



CORRECTIONS:

We overlooked them and hoped everyone else did too. Let us know if you find anything blatant. Next issue should be typeset.

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A group of women from both Ontario and New York are planning to establish a Women's Peace Camp this summer at the Seneca Falls Army Depot, where the neutron bomb is stored. The group, which includes representatives of the War Resisters' League and the American Friends' Service Committee, plans to establish the camp July 4th, and keep it open through Labour Day.

The site, 90 miles west of Syracuse, has special significance for the women because Seneca was the location, in 1590, a meeting of Iroquois women demanding an end to war among the tribes, and in 1848 was the site of the first Women's Rights Convention which gave shape and voice to the 19th century feminist movement.

For further information, contact Helen Durie in Ottawa (613) 238-4629, or the Women's Peace and Justice Education Centre, 713 Monroe Avenue, Rochester, Ny, 14007

# KICK IT OVER No. 7 CONTENTS

**The Disease of Militarism**  
by Ron Hayley ..... p. 3

**African Feminist "Roots"**  
by Alexandra Devon ..... p. 7

**Halifax Midwives - Right to Home Birth Under Attack**  
by Raven Williamson ..... p. 8

**Editorial: The Political is Personal**  
by the K.I.O. women ..... p. 9

**Romania Declares War on Typewriters** ..... p. 10

**Exterior Decorating (Do It Yourself)**  
by Barb Dwire ..... p. 11

**Hex Away The State (a review of "Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture")**  
by Larry Ingersoll ..... p. 12

**WAWAW Reaffirms Radical Feminism** ..... p. 13

**"We're in here for you ... You're out there for us"**  
(letters from the Vancouver Five) ..... p. 14

**Letters - Porn Debate Resumes** ..... p. 19

**- Footnotes on Litton** ..... p. 21

**An Anti-Porn Feminist Meets an S/M Dyke**  
by Alexandra Devon ..... p. 13

**Feminism and Nationalism: Colonization of Land and Body**  
by Lilith Finkler ..... p. 24

**More Letters** ..... p. 26

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VANCOUVER FIVE DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

The Vancouver 5 Defence Committee will be having a rally with coffee and muffins, musicians and a video presentation about the Five, and (very few) speakers about the case at the Trojan Horse, 181 Danforth Ave., on May 2nd, starting at 7:30 p.m.

### "A FEMINIST AFFAIR"

We are a collective of Toronto radical feminists in the process of organizing a cultural/political event for the end of July 1983.

We hope that the event will provide a venue for artists, writers, craftswomen, dancers, thespians, and political activists. We invite women to participate—bring your ideas and energy to help organize this gala happening!!

Our next general meeting will be Thursday, May 12, 7:30p.m. at McPhail Residence Gym, 389 Church Street, at Carlton. Contact number 537-6989.

# The disease of militarism by Ron Hayley

Introduction

The peace movement, if it is to have any hope of success, must grasp deeply the causes of the inexorable slide towards World War 3. This article, like the discussion/debate with Brenda McKinney (see Interview With A Peace Activist: How Do We Get There From Here? in #6), seeks to place the ongoing discussion on a more sophisticated level. This article will focus on several hypotheses concerning the causes of war, their respective strengths and weaknesses, and the interfaces existing between them. The four hypotheses are a) the psychological theory of war; b) the "cold war as spectacle"; c) war as an outgrowth of the laws of imperialism, and d) "war and military spending is good for business". All of these theories (and this is not an exhaustive list) have points to recommend them, and they are not mutually exclusive.

Different wars are fought for different reasons. The Falklands war served to divert attention from the pressing economic and political problems haunting the British and Argentinian ruling classes. Vietnam, on the other hand, was an effort to show oppressed peoples what would happen to them should they resist the yoke of U.S. domination (ditto with the other side in Czechoslovakia). Afghanistan is probably being fought for strategic motives vis-a-vis the overall clash of empires, U.S. and Soviet, whereas El Salvador has features of both suppressing a potentially exemplary national liberation war, as well as U.S.-Soviet jockeying for position in Central America.

But whatever the motives, all wars stem from what Jonathan Schell calls "the system of independent, sovereign nation-states".<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the absurdity of nuclear brinkmanship lies in the fact that the technical capabilities for war have transcended war's original purpose -- to mediate between competing national interests. In the modern era, to defend one's national interests is to risk the annihilation of the planet.

But it is not enough to have identified the nation-state as the problem. For if "war is the health of the state", the existence of the state is itself an admission of the war raging throughout society -- between classes, nationalities, sexes -- in short, between those with power and those without. For the state, in the final analysis, is nothing more than an instrument whereby the oppressors force their will upon the oppressed. The state has not always existed. It arose as an outgrowth of the patriarchy, with its values of domination and submission,

violence and will power.<sup>2</sup> Thus, this article assumes that all the causes discussed in the following paragraphs have roots in a common source: the techno-patriarchy.

The Psychological Theory of War

The psychological theory of war says that wars are caused by leaders who, because of their inner psychological conflicts, feel compelled to subjugate and destroy other nations. Perhaps the perfect example is that of Hitler. While it's true that Hitler could never have risen to power without the powerful backing he received from some of Germany's biggest finance capitalists (see Who Financed Hitler?), this does not mean that the ideology and move-



ment of fascism was a mere boardroom concoction.

While German imperialism stood to benefit from waging and winning a war of conquest, many of Hitler's specific wartime decisions lacked political and military sense. Moreover, imperialism certainly had no systemic need for the annihilation of the Jews.

Describing the conditions which nurtured the rise of Hitler, Susan Griffin writes:

"In the period of history which preceded the Third Reich, the dominant culture appeared to be failing. The existing order of things was crumbling. We know and have studied the outward signs of this crisis. The absence of governmental control. Eco-

conomic collapse. Devastating inflation. Terrible poverty. Unemployment. But as both a cause and an effect of these events, a crisis of mind was also affecting Europe.

"Here and there, like explosions, the old fragmentations began to give way. The soul crept back into the body...The idea of female liberation was growing. Women participated in government, in culture. Germany witnessed the beginnings of a large feminist movement.<sup>3</sup>

Faced with the loss of certainty, a melting of the old patriarchal values and myths, the German people - with Hitler in the vanguard - chose to believe instead in a delusion. As Susan Griffin writes,

"Whether the chauvinist mind expresses itself through racist propaganda or through pornography, its delusions are not innocent. For the mind which believes in a delusion must ultimately face reality. And because the chauvinist desperately needs to believe in his delusion, when he is faced with the real nature of the world, he must act. He must force the world to resemble his delusion."<sup>4</sup>

In patriarchal/class society, the individual is forced to split his/her intellect and will off from his/her intuition and emotion, and to suppress that half of themselves which is incompatible with their social/sexual role. In men, in particular, the resulting "pornographic mind" "projects the knowledge of the body and the natural self upon another being...And...defends itself and takes revenge by humiliating, punishing, and destroying this other"<sup>5</sup>, which is nothing more than a symbol for the denied part of themselves. Thus,

"...the chauvinist mind must choose victory over an imagined 'enemy' before actual military survival. The delusory war which the Nazi waged with the Jew was more real to him than any actual battlefield. He was even prepared to sacrifice his own life in order to murder this imaginary enemy, for like the pornographer, his physical existence had come to mean less to him than the cultural image he had of himself. He had come to live through and for this image."<sup>6</sup>

The need leaders feel to dominate others for the sake of domination itself is indeed a factor to be reckoned with. Harry Truman said in the late 40's: "The whole world should adopt the American system. The American system can survive in America only if it becomes a world system." The chauvinist mind cannot tolerate difference. This need to dominate obviously derives from the ideology and sensibility of the society in which these people were brought up. But that they, as individuals, should be allowed to exercise their penchant for violence and power-tripping requires that it be in the system's interests to permit it and promote it. A man like Reagan, for instance, is nothing but a mouthpiece -- a living embodiment of the system he serves. But his society-bred and nurtured psychosis, once entrenched in power, can do incalculable harm. Hitler's irrational moves proved the undoing of German imperialism. Reagan's actions, in the name of saving the Empire, could actually destroy

it. Ideology, once created, acquires a momentum of its own.

This patriarch -- this white, 72-year old creaking dinosaur -- has indicated quite plainly that he considers it his prerogative to extinguish humanity in order to prevent it from suffering the worse fate of a conversion to "Communism". As he said at a recent annual convention of the Evangelicals in the United States:

"A number of years ago, I heard a young father addressing a tremendous gathering in California. It was during the time of the Cold War when communism and our own way of life were very much on people's minds. He was speaking to that subject.

"Suddenly, I heard him saying 'I love my little girls more than anything in the world, but I would rather see them,' and I thought -- 'Oh, no, not that.'

"But I had underestimated him. He went on: 'I would rather see them die now, still believing in God than to grow up under communism and one day die no longer believing in God.'

"There were thousands of young people in that audience. They came to their feet with shouts of joy. They recognized the profound truth in what he said."

#### The "Cold War As Spectacle" Theory

Given that Reagan's militarism does have the consensus support of a majority of those in power (i.e. the capitalist class -- the economic and political elite), how specifically do they benefit? There are different answers. One theory (the "cold war as spectacle") says that all the inter-imperialist sabre-rattling serves a strictly ideological purpose -- that of hiding the system's failures by blaming them on the "Enemy".<sup>7</sup> For instance, in an American situationist magazine published in 1972, we read:

"The Cold War was an ideological ruse whereby the competing variants of capitalism could present each other as the absolute enemy; in the pseudo-socialist countries this accomplished a social unification in the face of the 'enemy', which concealed the class divisions existing in these societies. In the West the spectre of totalitarianism was flung in the face of the proletariat as the meaning of 'communism', effectively intimidating much of the working class."<sup>8</sup>

As George Orwell put it, in his famous novel 1984, "the consequences of being at war, and therefore in danger, makes the handing over all power to a small caste seem the natural, unavoidable condition of survival."<sup>9</sup>

Obviously, if the ideology of confronting an external Enemy is effective it's because, in part, it is also lucrative for the populace as a whole. The German people benefitted from the militarization of the German economy -- in the short run. To the extent that the American people benefit from American imperialism in terms of their high standard of living, it is only because they have allow-

ed themselves to be colonized by that society's values. Who would trade a life-affirming, decentralized close-to-nature existence (one without the threat of nuclear destruction) for Disneyland with a mushroom cloud lurking up above? Only those who have been subjected to a brainwash, and who have no conception of other possible modes of life. People may buy into the system, but power over vents (and over the brainwashing mechanism as a whole) still rests in the hands of the ruling class.

The problem with the "cold war as spectacle" theory is that, however effective war-mongering may be in covering up their societies' respective absurdities, these assholes are for real. The Pen-



tagon recently stated that "the U.S. is already engaged in a peace-time competition with the Soviets and that a war with the Soviets would probably be global and may be lengthy."<sup>10</sup> In their view, "Should deterrence fail and strategic nuclear war with the USSR occur, the United States must prevail and be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favourable to the

United States."<sup>11</sup> They are thinking the unthinkable!

And, as they prepare to spend two trillion dollars on arms development in the next five years (the equivalent of eight thousand dollars per man, woman, and child in the United States), we can only conclude that these people are deadly serious!

