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IMMIGRATION
AND THE POLICE
GAYAP DRUMMERS SAY OPEN UP YOUR EYES

FUSE



MAMA KNOWS BEST

HELP!

(Unfortunately we are not crying "Wolf!")



FUSE is halfway through its fifth year and we feel that we are now clearing our throats. It may be true to say that many of our past achievements have gone unnoticed — after all what's a "cultural newsmagazine" to most people? Well in a country of media monopolies, cultural polyannas and liberal leisures the Canadian small press has its work cut out. Nothing much has changed since we began — the establishment is still well-served, the academics still hibernate, and the rest of us are encouraged to "paint ourselves into a corner."

So *FUSE* has been giving space to minorities, to women, to native peoples, to labour, to immigrants, to civil rights and community action and to artists. We have brought out cultural issues and we have defended political

positions. We learned quickly that a cross-community magazine is the best form of support because you can't go running to the Liberals or the Tories or the NDP or the CBC or the *Globe & Mail* and expect any satisfaction. Our concerns are marginal in their scheme of things...

To cut a long story short, after five years we're just hitting our stride and we want to survive. We now need your tangible support. We can give you a subscription that will last until 1991, or you could donate money to our nascent writers' fund (non-tax-deductible), or you can send us money to pay for investigative features. Without such support our future is bleak. The work to be done is endless and we ask you to ensure that we can continue to do our part.

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FUSE Magazine, 31 Dupont Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5R 1V3

FUSE

INFORMATION / DIFFUSION

ARTEXTE

May/June 1981
 Volume V, Number 4 & 5



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A HISTORY OF METRO POLICE by Allan Sparrow Reacting with fear and anger to changes in the social structure.	132

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HELP!

(Unfortunately we are not crying "Wolf!")



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LETTERS

CBC-2: First Choice Television

I am glad to see the FUSE and FUSE readers are keeping tabs on the CBC-2 proposal, but I'd have to say that 40 (of 80) briefs filed with the CRTC is not exactly the "virtually no input from the arts community" you reported. Obviously, if the Commission hadn't waited until the CBC's application was gazetted in late November to release the CBC-2 brief (which was submitted in August) many more people would have had the time to participate in the January hearings and we all would be a lot happier. However, ... and let me underline this three times ... the programme schedule as outlined in the CBC-2/Télé-2 proposal is developmental, which is to say embryonic, and will require a great deal of research and shaping before it is ready to go on-air. From the beginning it was recognized and understood that this has to be done in consultation with a number of communities which will be directly affected and involved, but especially with the arts community.

When was the last time a group planning a new television service published its plans more than a year in advance and asked for your input?? Of course, we had hoped that the licence hearings would serve as a focus for this consultation, and they did, in fact, help us kick

off the process. But there is still a lot of work to be done. In other words, *now* is the time for artist and artists' groups to get thinking of ways to use and be used by CBC-2. Make proposals. Suggest programmes. Start talking to the CBC-2 people.

And about original programming on CBC-2. The breakdown of the suggested schedule goes like this: 40 percent original production, 40 percent repeats and 20 percent procured foreign material. Included in the first figure will be some programmes that may have been broadcast locally or regionally but which will be brought to a nation-wide audience for the first time on CBC-2. I should also point out that there is a commitment on the books for 60 percent of that 40 percent to be comprised of programming produced outside Toronto.

Clearly, with a \$12.5 million first year budget CBC-2 cannot claim it will be able to save the Canadian film industry and it will be leaving the production of grand opera, classical ballet and the like to the main service and possibly the LAMB people. Designed as a small (about the size of a television station), lean and flexible service, CBC-2's original contribution will be in bringing activities and performances to television that are not there now. We are convinced that valuable and exciting programmes can be made within modest and small scale formats. And in case

anyone is leaping to conclusions as they read that, I do not mean modest as in cheap production quality or bargain basement fees to artists. I do mean modest by comparison to existing arts programming on television and in the same way that it is true to call Trinity Square Video modest in comparison to the AGO.

CBC-2's whole philosophy, made possible by the advent of portable high quality 1-inch video equipment and facilitated by its liberation from commercials, is to produce and schedule specialized programmes for specialized audiences. First choice television as opposed to Third Choice, mass appeal television.

(Al Mattes and ANNPAC, I hope you're listening!) You can find us at CBC-2 Development, Box 500, Station A, Toronto M5W 1E6. Telephone: (416) 925-3311 ex. 3595.

Susan Crean,
CBC-2,
Toronto.

A Climate of Criticism

I object to your insertion of my contribution to "Personal Image for Social Space - Architectural Glass in Canada" in Laura Kipnis' article "Aesthetic Careerism" in your FUSE, March/April, 1981 issue. Neither she nor I was consulted about its inclusion. In that context, it inaccurately implies a relationship to a work by Jim Goss and Michael Asher. As an instructor who is not "haunted by a failed career", I am obliged to make it clear that I am not a glass artist, an architectural artist, nor an ideological illustrator. For your reader's information, I presented my proposal in response to an advertisement for a juried exhibition from Artists in Stain Glass that would focus on the use of glass in contemporary Canadian Architecture. I think I correctly assumed that they had the silly idea of projects that would aestheticize this omnipresent building material without ever questioning one of its basic functions. My contribution was essentially, a piece of criticism directed at a misguided exhibition premise, not part of a larger programme of art making. The implied relationship of my proposal to Michael Asher's Clocktower piece is too simple. That work by Asher is an aesthetically refined, threshold perception piece of minimal, situational sculpture. Its political reading comes from a critical alignment to the work of Daniel Buren, Dan Graham and Lawrence Weiner. My proposal was in response to a specific situation and clearly spells out its intention. With derivation

as an issue in Kipnis' article, I certainly do not deny permissions for my work. I have yet to see any art that can. In fact, I would have been pleased if my proposal had been articulated as art in the tradition of Duchamp's assisted readymade, with all of the attendant readings that come from the use of a material that has another function or history. Unfortunately, Duchamp never made it to the college as a visiting artist.

As an instructor at NSCAD, I accept my share of responsibility for those "motley conceptual and post-minimal luminaries" who have taught here and who have, in part, helped to create a climate of historical and social criticism of art that assists a Laura Kipnis to reflect on her lot and even take umbrage with an art world that was, is, and always will be, imperfect. But young art school graduates having to dig in garbage cans for dinner ... that's a bit much.

Gerald Ferguson,
NSCAD,
Halifax, Nova Scotia

(Ms. Kipnis was told that the Ferguson piece was going to be used as an illustration. It still remains for us a relationship of 'coincidence'. - Ed.)

Welcome support

This is to inform you that the Executive of NABET-AFC Local 700 support the independent community producers view that community screenings should remain unhindered by prior government censorship.

Sincerely,
Ben Mark Holzberg,
President,
NABET-AFC Local 700, Toronto.

For the Record...

FUSE regrets certain factual inaccuracies in John Greyson's article "CounterSpy/ CovertAction Information Bulletin", which accompanied the interview "Naming Names" in the March/April, 1981 issue, as follows: 1.) Louis Wolf never worked on CounterSpy; 2.) Philip Agee's Inside the Company: CIA Diary came out in 1975, not 1973; 3.) CIA Diary is not available from Lyle Stuart or General Publishing; 4.) The name of the late CIA Station Chief is Welch, not Welsh. When identified by CounterSpy in its Spring/Summer 1975 issue, Welch was placed in Peru, not Brazil. His subsequent transfer to Greece was not known to CounterSpy; Kinsman, not Kinsmen, was the Station Chief in Jamaica; The disclosure of CIA agents in Jamaica took place before the recent election there, not after; there is no connection between CovertAction and CounterSpy.

FUSE May/June 1981

EDITORIAL Getting On With It

Robin Collyer



We seldom print pictures of the people that bring you FUSE (unlike those vain vagabonds at Mother Jones or others too blatant to mention). The occasion is, for us, the sad departure of John Greyson who has been an associate editor, advertising manager, cartoonist and bridge to many communities since that summer of 1979. A youngish Mr. Greyson walked into our then-Centerfold office with not only the request for a job but, as importantly, an employment programme to make that job possible. John Greyson organised Centerfold, then helped push it into FUSE and for every wild idea that he invented - including many creative statistical reports on the magazine's "profile" - he also provided all of the labour that was necessary to get the job done.

John Greyson (the one with his hand in the air) is well-respected as a gay activist, an artist and a writer and somehow, seven days a week he never stopped. His heart is taking him south and we wish him well and thank him for not having us prosecuted for past unfair labour practices.

Late in 1979, in Toronto, feminist artist Carolee Schneemann gave a performance/lecture, "Homerunmuse", which incorporated slides of women's art history. Afterwards, some members of the 'sophisticated' audience remarked, "But really, don't we know all this already?", implying of course that Schneemann was stating the obvious (who needs to be reminded that there were women artists in the past?), that really we had gone beyond all this and had perhaps even moved into some 'post-feminist' phase. This was the 'dis-

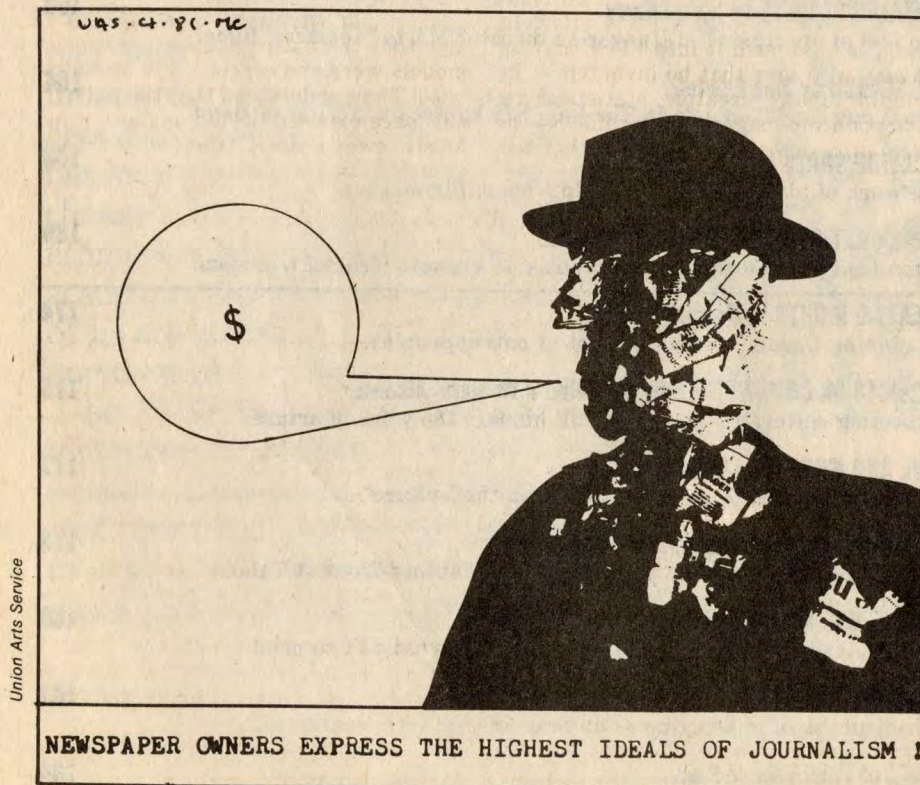
posable' view which saw feminism as a rather limited squabble for preeminence, the 'gripes' and aims of which, once stated, would quite naturally become part of the democratic pie. Problem solved and on to the next 'social movement'.

Luckily, there were many who didn't share this view of feminism. They saw that women continued to lose ground economically, and that essential programmes - such as increased access to state supported daycare - were cut back rather than expanded. They also saw that the entire political and social models were and continued to be sexist ones. They understood that the patriarchy, once exposed, would no more graciously sweep itself from power than your landlord will send you the deed to your rented house in the mail. They knew that if equality was to be anything other than empty, unenforced legislation, there was lots of groundwork to be done and they would have to get on with it. This month, FUSE files another progress report on the lives and work of women. Featured is a talk with Mama Quilla II, a thinking-woman's band that re-aligns rock and its role for women, as well as interviews with five women in academia who are researching feminist issues within the social sciences, plus reviews of films and artists' books.

We wish to thank all those who have made contributions to the FUSE Trust Fund to help us with the legal costs incurred in our fight with the Ontario Censor Board. Your prompt response has made our lives a little bit easier.

