The acceptance of pedophilia requires the blurring of age distinctions between mature women, teens, adolescents, and children. Thus, if *Playboy* conditions men to consider females as sex objects, then children as sex objects, eventually and naturally female children in our own homes become sex objects as well. This completes the *Playboy* family: a sexually exploitive father; a dehumanized, ridiculed mother; and a sexually precocious and eroticized child. This "family scene" has become the repeated vocabulary within the *Playboy* game plan.

LL: How do magazines like *Playboy* and *Penthouse* get men to accept this view of females and female children?

JB: Getting readers used to the forbidden requires subtle but clever devices. *Playboy* uses what I call "groundbreakers" for the construction of new attitudes. These groundbreakers include cartoons, skillfully contrived photographs, and an extensive use of symbols which are aimed at invading both the conscious and unconscious mind. A few examples will help the reader understand how it is done:

One favorite technique is to publish photographs of women simulating children, or imitating children and their behavior. For example, the April 1976 cover of *Playboy* magazine featured a very young-looking female seated on a stool surrounded by Teddy Bears, Raggedy Ann dolls, and wearing patent-leather Sunday-School shoes and a "virgin-white" petticoat, while the word "virginity" appeared to the right of the picture in another context. Pictures of women in these childhood trappings combined with glaring erotic exposure pave the way for real sexual abuse of children.

Another favorite technique is the use of fairy tales in cartoons. I believe this technique is carefully planned. Fairy tales take us back to our childhood, and unconscious childhood memories short-circuit our conscious, rational thinking processes. Thus, cartoons about fairy tales can be used to disarm the reader. Common themes in *Playboy*-genre fairy tales are the wolf molesting Little Red Riding Hood, the Seven Dwarfs raping Snow White, Goldilocks sleeping with Baby Bear, etc. Fairy tales are exploited by pornographers in order to block out objections to rape, molestation, and violence by defining the imagery as "fantasy." Many men, if confronted directly with a violent sexual image would reject it—and the magazine! The idea is to put these vicious crimes into a context which infers that it is "just a joke" or "all in good fun." After all, who can object to that—except a woman without a sense of humor?

LL: Why would pornographers want to do this?

JB: A chief concern of pornographers is the social availability-acceptance factor. Men are using mass media to break apart old values and create new cultural patterns. In addition, our legal system is put under pressure and is changing, as are this generation's lawyers and judges, nursed at the *Playboy* nipple.

Men want women to be available to them sexually, and in order to make younger and younger women available, it is necessary to change the existing laws. In Sweden, where there are liberal laws concerning pornography, the age of consent has recently been lowered to fifteen years of age, and now a bill is being considered which would eliminate it altogether! This would make small girls legal adults, and it would also leave them open to sexual exploitation without any legal reprisals. Such legal change can hardly be brought about by the power lobby of little girls.

LL: Do you think this violent pornography reflects a trend toward sadomasochism in our society?

JB: When the media talk, they always label grossly sadistic pornography "S and M" (sadomasochism). But it is not S and M, it's just sadism—no cutesy letters or hyphens and no "masochism" either because it is being foisted on us. By labeling violent and degrading depictions of women "sadomasochism," the media-makers cleverly take the onus off themselves and make it sound as though we participate by mutual agreement. But we have no say in the matter. In fact, healthy, self-respecting females do not want to see *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, or any other pornographic magazines in drug-stores, grocery stores, and markets. The pornographers know this and have devised insidious methods to accomplish their ends. For example, there is something called the "high-percentage" rule in distribution and display terminology. This refers to an agreement between the store owner/manager and the distributor in which extra money is paid to the storeowner to display pornographic magazines. In other words, storeowners are given an extra percentage to put pornographic magazines in the front racks instead of behind the counter. Moreover, in some cases storeowners get a 100 percent return rate on pornographic magazines. They buy them for a dollar and sell them for two dollars. Lately we have seen a large increase in front-rack displays of *Playboy* and *Penthouse*.*

* Ed. Note: A small-bookstore owner in San Francisco told us that he is forced to carry *Playboy* and *Penthouse* if he wants to get any magazines at all. His distributor will not deliver other publications unless he includes pornographic magazines as a "package deal."

LL: Many people claim that "soft-core" pornography is passé. I have read that *Playboy* is having trouble with its circulation, and that *Hustler* has more readers now than either *Playboy* or *Penthouse*. What do you think of this?

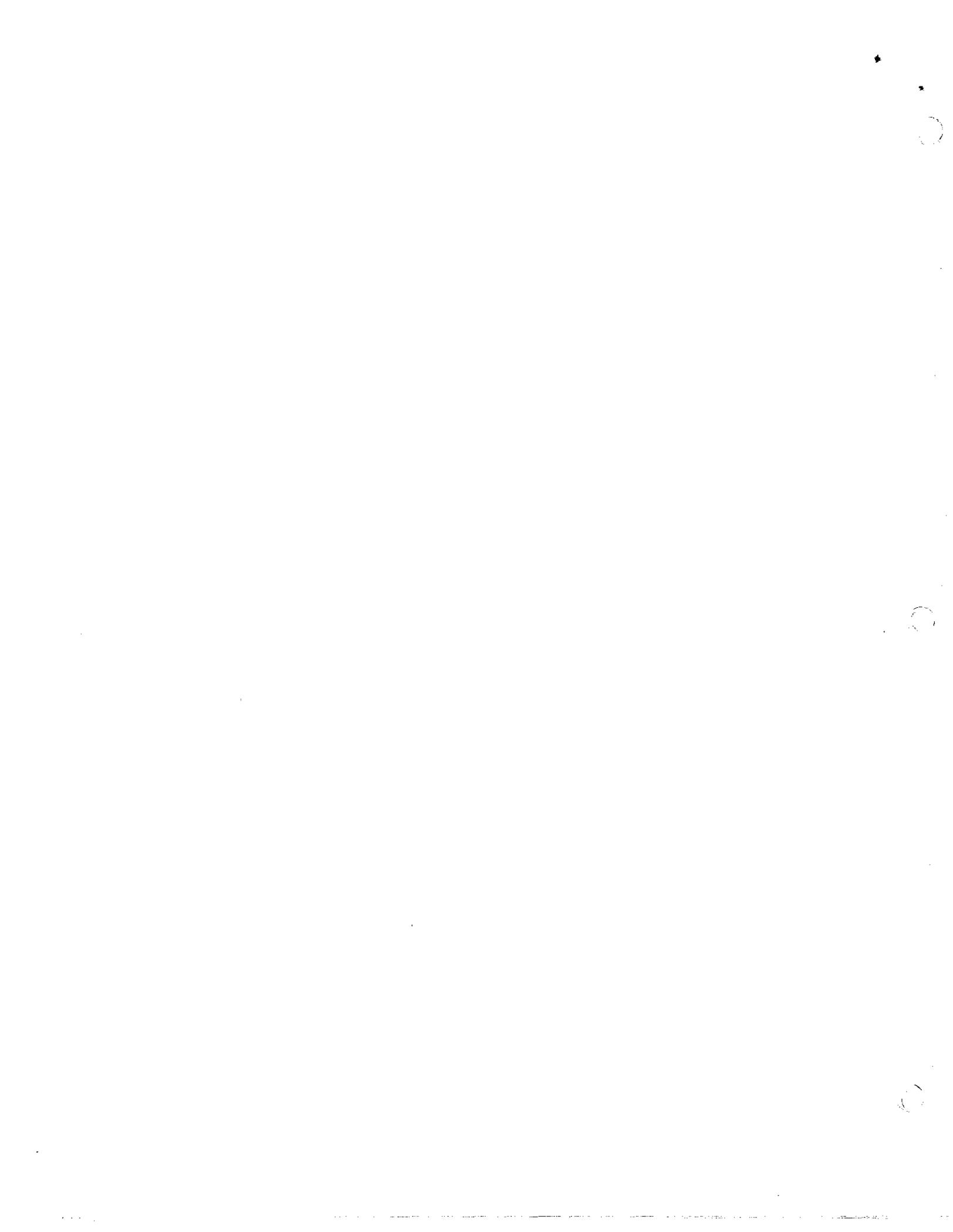
JB: I don't believe it for a second. I have read all those figures too, but this is not an accurate interpretation of them. Generally, men are not abandoning one pornographic magazine for another. They are now reading two or three instead of just one. You get different types of violence to women in each of the leading magazines. I consider *Playboy* the most dangerous because it is the leader and the "philosopher," precisely as Hugh Hefner likes to claim. The hatred of women in *Playboy* is much more insidious and evil than in the other pornographic magazines. *Hustler* is simply the gross exaggeration of *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. It is filled with hate, but at least it is hate you can see. *Playboy* has made its fortune on creating a soft focus for the hate.

LL: You have referred to the *Playboy* philosophy as "sexual fascism." Can you explain that term?

JB: Well, let us begin with the term fascism. The psychology of fascism is a view of people as "others"—as less than you. It is a belief that you can take control—to secure whatever power you want without regard for how that may affect other human beings. It is a belief in one's own superiority, and that feeling of superiority allows you to hurt and sometimes destroy another person without feeling empathy, or human compassion. It is a total divorcing of oneself from other human beings, and a glorification of power, violence, and aggression.

Sexual fascism is the fascist mentality applied to our sexuality. *Playboy* (and the *Playboy* philosophy) makes woman the "other" just as the nazis made the Jews the "other," and just as the white man made Black People and American Indians and migrant workers the "others." For women, sexual fascism means that men, and in particular a few powerful men, control our behavior, attitudes, fantasies, concepts of love and caring, integrity, that in which we believe and hope, as well as the ways in which we love and to whom and how we make our genitalia available. In this society we have no choice but to follow these dictates. In the case of sexual fascism there is a triumvirate—Hugh Hefner, Bob Guccione, and Larry Flynt—who are every bit as dangerous as Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito, the political fascist triumvirate of World War II.

These men can be held clearly responsible for a great deal of the current desperate, sick, and cruel trends in sexuality and human



behavior. Just as the nazis built prisons around the Jews, and the white man put chains on the Black women and men, so pornographers have put women into equally constricting "genital service" structures. The only trouble is that the contemporary fascist form is more insidious because we cannot see the bars or the chains. When we insist we are chained and barred, we are told—no, it is only our imaginations, our "repressions" at work! Nonsense! We are longing for the freedom to be human. But we have no freedom, no language, no behavior to call our own. All the special glitter that this male society produces for women—the makeup, the high-heeled shoes, the tight little dresses—single us out as women as effectively as did the yellow stars on the coats of the Jews in nazi Germany. Only today it is all done in the name of "fashion." It is interesting that one high-fashion trend is getting more and more constricting and more and more violent-looking—blood-red nails, spike heels, black leather jackets and suits, actually aping the nazi costume as "style." What's more, by adopting such a costume as "style" one intrinsically adopts its ideology as value.

The *Playboy* genre is given enormous assistance by television, magazine, and film magnates of a similar fascistic bent, of course, but I think it is important to name Hefner, Guccione, and Flynt for what they are: the philosophical leaders of this view of woman as "other." Recall Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito—one need not have the best interests of the human race at heart to be "der leader"—they were simply sufficiently psychotic to inspire fear and a following of frustrated men. It is vital to recognize the inherent danger of accepting the idea that women are alien just because we are women. We must realize that we are being groomed by a male power elite for "object" or "other" status on this earth. This male power elite is currently assisted by an unconscionable, female, elite, professional force, which acts as lackeys for the established "instant gratification for men" power structure.

LL: *What do you think about the idea that today's woman has reaped benefits from the sexual revolution (of which pornography is a part), so she can now be "freer sexually"—less hung up, etc.?*

JB: I think we are being sold a lie. As women get societal rewards for offering themselves up as sexual objects, we communicate and receive the message that a "real woman" is one who will take off her clothes at the drop of a hat, who will perform sexually, who is "ready anytime," who will sell (or rather rent) herself. We can be said to be breeding a nation of whores. If we accept the fact that the media directly affects behavior in today's world and we note that

they are selling women the concept of the glamorous woman as whore, then the whole idea of pornographic modeling or prostitution as a "choice" women can make becomes a lie, because for a young girl to function, to be liked, it is important to be an accepted part of our culture. And if the culture encourages her to be a sexual object, that is what she will be.

In its November 1979 issue, *Playboy* published an interview with Masters and Johnson. In it Masters and Johnson (funded to the tune of \$300,250 *Playboy* dollars, incidentally) talk about sexual trends, and mention that some heterosexuals as well as homosexuals perform anal intercourse. They add that although there is "discomfort" upon "initial penetration" and "thrusting," women can enjoy anal intercourse. But this article neglects to mention the homosexual men who are in hospitals receiving treatment for acute or chronic problems related to anal intercourse. That such intercourse is generally uncomfortable at best and dangerous at worst is obfuscated by their carefully worded "scientific proclamations."

Later in the interview, Masters and Johnson are asked about the size of the male penis, and they decline to comment. When pressed as to why they refuse to specify penis size, Masters and Johnson replied that such a statement would have a direct impact on male readers! They felt that "everybody would have been using a measuring stick," resulting in complexes and even impotence!

But though they observed only seven heterosexual couples engaging in anal intercourse, they refer to it as a "dimension of erotic stimulation" and encourage such "variance" in sex. This in a pornographic magazine dedicated to measuring and cataloging of the female in minute detail. Masters and Johnson know very well that their statements have a direct impact on women who read the magazine, and on men who read it and then try to push their wives and lovers into having anal sex with them. None of the pornographic magazines help to "free women sexually." They only make heavier the burden of male-oriented and male-identified sex which we already carry around inside us.

LL: *Does this sort of sexual propaganda force women to pretend to themselves and the world that they are something they are not?*

JB: It does more than that. Women hate themselves for not being like the magazine models they see men panting after. We don't measure up to the measurements touted by the magazines, and we know it. We despair (as Masters and Johnson worried that men might about penis size), but because there is nowhere to go with that despair it turns inward and becomes self-hatred.

I have been conducting a field study now for six months. I carry a measuring tape around with me, and I measure the bust, waist, and hips of every woman who will cooperate. My findings are very interesting: *Not once* have I encountered a female who measures the 38-22-34-inch size that *Playboy* used to claim its centerfold was. I have not come across one female with a natural 22-inch waist! For example, you are almost as thin as my thirteen-year-old cousin. Let me measure you—but, first, what size do you think your waist is?

LL: *Probably 24 inches, but I don't know—I haven't measured it lately.*

JB: Here. See—your waist is 25 inches, and that's with your stomach sucked in. Everywhere I have found the same sort of statistics: The average slender young female aged sixteen to twenty-six has a waist of 26 to 27 inches. Many are significantly larger than that. *And these are not fat women!* A two-month-old baby already has a waist of 16 or 17 inches! Yet *Playboy* would like us to believe that the perfect woman's waist is 21 or 22 inches. I suggest that *Playboy* has a tendency to lie about its models' measurements.

My field study is composed of two parts. After asking a woman what her measurements are and recording her answer, I ask her to take the tape measure and measure herself. Every woman who did this gained an inch or two in the waist and hips and lost an inch or two in the bust (from what she had originally stated her measurements were). Every woman expressed embarrassment at this, and many apologized to me saying things like, "Oh, I didn't realize how fat I was," or "Gee, I must have gained weight since the last time I measured myself." Next I say, "Here let ME measure you now, and don't suck in your waist or push out your chest." I hold the tape measure loosely around all three areas—not loose around the bust and tight around the waist and hips like most women do when they measure themselves. When I measure them naturally, I get gains of up to 4 inches in the waist and 1 to 2 inches in the hips, and losses of 1 to 3 inches in the bust from the original figures these women quoted to me. This field study, in conjunction with three years of survey data covering over 700 women, has established that we do a great deal of wishing we were something we are not—a lot of covering up of the facts of how we look and who we really are, and a lot of lying to try to measure up. In other words, a lot of self-hatred. This "perfect female body" concept also stimulates male hatred of women—their wives and lovers especially. Readers feel short-changed when a woman does not look and act the part of the *Playboy* model. It is an insult to their masculine capacity to get what they want be-

cause in this society the female is, after all, a reflection of how much he can get. He cannot seem to attract the good-looking model in *Playboy*; instead he is stuck with a woman who has borne three children, gained weight, grown older with time. It makes him hate her. And it makes him turn to the younger female daughters in the family, which is why *Playboy* is cleverly exploiting that lust now.

LL: *You spoke earlier of a "hidden agenda" in *Playboy* magazine. Do you believe this agenda is conscious?*

JB: Yes. Absolutely. *Playboy* is an outstanding success in the sale of products. One of the magazine's biggest claims is that readers heed the advertisements more than other magazine ads and purchase products they see in the magazine. *Playboy* knows that the exploitation of women's bodies is what keeps men buying the magazine. Billions of dollars are involved in this industry. People say *Playboy* is "just an entertainment magazine for men," but much, much more than that is at stake. *Playboy* is selling a way of life, and its way of life is not love and respect of human beings, but love of commodities—and women and children are regarded as commodities.