#### War as An Outgrowth of the Laws of Imperialism

And, indeed, part of the intensification of hostilities in recent years does have to do with the economic limitations of capitalism -- in both its Eastern and Western variants. Various theories have been put forward. I would briefly like to discuss two: the laws of imperialism theory, and the military spending is good for business theory. The laws of imperialism theory (developed by Lenin and others) says that, because of its systemic tendency to either overproduce or underproduce capital (depending on whose theoretical model you're following), capitalism has need to expand beyond the national borders of its country of origin. Because of the declining rate of profit, it must export capital to underdeveloped regions of the world where labour and raw materials are cheap. This need for expansion leads to a struggle for the division of the world into economic and political spheres of domination. The resulting empires generate military-strategic interests predicated on a need to protect and expand one's turf.

Some more recent proponents of this theory have postulated that in a world divided up by various imperialist powers, world wars play a role analogous to that formerly played by cyclical depressions. Whereas before you'd have an overabundance of capitalists on a national level -- some of whom would be gobbled up by others in periodic depressions -- now the action is being played out on an international scale, and whole countries are gobbled up in the war of competing capitals. Such, in this view, was the nature of World Wars 1 and 2. As each empire runs up against the boundaries of its opponent, internal decay -- stemming from a decline in the rate of profit, a shortage of raw materials, and internal dissension -- leads to a need to batter down the walls of the opponent's empire in order to have more room to expand.

The problem with this theory, however, is that, while it's true that capitalist and bureaucratic societies do have a systemic need to "expand or die" in order to remain economically viable, going to war -- from an economic point of view (now that nuclear weapons are the currency of war) -- is suicidal. If they "win", they lose. They destroy their own real estate. But this is precisely why one cannot discount the individual psychological factors in the make-up of world leaders. They might just prefer to die (and drag everyone else along with them) than relinquish power. After all, they are capitalists not because of an intrinsic fascination

with economics, but because, in a capitalist world, being a capitalist (or a flunkey thereof) is the only way to enjoy power, and this is, after all, what class systems are ultimately all about -- some people enjoy having power over others.

In George Orwell's scenario in 1984, war was seized upon by the world's ruling elites, in the recognition that hierarchy was now historically obsolete, and hence had to be sustained by artificial means. He writes:

"...a hierarchical society was only possible on a basis of poverty and ignorance. The problem was how to keep the wheels of industry turning without increasing the real wealth of the world. Goods must be produced, but they need not be distributed. And in practice the only way of achieving this was by continuous warfare."<sup>12</sup>

#### The "Military Spending Is Good for Business" Theory

The "military spending is good for business" theory has some merit. While the government reflects the interests of the large capitalists as a whole, different industries and sectoral interests do jockey for favour and position. And certainly the relationship between the Pentagon and the arms industry is incestuous. As Michael Parenti notes in a study entitled "More Bucks From the Bang",

"The military budget is riddled with waste, duplication, and poor performance. In one decade, at least sixty-eight major weapons systems were abandoned as unworkable, representing a waste of many billions. The Army allocated \$1.5 billion to develop a heavy lift helicopter -- even though it already had heavy-lift helicopters -- while the Navy was building an almost identical one. At a cost of many millions, the Air Force and Navy simultaneously developed sophisticated airborne warning systems. A Congressional investigation discovered that the Pentagon was unable to locate where half its procurement budget, a sum of \$20 billion, was being spent, the money having gone to corporate subcontractors of whom, incredibly enough, no record was kept by the Defense Department. On another occasion, it was discovered that Pentagon officials had lost track of some \$30 billion in weapons and other military equipment intended for foreign orders."<sup>13</sup>

Since it serves powerfully entrenched economic and bureaucratic interests, military spending can easily become an end in itself. Moreover, it's a great way of hiding an otherwise moribund economy. Like the burned-out junkie -- give him a shot of heroin, and he temporarily springs to life. However, while certain sections of the capitalists benefit, this policy of militarizing the economy has real costs. First of all, military spending by government requires deficit financing, and this deficit leads to competition between government and business for capital (the latter needing it for purposes of investment). The spending of money by the government which it does not have also has the effect of generating inflation, which undermines the economy as a whole, and exacerbates the problem of instability which it was originally meant to solve. Thus, one could argue that, as an economic

remedy, a militarized economy is ultimately a dead end.

#### Conclusion

But, perhaps, none of these explanations is sufficient in themselves. Perhaps, they are all right, to some degree -- each factor reinforcing the others. Having gone to war to drag itself out of depression and expand its empire, American imperialism succumbed to the pragmatism of a militarized economy (which it never demilitarized after World War 2), thus keeping its economy charged up, and its people slavishly happy so long as the bucks were rolling in from foreign exploitation. Now that the chickens from this policy are coming home to roost, imperialism is locking itself into a series of self-destructive moves which brook no escape. Decrease or increase military spending -- either way, the economy will still reveal its fundamental bankruptcy. Expanding territory and reversing setbacks brings temporary respite, but requires further militarization. Expansion breeds the need for preparing for inevitable conflict. Retreating before conflict whets the aggressive appetites of one's opponents. And since the ultimately quantity at issue is power, perhaps it is better to destroy one's opponents and oneself than to slowly succumb to strategic blackmail. Events are out of control. Madmen are at the helm. We have no choice -- we must regain control or perish. If we cannot guarantee success, surely our inaction will guarantee failure.

SUBVERT THE TECHNO-PATRIARCHY BEFORE IT SUBVERTS US!

#### Footnotes

1. *The Fate of the Earth* by Jonathan Schell, Avon Books, New York, 1982, p. 218.
2. "Male Power/Male Oppression: One Man's View" -- for a free copy, send a SASE to Kick It Over.
3. *Pornography and Silence* by Susan Griffin, Harper and Row, New York, 1981, p. 171.
4. *ibid.*, p. 168.
5. *ibid.*, p. 178.
6. *ibid.*, p. 192.
7. As Herbert Marcuse put it, "...the insanity of the whole absolves the particular insanities and turns the crimes against humanity into a rational enterprise." See *One-Dimensional Man*, Beacon Press, New York, 1964, p. 52.
8. *Point Blank!* No. 1, out of print.
9. Quoted in "MX Production in 1984", *Hermes*, Dec. 6, 1982.
10. *Toronto Star*, March 18, 1983.
11. *Toronto Sun*, January 17, 1983.
12. Quoted in "MX Production in 1984", *Hermes*, Dec. 6, 1982.
13. Quoted in "Exterminism: The Logic of Nuclear Destruction (Part 2)" by Matthew Lyon and John Ely, *Hermes*, Dec. 6, 1982. For copies of this 3-part series, write to Hermes, Box A, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, Connecticut 06457.



# African feminist "Roots"

by Alexandra Devon

When British colonialists took away Nigerian Igbo women's right to "sit on a man" in the 1820's, they effectively crippled what had, up to that time, been a quite effective institution for fighting the patriarchy. "Sitting on a man" was a type of direct action that a group of women would undertake against a man who had, for example, beat his wife, let his cow eat her yams or any number of other transgressions. This "action" consisted of women surrounding the house of the offending man late at night, where they would dance, bang on (or, in extreme cases, demolish) his hut, perhaps beat him up a bit and sing songs detailing the women's grievances, as well as a few bawdy ones calling his manhood into question for good measure. This would go on for as long as a day or until the man apologized and agreed to reform.

This type of demonstration (elements of which seem somewhat reminiscent of more recent feminist actions such as "sit ins" in Hugh Hefner's office, direct action against video stores, "take back the

night" marches) was by no means an isolated spontaneous action but an outgrowth of other Igbo women's institutions: these organizations and tactics were integrally bound up with the society, as a whole, and seemed to be fairly effective in getting results. As is common in most societies, Igbo women were economically and socially at a disadvantage and subject to patriarchal control; however, power in general, in Igbo society was more diffuse, allowing a fair amount of equality among all the adult members of the village which also meant that women's groups did exert considerable influence.

The solidarity of Igbo women is reflected in their own political institutions, their meetings (mikiri), their market networks, their kinship groups and their right to use strikes, boycotts and force to effect their decisions. The most powerful of these institutions was the meeting, "which articulated women's interests as opposed to those of men." There were no leaders as such, in

cont. pg 8



# HALIFAX MIDWIVES: by Raven Williamson right to home birth under attack

In Halifax, Nova Scotia three women are facing ten years on a charge of criminal negligence arising from a homebirth on Jan 18. The women face a possible charge of murder should the baby die in hospital. As said above, the women face 10 years because the parents wanted to exercise their freedom of choice by having the baby delivered at home rather than in the hospital. Their reasoning may be economical and also may be due to the fact that homebirth is often better for the baby and the mother. Hospitals tend to treat pregnant women as a mere statistic instead of as a person. A "spokesman" for the Nova Scotia Medical Society says that he "abhors home deliveries" (I wonder, has he ever had one?) "They're fraught with danger". The only reason

...cont. from pg 7

these groups, decisions were arrived at through consensus and announced informally to husbands or through spokeswomen who were chosen to spread the word to men or women in other villages. If the women's demands were ignored they could (and did) "take direct action to enforce their decisions and protect their interests." Some of these decisions applied to the conduct of men - such as the rowdy, destructive behaviour of the young men at the market. Husbands and elders were asked to control the young men. If this was not done then "sitting on a man" might be employed. Other collective actions might include all women refusing to cook, or threatening to leave the village en masse. These tactics were likely to cause rapid reconsideration on the part of the men.

While the pre-conquest situation for Igbo women was far from ideal, the various bureaucratic, male-dominated systems established by the Victorian colonialists severely undermined the women's existing power. Now women were to be ruled by a patriarchy which they had no ability to fight and, on top of this, there was a "state" to add further weight to their oppression.

The most militant action on the part of the Igbo women in defiance of this new order began in 1929 when the British tried to tax the women (after having already begun taxing the men). Over an area of six thousand square miles the tactical message spread and the message was "sit on them." (Bear in mind that all this communication was transmitted without telephones.) Women converged on various government centres throughout two huge provinces and "sat on" the Warrant Chiefs (the local representative). The best known of these "riots", as

that homebirths are fraught with danger is that if everyone had their babies at home, then hospitals and doctors would stand to lose millions in the way of financial revenues ... Hospitals are institutions for the injured and sick people to get well in. We of this paper do not consider pregnancy to be an injury, let alone an illness. In fact, more babies are lost at hospitals than at homebirths. People are in hospitals because of injuries, illnesses and therefore are more "fraught with danger" due to a high rate of disease germs, etc. This tends to lead to more complications for the mother and baby than homebirths.

We hear that the women are planning (with their lawyer's help) to call international midwifery

cont. pg. 10

they were called, took place in Aba, a major administrative centre, where thousands of women wearing short loincloths, their faces smeared with charcoal and ashes, their heads bound with ferns (symbolizing war) and carrying sticks wreathed with palms (invoking the powers of female ancestors) descended on the place. They burned the Native Court building, released prisoners and following the "sitting on a man" style, carried on in a noisy and raucous way. The state reacted with full force, killing 50 women and wounding 50 others. There were no casualties on the other side.