Lisa Steele and Clive Robertson

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Union Arts Service

Less screening, More trouble

When FUSE magazine planned its survey of documentary tapes, "Less Medium, More Message" to be shown in Toronto, Vancouver, and Halifax, the last thing that was expected was a skirmish with the Ontario Censorship Board, two postponements of the Toronto screening and the unacceptable consequence of having community video screenings pushed into a "private" showing just to keep from breaking the law. As a *Globe and Mail* editorial (March 24th) commented: "The appointment of censors to second-guess obscenity laws and the public's morals is bothersome enough. To have them chase that public into limited screenings and private galleries is outrageous." "Less Medium, More Message" was certainly as clean as a whistle erotically speaking, so what was the fuss?

The Theatres Act allows for penalties of \$2,000 or twelve months imprisonment or both on summary convictions for every director or officer of a corporation. Where the corporation (including non-profit organisations) is convicted of an offence, the maximum penalty is \$25,000. The offence could be committed in two ways: first by refusing to submit tapes to the Censor Board for viewing; and second, by screening those tapes which had not passed through the Censor Board. Either could result in seizure of the materials and the equipment used to screen the material. Though the Ontario Censor Board is infamous for its banning of films such as *The Tin Drum*, *Ulysses*, or *Pretty Baby*, its public involvement with video largely revolves around the Cinema 2000 case where, although the theatre was acquitted of obscenity charges, the Ontario Censor Board still refused to let the material be shown.

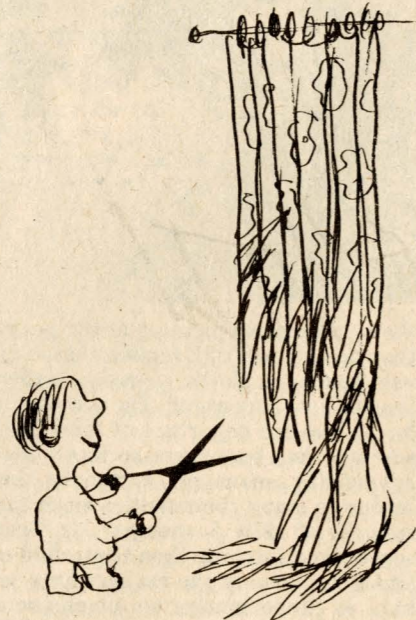
Censoring political embarrassments

The Ontario Censor Board by law has jurisdiction over all public screening of film, and video unless it is exhibited over any medium licensed by the CRTC. The Act has within it not one procedural guideline to instruct the censors as to what must be cut or banned. Therefore, the board has the power to stop anything that does not meet its "approval". In reality, parts of the Criminal Code, specifically those morality sections dealing with "community standards," are used or second-guessed.

The Ontario Censor Board has also used its power to control the content of travelogues, as well as to censor films that would politically embarrass the pro-

vincial government, or films that do not reflect the provincial government's own political policies. The Board has had the co-operation of commercial film distributors who at various times have believed that prior censorship by the Ontario Censor Board would protect them from persecution under the Criminal Code. There is and never will be any such protection.

FUSE backed into the Censor Board by intending to show the "Less Medium, More Message" survey at The Funnel, a Toronto experimental film theatre that earlier had been bullied into being licensed by the Board. All facil-



CENSOR AS A CHILD

ities that show film or tape are supposed to be licensed. Once licensed, theatres are required to submit film or tape to the Ontario Censor Board, if such material is to be shown to the public and is advertised as such. (All advertising material must also be sent to the Board for approval). On January 23rd, FUSE wrote to the Ontario Censor Board informing them that a survey of community documentary tapes would be shown at a community video access centre and that the tapes were not going to be sent to the Board as, 1) the screening was for a definable specific audience, 2) the screening was not for "direct or indirect gain". Therefore the showing was outside of the Board's jurisdiction. The intention was clearly to remain outside of the Act's jurisdiction and so avoid prior censorship. FUSE did not send out press releases and only advertised in community papers (*The Clarion* and *Contrast*); it could be argued that *The Clarion* is read by the "general public" but as "public" remains undefined, who knows?)

Censor Board claims jurisdiction

Four days before the tapes were to be screened the Censor Board responded. Mary Brown, Director of the Censor Board, claimed jurisdiction over the tapes because in her opinion the screening "would constitute a public exhibition" under the Theatres Act. The Censor Board had also been and continues to be involved in disputes with other non-commercial organisations that show film. These now include Canadian Images Film Festival (Peterborough), Festival of Festivals (Toronto), National Film Theatre (Toronto), The Funnel (Toronto), Art Gallery of Ontario (Toronto), and The Canadian Filmmaker's Distribution Co-op (Toronto). All of these organisations have at one time or another received verbal agreement on partial and conditional exemptions from the Act by the Director of the Censor Board. The purpose of these verbal administrative agreements seems to have been to protect the regulations from being eroded by legitimate demands from the community.

FUSE postponed the screening that was to have taken place at Trinity Square Video, March 9th-11th, and engaged Lynn King of Cornish, King and Sachs to apply for a writ of appeal before a County Court Judge in an attempt to get a ruling on what constitutes "a public exhibition". On Friday, April 3rd, four days before the appeal was to be heard, the Ministry of the Attorney General's office filed a counter-application claiming that an *opinion* and not a *decision* had been made by the Censor Board. A second writ of appeal requested an adjournment. Not wishing to spend the time and money fighting (an irrelevant) technical argument, FUSE withdrew its appeal and decided to go ahead with the screening. Again to keep outside of the jurisdiction of the Act, the new dates for the screening could not be made 'public.' The *Globe and Mail* inadvertently reported the matter and included the new screening dates. These dates were then changed. Obviously this cat and mouse game is unacceptable but getting a court ruling on what just constitutes a "public exhibition" could acknowledge the function of the media arts and community media organisations. Prior censorship regulation is just one of the many constipated procedures that penalise the day-to-day working of such organisations.

Non-film goes favour censorship

Censorship per se is an entirely different matter. Former Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations (the Ministry which controls the Theatres Branch) Frank Drea has said "the peo-

CENSOR PRACTISING
AT HOME

TV
HOCKEY



ple of Ontario want censorship in films exactly the way it is being provided." In a recent article in *QUEST* magazine (April 1981), Bill Gladstone wrote an article on the Ontario Censor Board titled "The No Show". Gladstone points out that even the government's own studies that allege that 69 percent of the populace favour censorship are contradictory. The same studies admit that of those polled an equally high percentage went to no or fewer than five movies per year. Until January 1981, it was supposedly "illegal" to inform the viewing public what had been cut from a censored film. This claim by the Censor Board director was misleading as its "illegality" was not based on legislation but on an agreement between the film distributors and the Censor Board. The Censor Board itself, while claiming to base its judgements on "community standards", fails to recognise that prime time television is showing material of 'offensive' subjects: documentaries favourably depicting prisoners' rights, gays, Quebec independence, revolutionary movements, etc. All of this material under the policy of the current and past Censor Boards would either be classified for adult or restricted audiences, or be cut or, in severe cases, banned outright. "Obscenity" — anal or vaginal penetration — as marched up and down by Mary Brown both inside and outside the press is a red-herring. When the Ontario Board of Censors banned *Women in Prisons* or Alan King's film *Warrendale*, in both

Gays Go to Work on Bill C-53

When 3000 angry gays blocked off Yonge Street on the night of February 6, 1981, no one was more surprised than the Right to Privacy Committee (RTPC). For over two years it had been plodding doggedly forward in its battle against Section 179 of the Criminal Code — the Bawdy House Laws. Previous to this date, the RTPC was hampered by community apathy, which generally saw the organization as just another one of the city's some twenty-five gay and lesbian organizations, one that would hold the occasional dance to raise funds for its defence fund, established to cover the legal costs of those charged under the Laws.

Suddenly, (literally overnight) the RTPC witnessed a politicized, vocal gay community rise up to protest the mass raids on four bath houses. On February 5, 1981, over 200 Metro Police had arrested 309 men and charged them as 'keepers' and 'found-ins' under the Bawdy House Laws. Perhaps concerned that such mass momentum would diffuse quickly, the RTPC quickly organized a public meeting the following week to discuss strategies. Over 1000 people showed up, wildly exceeding all expectations, and most joined the organization on the spot. Working groups, committees and subcommittees were quickly organized, to work in such areas as Legal Defense, Public Action, Publicity, Support, Fund Raising and Law Reform. Suddenly, the RTPC was the largest gay grassroots organization in Canada.

If the initial response to the raids was overwhelming, the task the RTPC faces now is equally immense. Conservative estimates place the legal costs for defending the 289 found-ins and 20 keepers at well over half a million dollars. Trial dates are expected to come up in the fall. Elan Rosenquist, head of the Legal Defence Committee, says that the RTPC has so far been in contact with about half of the 'found-ins' charged, and some sixty lawyers that they *know* are involved. As well, all twenty 'keepers' are being kept in touch with. He adds that, given the difficulty of even making contact with the 'found-ins' (obviously, no lists exist as to those arrested), the RTPC feels justifiably optimistic about the amount of progress so far, and feels that this is due in great measure to the post-raid feeling of community spirit, which may have encouraged many of the 'found-ins' to contact the RTPC on their own initiative.

Rosenquist also reports that the Support Committee, which provides 'peer' counselling, is encountering a syndrome among the raid victims very sim-

ilar to the post-shock symptoms experienced by rape victims: withdrawal from friends, guilt, fear of going out at night, reluctance to socialize generally. Often, there are very real fears that they will be fired from their jobs, or that their families may find out.

The Bawdy House Laws

Meanwhile, the Barracks Trial, after two years of unsuccessful work by defence lawyer Morris Manning to have the case tried by jury, is currently before the courts. The raid on the Barracks Bathhouse on December 9, 1978 (the Barracks was also one of the four gay baths raided in February) where charges were laid against five 'keepers' and twenty-six 'found-ins', marked the first such raid by Metro Police. It was also the first time the Bawdy House Laws had been used to in essence make gay sex in Canada 'illegal' again. This would seem to contradict Trudeau's 1969 decriminalization of acts of 'gross indecency' which included gay and lesbian acts. However, after the raid, the gay community realized clearly just where it stood with the law: one law on paper meant nothing, because the government would always have a safeguard, another law up its sleeve, which could be pressed into action *when necessary*. The Metro Police Commission have the power to decide when that time comes.

The RTPC was formed in response to that raid, and set about the task of raising defence money for those charged. (They have raised \$20,000 to date, about one half of the estimated cost). In looking carefully into the law, they realized that it could be applied even to pri-

vate homes. However, nobody seriously thought Metro Police would go that far — until they did. Two men currently face charges under the laws as 'keepers' — of their own homes.

Section 179 of the Criminal Code defines a Bawdy House as a "place that is kept for the purpose of prostitution, or the practice of acts of indecency." The place could thus be anywhere, and 'acts' could include: sex between unmarried heterosexuals, mutual masturbation, gay sexual conduct, oral sex between heterosexuals. The 'acts' themselves are not illegal — but the place where they are done could be, and those caught in such places can be charged as 'keepers' (applying both to owners and employees, in the case of baths, motels, etc.) and as 'found-ins' (anyone on the premises supposedly resorting to them for the purpose of sex.)

Bill C-53

Bill C-53, a new amendment to the Criminal Code, proposed to the Law Reform Commission, is currently before Parliament. It seeks to decriminalize group sex, and lower the age of consent. The RTPC has targeted the Bill as a major focus for their efforts in the next few months. A massive lobby will be co-ordinated to have Parliament amend the Bawdy House Laws to exclude 'acts of indecency'.

Having entered their third month of reformation with no sign that the initial community energy will let up, the RTPC has already become an institution of sorts: three rallies (each which drew thousands of gay and straight supporters), several press conferences, public demonstrations, cultural even-

ings, and countless fund-raising community dances down the road, the RTPC's major breakthrough has been the liasons made with other minorities and organizations both locally and nationally. The International Women's Day march included mention of the raids in their keynote address as an issue important to women, and the RTPC featured a prominent banner in the parade. Similar widespread support has been received from the black community, who can certainly relate the issue of police harassment to their own experience. 'No More Shit' buttons are sported by the young and old, gay and straight, in the downtown core. The excitement of defiance and the consequence of a new gay pride is evident — the gay community has embraced its new stage of politicization. It remains to be seen what new resources and strategies will be developed to keep up the adrenalin level, and what new inroads will be made in the process.

John Greyson

Artists' Rights Societies

Finding a viable way of earning a living is a legitimate concern of artists' organisations. In Europe, this concern has been taken up by some governments, and by the Cultural Commission of the European Economic Community (EEC). For most artists there are two ways forward: 1) you persuade society that your presence and the practice of your art are a benefit, a service that the community should value and reward — thus the "community artist", or, less directly, the employment of artists to teach a skill (fine art) that has few career prospects, or 2) you simply enter your art in the market place and sell.