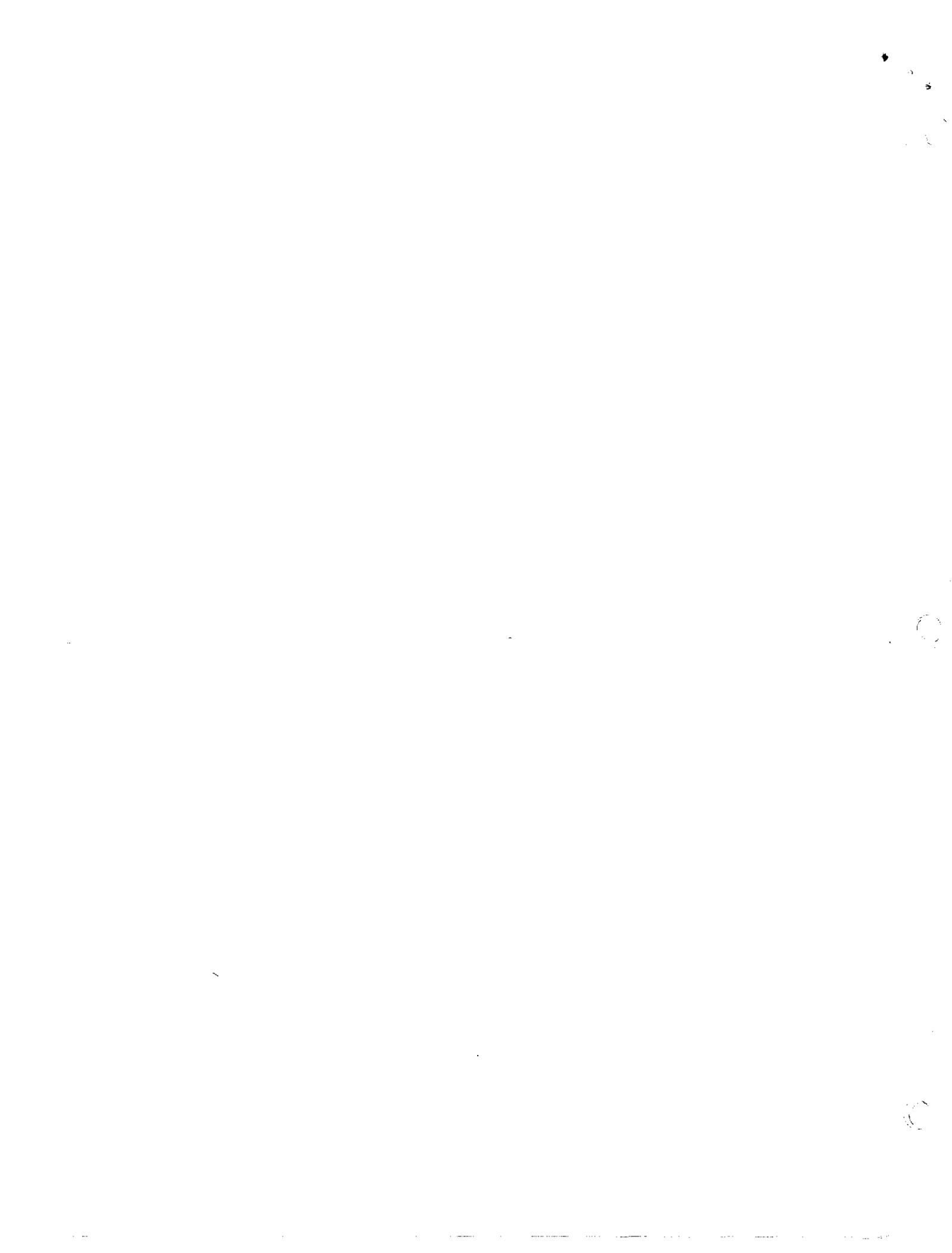
Nothing *Playboy* does is accidental. The publication of a successful magazine is big business, and you must plan ahead if you are in a big business or you go under. You plan not just for a year or two but for five years, for decades. Hefner knows marketing techniques inside out. He is advised by some of the sharpest people in the country: for example, Philip Kotler of Northwestern University, a major marketing figure in the United States. In addition, *Playboy* paid Yankelovich, Skelly, and White, Inc., in New York City, one of the biggest and most famous marketing research companies in the world to do a wide range of psychological services, surveys, and tests.

Playboy is moving into film, video, and TV. It has its finger in every liberal political pie in the nation. It has even been funding many women's organizations and women's issues in order, ultimately, to gain control of our issues and our political organizations, three of the most important of which are NOW, ERA, and abortion! The Hefner empire is not interested in publishing "girlie" magazines. It is interested in becoming more and more powerful, and the more dependent people become on the *Playboy* way of life, the more powerful *Playboy* is. That is why I like to say that *Playboy* isn't playing.

LL: *What should women do?*

JB: There are many things I feel women must do.

First: We must recognize our leadership role and our own personal expertise in the matter of what is offensive and pornographic. The research conducted until now overwhelmingly confirms women's re-



jection of commercial pornographic materials, despite the pressures to conform by their loved ones and by society. Even research which finds sexual arousal in females toward pornographic material also finds rejection of the same material by the women responding. Interestingly, most researchers have tended to explain this contradiction in typically sexist language, e.g., *women* are out of step due to "cultural conditioning." This is hardly the case. I contend this rejection is simply a still-functioning survival instinct—the instinctive recognition of the danger, hate, and unbridled violence inherent in pornographic ideas and images, however well they are designed and sugar-coated. Anger toward this female hate propaganda is a healthy sign for women in contemporary society. Women must understand that and sense it, feel it, believe it before we will feel comfortable challenging (often) husbands, friends, colleagues, and other women. We must understand that it is not we who are out of step. Indeed, it is the male-dominated world which is out of step, as it has been before so regularly.

Second: It becomes vitally important to speak out clearly regarding the rejection of pornography in your private spheres, with those close to you at home, at work, and in organizations. We should practice in these areas as it were, to get our voices, our courage.

Third: Although single voices do carry weight, group action is the best, the speediest way to be effective. NOW has established a boycott of national significance to help win us Equal Rights Amendment. This kind of action must be imposed on all pornographic images. Pornography is a hate campaign; make no "liberally sophisticated" mistake about that. It is a campaign to humiliate and brutalize all females, women, and children. If it continues to succeed, we will be back at the bottom of the barrel—all of us—and for generations to come.

Fourth: A coalition of all women needs to be established, regardless of race, color, creed, religion, or political persuasion. No discriminatory "radicals-only" concept will do. The idea of divide and conquer is still effective. Women have been divided; we must reunite throughout the nation on this one basic issue. A coalition is central to our survival . . . all women who refuse to accept the contemporary sexualized definition of women must agree to work together on this issue. Disagreements on other issues can be dealt with when fewer of us are being murdered, beaten, tortured, and raped. There will be that many more votes to count.

Fifth: Pressure must be put on NOW and *Ms.* magazine, and on other women's organizations and magazines, to advertise a national

boycott of any media materials and supporting products which we believe in any way, shape, or form demean women. I find it disturbing that literally nothing has come out of any liberated women's magazines which squarely treats the *Playboy* ethic for what it is—a threat to our very lives as human and humane beings, ERA notwithstanding. The opportunities for communication and education on this issue are enormous due to the number of women's periodicals and their outreach. With this in mind, all women's magazines should be encouraged to sanction and publicize as one unified body, such national boycott action or risk the loss of female readership.

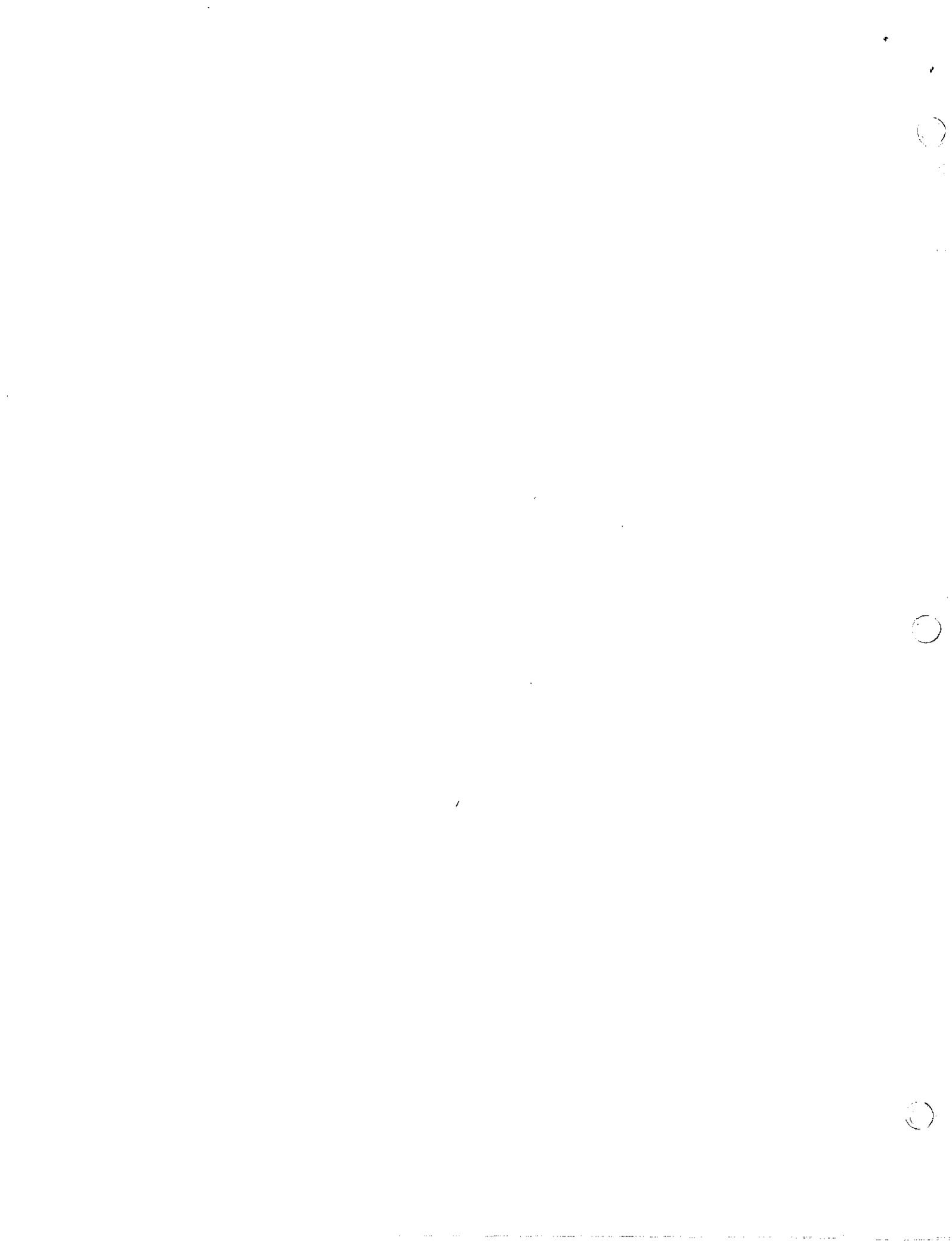
Sixth: Legal action must be taken wherever possible on a national organizational scale. So much needs to be done on the legal front. There must be protection for women and children from pornographic hate propaganda.

Seventh: Now we get to a rather touchy and controversial point: Our problem is not just *men* in power. All oppressors worth their salt have employed members of the exploited class to do their dirtiest work. This is just as much a reality for women today. The 1976 April cover of *Playboy*, which featured the clearest emphasis on malecest and pedophilia, was photographed by a woman. The publisher of *High Society* magazine is a woman. Women are being offered excellent opportunities throughout the mass media to serve as collaborators, producing vile sexist propaganda. This is to be expected. As the tempo of exploitation is increased, more confederates are hired to create the soft patina of credibility.

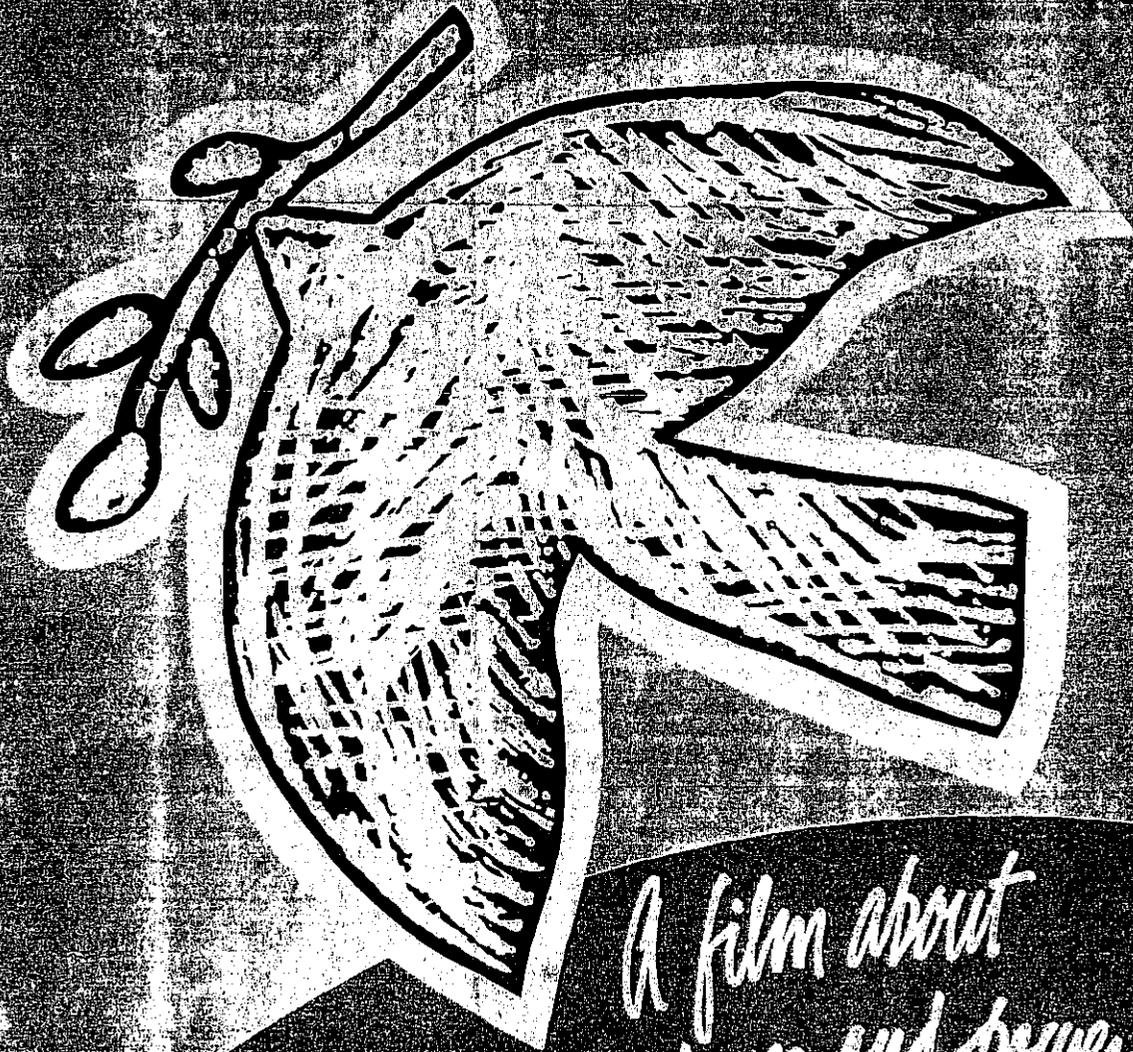
There are always those who need to ~~dominate~~ *dominate* and who will exploit the weakest group at hand. Since contemporary culture prohibits exploitation and denigration on the basis of race, creed, color, or religion, it would appear that the only "group" now legally at hand is sexual—the female sex specifically. We have to take very seriously the treatment we and our children are receiving in the mass media. I believe current media trends are destroying female sexuality and the male-female relationship. It is time that we stop serving the worst of the male culture, and make our own definitions of what being a woman and being female means to us. This is not a pretty time. If my assessment is correct, it is a time of war. We are dealing with a fragile hold upon humaneness. Let us also remember that we are up against a powerful media industry which encourages pornography in order to fulfill its own present and future interests. We must demand a society which protects women from this exploitation and violence.



PEACE



SPEAKING OUR PEACE



*A film about
women, peace and power*

WITH ROSALIE BERTELL, MARION DEWAR, MURIEL DUCKWORTH, URSULA M. FRANKLIN,
DARLENE KEJU, MARGARET LAURENCE, SOLANGES VINCENT, KATHLEEN WALLACE-DEERING

DIRECTED BY BONNIE SHERR KLEIN AND TERRI NASH. EDITED BY JANICE BROWN.

NARRATED BY MARGOT KIDDER. PRODUCED BY STUDIO D. NATIONAL FILM BOARD OF CANADA.



National
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Office
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du Canada

SPRAKING

"I consider militarism a symptom of a much larger form of social organization that to me signifies the threat system. Militarism, when you forget about the hardware, is a way of saying 'Do what I say or else.' And to me, the essence of feminism and women's experience is that (a) integrates diversity, enhances cooperation, and respects differences."

— Dr. Ursula M. Franklin

Speaking Our Peace is based on the conviction that women's skills and experiences as peacekeepers within families and communities must be applied to the global social and political forum. It is the first documentary film to be made in Canada, Britain and the U.S.S.R., this one-hour documentary explores the concept of peace as much more than the absence of war. It presents the perspectives of women passionately committed both in their personal and professional lives to eradicating social injustice and promoting world peace. Featured in the film are Dr. Rosalie Bertell, Marion Dewar, Muriel Duckworth, Dr. Ursula M. Franklin, Darlene Keju, Margaret Laurence, Solanges Vincent, and Kathleen Wallace-Deering.