The British made it quite clear that only the state could use force, and individuals or groups of individuals could not act to protect their own interests if these were at odds with those of the state. In the years that followed the "meeting" lost its vitality because "self-help" was outlawed, which meant that women could no longer carry out decisions made in their meetings; these became, instead, like marketing boards, serving as pressure groups for specific economic interests.

This herstory is interesting for showing how colonialism helped "underdevelop" women's political strength and effectively shored up an existing patriarchy through establishing a male dominated state. Although feminism, in its most recent form, is primarily a Western phenomenon, women's struggles against the patriarchy have a long and rich tradition much of which has been effectively buried and needs to be brought to the fore. All the information concerning Igbo society comes from an article entitled "Sitting On A Man" by Judith Van Allen in the Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. VI, ii (1972), 165-181

## Editorial:

# The political is personal

When we first received Camilla Decarnin's letter (see K.I.O. #6), the collective as a whole had just begun to think about pornography. The women in the collective were firmly anti-pornography feminists, having read a bit of feminist analysis and, as members of Toronto Women Against Violence Against Women, participated in a W.A.V.A.W. research project on pornography. The men in the collective varied: while most were critical of patriarchy and pornography, some wavered on questions of "freedom of speech" and others felt that it was possible to look at pornography and decide that certain pictures were or were not offensive.

Camilla's letter changed all that. Our collective had been frightfully ignorant of the shape that the debate had taken in the U.S. The letter plunged us all into a flurry of thought, study, research, and, perhaps most important, argument. The whole situation was very much exacerbated by two factors: 1) some of the women in the collective participated, with other women, in a women's group and some of the men in the collective participated, with other men, in a men's group; 2) most of the women in the women's group were in relationships with men in the men's group. Indeed, for all of us, the personal very much became political. The women were up in arms at the apparent tolerance of pornography in the men's group. The men were up in arms because they perceived the women as trying to control them. Not only were the men arguing about pornography but some seemed to feel a great resentment toward the women's movement as a whole. They perceived the women's movement as a threat, as they felt it would have a great impact on their future but, as men, they were shut out from feminist dialogue. The women in the K.I.O. collective countered this by agreeing that male thought and opinion has a legitimate place in the discourse on sexual politics. However, we reiterated that the women's movement is and should remain a woman's concern and that we would continue doing whatever we felt right within and through the women's movement.

Argue, argue, argue. Relationships were threatened.

The turning point came when one of the men read Susan Griffin's book Pornography and Silence. Griffin's cogent arguments on patriarchy and pornography made a marked impression on him. In another couple, there had been an agreement made that the man would read feminist theory as recommended by the woman. The first book she gave him was Griffin's, and after reading it he started saying that, in his opinion, patriarchy needs to be destroyed.

Where are we now? The K.I.O. collective, because



of the infusion of feminist thought, is theoretically sounder. We are firmly anti-pornography, but with a more in-depth analysis which stresses the idea that pornography, while partly causal, is mainly symptomatic. To quote from the W.A.V.A.W. International Women's Day Statement, "Pornography... is the extreme representation of male colonization of women's bodies." We feel that government regulation of pornography is no solution. The industry would merely be driven underground. The harmful images of women will still appear in advertising, media, fashion, and, equally important, the victimization of women and children who work in the industry will continue. We call for continued education on, and analysis of, pornography.

However, to focus on pornography without attempting to destroy the attitudes which give rise to it is to fight a futile battle. The need for pornography is fuelled by many things, among these the belief that sex is 'dirty' and degrading, that to share pleasure with another person is to have less yourself, and a fundamental inability to accept one's sexuality. So, while criticizing pornography as a reflection of repressive attitudes toward women and sexuality, we must encourage erotic subversion, which means having more open discussions and attitudes toward sexuality and developing erotica as opposed to the current plethora of sexist pornography. While recognizing that our sexuality has, to a large extent, been formed by this society we

must also recognize that we are not slaves to history. To reject pornographic images which reinforce the status quo and create new images that we define ourselves is another way to reclaim control over our lives.

We urge our female readership to become actively involved in women's groups in their areas. While we would not place upon any woman the demand that she funnel her energy into men, we hope that many will, as we have, reintegrate themselves into the anarchist movement and dialogue with the men involved. While we still refuse to dialogue with men who are unprepared for our level of discourse, or who are closed-minded to feminist ideas, we have personally

found it rewarding to dialogue with those men who are willing and able to meet us half-way.

Furthermore, the women of K.I.O. feel that, in order for men to change, it is necessary for them to dialogue with feminist women as well as talk among themselves. We urge all of our male readers to read feminist literature and to open-mindedly dialogue with their female comrades. We call for every revolutionary to study feminism and integrate a feminist consciousness into their revolutionary praxis. The way to end pornography is to destroy its market and the way to destroy the market is to change the world.

The Women of the K.I.O. Collective



...cont. from pg. 8

experts to testify during the trial. This course of action will cost loads of money. We suggest that you, the readers, support the women financially as they will be needing it in the months ahead. Unfortunately, we do not have the address of their legal defence fund. We can give you this following address, and it will likely

get to them : Women's Information Resource and Referral Service  
1225 Barrington St  
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Their phone number is : (halifax) 429-4063. It is probably best to phone and get all of the info on where it should be sent. You can also contact women's groups in your local area and see if they have an address.

Challenge the state and make homebirthing/midwifery a right and not a privilege.

#### ROMANIA DECLARES WAR--ON TYPEWRITERS

BUCHAREST (AP)—Stung by anti-government leaflets, Romania is banning possession or use of typewriters by citizens who have a criminal record or pose "a danger to public order or state security."

The decree was signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu last month and takes effect April 28. It requires private citizens to register with police typewriters they own or want to purchase.

The rule was not explained, but Romanian sources said it was probably prompted by a spate of clandestine typewritten leaflets, critical of the government, which have circulated in recent years.

Under the new decree, typewriter owners will be required to submit applications to retain them to police. New typewriters may be purchased only from state-owned stores with prior police authorization.

Private citizens also will be required to submit to police a sample of figures and letters printed by their typewriter.

## EXTERIOR DECORATING

If you feel like throwing up every time you pass that sexist ad, or you no longer can sleep nights due to the Armed Forces recruiting ads around the corner - or you just can't handle the fact that your bank loans money to South Africa anymore and you've got your spray can in hand, you might as well do it right!

The purpose of this article is not to encourage you to break the law (that would be illegal) but to provide you with information so that you can make up your own mind, as well as information on how to do it right. More and more we find ourselves in situations where if a given activity isn't illegal, it's required. You don't need anyone else trying to tell you what to do - you're probably old enough to make up your own mind.

For all of you environmentalists - remember that most spray paints contain freon, which attacks the ozone layer. The ozone layer -O<sub>3</sub>- protects the Earth from solar radiation. Without the ozone layer people would get 3rd degree burns from just a few minutes exposure to the sun's rays. Note that Sheffield Finishing Touch, Sheffield Dazzle, and Tremclad Rust Paint probably won't damage the ozone layer.

Anyway, assuming that you're an anti-social type and you just have to go out and break the law, and insist on spraypainting (and probably shoplifting as well) you might as well ~~buy~~ buy the best.

Makers of spray paint tend to charge the same prices for all colours of paint even though the ingredients cost different amounts. They skimp on the reds and yellows (as many artists will already know) because of the higher cost of the ingredients. Blacks and greens cover with less spraying, and correspondingly less risk, as well as a more professional look.

According to C.R., the very very best is Rust-Oleum Stops Rust, series 7700 (of the paints that they tested). For those to whom price is no object - C.R. lists the price as \$4.10 U.S. a can. Not only does it appear to cover almost anything, but it helps to protect unprimed metal from rust! (As if you cared!)

Some spray paint manufacturers have started using a new type of spray pattern. The fact that one can just appears to be harder to use than

another is not your imagination. C.R. claims that this makes it "hard to scrawl foot-high letters". Anyway, the offending types are; Benjamin Moore Utilac, Dupont Lucite Spray Enamel, Flecto Le Spray, Flecto Verathane Colours in Plastic, Sheffield Quick Spray, and Sherwin-Williams Superacrylic.

Note that the following are water-based and probably wouldn't be good to use in the rain (others may give you problems there too): Flecto Le Spray, Pactra Latex Plus, and Chroma.

If for some reason it's got to dry fast try Lucite Spray Enamel or Krylon Interior-Exterior Rust Majic, both of which dry fast according to Consumer Reports.

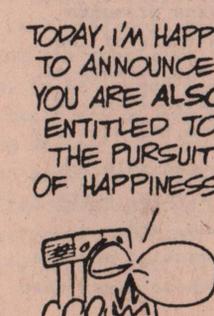
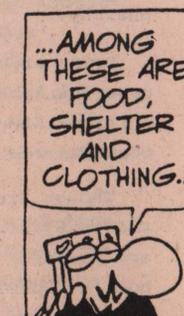
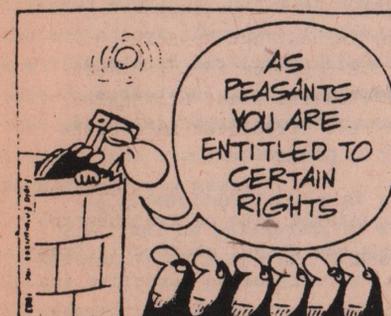
From personal reports and according to C.R., note that gold/silver/chrome just don't have the durability of more basic colours. These might best be left alone except for speciality jobs. Here's a list, in order, of how well different colours cover: black, blue, green, white, yellow, red.

Remember that even if the pricetag is higher, a spray paint might be cheaper per square foot than another. Rust-Oleum Stops Rust series 7700, and Flecto Varathane are generally cheaper to use per square foot, despite their higher tickets.

Some spraypainting tips - carry the can upright, it's quieter. After leaving your message, tilt the can upside down and spray briefly to help prevent clogging. Go in pairs so that one person can be lookout. Carry only one can so that, in an emergency, you only have to get rid of one can. Do it fast and leave. Do all writing in "Schoolboy" script - the police can trace handwriting. Remember the telephone number of CIRPA (Citizens' Independent Review of Police Activities) 960-6318 - they are okay. Better write the number on your arm. As far as what clothing to wear, Kick It Over's fashion consultants advise Anarchy Black.

If you are arrested for some reason, you have the right to remain silent, though you must identify yourself. Under some circumstances that might be hazardous to your health. You have the right to call your lawyer, if you are rich enough to have one. 519 Church Street Community Centre has a legal aid clinic at 923-2778.

Barb Dwire



# hex away the state

Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture by Arthur Evans (Fag Rag Books, Boston, 1978) trade paper, \$7.00

Reviewed by Larry Ingersoll

It is increasingly obvious to people active in social change movements that the problems which we are fighting against are all tied together. The problems are all functions of the Patriarchy in decay and spring from fundamental flaws in the most basic ideas of this civilization.

For the past several thousand years (more in some places, less in others) this civilization has been a Patriarchy - based on humanity's separation from nature, on men's dominance over women (who are identified with nature), on the view of the Earth as just raw materials for the exploitation of humanity, of gay people as not fully human, and so on.