The Cultural Commission of the EEC recently (1980) called a meeting of artists' representatives and cultural aficionados, at which the proposition was put forward that artists, as 'cultural workers', were seriously underpaid, and further, that they lacked status in the welfare programmes of their countries.

An overall aim of the EEC is to equalize conditions of trade and employment throughout the member states. In the case of cultural workers, the intention is to raise the least fortunate to the fairest standard. There are a wide variety of approaches to the problem of artists' livelihood. In the countries of the COMECON (communist equivalent of the EEC), such as Poland, an Artist's Union controls employment and wages for its members, whose status is virtually guaranteed on graduation. In return artists service the visual needs



John Greyson

of society, including "fine art" and what we in the West call "commercial art". There are variations on this approach, inside and outside the EEC. In Norway (and soon to be adopted in Ireland) a form of guaranteed annual income is paid to artists by the state. In Holland there is a scheme for the public purchase of works from artists to provide them with a steady income. In Switzerland some artists are paid to submit proposals for public works competitions, and then rewarded for successful commissions. In England there are occasional instances of public subsidy, but nothing guaranteed. Through all this variety of approach, one fact is consistently acknowledged — art remains a commodity, which is bought and sold. Yet very few artists recognise their right to share in the profits made from the product they help to produce. Exploitation is taken for granted.

Musicians and composers receive royalties

Relationships between producer and consumer are governed by conventions, established through negotiations and often fixed by legal prescription. In music, there is a well established procedure in most countries, whereby musicians and composers receive royalty payments through a licensing system. A 'collecting society' (in Canada CAPAC) will oversee the system, so that its members receive a share in the profits made by entrepreneurs who use their product. The conventions of the system were worked out early on, because of the amount of money generated within the music business. And yet there is much more money in the visual image business, a great deal aggregated directly from the work of indi-

vidual artists. (It is accepted practice, for example, amongst advertising and publishing agencies, to keep original artwork, without extra payment. This directly contravenes the moral* rights of the artist.)

There are instructive examples of the ways in which artists may hope to 'catch up' with the better protected creators in music.

In Belgium it is obligatory — by law — to print the name of the photographer next to his or her published work. This convention has been negotiated by the Belgian photographers' rights society, who will also 'police' its enforcement. The back-up of the Berne copyright convention (Rome Text 1928) makes it possible to collect on unauthorised use of photographs, and there are reciprocal agreements between photographers' societies in different countries. Of course, like the U.S.A., that does not adhere to the Berne convention. The status of visual artists, and their right to share in the profits from exploitation of their work, depend on such agreements.

In West Germany, an agreement has been made between the photographers' rights society and the owners of hairdressing salons. In order to cover the vast number of photographs appearing in magazines which are available to the salon customers, the hairdressers pay an annual levy to the photographers' society. This money is then distributed to members of the society, with a percentage retained for use in legal aid, to finance legal actions in defence of artists' rights, lobbying, etc. The more successful artists are therefore able to help those who are less successful.

* Rights of ownership of copyright, intellectual property rights, resale rights and other related rights are artists' moral rights.

The 'creator' retains true ownership

In West Germany again, an agreement has been reached with dealers and gallery owners to encompass "artists' resale rights" (also known as "droit de suite" — the consequential right whereby an artist shares in the profit from subsequent sales of his or her work). A fixed percentage of the annual sales of twentieth century art is put into a central fund administered by the artists' rights society. (The percentage in most schemes of this kind in Europe is between 5 and 10 percent — equivalent to the royalty charged on mechanical reproduction of music. The West German government matches the initial sum, and a third equal share is contributed by the artists' society itself. This "pot" then becomes not only a share-out of the profits made on artists' work, it is also available for 'welfare' payments. The principle is that artists, through their rights societies, can handle some share of the profits made from art, and thereby achieve a status previously unattainable.

The current thinking of the EEC's Cultural Commission is that adoption by all member states of artists' resale rights would greatly assist the status and livelihood of artists. At present, of the original nine members of the EEC, only Holland and Britain do not have or plan to have artists' resale rights. (Canada and the U.S. have no provision for these rights.)

In a world context, reciprocal contracts and agreements protect artists and their work internationally. This already applies in copyright, and the spirit of such agreements also predicates artists' moral rights. In some countries, such as France, artists have inalienable, perpetual moral rights (passed on to their heirs) over the authorship and the intellectual integrity of their works. The involvement of copyright in this process derives from the notion of 'ownership'. French law acknowledges the superior claim of the 'creator' of a work (as to its safekeeping, profitability, etc) over the mere 'owner'.

If artists are to survive in a "mixed economy", it seems likely that they will have to defend themselves against continuing exploitation. The artists' rights society', based on the principle of an artist's moral rights to share in the profits from his or her work, and maintain an intellectual property right over it, may be an answer. Roland Miller

Roland Miller is a British performance artist. He is the Artists' Union representative on the British Copyright Council, and a member of the Council of Management of the (British) Visual Artists' Rights Society.

RTPC demonstration during Police Commission meeting following the February 5 bath house raids outside Police H.Q.



Courtesy of the Body Politic

GAYAP RHYTHM DRUMMERS

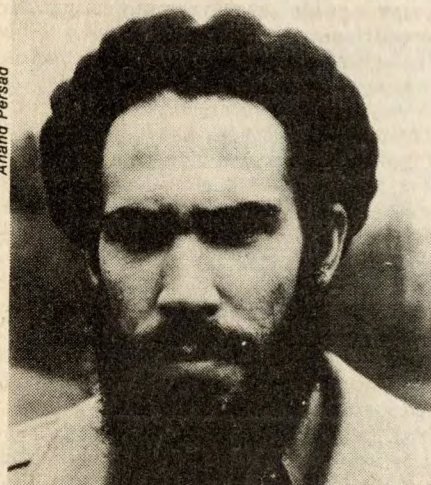
Working collectively, they see the artist to be a true witness to the times and an agent for social change.

The Gayap Rhythm Drummers are an Afro-Caribbean Drumming Band that grew out of Immican, a black cultural center in Toronto which they helped to found. There are five members: Jurebu Cason (flute and kalimba), Bert Smith (lead vocals), Ras-Ahmed (second bass drum), Earl St. Aubyn (rhythm drum), and Jesse Daniel (Mother drum — bass, and tenor pan). Clive Robertson and John Greyson of FUSE talked to Gayap on Friday, March 6, 1981, at the Trojan Horse, a coffee house in Toronto where the band was performing.

FUSE: Where does your groups' name originate?

Jesse: Gayap is a Yoruba word which means "collective". Yoruba is one of the dominant cultures of West Africa, and Nigeria more specifically. The motto of Gayap is "collective efforts for collective success", and that's our basis. The group has no leader, so we're all leaders within the group. There is nobody saying: 'He's head, or I'm head'. We all have our role to play within the music, and we try to work within that frame, recognizing that there are difficulties in working like that. But we feel that it's necessary in order for everyone to develop their own potential.

Ras-Ahmed: Giving more room to everybody.



Earl St. Aubyn (rhythm drum)

FUSE: How did the band start?

Bert: The group itself came out of a whole cultural movement. Some of the drums we have today came from a group called the Afro-Caribbean Theatre Workshop, which was a cultural

group in Toronto in the early seventies, doing plays, and creative African dances. That group eventually disbanded, and so a brother named Omphra, who is back in the West Indies right now, and myself, and some other brothers who are not with the group anymore, started this drumming group. **FUSE:** How many years has Gayap been together then?

Bert: About five years now, but the collective as it is today, has been together for about two or three years. **Jesse:** Over the years as the membership changed, the direction of the group remained the same. That direction has been to promote cultural awareness for black youths in this city, and to contribute to the whole cultural mosaic in Canada. We feel that we have something to offer, and that in a multicultural society it is important that we keep our culture alive. The kind of music that Gayap plays is something that was brought first from Africa, to the new world, then brought from the Caribbean to Canada. It's a continuity from way back then.

Bert: Most of the brothers came to the group because of the kind of objectives that we're pushing.

Immican and the survivors

FUSE: So where does Gayap fit into Immican?

Bert: The Immican Project came out of the racial disturbances, the riots and fights that occurred in Regent Park. Some brethren moved down to Regent Park and tried to get the youths involved in something positive, something cultural, to give some direction to the youth. Eventually, the government came in and sponsored what the brethren were doing there. Immican became an organization, doing work in the social and cultural spirit of Regent Park.

Jesse: The same brethren who started Gayap were the ones who started Immican. Brother Omphra, brother Ajujuba, brother Ajamu, these brothers were the ones who had the knowledge of woodcarving. This was basically what Immican was all about, producing woodwork — that's more or less the way it got started.

Earl: Immican started in a basement in a church and from there moved into a basement in Dixon Hall in Regent Park. We got a grant from LEAP and with that grant moved into a bigger build-

ing, where it was set up into two sections: production and education. The production part was where they made pots, you know, plant holders, incense holders, and all these little things. We were in control, running the business on a certain level, within certain guidelines.

Jesse: When people finished wood-working in the workshop, they would get together around the drums. That was the main means of musical expression at the time. Later on, as people developed more, as they gained new knowledge and new experience, they had to branch off, and that's how our band, and Truth and Rights (a local reggae band), got started. You'll find that most members of Truth and Rights were first members of Gayap. You look at some of the Gayap pictures from way back and you'll find that most of Truth and Rights are in them.

As they grew and their music developed they began to take on new forms and move away. The type of instruments, the whole form of music became more commercial. It was much easier for them to move ahead because of this, so more emphasis was placed on pushing them ahead. They began to take the lead and break new ground, for which Gayap would later benefit from whatever inroads within the music market



Jurebu Cason (flute and kalimba)

they made. We help each other and compliment each other, and this is why the two groups work together a lot.

FUSE: Have any other groups come out of Immican?

Jesse: Well, Gayap and Truth and

Rights are the two main ones. A lot of other people have learned to play music within the Immican structure. For example, a lot of members of Joshua used to come and jam down there and Joshua didn't come out of Immican. There was a time when there was only one place where a black musician could go and feel free — you could just go there and jam, and really get a good musical, spiritual feeling.

Jurebu: I remember Immican was down on Parliament Street. I was supposed to work with some wood, in return for playing the flute, but I never really got it together.

Ras-Ahmed: I remember hearing about Immican in 1978. I didn't really know nothing about its whereabouts until one brother from Immican took me down and I started to really get into different things, man, started to take the music and the crafts seriously.

FUSE: It sounds like Immican is a broader based structure now?

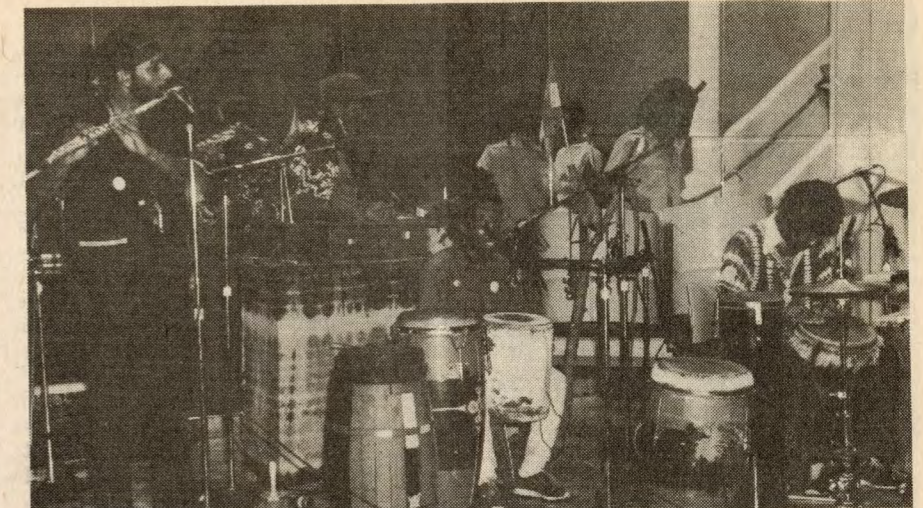
Bert: It doesn't exist in the same way. **Jesse:** The whole woodwork part — the distribution, the production, and the retail base, fell apart after the government took away their funds. We were just getting to the point where the business could be self-sufficient, when the government took away the funds. A lot of money was needed to pay the rent to keep the size of space we had, and there were a lot of other problems. That aspect of the organization fell apart. But the cultural aspect, which is the music, grew stronger and stronger. It was only after I got involved with Immican that I actually started playing the drums. I used to play steel band before. After I got introduced to Gayap and the whole Immican experience, I decided that this was more what I wanted. The steel band wasn't really offering me the same kind of self-development.

Spooge, Shango Kuminar and Yavalu

FUSE: How does the music come together in the drumming band as a whole? What are the cultural/historical roots?