In Speaking Our Peace, these and other women analyze the many complex issues of our current global crisis, including the connections between the arms race and poverty and repression in the Third World. They insist that there will be no true peace until we learn to nurture the earth instead of polluting it, find non-violent ways of resolving our differences, and establish a global economy based on human rather than military needs.

Archival and contemporary footage reinforces the points they make. Conversations with Soviet women, Moscow street scenes, and footage of the siege of Leningrad during World War II provide Westerners insight into the views of Soviet citizens. We also learn about Canada's uranium mining and nuclear industry, and about the concerns of ordinary citizens who live with the problems of the nuclear age — a Scandinavian family whose backyard is contaminated by radioactive waste; a Port Hope resident whose livelihood hinges on the nuclear industry; and inhabitants of South Pacific islands who are now experiencing severe health problems because of nuclear weapons testing 30 years ago.

In Speaking Our Peace, we see women on the job, in their communities, in other countries — linking the issues, raising public awareness, working together to bring about social and political change. Some, like Ottawa mayor Marion Dewar, choose to work in the political domain. Others voice

their opposition to militarism and the arms race through public protests. This film includes scenes of women participating in mass demonstrations — at Lion Systems Canada in Toronto, where they challenge Canada's complicity in nuclear weapons production and call for economic conversion of the arms industry, and at Greenham Common in England, where 30,000 women encircle the Air Force Base housing Cruise missiles.

Worried by the prospect of nuclear war, many of us feel overwhelmed and powerless. The women in this film however have not lost faith, despite the many obstacles to peace and the fact that throughout history women's views on peace have been largely ignored. By changing the status quo through resourcefulness and the constructive use of power, they provide us with the courage to act. They challenge us to imagine a world without violence, invite us to embrace their vision of peace, and urge us to work for a new social order where we will live in harmony with each other and with the planet.

About the Filmmakers
Both Terri Nash and Bonnie Sher Klein work with Studio D of the National Film Board of Canada. Studio D was founded in 1974 to produce films by and for women, to train women filmmakers, and to bring women's perspectives to all social issues through the medium of film.

Speaking Our Peace reflects Studio D's desire to address the real needs and concerns of women. The film is also a progression of ideas explored in the co-directors' earlier works. Terri Nash, who has a doctorate in communications and has researched images of women in cinema, is best known as the director of the 1983 Academy Award winner *You Love This Planet*, a 23-minute documentary featuring a compelling call for disarmament by Dr. Helen Caldicott.

Long interested in film and video as tools for social change, Bonnie Sher Klein has produced and directed films and television programs on community movements and women's role in society. Her NEB directing credits include the five-part series *The Albany Approach: Organizing for Power*, Patrick's *Moving Future*, about one woman's mid-life crisis; and *Mad as Love Story: A Film about Paranoia*, the internationally acclaimed documentary that examines pornography from the point of view of women.



NFB co-directors Terri Nash, left, and Bonnie Sher Klein.

Photo: Martin Franklin

OUR PEACE

"Women have a long history of protest against war and a strong dedication to peace. Women do not wage war but bear the wages of war. We once had to struggle just to get the vote; the struggle now is to bring our concern for peace and justice to influence national and international decisions."

— Excerpt from the commentary of Speaking Our Peace

MARGARET LAURENCE
Acclaimed author, winner of the Governor General's award for fiction and literature, member of the Order of Canada, outspoken member of Antis for Peace.



Photo: D.W. Bout

On new concepts of peace and power: "If peace is subversive, in God's name, what is war? Now is the time to speak out in terms of peace. The concept of power I would like to have and to wield is (the ability to solve interpersonal and international situations of tension in ways that deal with communication and not violence."

MURIEL DUCKWORTH
Founding member of the Voice of Women (VOW) and CRAW, member of the Order of Canada, active in Halifax peace, education, and women's groups.



On the role of ordinary citizens: "The more decision-making is made around our dining room tables or in our kitchens or in our town councils, the better it is. It's the people with no extraordinary power who will reconstitute the world. If it is going to be saved."

DARLENE KEJU
A public health researcher from Manitoba, a group of islanders in the South Pacific where, between 1946 and 1958, sixty-six nuclear bombs were tested.



On the continuing effects of nuclear testing: "Children are being born and we are calling them jellyfish babies. They have no eyes, no legs, no nose. I don't think you need any more evidence to see what happened when nuclear (bombs are) exploded, so I would like to bring my issues and link (them) with your issues."

MARION DEWAR
Mayor of Ottawa and vice-president of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, sponsored the first Canadian municipal referendum on global disarmament.



On women's role in achieving peace: "I do think there are issues that we as women have to focus on. If we don't, the rest of the world isn't going to and, God knows, the rest of our country isn't going to. An awful lot is up to us. That responsibility is there for us."

KATHLEEN WALLACE-DEERING
Public education self-person with the Vancouver branch of Project Proliferates, a Canadian peace and development organization.



In discussion with a Soviet official: "I don't want to get into who has more missiles, but... both sides (the Warsaw Pact and NATO) are building up armaments on the grounds that we need them for defense; yet what we've seen throughout history is that whenever there (is) military buildup, it ends in war."

DR. ROSALIE BERTELL
Roman Catholic nun and world-renowned expert on low-level radiation, director of the International Institute of Cancer for Public Health, in Toronto.



On how World War III has already begun: "You can't destroy the land and the air and the water at the same time as you damage the game pool. That's a death process and if we don't begin now to deal with it as a death process, it's going to be so far advanced that we'll be unable to stop it."

DR. URSULA M. FRANKLIN
Physicist, founding member of VOW, director of the Order of Canada, and member of the Order of Ontario, first woman to receive a university professorial title in Canada.



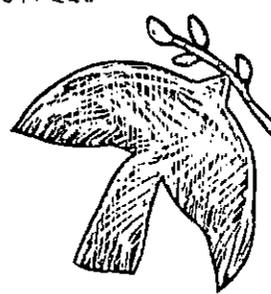
Photo: Martin Franklin

On peace as a way of life: "There's a long road ahead for us to re-establish the dream of justice and peace. It's a lifetime commitment. (As) A.J. Muste (said), 'There is no way to peace, peace is the way,' and it's neither painless, nor is it cheap, nor is it fast, but it's the only thing we have."

SOLANGES VINCENT
Political and economic analyst, Montreal author, long-time activist in La Voix des Femmes, Quebec's first women's magazine, and with Action Travail des Femmes du Québec.



On the need for a new economic order: "The survival of the planet depends on a new sharing of power and a new form of international co-operation. Without a more equal sharing of resources, there will be no peace — no matter how much we protest against the Cruise or the MX (missiles)."



- Violence inherent in human nature? Are women less violent than men? If so, is women's perspective on peace and power different from men's because of genetic makeup or traditional roles? What part do toys, games, advertising and television play in perpetuating role-stereotyping among men and women?
- What is the relation between women's struggle for rights and women's widespread opposition to all forms of militarism? What is the relation between private and domestic violence toward women (rape, pornography and battering) and public, global violence (war, poverty, and repression)?
- Why are there more women than men in peace groups and more men than women in politics? (N.B.: According to U.N. figures, women make up over 70% of peace and social justice movements.) What would happen if political leaders, both women and men, adopted the feminist-life-sustaining values described by some of the women in this film? How can we ensure these values have an impact on political, economic and social policies, and on peace strategies?

What You Can Do

Each of us can work for peace wherever we are, using whatever skills and contacts we have. We need not be experts. The first step is to break the silence, and then invent new strategies for peace.

- **Spread the word.** Discuss what you can do with your friends and family. Make peace and justice a priority in the groups to which you belong (e.g.: school, work, neighborhood, religious and women's organizations). By bringing the issues into mainstream groups, you will raise public awareness and contribute to social change.
- **Use your democracy.** Let candidates and elected officials at all levels of government know your concerns. Find out where they stand on issues. Write letters, attend public meetings, support or oppose political decisions, run for office.
- **Continue to learn.** Read books and periodicals. Attend lectures, invite local resource people to address your groups.

Peace Organizations

To find out about peace activities throughout Canada, contact:
Project Ploughshares, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6. Tel.: (519) 888-6541. Offices also in Ottawa and Vancouver.

Operation Dismantle, P.O. Box 3687, Station C, Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 4M5. Tel.: (613) 722-6001. Quarterly newsletter: *The Dismantler*.

The Survival Committee of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, 40 St. Clair Avenue East, Suite 306, Toronto, Ontario M4T 1M9. Tel.: (416) 922-3246. Monthly newsletter, MEMO, available to NAC member organizations.

Voice of Women, 175 Carlton Street, Toronto, Ontario M5A 2K3. Tel.: (416) 922-2997. *VOW National Quarterly Newsletter*.

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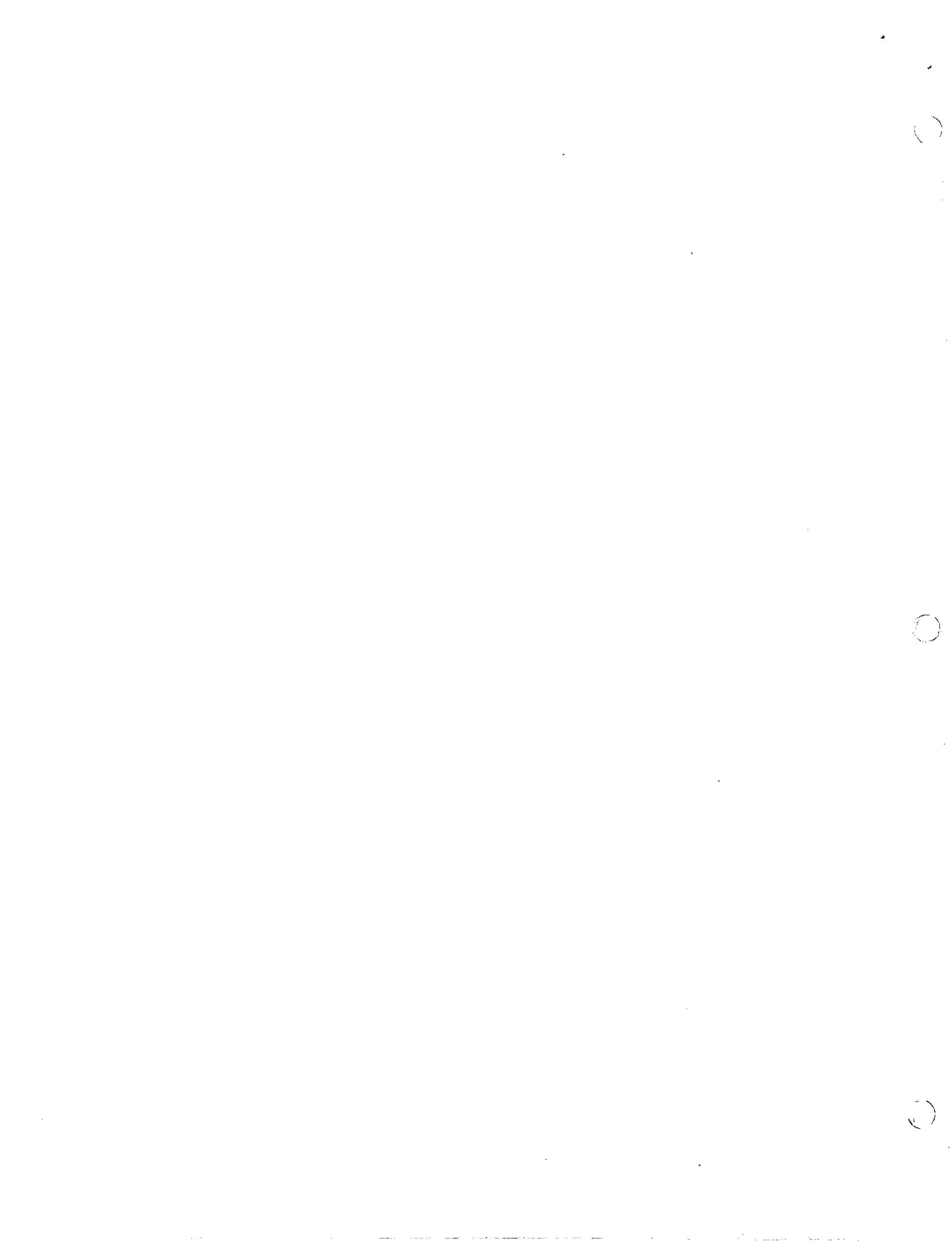
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The Ploughshares Monitor. A quarterly newsletter. See address under peace organizations. Minimum annual associate membership fee: \$20.

Women, Peace and Power. 1981 Rachel Cadoury Lecture by Jo Vallaocci. 17 pp. Fifty cents. Order from: Canadian Quaker Pamphlets, Argentina Friends Press, Argentina, B.C. VOG 100.

Soon to Be Released
 A series of short films
 expanding upon
 the views of women
 who appear in
Speaking Our Peace.

Printed in Canada



WOMEN AND MILITARISM

Ursula M. Franklin

Some of us have come into the women's movement through peace concerns, others participate in the current struggle for peace as feminists on the basis of their own direct experience and analysis. All of us know and understand militarism as the prototype of structures of threat and violence that are only too familiar to women.

What do we mean by militarism? The Concise Oxford Dictionary tells us militarism is the "spirit or tendencies of the professional soldier; the undue prevalence of military spirit or ideals". In fact, it is much more than that. Beyond the traditional training for war and the preparations for "combat" (whatever that may mean), militarism today is an internally consistent system of attitudes, perceptions and actions; it is the ultimate manifestation of the threat system which, when stripped of all its extraneous verbiage, simply says: "Do what I tell you - or else". The institutional arm of the threat system, aptly called Armed Forces, provides the scope, the tools and the logistics for the "or else". The political arm of the threat system directs and finances the development and acquisition of these tools and utilizes the knowledge of their power and availability. One arm cannot exist without the other; together they constitute modern militarism. This system operates with our money and without our consent.

Women are among those who have had lots of experience being at the receiving end of threat systems designed with their resources and without their consent. It is not surprising, then, that today the most penetrating attacks on the roots of militarism and the most creative approaches to alternate structures have come out of feminist analyses.

Deepening and broadening of the structures critique of militarism seems to me a most urgent task. This task is sometimes forgotten as the war/peace discussions center on the tools of the military. After all the fate of the earth is at stake, when nuclear war threatens. People have good reasons to be frightened by the mounting stockpile of nuclear weapons, by new chemical agents, by Trident submarines and by cruise missiles, by escalating responses and responses to responses.

But our fundamental objection to militarism is not related to the size of its arsenal or the destructiveness of its weapons. What women must object to is the threat system per se. We have not consented to live in the otherwise world of threats. We want to build a why-not world of mutual respect and diversity.

Feminist analyses of social structures, of typical situations in the workplace, in schools or in the larger community have clarified for us the tactics and approaches of threat-based systems. They all work under the implicit assumption that some people matter much less than others and that all people are of interest only as long as they are needed to support the system or to justify it. Women know how hierarchal systems can threaten any opposition with social and psychological isolation, with economic penalties and with political blackmail. Thus, militarism should be interpreted as the ultimate development in this line of structures. The threat now is the survival of the collectivity itself. The threat that militarism asserts is blind, diffuse and random, it is not related to individual people or specific issues. (If this last observation is not correct, maybe someone can tell me what a harmless female scholar like me has done that can be rectified only by the use of nuclear weapons.)

It is clear that the weapons we fear are the logical outcome of the development of the military threat system. If we want to get rid of the weapons and of the danger to global survival they represent, then we must face up to the system of militarism and not just its tools. And let us not forget that these are facets of this system that are already deeply embedded in what might be seen as the civilian sector. Just think of the incidents of blind obedience (- "I'm just following orders" -) of automatically equating rank with competence, of disregard and lack of respect for anyone outside the system, ("Women, native people and the handicapped" as the Minister of Employment and Immigration put it so succinctly) not to speak of the pursuit and glorification of brutality in all its psychological, physical and technological aspects, and you gain an idea of the intrusion of militarism into our supposedly peaceful lives.

The twin relationship between militarism and the hierarchal structures that oppress women was clearly understood by many of the pioneers of the women's movement. In 1915 Alice Duer Miller wrote:

Men shouldn't vote: 1. Because men are too emotional to vote. Their conduct at baseball games and political conventions show this, while their innate tendency

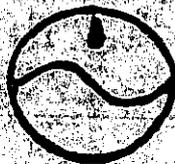
to appeal to force renders them particularly unfit for the task of government. 2. Because no really manly man wants to settle any question otherwise than by fighting about it. 3. Because man's place is in the Army. 4. Because men will lose their charm if they step out of their natural sphere and interest themselves in other matters than feats of arms, uniforms and drums. 5. Because, if men should adopt peaceable methods, women will no longer look up to them.

This is more than just a clever reparte; it illuminates the symbolic and structural roots of the male domination women were exposing. Many leading advocates of women's rights were pacifists - such as Jane Adams, Sylvia Pankhurst or Clara Meyer-Weichmann. Conversely, men who were opposed to war were often very supportive of women's struggles for personhood and equality. And so it should be. To me the struggle for women's rights and the opposition to militarism in all its forms are two sides of the same coin. And that coin is the promise of a liveable future, a future without "aye, aye, Sir, ready Sir", a future without sexist or jingoistic stereotypes. If this future is to be realized it must be based on respect and not on domination, and its principles will hold for relations between individuals, between groups and between peoples. I am convinced, that if these goals can not be achieved, there will be no future. Ironically this may be the ultimate "or else".