Especially since the development of massive industrialization in Europe and North America over the past two hundred years, this set of ideas has dominated. These ideas made the plunder of the lands of the Third World, the pollution of the air, water, and soil, the mind and body destroying work of most of us, the gigantic cities, the militarism and nationalism, all these evils, somehow not only possible but "good".

Because the Patriarchy was established our bodies have become our enemies, our Mother Earth an object to be used as the rulers of society see fit and pleasure and delight in ourselves feelings adults are not allowed to have.

In his book Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture, Arthur Evans talks about the suppression of the Witches and nature religions in Europe with the rise of the Patriarchy there. He links the suppression of the Witches, of gays and lesbians, and of women generally, with the rise of masculinism, militarism, and the Patriarchal state.

The ideas of the Witches, as Evans presents them, are diametrically opposed to those of the Patriarchy. Witches' ideas of love and worship of sex, reverence of Mother Earth, whose children we are and to whom we return upon death, the equality of women and men, a specially honoured role for gays and lesbians as shamans and priests, ecstasy and a direct communion with the gods, and, especially, no division between humankind and the rest of nature. It is our loss of these ideas that



accounts for much of the destructiveness of the present civilization, Evans contends.

Evans argues for the revival of Witchcraft and Magic, for an end to monocular utilitarianism that shapes the industrial worldview, and the recapturing of ecstasy and a direct communion with the gods as primary bases for the new society. He sees the deep spiritual connections that he and other Witches are building to the Mother Goddess and the Horned God of the hunt, to nature, and to one another, as the source of his revolutionary energy.

In Evans' view we must talk about building a new society, a new civilization without militarism, masculinism, industrialism, and worship of reason. This new civilization would rest upon a base of tribes and communes, decentralized technology, nature worship, and (though he doesn't use the word) anarchy.

Evans argues that spirituality can create a powerful liberatory energy, so long as it is a spirituality that comes from within oneself and connects one directly to the gods.

Though his history is a bit questionable in places, Evans succeeds in presenting an inspiring and powerful vision and a truth that overcomes the book's flaws.

# WAVAW reaffirms radical feminism

WAVAW maintains that sex oppression is universal and functions as the model for all other systems of oppression. Violence against women flows from sex oppression. This oppression, the denial of self-determination for women, is violent in itself. We live in a sex-caste system in that our sex determines our status and role in society. Men have power by virtue of being born male. Women may have 'power' and 'privilege' because of their economic, class, or family relationships to men. However, women in significant positions of 'power' have thoroughly internalized the values and practices of the patriarchal death culture. Ultimately the male ruling class throws these token women into the face of the feminist movement as examples of our pseudo-equality.

Men have created the nature-destroying and woman-hating culture. The nuclear arms race and possible annihilation of human existence is a product of this destructive masculinist culture. This ultimate form of the conquering of nature correlates directly with male colonization and destruction of female existence. Men have created the structure of society and, as a whole, are the oppressors of women. Class, race, and national divisions are all products of masculinist ideology. Men define, maintain, and profit from the sex-caste system. However, just as the destruction of the planet is not in the interest of women or men, the continued annihilation of women is against the interests of all of humanity.

Internationally, the patriarchal structure protects perpetrators of misogyny and the destruction of women. The ever-famous guise for this is 'culture and tradition', under which hideous crimes against women are performed, condoned, and justified. No matter which country or culture, WAVAW condemns the following atrocities against women and names them the ongoing Female Holocaust:

- Denial of the right to self-determination and self-value
- Compulsory heterosexuality / denial of freedom of sexual expression
- Rape and sexual harassment of women and girls
- Woman battering and femicide
- Sexual harassment in the home, on the street, at the workplace
- Pornography and sexism in the media
- Denial of reproductive rights - restricted abortion, forced sterilization, ineffective and dangerous contraceptives
- Drugging and incarceration of women
- Forced marriage
- Worldwide genital mutilation of tens of millions of women and girls
- Seclusion and veiling of women
- Forced prostitution

Female slavery

The dowry system and the murders which follow  
World hunger/ refugees - most of the hungry and homeless of the world are women and children

Female infanticide

Forced economic dependence

Denial of education and technical knowledge  
Gynecological, obstetric and psychiatric abuses  
Crippling and sexually objectifying fashions  
Female poverty

Erasure of our herstory and cultural contributions

Subordination of women in and through religion

During the late 1970's and early 1980's, we have witnessed an increasing backlash against feminism from both the right and the left. Leftist political ideologies have failed to internalize feminist theory and practise. They have subordinated sex oppression to struggles for class, race and national liberation. Third world women, in particular, apart from the struggles against the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism, are struggling against their own local patriarchal oppressions. Men, by ignoring the analyses of sex oppression, are guilty of condoning the above-named crimes against women. It is time for us, as women, to reaffirm fundamental feminist premises! Whether we choose to work with men or not, we must re-examine our involvement in the male political world. We must act upon feminist principles to bring about truly radical social change through the elimination of sex oppression.

Women's existence is being threatened now. Many of the gains we have made are being lost. Sexism still goes unnoticed and accepted. Abortion rights, always meager, are diminishing. Pornography (the extreme representation of the male colonization of women) is increasingly being accepted as an accepted norm for a sexually liberated society. Pornography must be viewed in its true form: woman-hating propaganda.

The patriarchal death-culture is pornographic, woman-hating and nature-destroying, and must be opposed as such. We call on our sisters to struggle against this destructive force and unite to overthrow it. WAVAW maintains that women's bonds and solidarity transcend all male-created economic, social and political institutions as well as all class, race and national boundaries. Sisters, join together to uncover women's spiritual, physical, emotional, intellectual and political power and energy! To overcome patriarchy is to effect the liberation of all.

- Women Against Violence Against Women (Toronto)

March 5th 1983

(WAVAW - PO BOX 251, Station D, Toronto Ont M6P 3J3)

*"We're in here for you ... You're out there for us."*

## To our sisters

On Jan 20/83 while we were travelling along the Squamish highway, we were stopped by cops posing as highway flag persons. Seconds after the vehicle stopped, at least 30 men in camouflage fatigues, armed to the teeth with automatic rifles, shot-guns, large caliber handguns, in unison attacked the vehicle we were in. They all swarmed from positions in the surrounding hillside and from positions behind a large dump truck that blocked the highway. While stampeding the vehicle, they smashed a window and shot in tear gas. All the cops were screaming hysterically while they ripped us out of the truck and threw us on the ground. They kept shouting not to move or we'd be shot while they stuck their rifles into our backs and pressed their handguns to our heads. Our faces were forced down into the ground so that we couldn't check on one another. We all thought that one of us had been shot when we heard a tear gas shell being fired.

It was horrible having to lay passive to the whims of these crazed military extremists and their guns. We could imagine how other womyn felt in other countries especially being unarmed and having to survive and accept the horror and death of a military attack on their villages and homes. The feeling is too extreme to explain. It suddenly becomes very clear that these men with their guns are ready to kill you. They seemed very hyper and unpredictably insecure. The slightest movement could startle them causing their fingers to spasmodically jerk and kill.

What is happening in Canada today in reaction to the recent sabotage to the B.C. Hydro Cheekeye-Dunsmuir Line and the firebombings of the Red Hot Video porn outlets is not unconnected to the political repression used against people resisting in other parts of the world. In other countries where the liberation movements are strong and active enough to threaten the government and corporate interests, the counter-insurgency forces respond instantly with extreme violence. (The tools of repression are internationally devised and are used explicitly for political purposes. Every

Cont. P. 16



free the vancouver five

## We are not terrorists

I really enjoyed reading issue #6 of your fine publication. it was the first issue that I have been able to really read carefully, although I had seen it before. Thanks for sending it to me.

I thought that the interview that Raven did with the "Peace Activist" was real good. Although I am "sympathetic" to the humanism expressed by Brenda McKinney, I must say that, put her good intentions and her idealistic yearnings aside, and we are left with a crock of crap, really. Here's a quote from a book about Rolling Thunder, a native spiritual spokesperson:

*" The idea I've found in some modern people that there's no good or bad, that it's all the same, is pure mumsense. I know what they are trying to say, but they don't understand it. Where we're at here in our life, with all our problems- there's good and there's bad, and they better know it. "*

I am not focused now into doing a thorough critique of the pacifist confusions, but such an elucidation of political reality is much needed. I have always held that I can respect and support pacifism for an individual, but when it is elevated to a morally supremacist political program I have to oppose it completely. My understanding of reality is that pacifism mystifies people, capturing their nice feelings with happy face solutions. Mmmmm, it would be nice. For sure the ends do not justify the means but, equally for sure, reality necessitates certain means, and in the present violent, conflict-ridden world situation pacifism just does not offer the oppressed any potential but to protest the powerful. But we need much more than protest, we need to kick it over.

These are Armageddon times - right.

The articles on "sex" were interesting and thought-provoking. The one on the anti-porn movement I can't agree with, I mean, nuclear weapons are a symptom, the K.K.K. are a symptom, and there is no way that fighting against nuke war, the Klan, or porn in wasting one's life. There is no way that Jerry Falwell, Reagan, and the F.B.I. have an identical stand on porn as does W.A.V.A.W. or W.A.V.P.M. That is bullshit. And there is an incredible dif-

Cont. P. 17

From P. 14

power structure in the world is paranoid of the people seeing through their facade and rebelling against their authority.) The ultimate weapon of the people has always been militant resistance and all police-states are constantly developing their violent repressive apparatus to use against the people (to protect their international status-quo).

Being womyn identified, politically conscious, environmentalists and determined to challenge the power and profit motives of the patriarchal society that insures the rape and mutilation of our mother earth, we refuse to accept their labels of us as terrorists. We know that there are many sisters who share our radical analysis of the issues around the charges laid against us. For centuries the authorities have reacted violently to womyn who resisted; they used to brand us as "witches" and burned us, now they label us as "terrorists" and will try to bury us in their cement tombs.

The state and it's media are portraying us as elements of a "lunatic fringe" so that people will be frightened of us instead of relating to us with their rebellious spirits. We must not allow the liberalism of this society to hide the sickness of the rulers and rapers behind their institutions, laws and lies. We are always threatened with their violence, whether it be through nuclear power plants, nuclear weapons, industrialism, prisons or sexual terrorism in our everyday society. We will face their horrors boldly and challenge their corporate interests with the determination and strength of womyn warriors. We will see a resistance movement building in Canada, in an attempt to rid the earth of further corporate destruction so that future generations can survive.

Since our arrests, we have felt a responsibility to the womyn's community to outline why we feel the womyn's movement must transform itself into a womyn's resistance movement that is capable of smashing corporate patriarchy.

For so many centuries and in so many societies the patriarchy has separated the sisters from the brothers. Social institutions have stunted and mutilated our human potential by robbing women of the power to control their own lives, while making our brothers our rulers and rapers. Throughout their lives womyn are prevented from developing the so-called "male qualities" of strength, aggression, power, reason and intellect while simultaneously teaching men to have contempt for the so-called "female qualities" of sensitivity, spirituality, sensuousness and emotionalism.