Jurebu: My perspective is, I'm from Chicago, and among black people there you always hear the drums. There were always a group of people around who played drums. I heard a lot of Shangos, and Yavalu.

Here there was a variety of rhythms not just with Gayap but with people from the Caribbean generally. Where I come from they play basically 6/8 rhythm, and the rhythms are all basically the same. I've been here ten years, and my first experience was with a brother named Ocean, a brother from Trinidad who was a dancer, a very good dancer, who did Afro-Caribbean dancing. Then there was my experience with Opey, this is a brother that died, from Bar-



Gayap in performance: "Collective efforts for collective success."

bados. That was the first time I ever heard the Spooge. It was a real funk rhythm...*Spooge*, man! (laughter) I don't hear the Spooge no more.

Jesse: That's the national music of Barbados. The Shango is a religion from West Africa among the Yoruba people that is still practiced in countries like Trinidad and Haiti. Voodoo is Shango, a version of Shango, and it's practiced in Cuba and Brazil. In Jamaica, it's called Kuminar, Pocomania. At certain times of the year the people have these big feasts, and sometimes the feast can last for as long as a week. During the feast, the drums are the main focus. For the whole week, the drums never stop playing, all day and night. How long it goes on sometimes depends on how wealthy the person is who's putting on the Shango, it might be just for the weekend. They kill a goat and a few chickens maybe, and they cook up a lot of food. It's something that is open, you don't have to be invited to go. It's something that is very spiritual, and people take it very seriously.

The Shango rhythm is the main rhythm and then there is the Yavalu. The music changes depending on what spirits are present. There are people who can recognize the different spirits. There's Dambala, which is one of the higher gods. When Dambala is present, you play the Yavalu rhythm.

You have the rhythm, which is the drum beat. You have the chants, and the dancing. You put the three together and it creates a chemistry — these three parts have to go together to create a certain spiritual effect. Now what Gayap does is we just take the music and we put aside the chants because most of the songs are sung in African dialect. We don't understand them because we don't have anyone who has a full knowledge of them to explain it to us. And because we don't really understand it, we think it is best not to indulge in it. What we do is we create our own chants that come up from our own

experiences here in Canada, and from our knowledge of what is happening today globally. These chants are sung in English so that it's relevant — anyone could understand them because they relate to daily life. It's like fusing the African tradition with our new world experience.

FUSE: You talked about the educational function of Immican — could there ever be something similar where bands like Gayap and Truth and Rights could educate more black musicians in the community?

Jesse: Well, with Immican we tried to promote education, and this was one of the things that the government was opposed to. They said that education was a luxury and they weren't interested in promoting it. They were more interested in setting up a factory where people could work from nine till five and this whole education trip was off. They saw some potential danger in getting black youth educated because then they'd become more conscious of what's happening around.

Gayap still does work though, with groups like Chissamba and Chiyuka who have dance classes. They try and get a lot of young children between the ages of 5 to 15, and teach them traditional African dance. We've done a lot of work with them in the last two or three years, trying to instill in these youths some kind of understanding of the drums, some understanding of the culture. Some of us, myself and a couple of others, have done some work with this project at Bickford Park High School. It's an after-hours school program that they sponsored with the Board of Education for black youths, especially black youths from the Caribbean. A lot of them live with parents who are out working till five, and school's out at three. They don't want to go home cause what's there to do at home except sit around in front of the tube, so they end up hanging around after school, sometimes getting into trouble.



Ras-Ahmed (second bass drum)

We set up this program to try and get them using the drums, and now today they've improved to the state where they have a school drumming band of their own.

FUSE: It seems absurd that the government will fund groups in the white cultural community who perform an educational function, and yet refuse to recognize your work.

Bert: Well, to be truthful, yeah. What we're doing is something that is positive and we could really use help in terms of getting a place to rehearse in.

Jurebu: From which we could do even greater things.

No tourist music

Bert: The government aren't interested in that though (laughter) ... to control our own destiny, that's too radical for them it really is. It's alright to have a little joke thing where you can get some kids off the street for two months, and jam with them in some little store. But to have a permanent and powerful presence, where we could have some effect — no, the government's not prepared to let us do that. Our struggle right now is just to stay alive. There's no facilities, you know.

Jesse: There's always the problem with the finances. We do a lot of benefits, and so we don't make a lot of money. That's one of the serious problems, to make the kind of money where we can get a space of our own. We've tried to get a space with Chissamba Chiyuka Dance Company, where we could set up programs, and have some sort of control. It costs a lot of money, though, even just for rent. As it is, the way things are, the music doesn't pay very much. First of all, we're the only group in the city that is into this kind of music, so just trying to break through and create some sort of market for the music takes a lot of work and time.

One of the things we have going against us is the political content of the music. People, they shy away. By people I mean agencies or people who might be in the position to hire us and pay money. If we were singing "Yellow

Bird" and that type of tourist music, then they would probably be more responsive. We can't compromise what we believe though, just for the sake of making a few dollars. Sure we need it, but if it's going to mean sacrificing what we believe in, then we say no, forget it. Create to relate to the struggles of the people. Looking at real situations, what's happening around the world. At what's happening in South Africa — apartheid. You'd be surprised at how many people in Toronto have never even heard the word 'apartheid.' They don't know. So when you go and sing about it, people say "what is that?", so we tell them. People don't know what's going on in El Salvador. I mean, they read something in the Toronto Sun, and I mean we all know the kind of propaganda they push. We recognize that we don't reach a whole mass audience, because we don't have that great access to the media. In whatever small way we can, we try to get the people to learn something through the music. That's a struggle in itself, something that we see as a necessary part of Gayap.

Bert: Our perspective is that the artist should always be a true witness to the times, and to be an agent for social change. Otherwise, it's just to use the culture to really confuse the people.

Getting the police to dance

Jesse: There is an organization set up (by the state again) called the Committee for Law Enforcement and Race Relations, which is trying to improve police/community relations. Back in December, 1980, the committee was functioning on an ad hoc basis. They decided to become a permanent structure, and they had this dinner. There were all these police officers, and people like Bromley Armstrong, and a lot of members of the community, and we did a performance for them. Our aim was to clear up some of the misconceptions that the police have about black youth in this city, and black culture, even though it is clear that they don't even want to listen. What we tried to do was actually get them involved, instead of just sitting around and listening like an audience, so that they could actually feel the music and know what it does to you. So, whether they wanted to or not, we had them clapping and dancing — and you know, I was surprised to see the policemen dance. (laughter)

When you have an audience just sitting there, you shouldn't just perform for them — you try and get an experience where everybody is participating. When they just sit and watch some spectacle up there on stage, it's not real. We try and break these kinds of barriers down, we realize we are the ar-



Jesse Daniel (mother drum)

tists up there, that we have to take the first step to break down the barriers. Sometimes it means going out into an audience and talking to them, handing them a percussion instrument, getting them to shake it and feel what it is all about. This is what we try to do with these policemen, so that they can get a first-hand experience of what black culture is all about.

Two weeks later, FUSE talked with Jesse Daniel about Gayap and the origins of their songs.

FUSE: Where does the lyrical content come from?

Jesse: Well, there's one song called "The Light". It's written back in 1978/79. Around that time, there were a lot of struggles taking place, in places like Nicaragua, where the Sandinista guerrillas were on the heels of Somoza. In Iran, you had the people rising up against the Shah. At the same time, there were the struggles taking place in Zimbabwe. We looked at these things and saw that in all different parts of the world people were rising up, against the oppressive conditions in their countries. From that base, we thought, the people are beginning to see the light, are taking steps to control their own destinies.

Open up your eyes

There's another song called "Open Up Your Eyes". In Jamaica, you have class conflicts and in Canada you have class conflicts. The level of poverty may be different, but basically the same thing is happening — a few rich owners in a sense ripping off the poor, wherever they be. People believe that the reason they are poor is because of their own inability to acquire riches through getting a good job. But, you see, that is all a sense of false consciousness; people are poor because of the systems of injustice that exist, that permit this situation where they will always be poor. So what we're trying to say is, open up your eyes, this is the situation, take steps into your own hands to change it



Bert Smith (lead vocals)

because it won't change if you wait for some day when suddenly you might strike it rich. Look what's happening in South Africa. You have the multinational corporations investing in South Africa, corporations like Massey-Ferguson, where on the one hand they're laying off workers in Canada, and on the other investing in South Africa. I know the reason they're doing this is because of the larger profits that they can reap from the black workers, because they don't have to pay the high wages that they would in Canada. They can close down a factory and move to South Africa — big investments, bigger profits, and at the same time have no regard for the inhuman working conditions, in the mines and the sweatshops. Human liberty is totally ignored since they exploit people to this extent, strictly for the sake of making profits.

FUSE: What about your song "Inflation"? Where did that come from?

Jesse: "Inflation" is one of the words used to describe the problems that exist in North America today. Why prices keep going up — inflation is the excuse they use. The big businessmen treat it like some kind of disease, even though a lot of people know that the real reason for inflation is a bigger profit for those few. So what we try to do is say, look, things are so bad, you walk the streets every day and you see fancy clothes, all kinds of things in shop windows, things you can't afford to buy because you don't even have a job. A man with a wife and three children to mind, he can't seem to find the money to pay the rent and buy the food. The situation is so bad that he just doesn't know what to do. He's mad about it — so we say, look, "we gotta come together and organize, let our thoughts synchronize". This is the only way we're going to be able to solve this problem because the big businesses aren't concerned about your problems.

FUSE: In that song, you use the hip-hop rap talk style, which is quite different than the rest of your songs.

Jesse: We try to do a little bit of everything, you know, and keep up with what people are into. This is what people are

relating to now, you see, because besides trying to push the message in the music, you have to play the kind of music that people can identify with. Maybe we might come up with another one. Somebody might say: "Hey, I gotta idea for another song", and we'll use the rap again. This is how a lot of songs happen. An individual might get an idea for a song, and bring it to the group and we'll try to improve it. There have been other songs where it's been a collective effort. We want to talk about something in a song and we sit down and put it together. There's a song called "Our Day", which tells about the day when people will be truly free, when we will be able to express ourselves and what we truly feel. We're saying that in order to prepare yourself, you have to begin to know your own self. "There is something that you ought to know, That your body has a lot to show, Remember that life is yours and places you can go." It is about how to develop your sense of hearing, and how to analyse what it is that you hear. About what you see and to know what you see, not only the surface, but deeper — to analyse what you're seeing. If you take up a newspaper, you have to try and see through it, because the news editors have their own line that they're pushing. A lot of people think that just because it's written in black and white, it's gospel truth.

There's another one we did called "Fantasy World". It says it's a fantasy world that we live in, and that we've got to develop better means of communicating with each other, being able to listen to what each other have to say. Not feeling that your opinion is better than mine, or mine is better than yours.



Working to educate black youth.

In that song we talk about children and the importance of teaching children the truth, so that they by themselves really know what's going on, because basically they're the future leaders of this country. So we must prepare them for what lies ahead. There's all these fantasies and illusions going on, but we must be able to see through them — all the fog and haze.

FUSE: What about Ahmed's song? **Jesse:** "Spiritual High"? I'll try and remember what inspired it. It was at a time when he himself was going through a personal crisis, and he was experiencing a state of trouble. The song's about communicating with himself, with the spirit within him, and reaching this state of spiritual consciousness. This song helped him uplift his spirit. It's like the hermit going to

Open Up Your Eyes

Open up your eyes (repeat)
Open up your eyes (repeat)

I looked at the daily papers
and I saw a feature on South Africa
It spoke of the values to the West
The rewards you will get when you invest
but human liberty is ignored
Human dignity is ignored
While the profits soar
While the profits soar

So open up your eyes (repeat)
Open up your mind (repeat)

Inflation (excerpt)

Hey brothers and sisters
Don't you see just who I am
I'm a man with hands and feet in my pants
and I just can't make a dime

I'm looking for work every goddam day
and you know how hard that is
but all I hear everywhere I go

is that all the jobs are gone

So I get made, uptight
I don't know what to do

I've got a wife and three kids to mind
and money I just can't find

De Light (excerpt)

People have seen the light
All over the world
People shall unite
All over the world

Now the future look so bright
Cause everywhere there's signs of
uprisings
People making sacrifice
for justice and understanding

Sisters are getting stronger
All over the world
And workers are seizing the power
All over the world

© Gayap

the mountain top — he says: "Let's go to the mountain". Try to attain higher heights, which is a spiritual high, the sort you can't even get from herbs. (laughter). A natural thing.

FUSE: While his song is a private one, talking about private emotions that everybody experiences, most of Gayap's songs seem to deal with public or social issues.