The great step, then, is for all of us to realize that - if we but will it - lies ahead, not catastrophe, but the best part of the human venture.
Aurelio Peccei, Club of Rome

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For evil to triumph all that is necessary is for good people to do nothing and nobody made a greater mistake than those who did nothing because they could only do a little.

Edmund Burke

Though the world is a mosaic of languages, cultures and political systems we are all part of the human family, the nation of humanity. The world is our neighbourhood. Over 2000 years ago Aristotle said that the size of a political community is the range of a person's voice. Now, with satellite tele-communications we have a global human community. This world community is intra-dependent for security, resources and the protection of our planetary environment. The space age has given us the total earth perspective. "From out there it really is one world," as Frank Borman said after an Apollo trip.

The Earth - is it a nice place to live? It could be. All the resources, skills, knowledge and technology are here. Only the political will to change is needed. As human beings our concerns are the same all over the world - a longing for peace and justice, a decent standard of living and basic freedoms - all listed in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We are 4,700 million people with common interests - but no world institutions or legal framework to ensure them. There is no self-government for the Global Village.

Conditions on this planet are unacceptable to any concerned intelligence. Since the United Nations was founded in 1945 twenty-five million people have been killed in conventional-type conflicts. Today the world is an armed camp with world military expenditures of \$800 billion per year and growing. One year's expenditures would cover all world development projects - an economic boom for all sectors of the world's economy. Twenty per cent of the human race, almost one billion men, women and children, are in absolute poverty with no human dignity and no hope... and unless there is hope for the poor there is no hope for the rich. It is a sort of global apartheid, an aggression and a crime against humanity. Fifty thousand nuclear warheads and their delivery systems are already in place. A nuclear exchange could come about through political miscalculation, escalation beyond rational control or even computer malfunction, and seal the fate of the earth. All too easily unbelievable. Torture, repression and the abuse of power is widespread, with the "gilded" criminals beyond the scope of domestic, national justice. There is a "threat to human survival through world economic collapse" (Brandt)

Somehow, we must begin thinking of ourselves as a family on this small planet we inhabit. Somehow, we must begin enjoying the differences within the human family instead of nursing anachronistic hatreds.

The real race, the real ideological conflict, is between those who can think in terms of human welfare and those who are trapped by ancient homicidal psychoses. There's very little time left to mobilize in behalf of the broader vision that alone can save the planet.

I.F. Stone in "The Progressive"

And
The 100th
Monkey says...



Today the universal common good poses problems of world-wide dimensions, which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authorities endowed with a wideness of powers, structure and means of the same proportions: that is, of public authorities which are in a position to operate in an effective manner on a world-wide basis. The moral order itself, therefore, demands that such a form of public authority be established. Pope John XXIII. From encyclical "Pacem in Terris" Part IV 1963

"The real terrorists are national leaders, the real hostages are all of us"
Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, pres., Pax-Christi.

PRESIDENT
 DUNCAN GRAHAM

SECRETARY-TREASURER
 DOROTHY DUNCAN

FOUNDING PATRONS
 PAUL DUNCAN
 ALBERT ELLIOTT
 ENID ELLIOTT
 MAGGI GRAHAM
 RACHEL HUSK
 DAVID DEN OTTER
 FOSTER PARMELEE
 AUDREY PATRICK
 BRUCE RICHARDSON
 JOHN ROSSINS
 DON RUSSELL
 ROSS SMYTH
 KEITH SUTER
 DICK WECHTER

Global Citizens is a non-profit, non-partisan, non-sectarian world network of people who support the creation of a system of enforceable world law through reform of the United Nations. Complementary to our national and local identities is a third citizenship, a global one. We also need to renew the importance of the local community. A tri-based world system would provide the checks and balances necessary.

"There is a universal need of the entire human race to recognize its oneness and organize the planet for future survival and well-being. The other need, equally pressing, is to re-discover and re-create the small community."
 Drews and Lipson, Values and Humanity

SUMMARY of PROPOSALS - a multi-faceted package.

- * a United Nations Security Council peace force as an interim world security system to oversee complete and general disarmament as passed by the U.N. in 1961 (McCloy-Zorin Agreement).
- * a world development program to ensure a basic standard of living for all.
- * a directly-elected second chamber at the U.N.(under Art 22) as the first step to a world federal democracy.
- * development of all non-renewable natural resources as the common heritage of humankind and taxed as an independent U.N. revenue source.
- * a world common market of free trade without visa or tarriff restrictions and a universal world currency with a re-structured World Bank.
- * a regulatory agency for trans-national companies and the environment.
- * a world court for violations of human rights, torture and abuse of power.
- * a global education program on family planning.

GLOBAL CITIZENS PROJECTS

- + A monthly newsletter, the Purple Dawn, promoting the global perspective, is sent to members and a varying list of NGOs, Govt. Depts and United Nations Missions.
- + Establishment of a permanent global education centre to provide materials, explore and research ideas on planetary consciousness and the transition process.
- + Research on the legality of the arms race and those responsible for it on the basis that it is against existing international law and the principles of the Nuremberg and Tokyo War Crimes Tribunals.
- + A contact and lobbying program at the United Nations to weave one gossamer thread of global interest with another and act as a catalyst for world change.
- + Provide a check-list of individual action and local initiatives. (Niagara Falls is made up of drops of water).

I agree with the program of the Global Citizens Assoc. _____ Date _____

I am interested but send more information _____

Name Life Associate \$300
 Address Regular membership \$30 / year
 Limited income \$10 / year
 Donation \$_____ to help
 with special projects.

Telephone _____ - _____ - _____

Checks payable to Global Citizens. Not tax exempt. Where currency controls exist send only international postal reply coupons for newsletter/ 1 year.

Ask them

It is fashionable for politicians to speak glowingly of peace. But fine words are often not matched by concrete actions and a genuine commitment to end the arms race.

Three major planks proposed by the Canadian peace movement — halting cruise missile testing, making Canada a nuclear weapons free zone and supporting a bilateral, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze — are a comprehensive and realistic plan to help end the arms race.

Individual politicians from all three federal parties have supported the three-point plan. But many more have not.

You can make nuclear disarmament a priority by supporting only those politicians who really are committed to ending the arms race.

The danger of nuclear war is not going away.

It is growing rapidly. We cannot pretend that there is no problem.

Scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology estimate that about 14 million Canadians would die in a global nuclear war. Another seven million would die from radioactive fallout. Recent American, West German and Soviet studies on the long-term climatic consequences of nuclear war indicate that even the relatively few survivors would be doomed in the long run.

The massive amounts of dust and soot thrown into the atmosphere after nuclear explosions would prevent sunlight from reaching much of the earth's surface.

The prospect of nuclear winter makes it in every country's interest to prevent nuclear war.

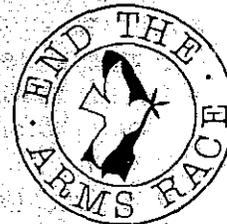
While the arms race threatens to destroy our planet tomorrow, it is destroying our economy today.

Excessive arms spending contributes to inflation, unemployment and massive government deficits, which cause high interest and mortgage rates.

Nuclear disarmament must become a priority of our political representatives. Write letters, ask questions, sign petitions, attend marches and vote only for politicians who really support disarmament.

This pamphlet is produced by End the Arms Race, a coalition of 190 religious, professional, labour, ethnic, peace, political and community organizations. End the Arms Race is the organizer of Vancouver's annual Walk for Peace.

For more information contact:
End the Arms Race
1708 West 16th Avenue
Vancouver, B.C. V6J 2M1
Phone: (604) 736-2366



15MO784

**Will your
elected
representatives
take these
three
simple
steps for
peace?**

1. Will you ask for the immediate cancellation of the cruise missile test agreement?

Yes

THE UNITED STATES conducted its first cruise missile test in Canada in March, 1984.

During the next five years more tests are planned to perfect the air-launched cruise guidance system and to develop even more sophisticated weapons.

The air-launched cruise missile is an American,

not a NATO, weapon.

It has nothing to do with defence. It is designed for fighting rather than deterring a nuclear war.

The cruise makes nuclear arms control much more difficult because its small size makes it hard to verify.

Canada is not obliged by its NATO agreement to test any type of nuclear weapon delivery system.

It can, and should, cancel the cruise test agreement.

2 Will you support Canada becoming a nuclear weapons free zone?

Yes

CANADA, ALTHOUGH able to develop its own nuclear bomb, has pledged not to do so.

In 1969, Canada stripped its forces in Europe of nuclear weapons and this year the nuclear weapons remaining on Canadian soil will be removed.

Despite these important initiatives, Canada is still very

involved in the nuclear arms race.

By declaring itself a nuclear weapons free zone, Canada would refuse to allow the deployment, production, testing or transit of nuclear weapons here.

This means no cruise testing, no manufacture of cruise guidance systems, no visits by nuclear-armed warships and no export of uranium to countries manufacturing nuclear weapons.

Such a step would stimulate negotiations for disarmament.

3 Will you urge Canada to support a bilateral freeze on the production and testing of all nuclear weapons?

Yes

THERE ARE NOW enough nuclear weapons on this planet to kill every person many times over.

And nuclear weapons are being produced faster than ever.

A bilateral and verifiable U.S.-Soviet freeze on production, testing and deployment of new nuclear weapons would be an important

first step to prevent nuclear war.

Last year, the United Nations voted by a wide margin in favor of a freeze.

Unfortunately, Canada, along with the U.S. and a few other NATO countries, opposed the freeze.

In May, 1984, India, Mexico, Tanzania, Greece, Sweden and Argentina issued a joint declaration supporting a freeze.

Canada has refused to endorse this initiative, which has the support of Pope John Paul II.

What does "Security" for Women Mean?

This Conference is taking place at a difficult moment for all of humanity, a time when world tension, social convulsion, and external interference (prevalent in almost all the continents) threaten the present and future generations with the scourge of war, and place these generations before a future in which suffering and hardship will dominate. Although it is not easy to admit it, the quality between large and small nations proclaimed by the Charter of the United Nations, is now facing the gravest crisis of the last decades; the very essence of international treaties and agreements is now threatened by an imperial policy exercising its hegemony over weaker nations, and seeking to overturn both social progress and national development--designed to benefit the masses who for centuries have been marginalized. This is the case of Nicaragua.

Our concept of security is conditioned by this current world context. As a result, in my opinion, the concept of security does not possess the same meaning for all people, nor does it mean the same in all places of the world. On the contrary, a Swiss or North American woman will have a different perspective than a Nicaraguan woman, who confronts death, destruction and war on a daily basis. Tonight I would like to share with you some thoughts on our situation, and invite you to imagine how you would feel in our circumstances.

For several years now Nicaragua has been the target of economic, political and military aggression by the most powerful military nation on earth. This official policy of the current U.S. administration has to date cost our people the life of more than 7,000 Nicaraguans, and material damage of some \$386 million. This is the cost in purely quantitative terms, without taking into account the cruel repercussions of the economic boycott decreed against our country last May 1.

These actions have had a profound repercussion on women in Nicaragua, since not only do they distort our traditional role within society at large, and with

-2-

our families, but also prevent us from achieving greater improvements as women, and from strengthening our integration in a process of socio-economic development. These were rights gained by Nicaraguan women through their participation in our people's struggle for liberation.

At the present moment Nicaraguan women live with, and suffer, a war of intervention, running terrible risks; as a result, thousands of women have been kidnapped, raped, tortured and "disappeared" at the hands of the mercenaries funded by the Reagan administration. Also in our specific role as mothers we have been affected, both through the separation of our children who have gone to the war fronts, and too because we have also had to be mobilized to the mountains, leaving our children to be cared for by family members or neighbours; as wives and as comañeras, partners, we have suffered, since the war has inevitably affected our home life. In short we feel vividly the profound changes experienced in our lives: war, torture, death, and the kidnapping of our children are the daily fear for thousands of Nicaraguan mothers.

Because of this huge price, this sacrifice, we Nicaraguan women know that our Security, when faced by external aggression and by war, is not a gift that will come from outside, and is not something which then one day conquer and then hand over to us.

Women in Nicaragua fought shoulder to shoulder with other revolutionaries against the oppression of Somoza's dictatorship, and today they participate in just the same way as we seek the development of our Sandinista revolution. Together we are seeking to construct a new society, assuming the different tasks of the revolution, and even defending the sovereignty of our country with arms in our hands.

We are therefore fully aware that security and peace in our present context have to be won day by day, through hard work and through the struggle of all our people. For us the term "security" does not represent different alternatives for men and women: we do not believe that one can talk, as if in a vacuum, of "women's

liberation," without viewing it in global terms, as the liberation of an entire nation.

This is our reality, our philosophy, and our experience--the result of our revolutionary context. This is why comandante Tomás Borge Martínez has noted: "First it was necessary to make a revolution with all the people, so that then the possibility of a women's revolution could result; it was essential to liberate all our society, so that women's liberation could be started..."

And so, the gloomy panorama of the current world situation, which we mentioned at the beginning of this brief talk, make us understand only too well the "urgency of a true form of security." As a result, the alternative of Nicaraguan women to achieve a negotiated peace solution is to show our opponents the firmness of our struggle; that in Nicaragua there is a nation of women and men, old people and children, an entire nation which, in the immortal words of our poet Rubén Darío in his "Ode to Roosevelt," "lives by light, fire, perfume and love"; that we are a nation which, putting in practice the thought of Sandino, "will head toward the sun of liberty, or toward death," because we refuse to accept a cowardly peace, or a false security.

All of this I bring to you, as a Nicaraguan woman, and place before this forum, which constitutes a moment for reflexion, respect for commitments, the pursuit of political solutions to acute international problems. It is clearly the time, in our Central American context, to support fully peace initiatives like the Contadora one. We cannot allow humanity to be hurled towards extermination; we simply refuse to accept that we be told our only alternative is war and death. Despite the continued aggression against our country, we Nicaraguans insist on dialogue and on negotiation as a means of resolving difficulties. We want peace desperately, and we will struggle increasingly until we achieve it.

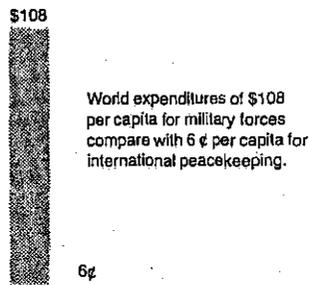
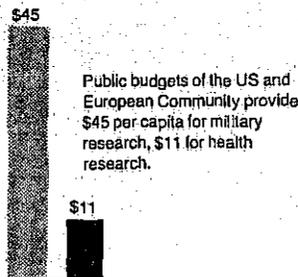
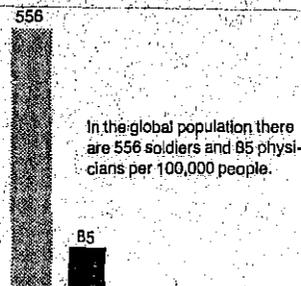
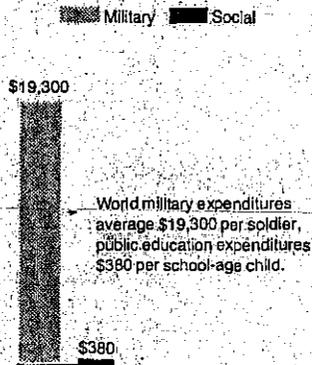
To conclude, dear compañeras of similar concerns and ideals, the sisterly greetings of women in Nicaragua, who appreciate this Conference being inaugurated

today, and any future spinoffs from our meetings. We all see it as an important contribution to the necessary struggle for the establishment and consolidation of peace. Thank you.

Vilma Núñez de Escorcía
Vice-President of the Nicaraguan
Peace Committee, "CONIPAZ"

Militarism and Maldevelopment

Two Faces of World Security



From *World Military and Social Expenditures 1982*
by Ruth L. Sivard

The consequences of an unchecked arms race extend far beyond the growing threat of nuclear catastrophe, the rising death toll in hostilities, and the militarization of political authority. Another victim is the world economy. And in its immediate and long-term effects on human existence, this victim—barring nuclear war—may count as the most disastrous boomerang of all.

The military-economic connection must be seen in both developmental and welfare terms. In quiet, devious ways the military burden undermines the growth that is essential to sustain an increasing population. It slows civilian investment and productivity, stimulates inflation, widens the gap between rich and poor, and postpones the solution of overriding global problems which can be resolved only by all nations working in concert.

For those hundreds of millions of people living at the margin of existence, the military burden on society means unrelieved poverty and massive suffering. It condemns countless individuals to live out lives without hope, destitute of the most elementary needs. Like nuclear war, this too is genocidal.

Military spending is a silent partner in the inflationary spiral, stimulating it in several ways. It generates spendable income without enlarging the supply of goods available in the civilian market. It draws off capital from civilian investment, which in turn slows productivity gains and price economies. The result is a generalized upward pressure on prices.

Military procurement also has a more specific inflationary impact which derives from characteristics peculiar to it: rapid product change and obsolescence, cost-plus-profit contracts, and the excessive waste endemic to large bureaucracies beyond public control. To ensure first claim on scarce materials, labor, management and scientific talent, military buyers operate under less price constraint than civilian buyers. Few economies can prevent this privileged demand from having a spill-over effect in the rest of the market.

Military expenditures have a negative impact on investment in civilian sectors; they divert research efforts to objectives that are not growth-producing; they train in skills largely unusable in the civilian economy. Studies in the US have shown that military expenditures create only half as many jobs as the equivalent amount of money spent on such basic needs of society as housing, roads, hospitals, schools. As an increasing number of developing countries has also found, defence spending is the least effective way to produce the job opportunities needed for rapidly growing populations.