There is no biological reason why the male and female qualities can't live harmoniously inside the same body. But instead, patriarchal socialization has torn apart our rich and complex inner beings, leaving us pathetic shells of womyn and men

whose only function is to perform profitably for the capitalist system.

The world has almost always been dominated by patriarchal societies but none so manifests the male qualities on all levels and has so stripped womyn of all value as the modern industrial culture. It is the historical epitome of patriarchy. Office towers, cars, strip mines, and nuclear arms are the physical tribute to MAN. There is no balance in the corporate industrialized world. There is no room for sensitivity and sharing. The balance is tipping over dangerously towards the nuclear precipice and extinction.

The all pervasive patriarchal economic system has created a society where all living things are objectified as consumer products and our relationship to all life is based upon economic relations. People are not appreciated for their kindness or goodness but are valued and identified through their economic roles, that is, their jobs and consumer status. Our natural environment is perceived as a resource base to be developed. If the land can't be raped in some way through lumbering, mining or some other industry, then it is considered worthless. Animals are perceived as potential sport, food or pets. Outside of their economic value to man, other living creatures are not recognized for their wisdom, skill and ability to survive in harmony with the earth. When indigenous and third world people resist the encroachment of industrialism on their land, they are forced to move or are exterminated through terrorism, forced sterilization, starvation and alcoholism. All beings, if they are unprofitable or an impediment to the expansion of imperialism are wiped out.

The capitalist economic system has become so pervasive throughout society that it's relations and values of consumerism permeates all aspects of our lives. As a result of this, people have become blind and incapable of experiencing the richness and depth of the natural world-forests, mountains, water, animals and other humans.

In the industrialized world, a womyn's value is also defined by the economic relations of the marketplace. She is defined by her profitability to the system as a waitress, doctor, secretary or slave labourer in the home. Any other qualities that she may have, with the exception of her male-defined sexuality, are not valued by the society.

As the industrialized world sinks into a depression with soaring unemployment, womyn are the first to lose their already menial jobs, thus becoming completely worthless to a ruthless economic system where profitability defines everything. The only consistent value that a womyn has in the corporate economy is as a sex object. By perversely associating her sexuality with consumer products, businessmen can sell more products while conversely, the womyn, as consumers, are

taught to buy all kinds of junk to try to improve their sexual attractiveness. Think of the sexual womyn with the low-cut gown sitting on the Rolls-Royce; is she any more intelligent, strong or compassionate than the car?

Because womyn throughout their lives are stripped of all value other than their sexuality, they are essentially objectified. In their relationships with men and other womyn, they are not respected for their mental ability, strength and competency. They are regarded with contempt for their female qualities by equating them with stupidity and weakness. Throughout her youth, a girl is brought up to be a sex object and when she is too old to fulfill that role, she becomes an old womyn and is treated like a piece of garbage.

The same institutions and values that teach people to see trees as lumber, mountains as mining resources, old people as pensioners and children as unruly trouble, teach us that womyn are sex objects. The rape of forests by lumbering companies and the rape of womyn can ultimately be attributed to the same criminals - the men that rule the industrial complex. The decision to designate vast areas of the earth as "sacrifice areas" in the name of industrial progress and the decision to sacrifice the El Salvadorean people in the name of "freedom," is made by the same womyn-exploiters in control of the multinational economy. The wealthy fur companies that purchase seal pelts are the same companies that use womyn as sex objects to sell their fur coats.

It is not possible in this society to be a "liberated" womyn without being in a constant state of conflict and struggle. However if our conflict and struggle is not guided by a consciousness of the magnitude of the problem, then our energies will be misdirected and futile.

We do not want equality and equal pay in this patriarchal society. We do not want equal job opportunities to work in their office towers, their lumber companies, their nuclear power plants. We do not want to be aggressive, competitive female replicas of the men that rule this society. We want to develop a feminist resistance movement that allows us to flourish and grow as rich human beings living in harmony with the earth.

The womyn's movement can not be a one-issue oriented struggle, but must understand and embrace the ecological struggle, indigenous peoples' resistance and anti-imperialist liberation movements because the same patriarchal institutions that perpetuate our oppression also oppress the animals, the indigenous peoples, the third world peoples and the earth.

On Jan 20/83 we were forcibly transferred from a security society into a maximum security prison. We are political prisoners. As long as there are injustices happening, there will be politically

active people in prison. Although these cement tombs are torture, are we that much less free than those caught up in the "free" business world and the supposed democracy of this society? We will survive.

The authorities plan to use the threat of imprisonment to contain the development of any forms of resistance that are not state sanctioned. They believe that prisons will be an effective deterrent to us, yet they do not understand that the true spirit of freedom can not be subdued. We want people to know that our physical freedom may be limited but mentally we remain free. Our group unity is strong and individually we are all politically dedicated to living through this crap.

We feel strong solidarity with feminist womyn who are dedicated to questioning themselves for truth and who have the sensitivity and political consciousness to never create power struggles and oppressive orders again. We are sisters forever.

In total strength and resistance  
Continually spinning through sisterhood  
Ann Hansen  
Juliet Belmas

From P. 15

ference between what is hard-core porn and erotica. Check out Broadside, the January issue, there is an article on hard-core porn by Ann Cameron-- in no way is what she describes erotica. NO WAY !! Maybe some women in the anti-porn movement seem extremely dogmatic, but to denounce the whole movement for this is not justified. Also I think that Camilla overestimates, by quite a lot, the extent to which the anti-porn issue has completely taken over the women's movement.

I liked "Sex in the Spectacular Society".

Also I was glad to see the critique of the critique. Unfortunately, Kick It Over may not be as widely distributed in the Toronto anti-cruise/anti-nuclear community as the first leaflet was. Nevertheless, it is really good to see that some people read things over carefully, and as a result of that, were publically responsible enough to alter their previously stated opinions.

All five of us are doing alright considering the heavy assault that we have experienced. It is a real difficult and painful reality to be ripped from the people you love, and the life you believe in, to be locked inside a cage for a long time. So I can't say we are feeling great, but we are feeling strong and very determined to carry on with the struggle regardless. We were just denied bail a few days ago, in a very overt and forceful way. The State does not dig us in the least, that is very clear. That is also not surprising, considering

Cont. P. 18

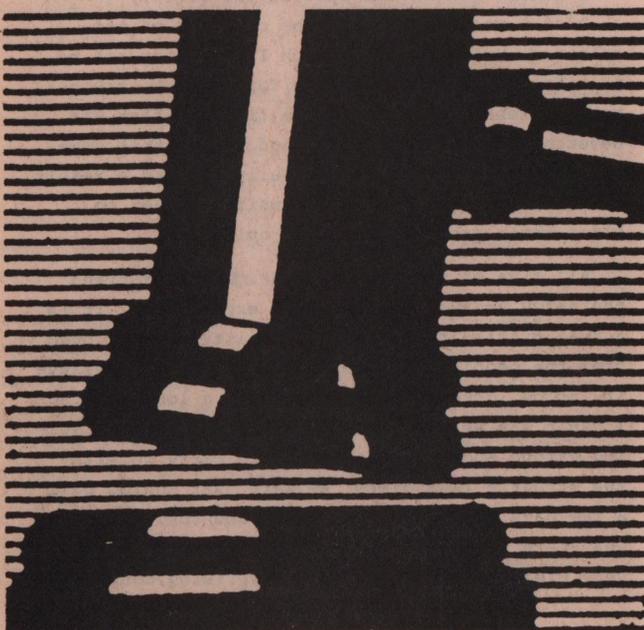
eh? The judge's reasons was that the public would perceive the State and the administration of justice as being weak if we were allowed on the Street again. What a rap!!

We are really quite happy with the support that has been coming together around this case. The courtroom has been packed, and over 200 people getting right into a demo is pretty right on. The pigstate is continuing their overkill response. We go to and from court in a special convoy; the five of us in a small Sherrifs van followed by 4 undercover pig cars with at least two pigs in each one. Fairly heavy scene, and quite a joke really. Here is a quote from one of the many solidarity statements read at the demo. This one is from the defence group:

" We are going to make things different. This community has shown the exact opposite of the result the pigs expected. They thought we would all bow down, or step aside ... be moved by their power. But we don't recognize their power. We oppose it. Protest it. We will not be weakened. We will not be crushed.  
WE ARE ONE IN TOTAL RESISTANCE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE. "

If you haven't already, maybe you would consider getting in touch with our defence group: Free the Five Defence Group, P.O.B. 48296, Bentall Station, Vancouver, B.C. V7X 1A1. Whatever you could do to spread the word and put people in contact with the defence group would be much appreciated.

Maybe you would consider an interview? If so, just figure out some questions and send them out to us at the prison. We are not prepared to speak on some issues, but generally we would welcome the opportunity to convey some of our ideas to people. Especially people in the movement. We are far more interested in such communication, rather than the bullshit terrorist spectacle on the front page of



the mindless mass media. As you can imagine, we loath the terrorist label, but then we loath a hell of a lot of things the State does.

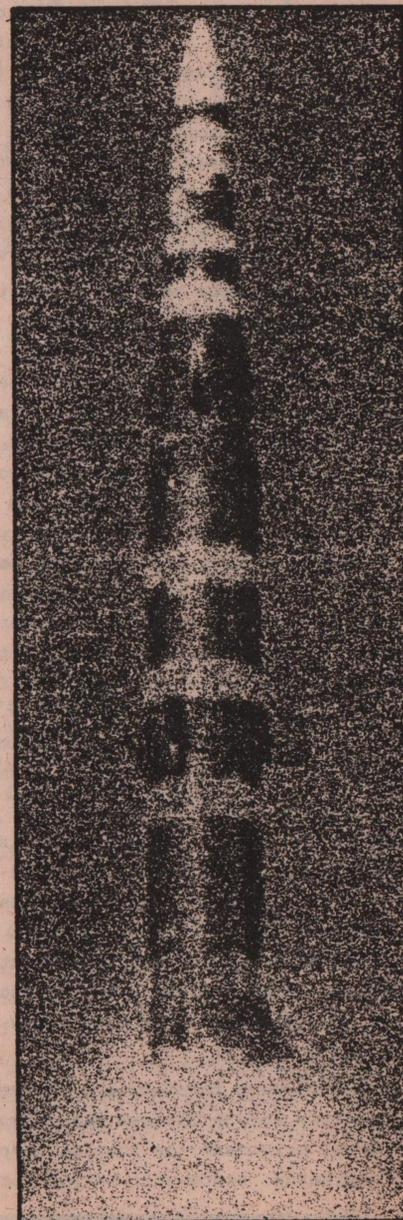
We are obviously living in the metropole of the imperialist system, and all here is illusion. The democracy, the liberalism, the non-violence, justice, freedom is all an illusion. It is an illusion built upon the violence and extreme exploitation of peoples outside the metropolises, and the violence and exploitation done to the natural world, and the violence and exploitation of our spirits.

We are rebelling against the same forces that the people of El Salvador are fighting. They are not terrorists and neither are we. We are strong and free !

PROTECT THE EARTH AND FREE THE PEOPLE !