Jesse: I'd say that's true. For example, in "The Light", we talk about women, our sisters, are getting stronger — that's something people can identify with, that the women's liberation move-

ment is growing stronger. We talk about the workers seizing the power, and trade unions springing up. Workers in Poland are taking power into their own hands, their own destiny. We sing about real situations so that people listening to the music can see things in a different light, not like the way the newsmedia tries to plot the course. The way media sensationalizes the news, makes people get a pessimistic view of the future, and say: "What are we going to do, there's so much troubles?" In fact, what's really happening is that the people, the workers of the world, are

the ones who are really getting it together, taking the struggle into their own hands.

FUSE: It seems to me that the band becomes a part of that process, both witnessing and encouraging that organization.

Jesse: We try to use the music to say, the things aren't all that bad — they're bad, but in a sense, there is a lot of good things ahead if we only work together. There is a future for us, we do have something to look forward to because people aren't just sitting around and allowing these things to happen to them.

NORMAN "OTIS" RICHMOND

BETTY CARTER

She's been called the jazz singer's jazz singer, but she won't sign with a major label

The last person in the world who thought she'd be nominated for a Grammy Award was jazz vocalist Betty Carter. While she has built a cult following for herself in North America, she has been all but ignored by the taste-makers of popular music.

"If I get a Grammy I'd be very lucky," said Carter in a recent interview. She went on to say she was not signed to a major label and independents don't win Grammys. Carter has a nonchalant attitude about the Grammy Awards. "I'm not into that whole world. It takes other people who make records with major companies to think about Grammys."

These words were spoken before she was aware that she had been nominated for the Best Jazz Vocal Performance by a female at the 23rd Annual Grammy Awards. Her latest album *The Audience With Betty Carter* brought her this recognition.

Carter's two current albums, *The Audience With Betty Carter*, a live album recorded in December 1979 on her own Bet-Car label and *Social Call* on Columbia's Contemporary Masters Series demonstrates how she has refined her craft to perfection. On *Social Call*, which was recorded in 1955, she comes on like an Olympic hopeful and on her latest recorded performance *The Audience With Betty Carter* she comes on like a Gold Medal winner.

Who is Betty Carter? She is the jazz singers jazz singer. The internationally-renowned vocalist Sarah Vaughan has gone on record and said, "I'm not a jazz singer. I'd call Betty Carter a jazz singer."

She's always been respected by her

peers. She toured with trumpeter Miles Davis in the late '50s and toured and recorded with Ray Charles in the early '60s.

Writing about the duet album *Ray Charles and Betty Carter* in the book *Brother Ray*, David Ritz, said Betty Carter sounds like a female vocal version of Miles Davis. He went on to say,



Betty Carter in concert.

"Ray is sandpaper, Betty, silk, the contrast is sharp and, like Louis Armstrong's duets with Ella Fitzgerald, strangely satisfying."

Betty Bebop

Beginning her career in Detroit, Carter joined Lionel Hampton's band in 1948 and stayed for two and a half years. While she performed with Hampton's

swing band her heart was with the younger bebop band of Dizzy Gillespie which featured her primary musical influence alto saxophonist Charlie Parker. Her admiration for the music of Gillespie and Parker was so great that Hampton used to call her Betty Bebop.

The vocals of Betty Carter are linked to the solos of horn players like Parker, Sonny Rollins and early John Coltrane. Unlike jazz vocalists Eddie Jefferson, King Pleasure and Babs Gonzales who took horn solos and added lyrics to them, Carter creates her own vocal solos.

Why hasn't the mass audience heard of Carter? Because she refuses to play the game and won't let anyone produce her work. As a matter of fact she believes that jazz cannot be produced like commercial music. "Jazz is a spontaneous on-the-spot job," said the outspoken Carter in a recent interview in Toronto. She feels so strongly about not being produced that she has formed her own label Bet-Car. "I have my own independent label. I'm putting out my own records and not trying to contend or compete with the large labels. Because I know that they are not interested in recording my kind of jazz."

Suppose a major label wanted to distribute her work? "They'll have to be interested. I'm not going to them and ask them to distribute me and not be interested in me. I'd much rather for them to want to distribute me, that way I'll get some good service. But I'm not

Norman Richmond is a Black music critic who has written for the *Toronto Star*, *Macleans*, *Contrast*, *Soul*, and *FUSE*.

going to them begging for distribution."

Carter has to be taken seriously because she has stuck to her guns. "I did get an offer from Warner Bros. Records. And I turned them down. They wanted me to sign up with some producer that they had found for me. The money was good but I couldn't go for them telling me what to do. It happened just before George Benson signed."

Carter is pessimistic about the future of her kind of jazz. "It's not profitable for young people to get interested in my kind of music. It's not going to make them a lot of money and they will be discouraged by record companies who will tell them to do something else — to get a hit record."

Black college shut out

When Carter gets rolling on the subject of her kind of jazz no one is exempt from her criticism. Even Black colleges are not left out as she has been fighting



She'll only sing her kind of jazz.

for the right to perform on Black college campuses for years. "I just shoved myself on Howard University. Black music educators are not interested in jazz at all. It's up to our Black educators, who really don't dig Black jazz and think it's a culture, to put it in the schools."

She is also critical of the big name jazz artists who have taken jobs on white campuses and have not fought to get jobs on Black campuses. "A lot of our so-called giants have gone to white

schools to teach the history of Black music."

In recent times new artists have popped up on the national jazz charts. She says the media has made Al Jarreau and Joni Mitchell into jazz singers. "I don't think Al Jarreau or Joni Mitchell could stand up and sing with me scatting wise or improvising wise."

Unlike many musicians who work in the jazz idiom, Carter says she has no problem with the term jazz, because it lets people know exactly what she's about. "We are in trouble now with our Black community who know nothing about me or anybody else in jazz for the last fifteen or twenty years, because a lot of people have been sitting around arguing over the word."

Carter is fiercely proud of the jazz tradition and doesn't bite her tongue about her feelings on the subject. "Everybody still wants to be connected with it. If they say they are a jazz musician it means they know something. It means they know more than the ordinary stuff. It means you play a little more music." □

CLIVE ROBERTSON

TRIAL BY TELEVISION

CBC's Fifth Estate: when "investigative journalism" becomes criminal investigation

Who doesn't like the promise of investigative journalism? Network television provides awesome resources for such projects: camera crews can creep through corporate offices and catch the vice-president asleep behind the clutter-free top of his oak desk. Government department heads look blankly at the interviewer's fat folder of bureaucratic horrors. A visit to the library, a slip on the phone and sometimes those jinxed cards come tumbling down. Well-known programmes such as *60 Minutes*, *W5* or *fifth estate* map out their raids and through a combination of set-ups and manipulative re-shooting they weave their mini-thrillers — and if lucky they 'catch their man.'

On February 24th CBC's fifth estate aired "Getting Landed" a report on the practices of unregulated immigration consultants. Though many such consulting practices are based on false promises and possible blackmail of their clients, there is little doubt that "Getting Landed" was not an investigation of immigration consultants as a phenomenon, but more an attempt at trial by television of the three consultants featured in the report. Using a Guyan-

ese-Canadian citizen as a test client, fifth estate sets out to prove to any Attorney-General, immigration officer or joe citizen watching, that the featured consultants were breaching the Criminal Code. In Canada where the law favours the Crown, such broadcast journalism is both unnecessary and irresponsible.

At the beginning of "Getting Landed", journalist Eric Malling (recent ACTRA award winner for "outspoken opinion and integrity in broadcasting") makes the following introduction: "Unlike lawyers or even travel agents, people who act as immigration consultants are not governed by any regulations and that leads to abuse and sometimes extortion ... These consultants operate within every ethnic group, in every big city in Canada; our investigation was in Toronto. "Though fifth estate qualified its statement with "there are some respectable immigration consultants in this country who do a competent job," that qualification would quickly evaporate as the programme unfolds. While the introduction explains that "these consultants operate within every ethnic group", the

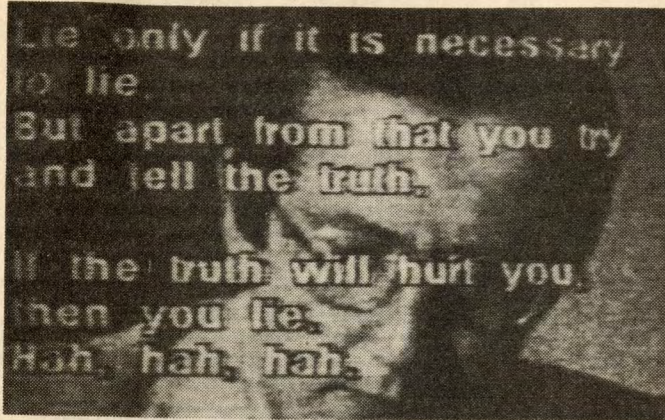
immigration consultants shown to the viewers are black, the client is black and the only other identified immigrant, Joyce Fraser, (author of *Cry of the Illegal Immigrant*) is also black.

Re-inforcing dominant biases

In a visual medium like television, it is convenient when the immigrant (or illegal immigrant) can easily and readily be identified in a predominantly white population. This pattern recognition and simplification (used incidentally by the RCMP and other police forces) is in itself racist. In their report, fifth estate clearly chose to re-inforce dominant biases, rather than screen an open investigation of immigration consultants. fifth estate, in fact, chose not to present their own findings which disputed that blacks are the predominant law-breakers in immigration consultancy.

The plot is simple, convenient, and efficient. fifth estate presents the hypothetical case of their Guyanese-Canadian client who, we are told, has a twenty-five year old cousin in Guyana who has a Grade eight education and no

Clive Robertson



"fifth estate will return with enough evidence to potentially send a few of these sharks down the river."

skills. What chance does this youth have of emigrating to Canada? Cut to a library-conference room where Eric Malling sits across the table from four immigration experts including the Head of Federal Immigration, Cal Best. Malling asks each in turn to evaluate the Guyanese youth's prospects of successful immigration. All four concur that it's a hopeless case. Best adds that he doubts whether the young Guyanese would even clear the preliminary screening in Guyana. This scene cuts in turn to Joyce Fraser, who provides the only immigrant-positive statement in the entire report as she gives some reasons why immigrants use the consultants: they need hope.

The voice-over then informs us that the federal government is concerned with the practices of immigration consultants and is studying ways of licensing or regulating their activities. Earlier Malling solicits our active concern and possible participation (or interference) by stating "there's no doubt there are thousands of illegals living among us, living in fear of being discovered and possibly deported."

Keeping your eyes open

Intentionally or not, the words are loaded. Such a statement is saying at the very least: 'keep your eyes open' and as only black immigrants and consultants are portrayed, the subject of our attention has been very carefully focused. The following sequence from an interview with Immigration Minister Lloyd Axworthy has also been strategically clipped and placed within the "Getting Landed" story. Axworthy says: "We don't have the power to limit someone who wants to give advice other than if there is a clear intention of fraud and it can be proven under the Criminal Code. But as you can understand it's usually one person's word against another and so it's very difficult to get convictions." The next scene shows the CBC's 'client' being fitted with a concealed tape recorder undoubtedly for the purposes of gathering evidence of "clear

intention(s) of fraud". Hang in there Minister, fifth estate will return with enough evidence to potentially send a few of these consultant sharks down the river. The voice over tells us: "we filmed with cameras hidden in a truck".

Now we are shown the CBC's client visiting the offices of three black consultants. fifth estate told FUSE that the Guyanese man was the only person they found in a three-week search who was "courageous enough" to assist them by willingly giving his name, address and phone number to the consultants. We see him enter office doors and the camera tilts and zooms in on the office windows. With every visit we hear the incriminating evidence "coming through the window" and we read corresponding transcripts keyed over the window shots. Then Eric Malling and crew re-visit the first and third of the black consultants (apparently the second was already under investigation by the police) to confront them with the taped evidence of illegal counselling. The third consultant described as Mr. Willmot, avoids being interviewed. We see this person refusing to talk to Malling. Next we see Malling standing in front of a building with a cassette machine slung over his shoulder. Malling tells the viewers: "... Mr. Willmot for example, who is coming here for a hearing at the Department of Immigration in Toronto this afternoon, was the one who suggested the client should consider a business marriage." Malling then 'plays' the evidence, again with a transcript shown simultaneously on the screen.

Cut to the inside of the same building with Mr. Willmot standing beside an elevator and Eric Malling attempting again to question the consultant. Now Malling and the cameraman follow Willmot into the elevator (for a one minute and eighteen second ride) — journalism is left on the ground floor and a facsimile of a police investigation gets serious. No doubt fifth estate and the CBC felt justified, and perhaps even proud, that they managed to trap a black who they believed to be a criminal. Perhaps Malling was even thought to be performing

some act of heroic journalism. Consider for a moment the re-inforcement of a white authoritarian role model as the black (consultant or no consultant) is shown being 'justifiably' (because of the preceding information) treated as a second-class citizen.