The arms race also reinforces North-South inequalities. The impact of the rise in military expenditures has been relatively more severe in developing countries than in developed because of their much lower income base. Although the military burden relative to income has diminished somewhat in the last few years (and increased in the developed countries), the contrast between developed and developing in the income equivalents of their expenditures is still sharp. At 1980 levels of per capita income, military outlays represented 143 million man-years of income in developing countries and 50 million in developed.

Third World countries are also relatively more affected by the diversion of labor and management skills to military programs and to the advanced technology that increasingly goes with them. They have fewer trained people to spare. Military requirements drain away talent essential for development. They may also introduce at too early a stage the complex technology that can be paralyzing for young countries.

Development in poorer areas of the world has been slowed by another casualty of the arms race, foreign economic aid programs. For most of the donor countries, economic aid takes a low priority in competition with military expenditures. In 1980, according to OECD estimates, net economic aid amounted to \$36 billion. This was equivalent to about 8 percent of the military outlays of the donors. Both superpowers fell below this average. US aid was equal to about 6 percent of its military expenditures, Soviet aid to about 1 percent.



The **Tools for Peace** campaign first delivered material aid to Nicaragua in 1981. The project began in Vancouver after a group of trade unionists who had recently returned from Nicaragua organized a shipment of fishing equipment. The goods were worth \$25,000 and were shipped on Nicaragua's only freighter, the Monimbo. Less than two weeks later a further \$70,000 worth of other supplies was shipped as other people got involved with the project.

In 1982, the campaign grew and over \$125,000 worth of goods was sent to Nicaragua.

Tools for Peace became a national campaign in 1983, and from across the country over one million dollars worth of medical, agricultural, industrial and educational supplies was shipped on the French vessel the Lafayette.

Although collecting supplies for Nicaragua is the Tools for Peace project's most visible work, we also aim to persuade the Canadian government to re-examine foreign policy towards Nicaragua. Tools for Peace encourages the government to establish a Canadian embassy in Nicaragua; to oppose U.S. military intervention in the region; and to support the Contadora proposals for peace in Central America.

Canadian aid is desperately needed by Nicaragua. The United States has used its veto power in the World Bank and the International Development Bank to ensure loans critical to Nicaragua's development are withheld. These loans are desperately needed to repay the debt inherited from former dictator Anastasio Somoza, and to finance the growth of Nicaragua's industrial and agricultural sectors. With constant attacks from the Contras, Nicaragua's struggling economy is even more depressed.

The new schools and hospitals, and the people who staff them are often targets of the Contra attacks. But as one Nicaraguan said, "When they come and burn down a school we have just built with the solidarity of other people in the world, we feel even stronger about rebuilding it. We know we are not alone in our struggle."

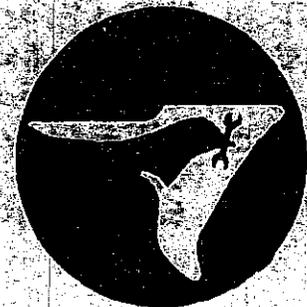
To Nicaraguans, victory is constructing a society where children will have enough food to eat; where everyone will have the opportunity to an education; and where a whole society will be free from the fear of invasions and more bloodshed. This is Nicaragua's hope.

Tools for Peace shares that hope. We will be collecting hospital equipment, school and office supplies, farming and fishing gear, and carpentry tools.

Tools to heal, tools to build, tools to make music, tools to build a better tomorrow.

TOOLS FOR PEACE

• Join us
for the '85
campaign!



Volunteers needed

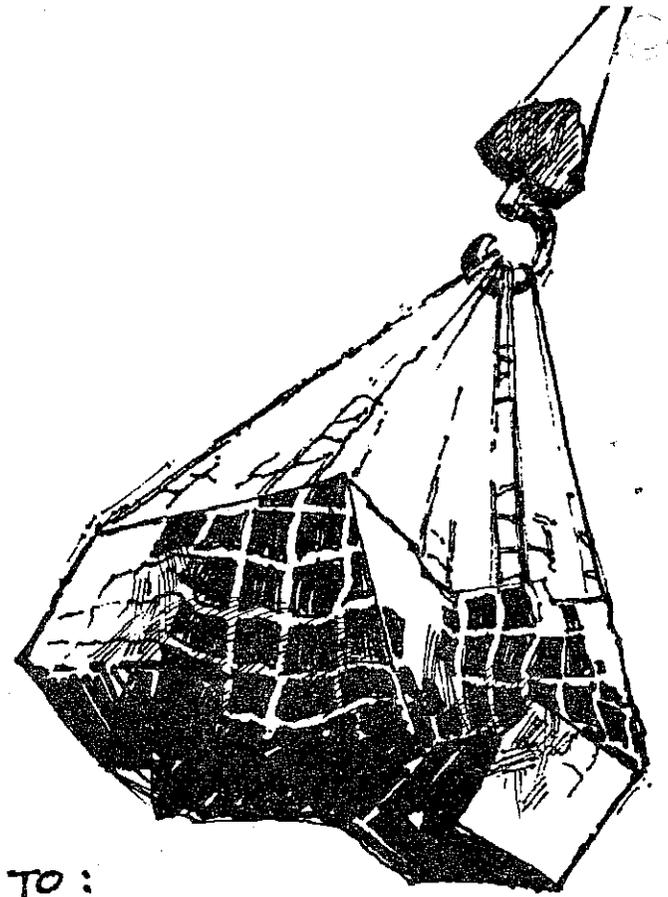
LAST YEAR THE PROJECT WAS A TOTAL SUCCESS INVOLVING HUNDREDS OF VOLUNTEERS ALL ACROSS CANADA.

OVER \$1,500,000 IN DONATED GOODS WAS SHIPPED FROM VANCOUVER TO NICARAGUA.

THIS YEAR WE EXPECT THE PROJECT TO BE AN EVEN GREATER SUCCESS.

ARE YOU :

- ① A PERSON TO TALK TO PEOPLE, SHOW SLIDE PRESENTATIONS TO SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, EVENTS, GROUPS, ETC. ABOUT HOW NICARAGUANS ARE ATTEMPTING TO REBUILD THEIR COUNTRY IN THE FACE OF INCREASING STRIFE.
- ② A PERSON TO TYPE, ANSWER PHONES, PREPARE MAILING LISTS, EDUCATIONAL KITS, CLIP NEWSPAPERS, PICK UP DONATIONS.
- ③ A PERSON TO WORK IN THE WAREHOUSE SORTING AND REPACKING GOODS, FILLING CRATES WITH AGRICULTURAL TOOLS, HAND TOOLS, ETC., ORGANIZING MEDICAL/ DAYCARE / OFFICE / SEWING SUPPLIES, DRIVE A FORKLIFT, DO INVENTORY, BUILD CRATES, ETC., ETC.



SEND TO :

- COALITION FOR AID TO NICARAGUA,
2524 CYPRESS ST., VANCOUVER, B.C.
V6J 3N2 TEL: (604) 733-1021

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

I'M INTERESTED IN (CIRCLE) ① ② ③

OTHER : _____

I ENCLOSE A DONATION OF : \$ _____

I CAN MAKE A MATERIAL DONATION _____

political forces as exists without discrimination by reason of ideology or belief. In previous amnesty decrees, the Marcos government excluded members and leaders of so-called subversive organizations or rebel groups. Such selective amnesty has not brought the regime anywhere nearer the healing of discord that a general amnesty is capable of achieving.

Also in the past, the government granted amnesty only after certain conditions were met, such as an admission of guilt, the renunciation of thought or belief, or other such coercive or humiliating conditions. To be effective, amnesty must be unconditional. Otherwise it becomes a tool for pay-war operations or another instrument of repression.

General and unconditional amnesty will be meaningless unless it is accompanied by the necessary political reforms which would lead to changes in the political structure. Without the repeal of the repressive laws and decrees, no amount of amnesty decrees from the government will lead to the resolution of conflict.

Aside from political prisoners, general amnesty should apply to political exiles, persons in the government's manhunt lists and those convicted supposedly of common crimes which are part of political offenses (subversion, sedition, rebellion, etc.). It should cover persons accused of political offenses who are on temporary release, under house arrest, awaiting pending cases, as well as those who have been freed after being convicted and having served their sentence.

TO STRUGGLE FOR AMNESTY IS TO STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL REPRESSION

Since the Aquino assassination, popular protest has battered the Marcos regime. Political discontent is apt to be fueled by an economic crisis of the regime's makings. Seventy percent of the people now live below the poverty line, while the government is now \$30 billion in debt.

To defuse the clamor for his ouster, Marcos is wielding the time-honored combined tactics of repression and deception. To hide his mailed fist, he has orchestrated a U.S.-inspired National Assembly election farce. He has even sponsored a commission to probe Aquino's death, a commission which has shown that it is only interested in going after sacrificial lambs and not after the mastermind in Malacañang Palace.

Marcos is expected to claim again and again that democracy has returned and that tolerance is now the hallmark of his rule. But the proof is in the pudding. Political prisoners are a living proof of the dictatorship's need to silence opposition.

The hounding of political opponents by the Marcos government that leads them into hiding or exile is evidence of the dictatorship's need to silence opposition.

Without general and unconditional amnesty, no claims to normalization can be real. The struggle for general amnesty and release of all political prisoners, is indeed, integral to the struggle for genuine democracy.

CAMD/PSN GENERAL AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network (CAMD/PSN) has launched a campaign for general amnesty and release of all political prisoners to support this demand as a necessary condition for democratization in the Philippines.

With this campaign, CAMD/PSN raises and popularizes this issue which the Movement for General Amnesty, in particular, and the Philippine opposition movement, in general, have advanced as a challenge to the Marcos government to step down and open the way for normalizing the current political and economic crises that affects the Filipino people.

Everyone can join this campaign and contribute their share to the Filipinos' struggle for an end to dictatorship by filling out the form below:

CLIP AND MAIL

I want to support the Campaign for General Amnesty not just in words but in action by:

- helping gather signatures for a Statement in Support of the Appeal for General Amnesty in the Philippines
- Holding a meeting in my house (*pulong-bahay*) and inviting CAMD/PSN to discuss General Amnesty and the condition of political prisoners in the Philippines
- Joining your Urgent Alert Network which entails sending telegrams to intercede with the Philippine government to stop specific cases of injustice or repression
- Contributing \$5 or more to sustain your education work and materials in the Amnesty campaign
- Contributing \$10 or more to finance a planned speaking tour by two representatives from the Movement for General Amnesty in the Philippines to 10 cities in the U.S. and Canada
- By buying and helping sell at \$3 a General Amnesty poster to be displayed prominently in my home, workplace, organization headquarters, etc.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

CAMD/PSN National Office
P.O. Box 173
Oakland, CA 94668

CAMD/PSN Local Chapter:
P.O. Box 5505, Station "A"
Toronto, Ontario Canada M3W 1N7

General Amnesty:

A condition for democratization in the Philippines



Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/
Philippine Solidarity Network (CAMD/PSN)

After 12 years of one-man rule, the Filipino people are agitating for change. They want an end to the Marcos dictatorship and in its place, the establishment of genuine democracy.

To open the path to genuine democratization, certain indispensable conditions must be met.

First of all, Ferdinand Marcos' rule must cease and the whole dictatorial apparatus including the Marcos Constitution and all one-man laws and decrees must be nullified.

A process of transition must follow to replace the structures of dictatorship, all political prisoners must be released and the people's basic human and democratic rights must be restored.

For as long as Marcos exercises absolute power over the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, the Filipino people will remain at the mercy of his arbitrary rule by force.

Continued U.S. political, military and financial support for the Marcos dictatorship is a formidable obstacle to the Filipino people's struggle for a democratic, just and nationalist government.

With intensified suppression of the people's basic human and democratic rights, no amount of mock referenda and farcical elections can lead to or be mistaken for normalization.

So long as Filipinos are arrested, hunted or exiled because of their political beliefs and opposition to the government's policies, no amount of deception will work to cosmetize and legitimize the Marcos regime.

So long as there are political prisoners, the Marcos government cannot convince anyone that political repression no longer exists.

General amnesty for all political prisoners and offenders is an indispensable requirement for genuine democratization. Without general amnesty, no claims to democratization can be truthful.

POLITICAL REPRESSION: PILLAR OF DICTATORSHIP

Suppression of dissent is the foundation of Marcos' dictatorial rule. One of Marcos' first acts when he imposed martial law in 1972 was to assure the absence of political opposition by detaining opposition party leaders, journalists, political activists, students and workers and other government critics.

By official government estimates, more than 30,000 Filipinos were detained in the first year of martial law alone. Torture quickly became a popular method of initiating "subversion" suspects to long prison terms usually without benefit of charges or trial.

As groups like the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International began to expose rampant torture, arbitrary

arrests and other violations of human rights, the Marcos regime adopted more sophisticated methods of dealing with dissidents. "Salvaging"—arbitrary kidnapping, torture, then summary execution—has become a dreaded word in the Philippines. Sometimes victims' bodies would be found, sometimes never. "Disappearances" therefore, are most likely, "salvaging" cases.

Increased militarization in the countryside has been accompanied by Vietnam-style counterinsurgency measures such as "hamletting"—the forced relocation and concentration of rural population—and "free-fire zones," to flush out rebels.

LEGAL COVER FOR REPRESSION

Political repression has been systematized and justified with a scaffolding of autocratic laws and decrees. With the so-called lifting of martial law in January 1981, "secret decrees" became laws of the land. They constitute an intricate mesh of legal barbed wires that make Filipinos prisoners and refugees in their own land.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus continues to be suspended in cases involving alleged violations of national security and public order laws under Proclamation 2045 and 2045A. Through Presidential Decrees (PD) 1877 and 1877A, Marcos gave himself the power of Preventive Detention Action (PDA). The PDA gives him the legal power to order the arrest of anyone. People can be detained continuously if Marcos thinks they are still doing "acts for which [they were] detained."

By virtue of the PDA, therefore, political prisoners remain indefinitely behind bars for as long as Marcos believes they are committing "subversion, sedition, rebellion" while in prison.

In addition, PD 1834 increases the penalty for crimes of rebellion, sedition and the like, to life imprisonment or death. Giving aid and comfort to so-called "rebels" and allowing the use of mass media facilities to criticize the government, for example, are deemed crimes that can invoke the death penalty. Since these crimes are already capital crimes, the question of bail becomes academic. Family members of accused persons are also punished by PD 1835 which authorizes confiscation of property of enemies of the regime.

Marcos' decree-making power is guaranteed by Amendment No. 6 to the Constitution. Marcos and his cohorts have vehemently defended his power to legislate, saying this amendment is necessary to counter "emergency situations."

Amendment No. 6 and the rest of Marcos' repressive decrees provide the regime legal justification for suppressing the people's democratic rights. To end the Marcos dictatorship, these repressive decrees and laws will have to be abolished.

AMNESTY IS A NECESSARY STEP TO NORMALIZATION

For a long time, Marcos kept denying the existence of political prisoners in the Philippines. Yet they are there, in detention camps all over the country, and some have been in detention for over 10 years.

Political prisoners come from various sectors of society and represent different political persuasions. They are students, teachers, peasants, urban poor, religious, professionals, workers, and businessmen, who want change in the current condition of society. The Marcos regime identifies them all as "subversives."

Not only have most of them been subjected to cruel torture, they are subject to solitary confinement, harsh prison conditions and prolonged detention.

Unflinchingly, political detainees have mounted resistance inside prison walls to protest their inhumane treatment and unjust incarceration. In the past 11 years, they have launched more than 35 hunger strikes which have become a significant aspect of the history of Philippine resistance to one-man rule.

Since the assassination of former Senator Benigno Aquino on August 21, 1983, the demand to release all political prisoners has become central to the opposition movement's cry for an end to dictatorship and a return to normalcy.

On August 18, 1983, 100 representatives from various human rights organizations met to launch the Movement for General Amnesty (MGA). This was a direct challenge to Marcos' calls for national unity and a test of his regime's sincerity in resolving the country's political problems.

General Amnesty, according to the participants at the meeting, "is one of several concessions that the government can grant in working towards a reconciliation under the banner of democracy and peace."

AMNESTY MUST BE GENERAL AND UNCONDITIONAL

Amnesty erases the question of guilt on the part of an "offender" in consideration of larger interests and objectives, according to a concept paper of the MGA.

Unlike government "pardon," which is granted after conviction for an offense and where the element of guilt remains, amnesty "overlooks and forgets" the offense. It is a "time-tested political and legal recourse adopted by the state as an honorable way to stop internal conflict," "to avert violent social conflict or to hasten the achievement of peace and heal the wounds of war."

To be effective, amnesty must cover as wide a spectrum of

YOUR VOICE FOR PEACE

Join this nationwide effort to urge the Canadian government to develop and strengthen policies that assist in the creation of just, self-determining and participatory societies for the people of Central America.

WRITE in your own words to:

The Rt Honourable Joe Clark
Secretary of State for External Affairs
House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0A6

ASK the Canadian government to:

1. Publicly urge the U.S. government to listen seriously to the peace proposals of the Contadora Group which calls for diplomatic rather than military solutions to the crisis in Central America.
2. Commit itself to sign the protocol to the September 1984 Contadora peace treaty, thus joining twelve European nations (listed inside) in supporting this treaty.

SEND copies of this letter to your own MP and to the editor of your local newspaper.

All MPs received a detailed letter in November 1984 from the National Ten Days for World Development program outlining the churches' concerns. Add your support to this.

Include the people of Central America in your prayers and in the petitions of your worshipping community.