In resistance and with love,

Brent Taylor  
Okalla Prison



SHAPE  
OF THINGS  
TO COME

# LETTERS

## Porn debate resumes

Your treatment of pornography was less than adequate. You promised a "porn debate" on your cover, but there was no debate inside, and certainly no thorough analysis of pornography. You used a cover photo of a WAVAW woman mourning raped women yet saw fit to insult the women's liberation movement inside, and trash the offshoot of it that fights the savagery of pornography.

The only social movement that is not directly dominated by men is the women's liberation movement. Even there, the indirect domination exercised by the patriarchy is considerable, so that radical women who want to free their sisters from oppression are constantly fighting a system that hampers them, hems them in, and attacks them, aside from the daily misery and fear of rapes, harrassment, money troubles, and continuing gynecide.

Because the women's liberation movement is the only place where women can feel free to talk and organize and act for their own liberation, their concerns as women are not as muted as they would be elsewhere. Women's concern about pornography is not new: it goes back to the genesis of the movement in the late sixties, when women disrupted the Miss America Pageant and demonstrated in front of Hefner's mansion, outraged at the reduction of women to sex objects. It is worth noting that male leftists laughed at the women's liberation movement then, and ridiculed it as being reactionary, bourgeois, and all the rest of a string of trite and boring accusations common to leftist deadheads. Women were challenging men's monopoly on revolution, among other things.

The rape atrocity has grown steadily throughout the 1970's (In the 1960's the incidence of rape increased 93% in the US, according to FBI stats). The pornography industry grew with an astonishing rapidity: it is estimated to gross between \$5 and \$7 billion annually in the US. It is also much more violent. It used to be that "hard-core" meant graphic display of sex; now the "hard stuff" shows women being abused, battered, raped, mutilated, and murdered. The porn industry also demands the rape of thousands of boys and girls annually. The growth of the anti-pornography movement is a response to the scale of the threat to women now posed by pornography. The anti-pornography movement among women tends to recognize the indivisibility of the violence directed against them: rape and pornography and prostitution and the continuing enslavement of women are all aspects of a system of male domination, which are all organically inter-

related. Your attempt to isolate the anti-porn movement from other aspects of women's liberation is misleading. Pornography oppresses women in at least two distinct ways:

First, the actual production of pornography involves rape and prostitution (a form of rape) on a vast scale. Women who perform sex for money are usually forced to prostitute themselves. (The experience of "Linda Lovelace", who was terrorized and enslaved by a psychotic pimp, is a good example.) Or, they feel they have no choice, see no alternative. There is also the possibility of prostitution at one remove: the prostitute pleases her johns through the mediation of Playboy or Penthouse, for example. Thousands of women are used in this fashion every year.

Second, pornography is a system of misogynist propaganda, which conditions the thought and sexuality of millions of men and women. Pornography has (or is) an ideology. It is a male ideology, made by men, controlled by men, and directed primarily at men, who form the vast majority of



its consumers. It is exceedingly dangerous, as it seeks to fuse sex and violence in the minds of men, with women as the objects/recipients. Of course, the perfect fusion of sex and violence (and the perfect expression of patriarchal sexuality) is rape. When you refer to "S/M" ("The Last Taboo", gushes a book of pop psychology) you mean sado-masochism, which takes its name from the Marquis de Sade, who raped, tortured, and murdered women for his pleasure. Famous leftists and intellectuals (including the Situationist International) lionized de Sade for his "liberating" philosophy. Bullshit, I say.

The pornographic assault on women is comparable to the anti-semitic propaganda campaign created by the Nazis preparatory to the Kristallnacht and the death camps. The size of the porn industry is immense, and its influence is correspondingly large. Why should women take this sitting down? And why do you dump on the women in WAVAW and WAVPM who are doing something about porn?

A few observations:

1) the fight against pornography has never been a "satisfyingly easy" campaign; it would be truer to state the contrary. The fight against porn is crucial to the liberation of women from oppression by men, and it is a fight in deadly earnest. The free sexuality of both women and men is at stake.

2) Who says what's "radical sex" and what isn't? Define "radical sex", please.

3) Why should the Off Our Backs collective print ads for lesbian sado-masochists if they don't want to? KIO doesn't print ads for Stalinists. Ditto for feminist bookstores. As for censorship and civil liberties, see Andrea Dworkin's "Why So-Called Radical Men Love and Need Pornography", and "For Men, Freedom of Speech; For Women, Silence, Please" (both in Dworkin's collection of essays, Our Blood).

Doug Imrie

## Anti-anti-porn

Allow me to congratulate you on having the political courage to print an article that challenges the orthodox line on pornography (A Porn in the Side of the Women's Movement) in your latest issue. Let me also warn you that you are likely to be inundated with thinly veiled hate mail for daring to do so. When I was a member of the North American Anarchist (now STRIKE!) editorial collective we had the temerity to run a piece titled "The Politics of Topless" in our second issue that dealt with some of the same issues. The reaction, to put it mildly, was negative. It is only recently, twenty-two issues later, that STRIKE! has again run articles touching on the porn debate and these have been studiously safe *pro forma* condemnations.

Despite their vehement denials the politics of

the Anti-Porn Movement (APM) speak strongly to the latent puritanism that underlies much of Leftist politics. Whether it's Lenin condemning free love as being like drinking from "an unclean glass" or the assembled delegates to the Amsterdam Anarchist Conference denying Emma Goldman the right to speak on sexuality the Left has characteristically shied away from sexual question-. The dominant ethos is one of self-sacrifice and it is the mortification of the flesh, not the sins of it, that is admired.

The irony in all this, for Anarchists, is that we know that repression is never the answer to any social 'problem' and that this course, more often than not, rebounds on those who follow it. As Paul Goodman put it in Pornography and the Social Revolution: "When excellent human power is inhibited and condemned, it will reappear ugly and dangerous. The censorious attitude toward the magazines and pictures is part of the general censorious attitude that hampers ordinary sexuality and thereby heightens the need for satisfaction by means of the magazines and pictures (and) must lead to more virulent expressions, e.g., still less desirable pornography."

I can also attest, from personal experience, that the APM is verging dangerously close to out and out reactionary politics. Among other things, I am a member of the Alternative Bookshop collective here in Montreal. Recently we began stocking several punk fanzines. One of them, Boredom, had a back cover that could have been described as sexist or pornographic. One member of the collective registered a protest and we decided to discuss the question at our next collective meeting. We had had problems with unilateral censorship in the past and our policy was that items that were put in question were to be left on the shelves until the collective had had a chance to discuss them.

Before our meeting several of our local APM militants, after reconnoitering the bookstore twice, returned a third time and seized all copies of the fanzine in the store. The person staffing at the time attempted to explain our policy and the fact that the question was to be discussed at our collective meeting the next day. They were not interested and after leaving their phone numbers they departed with the material. The staff person contacted them by phone later that day and managed to convince them to attend the collective meeting.

At that meeting we were subjected to a display of smirking self-righteousness that I found personally and politically offensive. They let us know very early on in the discussion that no matter what we as a collective decided we "weren't going to get the magazines back." They were contemptuous of opinions contrary to their own and even seemed to view anything less than total agreement with outright scorn. After the discussion started to repeat itself we held a straw vote within the collective on removing the item. The result was 4

for, one against and one abstention. The person voting against removal decided not to block consensus and the matter was laid to rest. Since the APM militants didn't trust us with such dangerous material we asked if they would return the magazines and explain what had happened.

We later learned that this consisted of one APM member going to the address listed and waking up the luckless publisher demanding to know if this was "Boredom headquarters". After receiving an affirmative reply he proceeded to tongue-lash the by now rather bewildered punk. The APM returned later and plastered his door with APM stickers. Thoroughly intimidated the punk dropped by the bookstore to nervously enquire how far the APM was willing to go. We were unable to answer him.

Since then the APM here in Montreal has kept busy by organizing a boycott of a repertory film house that shows porno films during the daytime. They are also harassing a bicycle liberation group that had the effrontery to publish a turn-of-the-century bicycle poster featuring a generously endowed young woman on the front cover of their newspaper.

I hope you yourselves will not be intimidated by the response to Camilla Decarnin's piece and I look forward to further articles critiquing the APM and exploring in an uninhibited way the various aspects of sexuality.

In Solidarity  
S E

The back cover of Boredom that caused all the fuss consisted of a fairly innocuous nude shot of a woman squatting over a plumed military style (19th Century) helmet surrounded by other militaristic gear. The head of Lady Di was pasted over the original and there was some hand-drawn semen spurring into her highness' face. The caption read something like; "I don't know why people object to cum shots -- I've always made them a part of my own private sex life". I'm paraphrasing because the APM also took my personal copy of Boredom when they left the meeting which was held at my house. I found the graphic to be in questionable taste but I didn't feel it warranted the censorship of the entire issue which was quite good politically and certainly miles ahead of any other fanzine I've seen. The discussion seemed to revolve around whether or not this was a violent and/or degrading image and whether the image should be viewed in the context of the entire issue. I personally didn't find the image either violent or degrading, oral sex is fine by me, and I don't find sexual excretions either disgusting or degrading. The APM folks ruled any discussion of context out of court and insisted on calling Boredom the most disgusting piece of porno they'd seen in a long long time.

There were also other issues involved as far as

I was concerned, i.e., do we treat counter-culture/politico types exactly the same as if they were pornocrats. That is do we allow some kind of free rein and room for experimentation in sexual imagery in our expanded community or do we automatically condemn it as serving only to reinforce wider commercial exploitation of sexuality in society?

My own views, which I hope to expand on in an article in STRIKE! fairly soon if I ever stop finding new material, tend to put me in diametrical opposition to the APM. Their tactics of harassing and attempting to marginalize pornography seem awfully loaded to me. In a sex repressive culture the repression of any form of sexuality can only lead to disastrous results. Rather than trying to marginalize pornography I would advocate its generalization. That is, I would favour the abolition of all obscenity laws so that graphic sexuality becomes a part of the general culture. So that, as Paul Goodman observed "mainstream" film makers could show the fascist getting and erection as he contemplates or commits violence, could explore the links between violence and sexuality. And so that the physical act of love could cease to be obscene either in actuality or in pornographic fantasy. The best way to put the pornocrat out of business is to remove his/her monopoly on the explicit depiction of sexuality.

I also have trouble reconciling the APM's stereotype of porno with what is actually out there. In the last six months or so I've seen about 5 porno double bills and out of that assemblage I saw only one explicitly violent rape scene. The rest was at least superficially consensual hetero sex which varied from the crude and silly to material that I found erotic - that is, well filmed, reasonably plotted and even at times tender material. I've also noticed in my limited viewing that the quality of porno is improving and while still excessively sexist it tends to support my provisional thesis that the wider acceptance of porno will lead to better porno if only because people will demand it.

S E  
Montreal Quebec

## Footnotes on Litton

My first comment is that "Some Toronto Area Anarchists" ought to speak for themselves. While I was not a "major author" of Vanguard Terror vs State Terror, I was consulted. As such I feel that indeed the leaflet does cover some of my opinions - and is at least somewhat representative of my feelings. The Critique of the Critique of the Litton Bombing was not written by the same group of people - "When we wrote the document above we hadn't had time to think about the meaning of the bombing, or even to read thoroughly the Direct Action communique." What do you mean, we? Personally,

I had read the communique several times and had a rough draft of a leaflet prepared when I was shown Vanguard Terror vs State Terror. Let's make it really clear - not all those involved in the original leaflet were involved in the second.