Interrogation in the elevator

Malling: ...It's obviously your voice, it's obviously your advice. I'm just curious because it would seem to me that you could get your client into deep trouble advising him to do that. Wouldn't you think so?

Consultant: I suppose so.

Malling: What about arranged marriages?

Consultant: You have somebody who says I arranged a marriage for them?

Malling: Well I certainly have somebody that you offered the arranged marriage to. (He) said that you could fix him up, that you could put him in touch with people.

Consultant: Who was that person?

Malling: Well (laughing as he speaks) you know the identity of the person isn't really the most important thing at this point. Have you done that or not? (gestures with arms outstretched as if giving up) OK (turns around to face consultant) We're trying our best to find out how you operate. If that is normal operation?

Consultant: Of course not sir, I would do no such thing.

Malling: You wouldn't do such a thing?

Consultant: Of course not.

Malling: (laughing) Well how do you explain your own voice advising somebody to do that and then to lie about it which could get them into very deep trouble I think.

Consultant: (walking towards opening elevator door) I suppose so.

They happened to be black

When FUSE talked to Fred Peabody, co-producer (with Gordon Stewart) of this fifth estate report, he responded by

saying: "Our item was nothing to do with blacks. As far as we were concerned we were doing an item on immigration consultants." Peabody did tell us (but not the viewers) that they had a list of twenty possible immigration consultants including those who service and represent the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian immigrants. From that list of twenty, Peabody said that ten were considered to be "suspect". "We sent our client round to nine personally and he contacted one by phone, again the majority were white. It so happened that the three who chose to offer him illegal or questionable advice happened to be black. I think we should have pointed that out more strongly in our script."

Not only did fifth estate choose not to show a more accurate survey of immigration consultants, but when they explained quickly that the consultants "operate within every ethnic group" the following shot was of Kensington market in Toronto and the soundtrack was Caribbean music — black music.

fifth estate further told us that because they used a black client, this same client was treated with suspicion by the Spanish, Italian and Portuguese consultants who would normally be dealing with their own ethnic group. However, Peabody was not willing to admit that this constructed imbalance could in itself produce racist results.

Following the entrapment of Willmot in the elevator, Eric Malling returns the viewer to the panel of immigration experts who are asked to judge the evidence. One of the lawyers, Mendel Green, says: "That's illegal advice, in my opinion he's breached the criminal code." Case closed.

Fred Peabody did tell FUSE that "my understanding of CBC policy is that we do not give up tape or outs (outakes) to the police voluntarily. If the police show up with a search warrant they're welcome to look for them; the CBC's a pretty big place."

Though without the tapes and the outakes fifth Estate's material would not be admissible as evidence in court, the real question is what is the fifth Estate doing duplicating the enforcement branch of the Federal Immigration Service, the Immigration unit of the RCMP and the intelligence unit of the Metro police? As the latter two services have undeniably been very active collecting and investigating illegal immigrants, legal immigrants and visible minority Canadian citizens, wouldn't an investigative feature on immigration enforcement have provided a more original topic? Finally fifth estate appears more interested in convenient journalism consisting of rounded-out stories rather than questioning the entrenched values and authority which we thought investigative journalism was supposed to challenge. □



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Body Politic
A MAGAZINE FOR GAY LIBERATION

A HISTORY OF METRO POLICE

Why has the Toronto Police Department been so widely criticized in the last five years?

FUSE wishes to thank the editors of RIKKA for permission to reprint this article which originally appeared in RIKKA's Special Police Issue. (Spring, 1981, vol. VIII, No. 1).

The Metropolitan Toronto Police Department has always had a good record of successfully cleaning up a large percentage of criminal cases. Over the years, as with any police force, there have been acts of heroism and generosity by many individual members of the force. While instances of police corruption periodically surface, there has never been the wide ranging corruption found in many other big city forces.

With this generally good record, why has the Toronto Police Department come under such widespread attack in the past five years?

Up until the first decade after World War Two, policing in the Toronto region was carried out by the individual municipalities which merged a number of services, including policing, under a Metropolitan Government in 1954. Until that merger took place, policing was very much localized with emphasis on officers working the same beat week in and week out, often on foot. The policing which took place then suffered from some of the common problems and deficiencies which will be laid out later in this article, but at least it was a case of local police, working in local neighbourhoods, solving local problems. No matter that it was unsophisticated work done by largely unsophisticated watchmen or patrolmen. At least they had a reasonable understanding of what was going on in their area. As far as the larger picture was concerned — the society in which they operated — it was not terribly complicated either.

Because they were known locally, the police tended not to be too abusive of local residents. They could be rough and tumble when necessary, especially with younger suspects and offenders but they rarely went too far. As well, the society of the time did not believe in sparing the rod, when necessary, with local toughs.

Policing during this period was set

Allan Sparrow is a former Alderman on Toronto City Council and a founding member of the Working Group on Minority Police Relations. He is currently writing a ten-year history of the Toronto Police and is also vice-president of Domicity Ltd., a consulting firm specializing in urban problems, including policing.

against a backdrop of a society controlled almost continuously since its foundation by Conservative governments which often believed in order ahead of law. Toronto was the capital of Victorian sentiment in North America. It was a very xenophobic culture which never really opened its arms to foreigners of any stripe. It grudgingly accepted them as long as they knew their place, were fully employed, kept out of trouble and stayed in their own parts of town.

The membership of the police department consisted almost exclusively of large, white, English-speaking males with family origins in the United Kingdom.

Beginning in the mid 1950s Toronto began to change. These changes had peaked by the mid '70s. Waves of immigration from Southern Europe, the

Orient and the Caribbean radically altered the demography of social customs. There was a large influx of Americans, many of whom objected to their country's foreign adventures in Vietnam and its most racist policies at home.

Toronto had absorbed waves of immigration before, but mainly from Northern and Central Europe and, of course, the United Kingdom. While these people had been under more pressure to assimilate and had been more willing to integrate into the common Anglophone culture of the day, the new immigrants of the '60s and '70s had been under less pressure and were less interested in assimilation.

Toronto went through an amazing and positive metamorphosis. One of the most significant changes was the demise of the more heavy-handed aspects of

the dominant Victorian culture, especially its moral values which were centered around the "control" of personal expression. This shift was reinforced by perceived needs to change those parts of the society which were viewed as being inequitable to certain classes of people. Several variations on anti-establishment counter-cultures emerged. These were largely youth-oriented and echoed changes taking place across North America. Nevertheless they had a significant impact on younger middle class adults.

During all of these changes what had happened to the Metropolitan Toronto Police Department?

The para-military hierarchy remains

Obviously the department had grown with the increase in population. Predictably it had also become more bureaucratic. To compound these two internal problems, the pattern of patrol work had been changed — from foot to cars, from the same officers on the same beat for months on end to different officers on different patrols every night. It had become a highly depersonalized operation.

While qualifications were rising for entry into most other occupational groups, they remained low for entry into the department. While new forms of management were being tried in other organizations, the para-military hierarchy remained entrenched and the span of management control within the police force grew longer.

Like most inherently conservative bodies, the police leadership reacted too often with fear and anger to the social changes they saw taking place around them. For several decades they had vented that fear and anger through the establishment of "Red Squads" and other intelligence and operational bodies aimed at "foreign ideologies" and trade unions. In doing this, they aped the attitudes of the dominant Progressive Conservative Party which controlled them.

Historically the police establishment had also tended to display antipathy towards certain non-white immigrant groupings and the increasingly visible gay community — again a reflection of the values of the people who controlled the government.

Newspaper alleges police brutality

Beginning in the late 1960s and early '70s, the police began to direct an inordinate amount of attention towards the leading edge counter-culture groups and younger people generally. Symptomatic of this were attacks on demonstrations protesting the war in Vietnam in front of the U.S. Embassy. In the worst of these clashes, many

Padding The Budget

On Friday, the 13th of March, the Metro Budget sub-committee reviewed the 1981 Metro Police budget. Metro Police were asking for an increase of \$33 million dollars over last year's budget of \$205 million. Citing a rising crime rate as the reason for this increase, major requests include an additional 64 officers on foot patrol, and major increases in the intelligence and morality sections — \$615,000 for intelligence — \$325,200 for morality.

Both private citizens and representatives from groups such as Lambda, the gay business council, Rikka Magazine, and Coalition for Blacks, spoke out against the budget. Richard Brown, the President of Lambda Business Council, questioned the fact that while a breakdown was provided for "Equipment" — citing the purchase of 6 horses for \$7,800 — no comparable breakdown was provided for the intelligence and morality sections.

These sections, designated as Special Units, fall under the jurisdiction of the Chief of Police, Jack Ackroyd, and are defined briefly in the budget: Intelligence: To monitor organised crime and report major crime activities; Morality: To enforce the laws relating to drugs, gambling and prostitution.

Allan Sparrow, a former alderman on Metro Council, charged that the cited increase in the crime rate was a lie, pointing out that in fact the rate has dropped 22.5 percent since 1977. He strongly suggested that the police spend more time on expanding social service programs to bring down the growing juvenile crime rate which is now one third of the total crime rate. He also observed that more money for intelligence and morality would only increase the growing hostility between the police and the various minority communities in the city. At the moment, there is only one race relations coordinator provided for in the budget.

Sparrow was outraged at the amounts spent on the bathhouse raids on February 5th, as they far exceeded the money spent on social service programs. His suggested figures on the raids were: \$144,000 on investigation prior to the raid; \$600,000 on police appearing as witnesses during the trials of the "found-ins"; and \$500,000 to the county courts for hearing these cases, making a total of \$1,574,000. Unfortunately the obvious hostility between Paul Godfrey, Chairman of

Metro Council and Sparrow did not allow him to conclude his analysis and protest.

Peter Maloney, speaking to the committee as a private citizen, listed murder cases of recent years which remain unsolved. He suggested that the police were more concerned with harassing gays rather than finding the murderer of Lizzie Tomlinson, a five-year-old Toronto child who was raped and murdered. He said that Metro Police were acting like a 'branch plant' of the RCMP with similar harassment and infiltration techniques, alleging that \$90,000 was being paid to Bell Canada annually for intelligence wire-tapping.

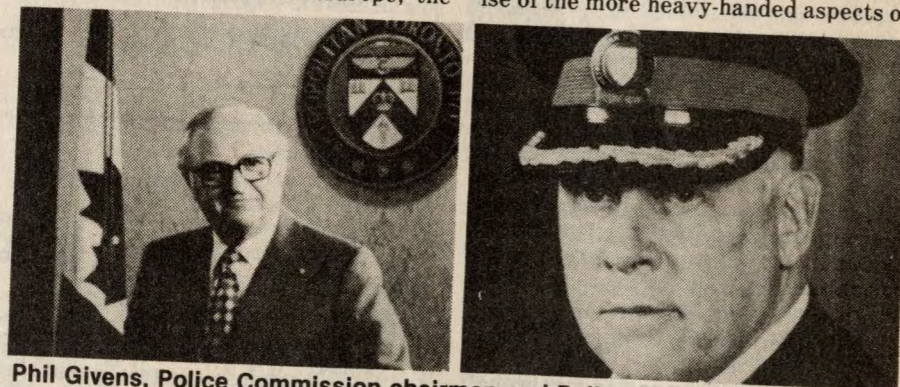
Maloney charged that the committee were not qualified to objectively judge the budget, citing personal connections between the police department and the committee members: Mayor Gayle Christie of the Borough of York has a boyfriend in the Police Department; Alderman June Rowlands has "an obsession with venereal disease" — prompted by a statement made earlier by her: "I am interested in cracking down on men who frequent bath houses and who give no thought to the civil rights of their wives or unborn children." Maloney also pointed out that Controller Brian Harrison of Scarborough has a son employed by the police force, and Controller Robert Yuill, the reviewer of the budget, wished to present a medal to Anita Bryant when she was in Toronto.

Controller Harrison refuted these accusations and praised the bath house raids saying, "I think the police department did a hell of a good job. It's about time that the silent majority stood up and said: If you don't like it, move out."

Despite this highly vocal public protest at the sub-committee meeting, the budget was passed the next day with the requested increases. The Municipality of Toronto, with an annual 1981 operating budget of \$765,475,000, gives the Police Commission \$233,659,000 while the Social Services Program receives \$188,482,000. Thus, the Police Commission receives almost one third of the Toronto budget, far more money than any other department.

The budget's easy passage attests yet again to the fact that such public meetings are designed to defuse input and criticism from the community. The Police Department and the pro-police Metro committee know this only too well. For them, it was obviously just another exercise in pretending that channels of communication do exist between the public and its elected representatives.