Expand your understanding of the area and of other actions being undertaken by the Canadian churches through this program by writing for more information to —

Ten Days for World Development
85 St. Clair Avenue East
Room 315
Toronto, Ontario
M4T 1M8

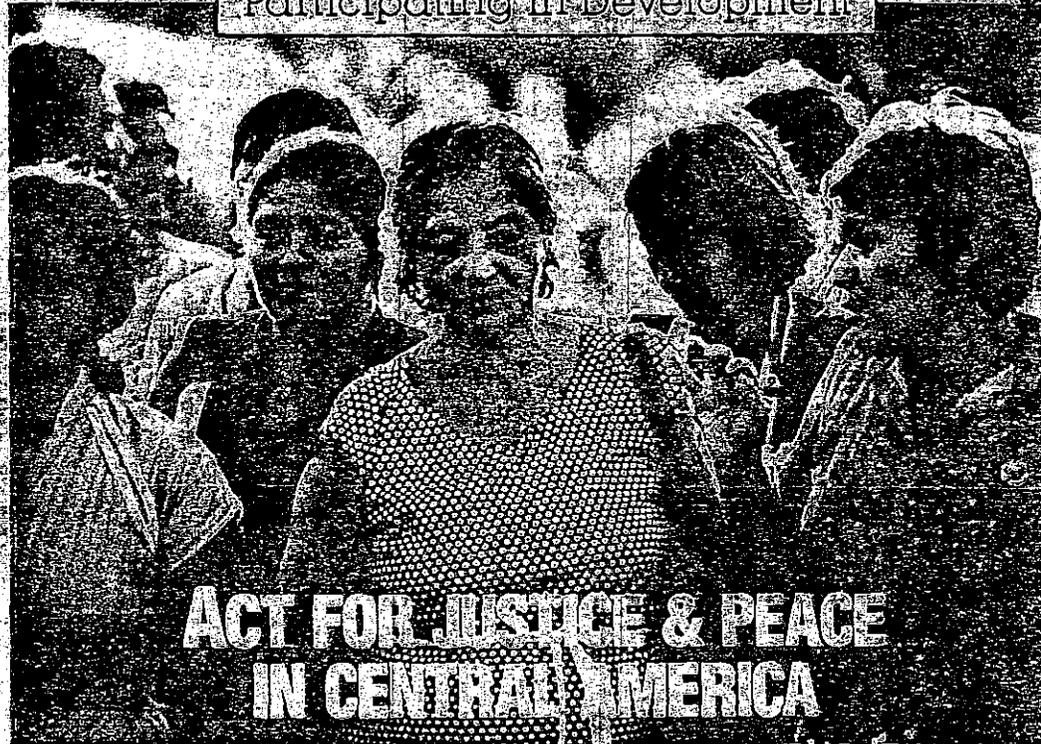
TEN DAYS FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT

A development education program on the role and development agencies of the Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian and United Churches of Canada

January 25 - February 4, 1985

PETITION LEAFLET

Participating in Development



ACT FOR JUSTICE & PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Photo by Deborah Berndt

“We beg you, therefore, sisters and brothers, to address your government once more, asking them to promote peace in our area. Please try to explain to your government that our problem is nothing more than the result of centuries-long domination by injustice, misery and ignorance and now we wish to build in peace a new and dignified nation. Try to convince your government of the urgency of listening seriously to the peace proposals of the Contadora Group and to the Nicaraguan government's call for dialogue. The instruments of war and death should be transformed into dialogue and agreements which result in peace, hope and working together.”

Pastoral Letter of Baptist Convention of Nicaragua, 1984

- The Contadora Group, composed of Mexico, Columbia, Panama and Venezuela, is the first regional group to attempt to bring peace to Central America. Since January 1983 it has guided a process which has led to the development in September 1984 of a draft treaty. This **Act for Peace and Cooperation** provides not only for immediate military security but for the political and economic preconditions to peace and justice in the area.

WHAT'S IN THE CONTADORA TREATY?

1. End to military maneuvers in the region and a withdrawal of foreign military troops and advisors.
2. End to all attacks on the sovereignty of other nations.
3. Respect for human rights.
4. Provision of free elections.
5. Economic and social development programs with purpose of achieving higher standard of living and more equitable distribution of wealth.

VOICES FOR PEACE

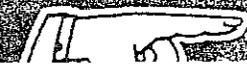
- Canadians oppose the U.S. military buildup by a margin of 2 to 1 (Gallup poll, October '84)
- 64% of Americans polled oppose the introduction of combat troops in Central America, the mining of the harbours and the giving of aid to the counter-revolutionaries.
- U.S. bipartisan congressional caucus on arms control and foreign policy cites 19 violations of domestic law and 11 violations of international law by the Reagan administration in its conduct of Central American policy (September 1984)
- Twelve European nations support the September 1984 Contadora draft peace treaty -- United Kingdom, Germany, France, Netherlands, Italy, Ireland, Luxembourg, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Portugal and Spain.
- Major Canadian and U.S. churches oppose U.S. military intervention and support Contadora peace initiatives (Canadian church briefs of October 1983 and June 1984 to Canadian government).

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN CENTRAL AMERICA?

1. Massive joint U.S.-Honduran-El Salvadoran land, sea, and air maneuvers (Pentagon figures indicate as many as 30,000 U.S. troops have been involved over the past 2 years).
2. U.S. training, financing and directing through C.I.A., of 15,000 counter-revolutionaries who are seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.
3. Continuing systematic persecution of Guatemalan men, women, and children by the armed forces of that country. Bombing of civilian population in El Salvador in violation of the Geneva Convention.
4. U.S. attempts to discredit the recent Nicaraguan elections (as revealed in Nov. 6, 1984 Washington Post quote from a U.S. National Security Council document).
5. Economic sabotage of Nicaragua by the counter-revolutionaries through the mining of harbours, burning of oil storage tanks, destruction of crops, military incursions disrupting harvest of crops, cut-off of loans by international financial institutions.

WHAT DO THE PEOPLE SAY?

YOU CAN ADD YOUR VOICE TO THESE



STAR WARS

THE FINAL SOLUTION

BY MATTHEW ROTHSCHILD AND KEENEN PECK

"I call upon the scientific community in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace, to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete."

—Ronald Reagan, March 23, 1983

With these words, President Reagan ushered in a new arms race and brought the world closer to atomic war. His Strategic Defense Initiative, popularly known as Star Wars, can no longer be dismissed as a cockeyed fantasy; for it has assumed central importance in the nuclear strategy of the Reagan Administration. The dream of rendering nuclear weapons "obsolete" is turning into a nightmarish threat to global peace.

It is difficult to imagine a system more likely to induce catastrophe. Nuclear scientists Hans A. Bethe, Richard L. Garwin, Kurt Gottfried, and Henry W. Kendall have asserted:

The planned Star Wars research program will require the effort of eight Manhattan Projects, in the estimate of one Pentagon official. The end price tag could be enormous—perhaps as much as \$1 trillion for deployment, according to former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger. The social costs, harder to tabulate, are likely to be just as heavy. We may be entering the Star Wars Society, where key aspects of our lives—where we work, what we study, how we engage in politics—will be touched and twisted by this gargantuan project.

Yet space weapons are not inevitable. The Strategic Defense Initiative, now in its third year, can still be stopped, though opportunities for doing so are diminishing.

Matthew Rothschild and Keenen Peck are associate editors of *The Progressive*.

each day as weapons companies line up at the trough. Star Wars may soon have the commitment of such powerful interests that it will take on a momentum all its own.

Caught off guard by the President's initiative, the U.S. peace movement is only now beginning to fashion a program to defeat Star Wars. The movement's task is formidable. Ronald Reagan has taken the moral high ground by calling for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Star Wars poses as much of a challenge to peace activists as it does to the Soviet Union, and the risks of not meeting the challenge are great.

The idea of Star Wars is ostensibly defensive. The United States would build a shield above the Earth, using satellites, lasers, super-high-speed projectiles and other threshold technologies. Though Reagan likes to call it a non-nuclear defense, a substantial portion of the Strategic Defense Initiative involves development of beam weapons powered by nuclear explosions.

The President originally sketched out a technological breakthrough that would, he said, "free the world from the threat of nuclear war." Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger has been similarly unequivocal about the goal of Star Wars. "The defensive systems that the President is talking about are not designed to be partial," he said a few days after Reagan's lapidary speech. "What we want to try is to get a

system which will develop a defense that is thoroughly reliable and total." Weinberger has repeatedly reaffirmed his faith. In May 1985, he said the Strategic Defense Initiative would "make nuclear weapons obsolete."

A perfect defense would also render obsolete the strategic doctrine that has governed the arms race for forty years. Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). The MAD theory holds that neither superpower will risk launching a first strike against the other because each could survive an attack and retaliate with enough force to inflict unacceptable damage.

Reagan openly broke with MAD in his March 1983 address to the nation. "I have become more and more deeply convinced," he said, "that the human spirit must be capable of rising above dealing with other nations and human beings by threatening their existence." He asked, "Would it not be better to save lives than to avenge them? . . . What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack?"

Edward Teller, often called the father of the hydrogen bomb, is an enthusiastic promoter of Star Wars. He met with Reagan four times in the fourteen months leading up to the President's speech, and told him in a letter that the Strategic Defense Initiative "would end the MAD era and commence a period of assured sur-

vival on terms favorable to the Western alliance."

But an impenetrable defense is no longer the Administration's actual goal, despite Reagan's and Weinberger's continuing protestations to the contrary. It has become apparent to the Government's scientists that no technology can provide an absolute shield. "A perfect astrodome defense is not a realistic thing," Lieutenant General James Abrahamson, head of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, acknowledged last year.

Because of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, millions of Americans would perish if even a few warheads could penetrate the shield. Furthermore, Star Wars is designed only to stop intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs); it would not be a defense against jet bombers, low-flying cruise missiles, or suitcase bombs.

The Administration has, in fact, quietly scrapped the notion of protecting the population. Instead, at least in the minds of every policymaker except Reagan and Weinberger, the Star Wars program is aimed at assuring the survival of missile silos and important military posts—not cities and people. Instead of superseding deterrence, Star Wars would actually reinforce the MAD doctrine.

"Providing a better, more stable basis for enhanced deterrence is the central purpose of the SDI program," the White House acknowledged in a recent pamphlet. A 1985 Pentagon report to Congress made the same point: "The U.S. goal has never been to eventually give up the policy of deterrence. With defenses, the United States seeks not to replace deterrence, but to enhance it."

Though the Star Wars shield could not prevent all ICBMs from smashing into the United States, it could conceivably stop some of them from destroying U.S. missile silos. "It's not likely to be perfect," says Gerold Yonas, chief scientist of the Star Wars program, "but it will give us a better deterrent posture." Republican Representative Jim Courter, a member of the Armed Services Committee, is even more blunt: He recommends Star Wars as "a point-defense system to protect the MX missile." This is, of course, a far cry from rendering nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete."

"It is not a protection of the people," observes Herbert "Peje" Scoville, president of the Arms Control Association and a former deputy director of the CIA. "What it is doing is essentially defending missiles and command-and-control centers. That is lesson number one."

The Reagan Administration has downplayed its shift in emphasis, probably because it realizes how difficult it would be to persuade Americans to buy an enormously costly program simply to protect missiles. But that is what Star Wars is now about, and high officials are openly talking

about "early" deployment of a "leaky shield."

The implications are frightening.

Clearly recognize that defensive systems have limitations and raise certain problems and ambiguities," Reagan said in his March 1983 speech. "If paired with offensive systems, they can be viewed as fostering an aggressive policy. . . ."

On this point, he was right on target. To the extent that Star Wars would work, it would give the United States the ability to launch a first strike against the Soviet Union without being wiped out in a counterattack. Having a defense—or believing that you have a defense, even if it is not complete—makes it easier to consider attacking.

Merely installing the system would be perceived as a threat by the Soviet Union, and would give it an incentive to strike preemptively. At the very least, the Soviets would have a reason to shoot down the Star Wars satellites—an act of war that former CIA Director Stansfield Turner has predicted will occur as soon as components are placed in space.

"Although the American people are led to believe that [Star Wars] is defensive, that is far from the case," says Robert C. Aldridge, a former Trident missile designer turned military critic. "If Soviet missiles which survive a first-strike attack could be intercepted in flight, that would remove any threat of retaliation and there would be no restraining force on U.S. aggressive behavior. The concept of deterrence, for all its faults and ambiguities, would be nullified and the United States could attack the Soviet Union with impunity."

Even if the defensive system were to prove only partially effective, it still might be useful in waging nuclear war. "Such a system makes much more sense as an adjunct to a first-strike capability than as a shield from a first strike," Frank von Hippel, physicist and Princeton professor, pointed out in a recent issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. "Because of its inevitable vulnerability, a Star Wars-type system would be fairly easy to neutralize at the beginning of a highly orchestrated first strike. But, in the face of a disorganized retaliatory strike by an unprepared victim of a surprise attack, it might be more effective."

The Soviet Union has about 6,000 land-based ICBMs. If a surprise U.S. nuclear attack on Soviet missiles were 95 per cent effective, the Soviets would have 300 missiles remaining—more than enough to retaliate against the United States. But if the United States also had a Star Wars shield in place and it was 90 per cent effective, only thirty Soviet ICBMs could penetrate. Since the U.S. first strike would also diminish Soviet command-and-control functions, it seems likely that fewer than

thirty missiles—and perhaps only a handful—would get through. Such diminished capacity to retaliate might make the waging of nuclear war attractive to U.S. military strategists.

Obviously, a Star Wars defense would place the Soviet Union at a strategic disadvantage and frighten the Kremlin. "The Soviet Union, fearing that it would be effectively disarmed by a U.S. attack, might be tempted in a crisis to launch a preemptive strike against the United States rather than risk losing its ability to retaliate," points out the citizens' group Common Cause.

Take the example of the 6,000 Soviet land-based ICBMs. If the United States attacks the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union would hypothetically lose all but thirty or so of its missiles. But if the Soviets struck first, they could get 600 of their missiles through. This assumes the Star Wars defense is 90 per cent effective; the Soviets would lose 5,400 of their ICBMs in their own first strike, but 600 of their ICBMs would be able to hit the United States.

If both the United States and the Soviet Union had Star Wars shields in place, the situation would not be more stable; in fact, it would be more threatening. Each side would want to launch its missiles first for fear that it would lose them later.

"The incentive to cut one's losses by striking first in a crisis will be even greater than it is now," scientists Bethe, Garwin, Gottfried, and Kendall wrote in *Scientific American*.

That would be "the worst crisis-instability situation," says missile designer Charles A. Zraket, executive vice president of the Mitré Corporation. "It'd be like having two gunfighters in space armed to the teeth with quick-fire capabilities."

The gunfighters might, incidentally, find a way to use their space systems to shoot at each other, as well as at each other's missiles. The Pentagon is currently testing devices that it hopes will be able to destroy ground targets from space. One "well-connected source with years of experience in military space projects" told *The Christian Science Monitor* that this is "probably one of the most sensitive aspects" of the space shuttle program.

Even before we get to high noon, however, the Strategic Defense Initiative will heat the arms race to the boiling point. The Soviet Union will respond to Star Wars by developing offensive measures to frustrate the system and by constructing its own defense. Our Government expects as much, so it will spend about \$200 million this year devising measures to penetrate any Soviet defensive shield.

(The Reagan Administration no longer talks about sharing Star Wars technology with the Kremlin. Reagan's rhetorical flourish in the second Presidential election

...bate served its purpose; today, the Pentagon says it is "unlikely" to let the Soviets in on the deal.)

"If the United States starts militarization of outer space and thereby undermines the existing military-strategic equilibrium," said Soviet Defense Minister Sergei Sokolov in May, "the Soviet Union will have no other choice but to take reply measures to restore the position."

Initially, the Soviets would respond by increasing their stockpile of strategic missiles as a way of overwhelming the Star Wars shield. The more ICBMs they produce, the more of their missiles will survive a first strike and get by the U.S. defense. They will also bolster their arsenal of bombers and cruise missiles.

The Soviets' first response, the Defense Department predicted in an April report, would be "increasing missiles, warheads, and penetration aids in an attempt to saturate the defense."

Such a build-up would greatly reduce the chances of reaching an arms limitation agreement on offensive weapons. "As a practical matter," noted retired Air Force General Brent Scowcroft, who headed the President's Commission on Strategic Forces, "it would be very difficult to induce the Soviets to reduce their offensive forces if they faced the prospect of a strategic defense for which they might need those offensive forces to penetrate."

In addition to increasing their offensive weapons and building decoys to confuse our defensive system, the Soviets can be expected to try to build their own strategic defense, and to make new weapons that could knock out the U.S. Star Wars complex. The late Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov asserted four days after Reagan's March 1983 speech that Star Wars will "open the floodgates to a runaway race of all types, both offensive and defensive."

The chief U.S. arms negotiator, Paul Nitze, has made a similar point: "The defensive systems could encourage a proliferation of countermeasures and additional offensive weapons to overcome deployed defenses."

In such a climate, the entire concept of arms control will go out the window. The first item to be lost will be the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. That treaty states: "Each party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." Star Wars, a space-based antiballistic missile defense, would clearly violate the treaty.

Reagan Administration officials admit this, and the only question is when the United States will abrogate the treaty. "We would have to depart from the treaty" at some point, General Abrahamson has told Congress, suggesting that the time would come in the early 1990s. The National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty says the violation may come as early as 1988.