It is very interesting that they acted without thinking - even without thoroughly reading the document when there were several discussions over a period of several days concerning the leaflet and, I believe, three revisions. It appears as though some people changed their minds and decided to slander a collective document.

The claim that what we wrote "was as much loyal opposition as anything the N.D.P. might have written" is totally meaningless. This is slander without attacking the original leaflet.

"Our knee-jerk reaction ignored the real consequences of the action - in terms of the physical attack on the war machine, power of example... and its power as a 'publicity gimmick'..." This statement is a knee-jerk reaction. Direct Action produced no threat to the war machine. They produced a spectacle in the six o'clock news for all of the marginalized radicals to salivate over. The Canadian war machine is backed up by the police force, army, large number of citizens, U.S.A., and other governments. It is a delusion to assume that Direct Action made any threat to the institution of war, or the war machine. Just look at how they acted.

I am wondering just what example Direct Action showed us. You too can commit meaningless violent attacks on property? (They are violent because the risk of people being hurt is large.) Or maybe the romanticism of Futile Armed Struggle (a few people against the world)?

I am willing to concede that the bombing was a 'publicity gimmick'. Publicity gimmicks and advertising make me sick. The fact that you are still willing to talk in those terms after seven people were injured is even more upsetting. You didn't talk about the seven people who were injured.

From what I have been able to determine, the average person is happy that some people have been picked up and charged with being Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade. The reason is simple - people know that they have no control over Direct Action. They assume that they have some control over the Canadian government, and to a limited extent they are correct in that they have as much control over the Canadian government as the government allows them to have. (Give people a few crumbs and they hang on as hard as they can to them for fear of losing what little they have. As well the emotional problems of admitting that you have no real power over what happens beyond the most immediate and personal portions of your life could be more than many people could handle - example of state control over personal portions of one's life would be Cambodia under Pol Pot.) If indeed Direct Action

is anti-authoritarian then the question of responsibility comes up. Have they been reasonable in trying to ensure that people weren't injured? Have they taken into account what the general public's reaction is going to be? (In B.C. it may be different than in Toronto.) Have they taken into account what type of police harassment is going to follow? Are there other things going on that would make actions which could injure people unnecessary? - like the growing peace movement? Or the fact that a majority of Canadians seem to be anti-nuclear weapons?

One must also operate with some regard to how hard a particular country is suppressing dissent. If this were the U.S.A., the five who were picked up and charged with various crimes - some of which already appear to be false - might not have been taken alive. In El Salvador, from what I understand of their political climate, violent action is the only alternative for - small group of people who wish to oppose something.

It is my belief that, in Canada at this time, the actions performed by Direct Action (not necessarily also the Wimmin's Fire Brigade) were of such a nature as to further alienate and reduce the amount of control people have over their personal lives.

"We called the actions 'terrorist' despite our later quote from Chomsky that 'terrorism are the acts of violence opposed by the ruling class'..." Don't you think for yourselves? Is Chomsky's word law? The Litton bombing created fear and uncertainty amongst the workers at Litton (with media help) and people elsewhere. Already Direct Action is "the group to support" - we buy copies of every newspaper we can in hopes that something will be said about our latest heroes. Heroes have this nasty habit of becoming leaders. The question really is Vanguard Terror or State Terror?

Extremely questionable statements like "It seems from any study of the past that only nonviolent movements supported by violent movements have had any effect" are just irresponsible. The first 'exception' that comes to mind is the anti-nuclear power movement. While success has not been total, or nearly as great as we would like, there have been moratoriums introduced and plants closed because of the protests. The success has been at least as great as that of Martin Luther King and the radical bombing campaign that "backed" him in the struggle for black civil rights in the U.S.A. As for the effect of Gandhian - well, the Indians now have a government that may not be as totalitarian as the British were, one which has engaged in such things as forced sterilization, development of an atomic bomb, and has briefly toyed with the idea of becoming a dictatorship. Just what are the long-lasting improvements of the Gandhian movement - except for the idea that it might be possible to create change without always killing people. Violence, and violent change have gotten us where we are today-

in a position where we have very little real control over our own lives. Violence as a form of social change does not work for us. It has consistently been used against us for the benefit of a few. We have tried violent change for the past several thousand years - it's time to try something new.

By far the strangest statement that you made was: "...there are many more radical peaceniks thinking beyond civil disobedience towards insurrection..." Do you have any connection to reality left? Maybe once they stop celebrating that the police have picked up 5 people and charged them with various crimes they'll join you. The very most you can hope for is that some of them will understand that the police will engage in as much terror and intimidation as they can get away with and

## An anti-porn feminist meets an S/M dyke

by Alexandra Devon

In the spring of 1982 at the Barnard College Women's Studies Conference on sexuality, a debate which had been simmering in the women's movement erupted into a full rolling boil. A number of workshops were being offered on lesbian sadomasochism. This type of sexuality was seen by some women as a great affront to the principles of feminism and the spirit of lesbianism. This reaction to s/m was seen by those practitioners as repressive and puritanical. Any sort of basis for understanding was quickly eroded away; the lines of battle were drawn and the war began in earnest, being fought in large part through the media. As with most wars the first casualty was truth, and straw women were constructed on either side. Certain women became the embodiment of a particular position. Having these "representatives" greatly exacerbated the problem by helping to create false polarities. These polarities were the anti-pornography feminists, on the one hand, and the s/m lesbians on the other. Kathleen Barry and New York City's WAP (Women Against Pornography) came to epitomize all anti-pornography feminists. Pat Califia and Samois (a lesbian s/m group in San Francisco) came to "represent" s/m dykes. Recently, I met and talked at great length with a lesbian sadomasochist. She was as uncomfortable

as such they must be resisted every step of the way - whether or not these people are Direct Action.

State Terrorism is the Most Terrible!

Another Toronto Area Anarchist.



with the statements some s/m lesbians made about pornography, just as I was aggravated by some of the positions held by Kathleen Barry and other anti-pornography feminists on various sexual issues.

The woman I talked to is involved in a Bay Area s/m support group which formed out of dissatisfaction with Samois' hierarchical organization and some of the actions of their spokeswoman Pat Califia. Likewise, I have been working with other anti-pornography feminists in Toronto's WAVAW, who feel little affinity with certain feminists who work for government regulation of pornography and other sexual matters.

What this discussion helped me realize, among other things, is the necessity to avoid jumping behind either of the battlements. Good and bad points have been made on both sides. If one avoids the temptation of joining camps, it is possible to see that both "sides" are articulating aspects of feminist concerns. One can, I think, appreciate the contributions of both Kathleen Barry's powerful expose of female sexual slavery (in her book of that name) and the bold questioning in Heresies 12 (the Sex issue) without being schizophrenic.

To be concerned with fighting the victimization of women is essential. To be concerned with the ways women find pleasure is equally important. The women's liberation movement of the late 60's and early 70's saw women as both sexual subjects and sexual victims. Each of the more extreme poles in the current debate would seem to close their eyes to one or the other of these aspects. One has to avoid making an absolute of one's subject or object status. The criticisms that each camp makes of some of the "representatives" of the other contain some truth. While Camilla Decarnin (in her article in the previous KIO) accuses the anti-pornography feminists of being white and

middle-class and prone to a social worker mentality, who would deny it when one reads Barry's attack on anyone who advocates abolition of age of consent laws (in a speech given to a conference of rape relief workers in the U.S.). It is quite clear that Barry, in her zeal to protect girls from rapacious men (or boys from rapacious men, for that matter), is quite prepared to forget about their sexual rights. That there might be another course of action, mobilizing youth to stand up for themselves, has apparently not occurred to her. (As an aside, I wonder what earthly good age of consent laws do anyway. I can think of two cases within the last year in which girls - age five and six - were deemed to be "promiscuous" and hence to have had a hand in their own rape. Obviously, more than the laws need changing. Age of consent laws seem good at keeping consenting youth from sexual activity, and not much else. What is key is true consent, not age.)

Likewise, when Kathleen Barry accuses the s/m lesbians of constituting the vanguard of a male left counter-attack against the feminist critique, while it is mainly a rhetorical trick to deligitimize her opponents, it contains a grain of truth in that many men are now no doubt breathing a sigh of relief at not having to concern themselves with the sexual victimization of women. Many s/m lesbians, in their emphasis on sexual subjectivity of women, essentially drop the analysis of women's victimization altogether.

I've read in the Off Our Backs report on the Barnard Conference that Gayle Rubin suggested that we support the sex industry - as it is. To me this seems more likely to strengthen reactionary

views towards sexuality than would a principled opposition to pornography. I would disagree with Camilla Decarnin's sophisticated statement that "when 'feminists' and Jerry Falwell and the FBI and Ronnie Raygun take identical stands on issues, there is goddam well cause for alarm." There are different reasons to be against pornography. To refuse to see the difference between the right's critique of pornography and the feminist analysis is to be deliberately blind. If one wants to set up alignments, it is not difficult to see pornography and puritanism in the same camp, since both see women and sexuality as dirty and reinforce patriarchal control and total submission of women.

To be against pornography as it is is not to be anti-sex or against erotica. For examples of erotica, one has to look fairly hard, but it is being made. Barbara Hammer's films, such as "Women I Love", are one example. We need to create a social space for a new sexual ethic and sensibility, new role models, and new ways of experiencing pleasure that minimize the subject/object split. At the same time, we should not try to limit dialogue or experimentation. Nothing would be more boring than a homogenous sexual practice in which all "politically incorrect" sex is condemned as exploitative and immoral. We need to combine philosophical debate and dialogue about different types of sexual practices with insistence on the right of individuals to engage in whatever consensual sex acts they choose. Equally important is to couch this debate inside a truly radical feminist framework. An ever-present consciousness of radical feminist sensibilities and practice is the only way to cool down the heated debate and bring the two poles together into a revolutionary synthesis.

## Feminism vs. nationalism:

# COLONIZATION OF LAND AND BODY

by Lilith Finkler

This chart was originally created in order to illustrate the theoretical incompatibility of feminism and Zionism. While women as a group are a colonized people, the Zionists have successfully colonized an indigenous population- the Palestinians.

On the far left, the main characteristics of colonization are listed. The next three columns indicate how these characteristics are relevant to three separate groups; Palestinians, women, and native Canadians.

The latter group was added to the chart in order to illustrate that Zionism is not alone in its blatantly oppressive nature. Other forms of nationalism have also served to alienate and annihilate indigenous peoples.