Gillian Robinson



Phil Givens, Police Commission chairman and Police Chief Jack Ackroyd.

MOBILITY — POLICE	1979
Automobiles	798
Motorcycles	160
Patrol Wagons	11
Tow Trucks	9
Van Trucks	51
Emergency Trucks	7
Jeeps	4
Stake Trucks	2
Bus	1
Horse Van Tractors	2
Horse Van Trailers	7
Car Trailer	1
Motorcycle Trailer	1
Bomb Disposal Vehicle	1
Bomb Disposal Trailer	1
Front Loading Tractor	1
Boat Trailers	3
VEHICLE TOTAL	1,060

Courtesy of Metropolitan Toronto Police



police officers removed their number badges before wading into the demonstrators. Paranoia about a revolution on the University of Toronto campus — of all places — prompted the purchase and storage of riot gear in proximity to the University. A so-called free college, named Rochdale, which was dominated by counter-culture types, received an extraordinary amount of aggressive police attention which led to charges of police brutality. During the period the *Globe and Mail*, a Toronto newspaper, cited several other examples of alleged police brutality against young people.

As a result of the newspaper publicity, Chief Justice Morand was commissioned to do a report which was released in 1976. His report cited several cases of brutality and the giving of false evidence by police officers. One of the worst cases involved the use of a mechanical claw on a prisoner's scrotum.

Morand recommended better supervision and training programs for police officers. He took a broad swipe at the leadership of the force, saying that Chief Harold Adamson *must* (my emphasis) make it clear that excessive force and the giving of false evidence will not be condoned. Morand's report echoed the recommendations of a report issued a year earlier by a well-known lawyer, Arthur Maloney, calling for a more effective way of investigating complaints against police officers, other than letting the police investigate themselves.

Neither the Maloney nor the Morand report had much effect on a very defensive and entrenched police establishment.

The Pitman Report

In 1977, Walter Pitman, the President of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, was commissioned by Metro Toronto to report on an apparent increase in the incidence of racist behaviour in Metro. His report stunned the police and politi-

cians by calling for a complete overhaul of the Toronto police.

The Pitman report asked police management to eliminate height and weight requirements for officers, to recruit more intensively from minority communities, to develop a program of racial and cross-cultural sensitization and to require the psychological testing of officers. His report, like Morand's and Maloney's, once again appealed for a more independent and effective complaint bureau.

Like Morand and Maloney, Pitman's report was not effectively acted upon. In fact, for nearly two years after the release of the Pitman report, minority groups reported more and more hostility from the police. It was as if the reactionary elements in the police force were digging in and showing how tough they could be. The Police Commission, Metro Council and the Province either looked the other way or tacitly endorsed this hard line approach.

This period culminated in the police shooting civilians to death at the unprecedented rate, for Toronto, of almost one a month in a ten month period starting in mid 1978. Most of the victims were working class and young. A number were immigrants. Two of them were black.

Bigotry in the police journal

In the midst of this wave of killing by the police it was discovered that the Police Association's internal journal had been publishing a series of racist and bigoted articles attacking gays, Blacks, Asians, Jews, Catholics, women and just about anyone who was not Anglo Saxon Protestant.

The bigotry spewing from the Police Association publication was the last straw for a number of community-based organizations which mobilized to demand the immediate implementation of the outstanding recommendations of

Maloney, Morand and Pitman. As well, they pushed for several new reforms revolving around the need for greater local accountability and control of the police and for representation from minority groups in a restructured Police Commission appointed by the Metro government and not the Province.

By mid 1979 there were a series of head on clashes between these groups and the Police Commission which had always been dominated by appointees of the Ontario Progressive Conservative government. (One Commissioner was a failed Tory candidate. The Chairman had given up his seat in the Legislature to head the Commission, leaving an opening for yet another Tory to replace him.)

The Commission tried a number of cosmetic ploys to 'defuse' the situation but this only angered the pressure groups. Within a few months, individuals in the upper echelons of the police hierarchy began verbally attacking their tormentors, aided and abetted by right wing politicians. Nothing changed at street level except that allegations of racist and bigoted behaviour by the police intensified.

The Albert Johnson shooting

The issue finally blew up and got out of control when Albert Johnson, a black Jamaican immigrant, was shot to death in his own home by the police. The shooting took place under circumstances which were so distasteful and shocking that several demonstrations took place, including one by 3,000 people who surrounded the police station.

The public outcry culminated in Toronto City Council passing a resolution of non-confidence in the Police Commission and calling for a sweeping series of reforms. The *Globe and Mail* editorialized, "The Police Commission does not have the credentials, presence or rank to take a credible position in the present tense situation. In fact it has no credibility..."

Instead of backing off or acting in a conciliatory manner, senior police officials and members of the Police Commission stepped up their verbal attacks on their critics. This was soon followed by allegations of harassment of community activists by the police.

The community did not moderate its criticisms, and instead stepped up its demands until finally the Police Commission capitulated. Unable to handle the tide of criticism, they arranged for Cardinal Carter of the Roman Catholic Church to intervene as an "arbitrator" on their behalf. Carter was noted for his social hob-nobbing with the Tory establishment and community people viewed his appointment with skepticism. Nonetheless, the Cardinal recommended an improved procedure for handling complaints against the police, an end to verbal abuse of minorities,

lower height and weight requirements, better efforts to weed out racists and more emphasis on foot patrols.

Reluctantly and slowly the Police Commission began to make changes. The Police Association was still defiant. In local papers, the letters to the editorial page were periodically flooded by criticisms of police critics and immigrants generally. The Ku Klux Klan offered to march shoulder to shoulder with the Toronto police to keep the city safe.

The key political figure, Attorney General Roy McMurtry held back on implementing an effective procedure to deal with complaints of police misconduct. He refused to dismiss the Chairman of the Police Commission, or any of its other members. He refused to lay murder charges against the police officers accused of killing Albert Johnson.

Out on the street the public pressures helped end the spate of killings by the police. None of the officers involved in the previous killings was found to have acted improperly, let alone criminally.

A hiatus of sorts took hold until early 1981 when the new Chief of Police, Jack Ackroyd, employed the Intelligence bureau to carry out a sweeping series of raids on gay baths. Almost 300 people, the bulk of them customers, were arrested. There were many allegations of wanton destruction of property and the

physical and verbal humiliation of gays.

The next night 3,000 people gathered on the main street and marched on the downtown police station. There, 250 police officers ringed the building to keep the crowd back. Later, several hundred people marched up University Avenue and tried to mount the steps of the Legislature before being repelled by the police.

It is clear at this stage to the most casual observer that the Toronto Police Department is in trouble. In August, 1979, 2,000 people, mostly black, besieged and shut down one police station. A year and a half later another 3,000 people, mostly gay, surrounded and besieged another police station.

Intolerance and bigotry

What is wrong with the Toronto Police? Aside from becoming more depersonalized and bureaucratic, the basic problem is that the Toronto Police Department is still too much like it was thirty or forty years ago. The standards to join the force are about the same, the quality of training is about the same and the intake of new recruits is still largely from the white male community. More importantly, the Toronto Police Department is still directed by the Provincial Tory government. Their values are the values of small time Victorian Ontario. The intolerance and

bigotry which stalk the Toronto force are the twisted reflections of the values of an Ontario which exists more and more only in the minds of Tory cabinet ministers.

A police department is only as good as the people it works for. The Toronto Police force has always tended to work well for the Anglo-Saxon Protestant middle class and for upper class people of all stripes. It does not work effectively or fairly for many who are part of the increasing number of people who are not part of this exclusive class.

In the immediate past, public pressure and demonstrations have temporarily curbed the tendencies within the police department to deal harshly with visible minorities, gays, immigrants and the working class young. Very few of the more basic and fundamental reforms have been instituted. When modest reforms are implemented it happens grudgingly and often with little will to make them work.

In the absence of major reforms of the police by the Progressive Conservative government and its appointees, it will be necessary for community groups to keep up the pressure until the Ontario government changes or is changed. If that change does not come soon, the Toronto Police Department may well become the agent which blows apart Toronto's tenuous and delicate multicultural society. □

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MALICIOUS PROSECUTIONS?

What happens to people who charge Metro police officers with assault?

In an article in the Toronto Star November 6, 1980, Police Commissioner Phil Givens outlined his views of what happens to people who charge Metro policemen with assault. Ever conscious of budgetary considerations, Phil Givens said that more and more legal fees are being paid to defend policemen and that they would be trying to recover some of this money by launching malicious prosecution law suits against complainants. He says: "Holy Gee! When I see some of the bills that come in here for defending policemen it makes me wonder if I'm in the right line of work..."

Now, one might wonder if rapidly escalating legal costs might suggest that Toronto's finest are resorting to more and more violence to serve and protect us. This consideration appears to be absent from the article. However, Givens does stress that malicious prosecutions are only commenced after advice from the Metro Solicitor that the case against the police appears to be frivolous. They also proceed against persons who have the means to pay damages. He says there is no threat to anyone filing a regular complaint with the police complaint bureau. Givens feels that there is no attempt to intimidate anyone or to discourage a citizen having a real cause for grievance from charging the police.

Having just completed the defence for a malicious prosecution action commenced by the police, I think the following story speaks for itself.

The story

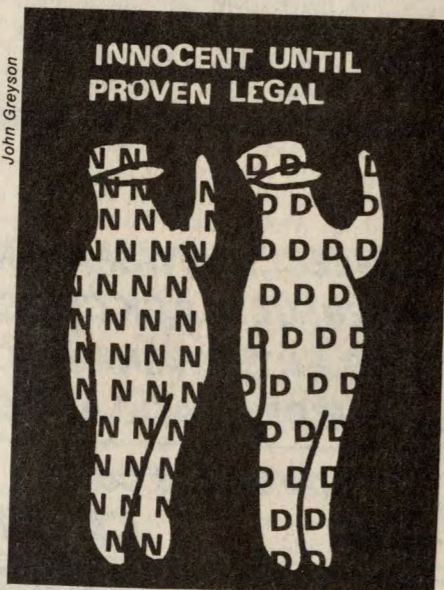
Mr. A was married in the winter of 1976-77 but owing to his limited income he only had a civil ceremony and no party. As a result, he decided to throw a party for his friends on his first anniversary. A hall was rented, a liquor permit obtained, and invitations were printed up. Unfortunately when A was in a club giving an invitation to a friend the club was raided by the police and one of his invitations was seized. Based on their "extensive experience" the police reasoned that these invitations must indicate that A was planning to break the law by selling liquor after 1:00 a.m. In their own evidence, the

Mitchell Chernovsky is a lawyer and a member of the Law Union of Ontario. He practices in the area of criminal law, tenants' rights and workers' compensation.

police indicated that this "extensive experience" related to raiding after-hour clubs in the Oakwood and St. Clair area of Toronto. Most of their raids were directed against parties held by black people. A is black.

The party and arrival of police

After weeks of anticipation, the night of the party came. A and his wife went down to the hall early, cleaned and decorated it and prepared goat curry for their guests. The party started and by all accounts everyone was having a good time. There was a cash bar (beer 50 cents and liquor 75 cents) and records for dancing. According to the evidence of all the partygoers, nobody was collecting money at the door for admission.



At around 1:15 a.m., two police officers dressed in plainclothes entered the party. One was a black man and the other a white woman. They went to the bar and ordered a drink. But their request was refused because the bar had been closed at 1:00 a.m. However, according to the police woman, she saw another guest come up to the bar and pay for a drink after her request had been refused. This apparent breach of the Liquor Permit was unobserved by her male companion. Also, both police officers indicated that Mr. G was attending at the door collecting an admission charge and they had given him a marked twenty dollar bill.

After a short time, the police woman

went outside where four male police officers dressed in street clothes were waiting. She told them that her male partner was being held inside against his will! The four officers immediately rushed into the hall armed with a sledgehammer in case the door was barred. When they arrived the door wasn't barred and the officer inside was leaning against the bar chatting with another guest. The four officers went into the hall without announcing that they were police and started pushing the guests aside.

An officer is assaulted

At this time, Mr. L was in the vicinity of the bar. Although he was neither drinking nor selling liquor, an officer approached to interrogate him. When L tried to walk away, the officer seized him. (No evidence was given in the trial to justify this arrest.) L broke away and ran into the hall. Police testified that he pushed another officer down, bent over, picked up a beer bottle and threw it at him. The bottle shattered against the officer's head and seriously injured him. At this point, a fight broke out between the officers and some other guests and L was arrested and charged with wounding the injured policeman. Later a number of uniformed police officers arrived and the fight immediately broke up.