In that year, the Reagan Administration plans to demonstrate an airborne optical surveillance system—a Boeing passenger plane with the roof sawed off and heat-sensitive telescopes placed inside. John Pike, associate director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists, calls the scheduled test "a near-term, unambiguous violation of the treaty."

Breaking the ABM treaty, considered one of the few accomplishments of arms control negotiations, would signal the revival of superpower competition in both defensive and offensive weaponry. If the ABM treaty is scuttled, says the peace organization SANE, "both sides will feel tremendous pressure to 'break out' of the SALT I and II restrictions on offensive nuclear weapons." Indeed, it appears that the most hawkish members of the Reagan Administration support Star Wars as a surefire way of overcoming SALT limits.

Star Wars would not only undermine the tenuous peace, it would distort the society in which we live. "It will alter the political, social, and economic fabric," says Michael T. Klare, professor of peace and world security studies at the five-college consortium in Amherst, Massachusetts. "Our society will become a Space Wars, a Star Wars, society."

The sheer size of the enterprise will divert resources from civilian science and absorb funds that could go toward social spending. The venture will fatten the pockets of military contractors and increase the dependency of a few states on military largesse.

"It is the equivalent of a war, in terms of the mobilization of Americans and the potential commitment of resources," Klare says.

Reagan intends to spend \$3.7 billion on Star Wars research and development in fiscal 1986—up from \$1.4 billion the year before. The Administration says the entire research phase of the program will cost \$32.2 billion through 1990.

But this estimate does not include the costs of personnel and maintenance, nor does it take into account strategic defense work being conducted outside the Star Wars program. The Pentagon is seeking about \$500 million for such research in 1986 alone. According to the Federation of American Scientists, the Department of Energy and other agencies will spend \$8 billion over the next five years on laser and particle beam research related to Star Wars.

The \$32.2 billion estimate also makes no provision for cost overruns, which are routine and all but inevitable for military projects. The official assumption that Star Wars research will be completed by 1990 makes little sense, given the technical obstacles that must be overcome in developing a missile defense. Richard Garwin, IBM fellow at the Thomas J. Watson Research Center and a Pentagon consultant,

predicts that five more years of research will follow the first five, at an additional cost of \$50 billion.

Beyond research, the price tag for deployment—the amount of money needed to put up the kind of full-scale defense envisioned by the President—would be astronomical. Former Defense Secretaries Harold Brown and James Schlesinger put the figure at \$1 trillion (for an ineffective system, they add). Richard DeLauer, former Under Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering in the Reagan Administration, told Congress that deployment would cost at least \$500 billion. "When the time comes that you deploy any of these technologies," DeLauer said, "you'll be staggered at the cost they will involve."

A partial Star Wars defense would, of course, be less expensive than the unattainable "leakproof" version. But even a partial system would have to defeat countermeasures; defend itself from attack in space and on Earth; operate automatically; destroy attacking missiles before they release their multiple warheads (for maximum effectiveness), and process vast amounts of data in split seconds. Billions of dollars would still be required, and politicians would be hard-pressed to justify spending so much to protect missile silos but not people.

For now, the House and Senate Armed Services Committees are moving more cautiously than Reagan would like. They recently trimmed his 1986 Star Wars request from \$3.7 billion to \$2.5 billion in the House and \$2.97 billion in the Senate. The full Congress will take up the budget this fall.

The Council on Economic Priorities, a private research organization, recently examined the economic effects of the Pentagon's planned outlays for Star Wars. In a report issued in May, the Council found:

"Strategic defense research could represent as much as 4.5 per cent of the nation's research and development expenditures in 1986, up from 2.2 per cent in 1984."

"While strategic defense research will require only a small amount of total national research and development, growth is so rapid that it may well 'crowd out' other Federal research and development efforts with less political clout."

"In a market projected to be tight, the Strategic Defense Initiative will take up a significant portion of the growth in scientific, engineering, and technical personnel. It could require roughly 4 per cent of all new engineers between 1984 and 1987; the Defense Department will take up a third of all new engineers, and the Strategic Defense Initiative will require more than 12 per cent of the Defense Department total."

"If strategic defense technologies reach full-scale development, the macroeco-

omic impact could be substantially greater."

Rosy Nimroody, co-author of the Council study, points out that the proposed increase in the Star Wars budget between 1985 and 1986 could pay for AMTRAK, rural development agencies, the Job Corps, and a host of other social programs the President has targeted for elimination.

"All the technical genius and talent which would be used for rebuilding cities and modernizing industries will be diverted away," says Michael Klare. "You can't have Star Wars and a welfare state. To finance Star Wars, they will have to dismantle the welfare state."

The Council warned that Star Wars may soon acquire "an economic and institutional life of its own." Companies now assessing the feasibility and advisability of a strategic defense are the same ones that would ultimately construct the system. "The danger lies in the program being launched on the basis of economic benefits to key contractors and constituencies whether or not it is proven worthwhile on national security grounds," the Council observed.

In 1983 and 1984, more than 90 per cent of the major space weapons contracts were awarded in four states already heavily dependent on Pentagon dollars: California (45 per cent), Washington (22 per cent), Texas (13 per cent), and Alabama (10 per cent). Elected representatives from those states will be working overtime to make Star Wars a reality.

At the same time, the private sector is stampeding to get a piece of the Star Wars action. "It is the business opportunity of a generation," *The Wall Street Journal* reported in May, "a chance to cash in on billions of dollars in Federal contracts." The Pentagon's Strategic Defense Initiative Organization has conducted a number of briefings for businesses, and the response has been overwhelming—"like a fish-feeding frenzy," one industry analyst told *the Journal*.

Many of the major Star Wars contractors—Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, Lockheed, and Rockwell—also manufacture nuclear weapons. For them, the President's scheme promises more than a new pot of gold: His plan may quiet calls for arms reductions, thereby letting the nuclear assembly lines continue to roll.

A strategic defense trade association has already been formed with the "sprinkling of holy water" from the Pentagon, according to the group's founder, aerospace consultant Jack Coakley. "The Strategic Defense Initiative isn't going to go any place if it isn't pulled along by industry," he says.

"What we see happening today is the rapid conversion of the President's Star Wars proposal from stardust and moonbeams to that great pork barrel in the sky,"

commented Paul Warnke, former U.S. arms control negotiator, in the report from the Council on Economic Priorities.

Since the American people would reject Star Wars if they perceived it as a pork barrel, proponents of the Strategic Defense Initiative claim it will bring vast benefits to the economy as a whole. High Frontier, an organization fanatically devoted to space-based defense, touts Star Wars as "A High Technology Answer to the Economic Challenge."

General Abrahamson has claimed that "relative to SDI, computer, communications, propulsion, and laser technologies have attractive and significant spinoff possibilities. Clearly they could help the SDI program pay for itself." One of the most vociferous Congressional supporters of Star Wars, Representative Kenneth Kramer, Colorado Republican, says space ventures "will lay the foundation for an educational-vocational renaissance for the American labor force, particularly the unemployed in the 'smokestack industries.'"

"It is the WPA program of the 1980s," jokes Kramer's Colorado colleague, Democrat Patricia Schroeder, an outspoken critic of Star Wars.

The economic promise will probably never be fulfilled. "Benefits of military research and development to the civilian economy have been small and are declining as military technology becomes increasingly specialized and exotic," concludes a study completed earlier this year by the Center for Defense Information, an independent watchdog organization. The space wars technology will be the most exotic yet developed by the Pentagon.

The Council on Economic Priorities, too, doubts that Star Wars will spur the overall economy. Not only will it drain talent from the civilian sector, the group noted in its report, but the applied nature of the research will lead to few general uses. Moreover, "the cloud of secrecy surrounding the Strategic Defense Initiative ... tends to reduce the possibility of commercial spinoffs."

Secrecy will necessarily cloak Star Wars research, with dramatic effects on one junior partner in the crusade: the nation's academic community. Though university administrators are publicly committed to the open exchange of ideas, they long for the big bucks available in the strategic defense program, especially since the nonmilitary share of the Federal research and development budget plummeted by 30 per cent between 1980 and 1984.

The President's science adviser, George Keyworth II, says the Administration wants to repair ties between academia and the Pentagon that were damaged during the Vietnam war. He fondly recalls "a time in the decades after World War II when that relationship was very close and very productive."

Already, a consortium of four universities has received a \$9 million, three-year Pentagon contract to develop computer technologies for Star Wars. Defense Department officials told *The New York Times* that "many of the researchers need security clearances and that some specific details of how well equipment forms may be blocked from publication."

In the field of laser research, too, the Pentagon has an interest in subverting academic freedom. Last March, at a conference of the Society of Photo-Optical Instrumentation Engineers, military officials restricted access to several sessions in which unclassified scientific papers were discussed. The papers described lasers bouncing off satellites.

James Lonson, who coordinates university projects for the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, told *The Times* that cooperating researchers will often be compelled to publish classified and unclassified versions of their work. (This is not mentioned in the twenty-nine-page booklet that Lonson distributed to universities last March. There, he boasts of "a new and exciting time for us in the science and engineering community.")

Censorship obviously pollutes the academic atmosphere—to say nothing of this nation's principles—and it is scientifically and economically counterproductive in the short run, as even Edward Teller, the best-known advocate of Star Wars, concedes. "Secrecy is a measure that hurts our opponents a little and us a great deal," he remarked a few months ago.

But secrecy will be only one element of a new repressive climate that is sure to be encouraged by Star Wars. In the same way that the start of the nuclear arms race sparked national paranoia—witchhunts, pressure to conform—so will the weapons race bring out America's "side" (to borrow the phrase made popular by the movie *Star Wars*).

"Star Wars has become a test of loyalty to the Government," says Klare. "Who criticize Star Wars are themselves a target of criticism. If you resist, you're going to be attacked."

A retired Army general, Henry Mohr, recently wrote in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, "Whether they realize it or not, quibblers in Washington, like former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and Carl Sagan, through their bickering, are giving aid and comfort to the Soviet Union. On matters such as this, what normally might be considered as mere dissent and exercise of freedom of speech goes too far. They may actually be endangering the lives of the American people, and our country."

In its March newsletter, High Frontier published a report asserting that the Council on Economic Priorities is "part of a domestic surrender lobby. It's closely connected with the left-wing Institute for Policy Studies, which sounds like Polay (to

wanna cracker fame) when it comes to parrotting the Soviet line."

At the White House, science adviser Keyworth says opposition to Star Wars is "trash." Critics in the media, he adds, seem "to be drawn from a relatively narrow fringe element on the far-Left of our society."

The U.S. peace movement confronts all these challenges in Star Wars: a new arms race; a greater danger of war; a scheme that will take Federal money from the needy and bloat the military-industrial complex; increased secrecy; and heightened repression.

But Star Wars can be stopped. "Politicians still don't know whether they're likely to win support or lose support by voting for Star Wars," says John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World. Public opinion polls show that a majority of Americans oppose the Strategic Defense Initiative; however, those same polls reveal that 30 to 50 per cent of the population is unfamiliar with Star Wars. Education must be a high priority for opponents of the program.

The first task is to strip bare Reagan's rhetoric. The President exploits the public's fear of atomic war when he calls for an effort to make nuclear weapons "obsolete." Similarly, his repudiation of the policy of Mutually Assured Destruction sounds comforting. (He even has begun to express concern about "nuclear winter.")

"It makes our work more difficult," says Jané Gruenebaum, executive director of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. "He's using our rhetoric to usurp our issue. He's claiming the high ground we thought we had all to ourselves. It's part of a concerted effort to co-opt the peace movement."

The ideology of Star Wars is tailor-made to the American psyche. In addition to tapping into the public's anxiety, Reagan has proffered a plan to restore U.S. supremacy simply by building a better mousetrap. "We are technology junkies," says Representative Schroeder. "People think if we spend enough money, we can go back to 1945, when we were Number One."

A return to innocence—to being the most powerful nation, by virtue of either a nuclear monopoly or a defensive shield—appeals to popular instincts and corresponds with official hopes. This is how those hopes are summed up by Colin Gray, an arms control adviser to the Reagan Administration: "In the event that the United States succeeded in deploying a population defense that was technically robust, a considerable measure of U.S. freedom of political action should be restored as a logical consequence."

The domestic goal of Star Wars has been articulated in an equally crude fashion by High Frontier: "It constitutes an effective

counter to the nuclear freeze movement," wrote High Frontier's director, "around which the Left has been rallying and reviving the old McGovern coalition."

Whether the President's plan does turn out to be "an effective counter" to the peace movement will depend, to a large extent, on the peace movement's own strategy. If the movement opposes Star Wars merely by lending its support to Mutually Assured Destruction, it leaves itself open to the charge of endorsing an immoral and potentially suicidal doctrine—a charge that critics of the arms race have themselves leveled against past Administrations.

This dilemma was addressed at a convention of peace activists in May—a gathering entitled Stop the Arms Race in Space, or STARS, that drew about 400 grass-roots organizers and lobbyists from some twenty states. They assembled in Colorado Springs, site of several major Air Force installations and the future home of the Government's \$1.15 billion Consolidated Space Operations Center.

At the convention's opening session, Patricia Mische, author of *Star Wars and the State of Our Souls*, urged participants to devise "security alternatives" to the Strategic Defense Initiative. Failure to provide the public with alternatives to Star Wars and MAD would mean "we contribute by default to the policy we are against," she said. Mische mentioned "the need for strengthened international structures to arbitrate international conflict," but her main interest was in redirecting Star Wars funds toward peaceful uses of outer space. Several other speakers—including Representative Schroeder—echoed the call for an expanded civilian space effort.

Unfortunately, the peaceful potential of the heavens is beside the point. Star Wars was designed to give the United States more power in the world by obtaining a military advantage over the Soviet Union; this country's interventionist policies (and the Soviet Union's, for that matter) will remain intact even if cosmonauts and astronauts shake hands on the moon.

Physicist Richard Garwin and Herbert Scoville, president of the Arms Control

Association, offered an even less palatable alternative. They criticized Star Wars and endorsed MAD.

"I know mutual deterrence is not a very popular concept," said Scoville. "On the other hand, nuclear weapons are here and they're not going to go away overnight. So one must fall back on the umbrella of mutual deterrence." Garwin argued that the "threat of retaliation" ensures superpower stability.

But the fact remains that MAD, as Reagan says, holds Soviet and American citizens hostage to each other's nuclear bombs. Since 1945, the arms race between the superpowers has sped ahead in the name of deterrence, increasing rather than decreasing the likelihood of war. Several times in the MAD era, the United States has come within a hair's breadth of initiating tactical nuclear war.

The peace movement has to "tackle the MAD problem," says Michael Klare. "The peace movement has been saying, 'MAD is immoral.' Reagan says, 'I agree with that.' This has created a split within the movement on MAD—a very serious one."

"There are some in the peace movement who don't see any alternative to MAD," says Matthew Goodman, public information director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "For a lot of people, MAD seems like the safest alternative to Star Wars."

The peace movement must break clearly and unequivocally with the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction. This is no time to retreat, to accept the pernicious notion that we must possess nuclear weapons to avert nuclear war. It is MAD that has spurred the arms race, and the arms race has brought us Star Wars.

Just as MAD is no alternative, neither is the arms control process. For four decades, that process has produced steadily higher "ceilings" on weapons stockpiles. Stabilizing the nuclear balance would, in any event, leave each superpower with a huge and dangerous arsenal.

Once that reality begins to sink in, people will be well on their way to embracing the only sensible way out of the nuclear bind: disarmament. E.P. Thompson, the British author and antinuclear leader, made this point while describing Star Wars in a recent issue of *The Guardian* of London: "At astronomical cost, an astral venture will be set in motion to achieve an end—the blocking of each other's missiles—which could be achieved tomorrow, at no cost at all, by a rational agreement by both parties to disarm."

Disarmament—not MAD—undermines the case for Star Wars. Disarmament—not the arms control process—can ensure the survival of the planet and the stars. ■

Reprints

The material on Pages 20 through 35 of this issue is available in booklet form at a single-copy price of \$1.50, postpaid; \$1.25 each for ten through ninety-nine copies; \$1.00 each for 100 or more. Large-quantity discounts (for orders of 1,000 or more) on request. Payment must accompany order. Mail to:

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409 East Main Street
Madison, WI 53703



PRIME MINISTER BRIAN MULRONEY
HOUSE OF COMMONS
OTTAWA, CANADA

DEAR MR. MULRONEY:

RE: STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE ("STAR WARS")

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JOE CLARK HAS INVITED CANADIANS TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN TO THE GOVERNMENT ON THE PROSPECT OF CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN "STAR WARS".

DOUG ROCHE, CANADIAN AMBASSADOR ON DISARMAMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS, HAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT CANADIANS INFORM THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR VIEWS ON THIS MATTER.

THEREFORE, LIKE SCIENTIST DAVID SUZUGI AND ASTRONAUT MARC GARNEAU, WHO HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR OWN PERSONAL OPPOSITION TO RESEARCH INTO THE MILITARY USE OF SPACE, WE THE UNDERSIGNED URGE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA DECLINE PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH INTO SPACE WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY, KNOWN AS THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE OR "STAR WARS".