While many progressive individuals support the

## COLONIZATION AND COLONIZED PEOPLES

CHARACTERISTICS	PALESTINIANS	WOMEN	NATIVE CANADIANS
(1) physical displacement & destruction of connection between people and land.	mass uprootings land expropriation laws marketing laws pass laws	no control of our bodies rape, incest wife battery, clitorectomies	mass uprootings land expropriation, broken treaties
(2) cultural alienation; devaluation & destruction of colonized people's own.	fashion language colours of flag	female literature & art.	dance, art, seen as primitive; portrayal in "Westerns"
(3) creations of divisions within colonized group	"moderate" palestinians vs. "terrorists"	madonna/whore easy lay/dyke	tribal council vs. the people
(4) extraction of natural resources	water orange groves olive trees	reproductive capacity; emotional nurturing; sex; labour in the home	land for "development" uranium coal

Palestinians to flee. Erskine Childers, a B.B.C. commentator, requested the recordings of such broadcasts and described the futility of his efforts in his essay entitled "The Other Exodus". It offers a detailed refutation of the state-manufactured myth.

(For personal stories of mass uprootings see The Palestinians by Frank Epp and John Goddard; The Palestinians; from Peasants to Revolutionaries, by Rosemary Sayeigh.)

In addition, between 1948 and 1967, 385 Arab villages were destroyed. They were replaced by development towns and "socialist" kibbutzim and moshavim.

Today, Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza are not allowed in Israel proper between 1 a.m. and 5 a.m. This forces large numbers of people to travel long distances to work every day or to be locked up by their employers in factories at night.

Due to the dangerous condition of many buildings, fires have broken out and workers have been trapped inside.

In her essay, "Women as a Colonized People", Robin Morgan clearly articulates how women have become alienated from their land, i.e. their bodies.

We have been victims of rape, incest, assault, cliterectomies, foot-binding, wife burning etc. Our bodies, our land, is not our own. We cannot even move at will, for we are paralyzed by fear of further violence.

Perhaps the greatest alienation from our bodies occurs during childbirth. We are given a spinal anaesthetic so as not to feel the contractions; not to feel our own power, our own control over the creation of life.

We forget that the natives of this area are called Indians and that to them, the 49th parallel is an artificial line, drawn to indicate and enforce white property rights.

We of the white European minority robbed them of their lands, destroyed whole tribes of people, and attempted to disinherit the survivors.

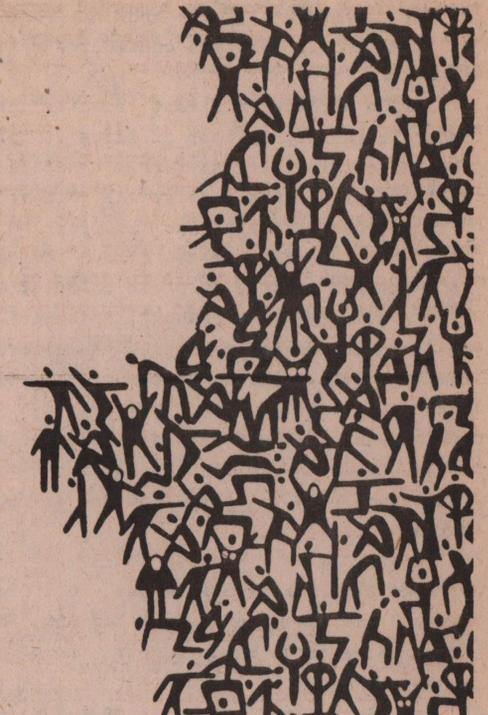
(For a whole history of broken treaties, land expropriations and mass murders, see: Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee by Dee Brown; Reservations Are for Indians, by Heather Robertson.)

While many Israeli postcards portray Bedouin women weaving or young boys with their flock of sheep, the words to describe them are written only in Hebrew, French and English. Arabic, while one of three "official" languages, is frequently invisible.

The colours of the Palestinian national flag are red, green, black and white. Any public display of this colour combination is an occasion for military harassment. Street vendors who used various fruits together had their stalls knocked down. The watermelon, because it contains all four colours, has become a national symbol.

Women writers 'til recently were forced to use male pseudonyms in order to publish their work and be accepted. George Elliot and George Sand are only two examples of this form of "passing".

The Dinner Party, an art exhibit featuring ceramic plates and tapestries represented 999 women who had been left out of HIS-STORY. Typically, Judy Chicago, one of the main women involved in the



project, experienced great difficulties in finding an art gallery willing to show her work.

"Women's" Art was not considered relevant.

Native art was 'til most recently unappreciated. Today it is sold in tourist shops at inflated prices, and the original artist rarely benefits. Their dance is "primitive"; their spiritual values "heathen".

Hollywood has played an important role in reinforcing these negative images of our indigenous people. In "Westerns", white European colonialism appears in the guise of the "cowboy", "pioneer" and bearer of advanced technology, while the natives with their complex, cultural relationships are reduced to "savages".

(For an excellent record of the movie industry's contribution to the distortion of native culture and resistance, see The Only Good Indian, by Ralph and Marsha Friar.

Some Zionists have attempted to differentiate between the Palestinians and the PLO, in spite of the massive grass roots support the organization enjoys.

Many Arab towns and villages elect leaders with strong nationalistic tendencies. In order to circumvent these duly elected representatives, the Israeli government has created the "village leagues" as an alternative governing body. Individuals who request funding for various social projects must go to the Israeli puppet in order to obtain financial support.

In patriarchy, women are divided into two groups or polarities: the madonna (the good woman), such as Mother Theresa, or the whore (the evil woman), such as Xaviera Hollander. We are defined by our sexual accessibility; either we do or we don't. If we are neither saint nor prostitute, then we are obviously a "dyke".

Women are often divided by the desire to gain male approval and heterosexual privilege. A woman walking alone (i.e. unowned) at night is likely to get raped; a woman walking with a man is respected as someone else's property.

When a major corporation wanted to evacuate the Hopi in Wyoming from their land, they encountered a population unwilling to move. The Americans did not want to understand the consensus decision-making process of the tribe. They instead created a tribal council from among the more assimilated Indians. This council then rubber-stamped the corporations request and granted direct access to natural resources on native land.

(For a lengthier discussion, see Co-evolution Quarterly; Bioregions Issue, "Kit Carson in a Three-Piece Suit".)

One of the major resources in Israel is water. This common North American commodity has an increased

value in the Middle-East's semi-arid climate.

Numerous new settlements on the West Bank have dug deep wells to supply their towns, fields, and swimming pools.

Palestinians meanwhile have suffered in recent droughts. Whole fields have gone dry, and requests to the Israeli government to dig deeper wells have been refused.

Women have numerous resources, all of which are over-exploited and undervalued. Our labour in the home is housework and goes unpaid. A hired domestic, however, would earn a minimum of \$8,000.

We offer emotional nurturing in our intimate relationships, as well as in our professional capacities as social workers, teachers and nurses. While women work on the front line, men in these fields are rapidly moved to supervisory positions.

By many state governments, particularly during times of military conflict, women are seen as producers of children-- baby machines --whose role is to create yet another generation of willing soldiers.

One of the main resources being extracted from reservations today is uranium. Mining of this mineral often raises the level of background radiation and endangers the whole ecosystem.

The native peoples concern with their land's uranium had helped to link them to the mainstream anti-nuclear movement.

## More LETTERS

I can't resist a few comments on the letter by Camilla Decarnin to Julia Sorel. Despite my overall impression that some of her criticisms may be valid, I strongly disagree with her on several points.

I must point out that however symptomatic pornography may be in the sense she described, it more importantly contributes a very fundamental part of the sexist social, political and economic hierarchy she views as causal. A quick review of the male Canadian reaction to Not A Love Story, from journalists to censors, should make this abundantly clear. If pornography was any easier to eradicate than the inequality and insensitivity shrouding daycare, education, abortion, equal pay, etc., then it ought to have vanished by now, or at least regressed.

Moreover, since it's impossible, however desirable, to collapse the entire patriarchal system with one fell chop what emerges instead is the necessity of sabotaging where it's possible to do so. Perhaps Ms. Decarnin knows something about American feminists that I don't; however, in Canada feminists are certainly lobbying just as strongly for our other vital rights. The fundamental difference lies in the pornography issue relieving

considerable media coverage, particularly by hostile male journalists, male journalists I might add who deem otherwise beneath them the duty of responsibly reporting on the very persistent hard work being done to improve daycare, education, abortion rights, equal pay, and so forth. Thus the Canadian press represents itself as not incapable of yielding an impression markedly at variance with reality. Furthermore since pornography mythologizes and otherwise culturally sanctions violence against women and children, it must in my mind remain a fairly substantial feminist cause: our permissiveness of violence in society is tantamount to our moral acceptance of it, and from it stems a host of related injustices.

No, I can't conceive of a non-sexist prostitution industry. In a society which views everything in terms of domination our economic structure contributes as much as S/M to our collective violence. Whether we are looking at Canada, or in fact at the Soviet Union or North Korea, production and consumption are the bottom line. Not production which harmonizes with human need and ecological survival, which might be a rather different story, but which is predicated on a very specific reward: power, mammonistic or otherwise. As long as we are speaking about causal rather than symptomatic factors I think it bears relevance to stress that prostitution, however supposedly free from sexism Ms. Decarnin imagines it could be, would still be supporting and thus basically condoning the sort of society which spawns patriarchal domination in the first place.

As far as S/M goes, while her criticisms of various groups for their inconsistencies may be just, condoning S/M certainly is not. It's like glorifying competitive sports: it socially sanctions aggressive behavior instead of encouraging people to examine and work through it on a healthier and more truthful level.

My last criticism falls on her seeming approval of kiddie porn. It is too bad that Show Me was taken off the market for it was without doubt an excellent book in some respects. This sacrifice is really pittance however, compared with the benefits of legal protections for otherwise helpless children.

Ms. Decarnin, more importantly though, ought to

read up on the psychological and physiological effects of sex on children. While I'm not an expert in the subject, I have studied enough about it to understand that 'consensual' is most frequently 'coercive', and thus as far as "men and boys in loving relationships" goes, there's just too much evidence to the contrary, both historically and in the present, to consider Ms. Decarnin as knowledgeable on this subject as she claims herself to be.

Patriarchy is a state of war. And if feminists choose to oppose it by actively abhorring the same violence which is perpetrated against us in the first place, then Ms. Decarnin will just have to sit back, open herself further to the dialogue she so respects and think a little harder.

*N'Est ce pas?*

Looking forward to your future issues.

L P

Toronto

### UPDATE ON LEONARD PELTIER CASE

On December 30, 1983, Judge Paul Benson handed down his decision that not only was he denying Peltier a new trial but that he would not even grant an evidentiary hearing. An evidentiary hearing is a fairly routine procedure where the defence presents the new evidence to the court and then it is decided whether this evidence warrants a new trial.

Bruce Ellison (Leonard's lawyer) will be re-petitioning Judge Benson. They will also be going back to the eighth circuit court of appeals in St. Louis, Missouri. During Leonard's last appeal at the eighth circuit, one of the Judges was made head of the FBI. Because of this Bruce will be petitioning for a totally new set of Judges.

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PRISON ABOLITION.

Write 60 Lowther Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5R 1C7 for more information. The Conference will take place on May 26th-28th at Trinity College, University of Toronto. Arrangements can be made for billiting and daycare will be available. Cost; Institution or Organization- \$120, Individual - \$60, Unemployed-\$15. Group rates are available upon request. IT IS THEIR GOAL THAT NO PERSON WHO WISHES TO ATTEND BE TURNED AWAY FOR LACK OF FUNDS.