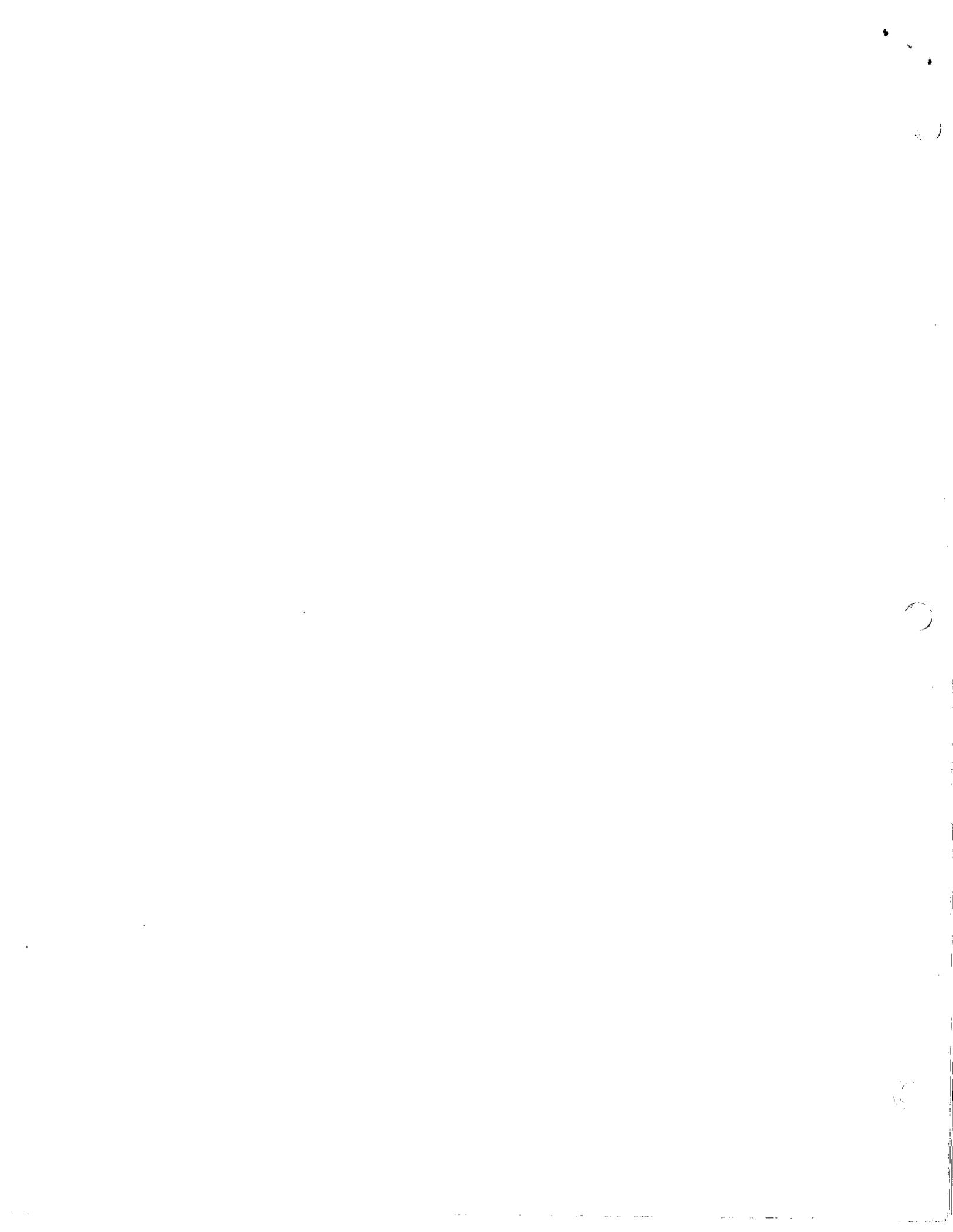
WE FURTHER URGE YOU, MR. PRIME MINISTER, TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO SEEK AGREEMENT AMONG WORLD POWERS THAT RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SPACE SHALL BE OF A PEACEFUL NATURE ONLY.

NAME

ADDRESS

1. _____
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COPIES TO: THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS
JOHN TURNER, LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION
ED BRODBENT, LEADER OF THE NDP



Emergency Campaign:

STOP STAR WARS!

What can you do to help prevent Canadian involvement in Star Wars?

You can pledge your involvement below in any or all the 4 stages of the TDN's emergency response campaign. Send your pledge to the Toronto Disarmament Network.

STAGE ONE: LETTERWRITING

- I will send a letter to Brian Mulroney and to the following MP _____ (We suggest your own MP, Minister of External Affairs Joe Clark, or Minister of Defence Erik Neilson.) No postage is required.
- In addition to this form letter, writing your own letter will achieve maximum impact. (Tick here if you will be doing this.)
- I will also send a letter to the editor of the newspaper of my choice. [A short, typed letter will achieve the best chance of being printed. Stick to one theme and include your phone numbers.]

STAGE TWO: PHONE BLITZ

We are organizing a concentrated phone blitz of federal politicians.

- I will participate in the phone blitz. I will call
 - Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (613) 992-4211
 - External Affairs Minister Joe Clark (613) 992-3480
 - Defence Minister Erik Neilson (613) 996-4450
 - Finance Minister Michael Wilson (416) 239-3056

_____ times a day week.

STAGE THREE: NEWSPAPER ADS

We will be taking out as many large newspaper ads, sponsored by donors, as the response allows.

- I enclose my contribution to the campaign and newspaper ads:
 - \$10 \$25 \$50 \$100 \$200 \$500
 - Mastercard Visa Account No. _____
 - Exp. date _____ Signature _____
- Please do NOT include my name in the ad as a sponsor.

STAGE FOUR: VISITS TO MPs

- I would like to participate in direct lobby at MP's offices.

Name _____ Phone _____
 Address _____
 _____ Postal Code _____

- I would like to volunteer to help organize the STOP STAR WARS campaign.

The Toronto Disarmament Network, 736 Bathurst Street
 Toronto, Ontario M5S 2R4. (416) 535-8005
 The TDN is a non-partisan coalition of 75 Toronto-area groups supporting Nuclear Disarmament.

To: _____ MP

Dear _____ MP

I have written to the Prime Minister urging him to reject Canadian support for Star Wars research. I ask you to do all that you can to keep Star Wars out of Canada.

The Star Wars plan is destabilizing and unnecessary. It will produce very little economic benefit for Canada, and can only serve to further increase the risk of nuclear war.

It threatens to violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and cause a further life-threatening escalation of the arms race.

I urge you to demand that the government of Canada not allow Canadian participation in Star Wars.

Yours sincerely,

Name _____
 Address _____

To the Prime Minister

Dear Prime Minister Mulroney,

I am opposed to Canadian involvement in the Star Wars space weapons program. This plan will fuel the escalation of the arms race and therefore make this country less—not more—secure.

Strategic experts have said the Star War plan has "no prospect" of achieving its objectives. It can only force the Soviet Union to build more weapons to overwhelm any defensive system. It threatens to violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty and increases the possibility of the accidental outbreak of nuclear war.

Canadian involvement will create relatively few and specialized jobs. Money spent on other areas will do more for the economy and produce things that Canadians need and want. We do not need nor want more weapons systems.

You have said there is nothing more important than the cause of peace. Lending Canada's support to a plan that increases the possibility of nuclear war does not help achieve this objective.

I urge you. Do not allow Canadian support for Star Wars.

Yours sincerely,

Name _____
 Address _____

NO STAMP
REQUIRED

To: PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY
HOUSE OF COMMONS
OTTAWA
K1A 0A6

NO STAMP
REQUIRED

To: _____ MP
HOUSE OF COMMONS
OTTAWA
K1A 0A6

PLACE
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To: *STOP STAR WARS CAMPAIGN*
TORONTO DISARMAMENT NETWORK
736 BATHURST STREET
TORONTO, ONTARIO
M5S 2R4

Tritium — Questions and Answers

By 1987, Ontario Hydro will begin offering millions of dollars worth of a radioactive form of hydrogen called tritium for sale on the international market. Energy Probe is concerned that these sales could help support the nuclear arms race. This factsheet answers the nine questions we are most often asked about the sale of tritium plants.

1. What is tritium used for?

The lion's share of the world's tritium production goes into nuclear weapons, where it forms part of the hydrogen that fuses with deuterium in H-bombs and the new neutron bomb. Tritium also boosts the output of A-bombs.

Some researchers hope to convert tritium into a source of civilian nuclear energy. So far, this research has used trivial amounts of tritium, although Ontario Hydro hopes that this use will become the growth area for Hydro's tritium. A few percent of the world's tritium production is used for illumination — for example, in emergency exit signs and ship's compasses.

2. Where does all this tritium come from now?

All of this tritium is now made in nuclear weapons countries, in a handful of military reactors. In the U.S., for example, three military reactors at the U.S. Department of Energy's Savannah River Plant in Georgia produce plutonium (for bombs) and tritium (most of which goes into bombs, but some of which is sold for illumination or trans-shipment to research facilities for fusion energy research). The U.S. military is now the Western world's primary supplier of "civilian" tritium.

3. Where does Ontario Hydro's tritium come from?

From the heavy water units (Candu) in clean reactors, which produce over a thousand times more tritium than the light water reactors used in most of the world. Light water reactors do not produce enough tritium to make recovery feasible.

4. Why is Ontario Hydro going to collect the tritium?

At least initially, the motivation was primarily health and safety, especially for Ontario Hydro's nuclear plant workers, much of whose radiation exposure comes from tritium. And when a Candu's heavy water leaks into the environment, the danger is single, the cost to public health is usually due to the tritium in that water. Hydro has often shut down a leaking reactor before the leak has become large enough to be easily detected because of the tritium content of the leaked water. For all these reasons, Ontario Hydro decided to invest over \$100 million in a Tritium Removal Facility (TRF).

In addition, Ontario Hydro has become increasingly excited by the possibility of selling its tritium and selling related technology and expertise. The federal and provincial governments apparently see a way to join the international fusion energy research effort (and make money) without spending a lot of money. (We helped Hydro bankroll the Joint Canadian Fusion Fuels Technology Project (JCFFTP), which operates a small Hydro lab, is managed by Hydro and is staffed primarily by students temporarily borrowed from Hydro. Recently, Hydro and the CBC/PH have been saying the TRF stands for Tritium Recovery Facility, not Tritium Removal Facility, showing the change in their motivation.) Energy Probe supports the removal of the tritium but opposes its sale on international markets.

5. Who will Ontario Hydro be selling the tritium to?

Good question. Ontario Hydro tritium clients claim to have letters of intent from all but one of the major research laboratories that are doing research into fusion energy, and statements of interest from all the fusion facility operators in the U.S. These include laboratories like Lawrence Livermore and Oak Ridge, which are involved in both commercial and weapons work. But recently,

Hydro's President has said that Hydro will not sell tritium to any establishment involved in military research! (We are still trying to resolve this apparent contradiction.)

6. How much tritium will Ontario Hydro have for sale?

Initially, Hydro plans to extract about 4 kilograms of tritium per year. This amounts to between 8 and 20 times the world's current civilian use.

7. Won't the Canadian government insist on guarantees that Ontario Hydro's tritium won't be used in weapons?

We believe so, but Canada's experience with guarantees from nuclear-weapon countries has not been reassuring. For example, the U.S. General Accounting Office and the U.S. State Department have recently admitted that this same U.S. Department of Energy has been using the "civilian" spent fuel from Canada's Chalk River research reactors since 1965 to fuel the U.S. military reactors at Savannah River that manufacture tritium and plutonium for bombs. Canadians had always been told that the spent fuel was recycled into new fuel suitable for research reactors like those at Chalk River, but apparently that was never technically attractive to the Department of Energy, and was never done. But even if Ontario Hydro's tritium is not directly used in warheads, it will still contribute to the arms race because the world's current civilian uses of tritium are supplied by military producers. Put simply, every gram of tritium that Ontario Hydro provides to meet that civilian demand will "free up" one gram of tritium for military use.

8. Is there any indication that the world's nuclear weapons industry needs any more tritium than it has?

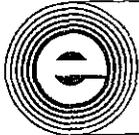
Yes — although this is understandably the area where information is most heavily classified in nuclear-weapon states. But we know, for example, that the U.S. Department of Energy has recently increased the tritium (and plutonium) output of the Savannah River Plant sharply — from 4 kg of tritium in 1980 to 11 kg in 1984. And the Department continues to be under great pressure to increase production of both plutonium and tritium even further, primarily to increase the number of new warheads. Of the two, tritium is their "first materials priority", and they are not convinced (according to sworn testimony) that their new initiatives will actually meet their increased future needs. Accordingly, the Department of Energy has started spending millions of dollars a year to plan a new tritium and plutonium production reactor, to begin operating in the 1990s.

The military's desire for increased tritium supplies cannot be separated from their equally clear desire for increased plutonium supplies, because the two materials are created by the same process in the same reactors. Thus, weapons producers often refer to tritium needs and plutonium needs in the same breath, because production of one is only accomplished at the expense of the other, and a surplus of one can solve a shortage of the other. In the mid-1960's, Canada made a point of stopping its exports of plutonium to nuclear-weapon countries, in order to stop supporting the nuclear arms race.

9. Can't the world's military get as much tritium as it wants, without Ontario Hydro?

Technically, there is no difficulty building more reactors to produce more tritium (and plutonium). But there are financial and political barriers, which Ontario Hydro's tritium will lower or ease. In the U.S., for example, the cost of a new tritium-production reactor (estimated at over \$4 billion) would have to be approved by Congressional appropriation, and would either raise taxes, increase the U.S. deficit, or both. Congress is aware that the vast majority of the U.S. public supports a mutual, verifiable freeze on the construction of nuclear weapons, and will not be eager to see their taxes rise to pay for an escalation of the nuclear arms race. That public debate in the U.S. may simply not happen if Ontario Hydro takes the job of supplying tritium off the U.S. military's shoulders.

This factsheet is excerpted and adapted from Tritium, Bombs, and Ontario Hydro by Norm Rubin, available from Energy Probe for \$1.50 plus postage.



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STATEMENT

JUNE 9 1985

Dear Friends,

I am writing to you to ask for your help in stopping Canada from exporting tritium.

Ontario Hydro, with support from the federal and Ontario governments, plans to market tritium (from a tritium removal plant being built at the Darlington nuclear station) around the world.

Many people don't know that without fresh supplies of tritium, most nuclear weapons would lose their destructive ability with age. Yet in just two years, Ontario Hydro will be producing, and attempting to market, more than eight times as much tritium as the world's total civilian use. Without these huge new supplies, the world's nuclear arms industry will have difficulty producing enough tritium to meet their needs, and a tritium-production cutoff could be an important step toward nuclear disarmament. If Canadian tritium is sold around the world, it could easily end up being used in bombs, and it will surely allow the world's current supply of tritium to be dedicated entirely to arms. In either case, Canada would be contributing grievously to setting back the cause of global disarmament.

We are planning to write to all Members of Parliament asking them to stop these tritium exports (which have to be licensed by the federal government). We are asking you to support this effort in two ways: First, write letters to your MP, to other officials, and to newspapers, to inform them of this issue. Second, please have your organization adopt a position joining this effort (coupon below) and send it to us so that we can add your group's name to the list in our letter. We hope to show Parliament the broadly-based opposition to these exports. (It would also be helpful if you could send copies of this letter to other groups you think might want to support this campaign.)

Thank you in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

Marilyn Aaronson
Marilyn Aaronson

P.S. We have included a copy of Tritium - Question and Answers. If you would like a more comprehensive analysis of this issue, please let me know and I will send you a copy of our publication, Tritium, Bombs, and Ontario Hydro, at our cost of \$1.50.

Energy Probe / Enquête Énergétique

100 COLLEGE STREET, TORONTO, CANADA M5G 1L5

(416) 978-7014

(Please cut here and return the coupon to Energy Probe, by July 15 if possible. If your resolution has a different text, send it to us.)

We oppose the export of Canadian tritium.

ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

NUMBER OF MEMBERS: _____ NUMBER OF SUPPORTERS: _____

NAME/SIGNATURE OF REPRESENTATIVE _____

Three hundred and fifty women, from thirty-three countries, meeting at the Women's International Peace Conference in Halifax, Canada, June 5-9, 1985, affirm the overwhelming need, and desperate urgency for peace, which we believe is both the process we live and the goal for which we work.

At this conference, women from diverse racial, cultural, ethnic and political backgrounds representing different sides of conflict areas, came together as a living example of women negotiating peace. Some of us compromised our own safety to make this commitment.

Although women's voices have not been heard and women have not participated equally in peace negotiations, or in the formation of the institutions and the cultural fabric in which we live, we are half of the world's population, we do have the power; and we are shaping it for peaceful ends.

We reject a world order based on domination, patriarchy, racism, and sexism. We demand a new order based on justice, and the equitable distribution of the world's resources.

We condemn militarism. Militarism is an addiction that distorts human development, causing poverty, starvation, world wide pollution, repression and torture. Feeding this habit robs all the world's children and the future generations of their inheritance.

We all live in the shadow of the threat of nuclear war. We demand an end to the research, testing, development and deployment of all nuclear weapons, and all weapons of mass destruction, to the militarism of space, and to all forms of violence. As a first step, we call for a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

We support the rights, and the efforts, of all peoples to self determination, and to freedom from military and economic intervention. As an example, we cite Nicaragua, a new kind of society, and as a symbol of hope which must be allowed to live.

We will continue to communicate and join with women all over the world in our struggle for peace. As a result of this conference, we are developing a world wide women's peace network. Our first act has been to pledge our vigilance in monitoring the ongoing safety of our sisters, who are at risk as a result of attending this conference.

We are committed to acting globally, locally, and individually for peace. We will not compromise our commitment to the survival and healing of this planet.

We affirm the right of every human being to live with dignity, equality, justice, and joy.