At the later jury trial L was acquitted of the charges because there wasn't sufficient evidence to identify him as the police assailant.

The interrogation of A and K

According to K's evidence, he had arrived at the party just when the fight was in progress and stayed outside with his wife wondering what was happening. The police then came out and arrested him. They said that they had given him a marked twenty dollar bill. K said that on the trip to the station the police officers threatened him. While walking from the car to the station, they began kicking his heels. The real assaults, however, occurred in the station. K testified that he was ordered to strip naked in front of five police officers. An officer twisted his arm and kicked him, constantly demanding to know where the marked twenty dollar bill was. K was, of course, unable to help them as he had just arrived at the hall. When it finally became apparent

that he didn't have the money, he was given a summons for violations of the liquor license act and released.

Mr. K's evidence was contradicted by the police officers. They said that there were only two officers in the room and that he was questioned about the liquor offences in the normal manner and released. It was notable that they took twenty-three minutes to ask questions, search and then ticket him. Secondly, one officer, N, testified that K was stripped and searched while another officer, D, said that he saw no such thing. They tried to reconcile this by saying that he was stripped and searched after D left the room. However, at a previous trial and on their pre-trial testimony they swore that they were together at all times during the investigation.

A testified that he was taken to the station and placed in a cell. He waited there for about two hours and then was questioned by two sergeants who asked him about the identity of the person who threw the beer bottle. According to his evidence, when it became clear that he did not know the identity, one of the officers said, "Just another fuckin' nigger. Never knows anything." He was returned to his cell and told that he should call the police when he decided he knew something. The police deny that they questioned him about the identity of the assailant and deny that the above insult was made.

A gave the following evidence. At around 4:00 a.m., N entered the cell and demanded to know who had thrown the beer bottle. A did not know and N slapped him across the face. This method of questioning did not assist A's memory because he did not know the assailant. N apparently thought that kicking A in the shins might jog his memory and this was tried but with no better success. N then got the bright idea that perhaps A would tell him what he wanted to know if he was naked. A was ordered to strip but was still unable to help the police. As he was getting nowhere, N left the cell and A put his clothes back on. All of this is denied entirely by N.

A further testified that he was then taken from his cell at around 4:10 a.m. and brought to an interview room where N and D awaited him. D said that he would like to ask A some questions and then went around behind him and grabbed him by the neck. No questions were asked but it made little difference as A was being choked and couldn't answer anyway. After this procedure the officer sat down and wrote out his tickets and told him to leave.

Both police officers flatly deny this allegation as well. However, they were unable to justify arresting A in the first place. They already had his name and address and he was apparently very cooperative with them. Secondly, they waited until 4:15 a.m. to question him. Thirdly, they said that they did not

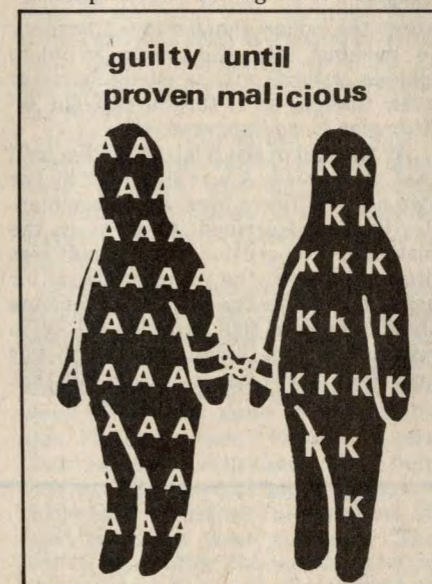
need to know the name of the person who had thrown the beer bottle as they had already arrested someone. However, it was quite clear that their identification was poor as the hall was dark and the beer bottle was thrown from the midst of a crowd.

The police prosecution

Both A and K went home from the police station and showed their bruises to their wives. During the next two days, they both went to the same doctor and told him what had happened. The doctor noted the bruises which were consistent with the history given by his patients.

Neither A nor K had ever been in trouble with the police before. However, they were quite sure that this experience could not be justified by anything in the police manual. They were also quite sure that they were not in breach of any provision of the Liquor License Act or the liquor permit. They each went to a lawyer and told them what had happened. A also went to the Human Rights Commission but nothing came of this.

Their lawyers each wrote to the police department asking for the names of



the policemen corresponding to the descriptions they had received from their clients. As a result of these letters, the police complaints bureau set up a line at the police station. In the line-up, about 12-14 officers sat around in a room, all in plain clothes wearing no name designation. K and A each entered the room separately and each pointed to D as their assailant. Although A's lawyer had indicated that the officer who wrote his ticket was the one who assaulted him, this officer was not even in the line-up. I have been unable to find anyone who has heard of a line-up where the prime suspect didn't even attend. However, A was not fooled and stated that the other officer

who assaulted him wasn't there. A second line-up was arranged and N was identified by A.

As a result of these line-ups, A charged both D and N with assault, and K charged D. It should be pointed out that the descriptions given to the police by the lawyers more or less matched in the case of A. However, for K, the officer was described as having red hair and a moustache; whereas he had brown hair and no moustache. However, K testified that his ability to verbalize the features of the officer was poor.

Legal proceedings

The trial of the two police officers came up in September, 1978, and they were acquitted. The trial judge felt that the evidence for the Crown was inconsistent and unreliable and that it would be unsafe to convict the officers on this evidence.

The trials of A and K on the liquor charges were held in January, 1979. At this time, K was convicted and A was acquitted. During the course of this trial a *voir-dire* was held to determine whether the statements of A and K at the station were admissible evidence. During this procedure, the Crown must establish that any statement made to the police was made without fear of threats or promise of favour. During the *voir-dire* extensive evidence was given on the alleged assault by the police which was denied by the police. After a full hearing, the Provincial Court Judge held that the Crown had not established that the statements were voluntary. In other words, the Crown could not prove beyond a reasonable doubt that no assault had occurred.

Malicious prosecution

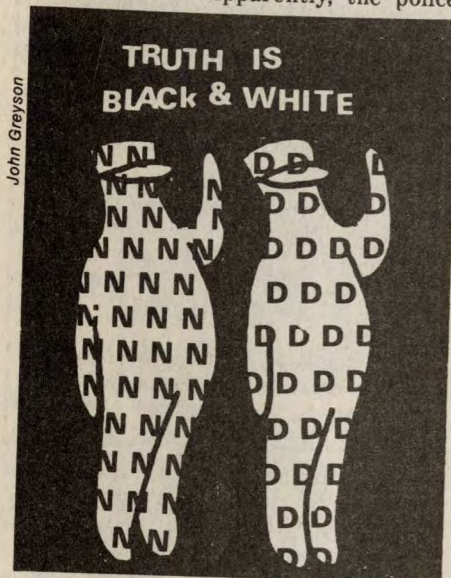
Because we want to encourage openness to the courts, malicious prosecution cases are difficult to establish. However, when criminal proceedings are carried on without any reasonable basis and maliciously, the Plaintiff should succeed.

To establish that there was an absence of reasonable and probable cause, the Plaintiff must prove that the Defendant did not honestly believe in his guilt or that there was no reasonable basis for bringing the proceedings. This is a determination for the judge alone, according to our law.

If the Plaintiff successfully crosses this bridge, he must still establish that the proceedings were carried on maliciously, that is to say, for a purpose other than the due administration of the law. Any improper purpose would suffice — such as vindictiveness or revenge against the police as well as laying charges just for plea bargaining purposes. This is a determination for the jury.

The police commission gets involved

The police commission, the governing body of the Metro police force, is responsible for paying the legal fees for the defence of police officers facing criminal charges in the execution of their duty. In this case, the legal bill was \$1,000.00. Apparently, the police



John Greyson

commission felt that they had a strong case against A and K because the charges against the police were dismissed with some adverse comments by the provincial court magistrate. No doubt, they also asked the police officers involved, who continued to deny that there was any assault.

After concluding that they might have a good case, the solicitor from the Metro solicitors office approached the police officers and asked them if they would like to sue A and K for malicious prosecution. A malicious prosecution

proceeding was commenced and brought to trial in November, 1980.

The trial

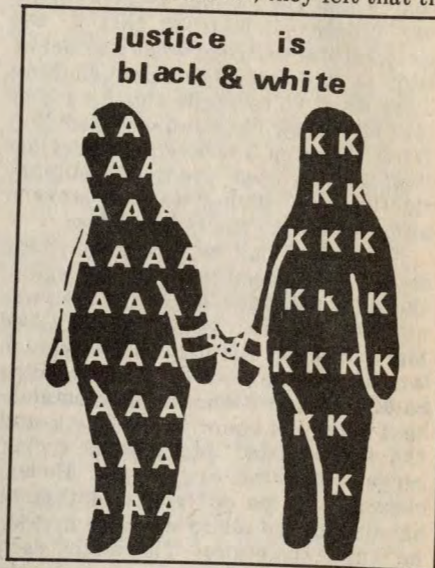
At the trial itself, the police officers continued to maintain that they never saw any assault and A and K continued to insist that they were assaulted. During the trial, the lawyer acting for the police officers put the following arguments before the courts:

- that the use of the words "nigger", "wop", "kraut", etc., were often used in jest and that perhaps Messrs K and A should not have taken offence;
- that the jury should be careful not to give K and A's case special consideration just because they were black (suggesting somehow that this was being requested);
- that A was, perhaps, a racist himself because he had no white people at his party;
- that it was quite proper for the police to strip K because he might have hidden the marked twenty dollar bill in his anus;
- that if the jury did not find in favour of the police they would be unable to do their job in the future and Toronto would become like Detroit or New York;
- that the police showed great bravery in rushing into the party in plain clothes armed with a sledgehammer even though, as it turned out, the officer was in no danger at all.

At the end of the trial, the judge held that, in his view, A was assaulted by the two police officers involved in the manner that he described. As a result, the malicious prosecution against him was dismissed and the counter-claim for assault went to the jury to determine the damages he had experienced. With regard to K, the judge felt that he was assaulted at the police station but that

he was not satisfied on the evidence that the assailant was D. He therefore held that K did not have reasonable and probable cause for commencing the proceedings and that the jury should decide whether they were motivated by malice.

The jury then decided that K's proceedings were motivated by malice, and the malicious prosecution against him succeeded. Moreover, they felt that the



damages that A had experienced when he was assaulted by the police were nil.

Our jury system is designed to represent the common values held by our community. In my opinion their findings in the case were a total victory for the police, indicating that they either completely disbelieved A and K or if not, at least felt that the police were justified in assaulting them because an officer was injured. It should be remembered that the police not only enforce our laws, they also enforce society's values.

JOHN GREYSON

IMMIGRATION RAIDS

The Toronto black community gets top priority for police harassment — again

"Surely racism is that old bogey, distrust of strangers, in a new suit. Are these minorities as blameless as they would like us to believe? Why, in the first place, did they go to all the aggravation to leave home? Why Canada? ... It is worth mentioning here that White Anglo Saxon Protestants are no longer a majority in this country ... WASPS are traditionally aggressive and oppor-

tunistic and adaptable. And mean. Now that we are a minority group, the possibilities are endless." So wrote Ken Peglar in the May, 1978, column, "Pensioners News", a regular feature in the Police Association's internal newsletter, News and Views.

That the above reads like a manifesto for a police state will shock few in Toronto's black community at this point.

The acquittal in November, 1980, of two police officers charged with the shooting of black citizen Albert Johnson underlined this — the acquittal coming just days after the defeat of incumbent mayor John Sewell in the municipal election. Sewell, a vocal supporter of minority rights during his two-year term, was often critical of the police department and their blatant harassment of

ethnics and gays. More recently, the militaristic nature of the February 5th raids on gay baths has once again shown all minority groups in Metro just how true Peglar's assertion is: "The possibilities are endless."

Immigration raids

While the baths raids commanded front page headlines in February, word-of-mouth rumours travelled through the black community about another mutation of police power — immigration raids. Stories spread about the police invading churches, restaurants, private residences, clubs, and businesses (even stopping people on the street), checking identification and detaining anyone who couldn't produce their passport on the spot. The raids seem to have been carried out in cooperation with Department of Immigration officials, the Narcotics Squad, and/or the Emergency Task Force (well known in Metro for their violent SWAT tactics). Well founded fears within the black community of further police intimidation and violence kept most people from coming forward publicly. To register a complaint about police harassment must have seemed ludicrous to many anyway. Albert Johnson filed eight such complaints with the Human Rights Commission, none of which prevented him from being shot dead in his home by police in August, 1979.

Blacks in this city have come to expect harassment from police, which could be explained in part by the racist attitudes of individuals within all sectors of society, including some members of the force. These recent immigration raids would seem to follow this pattern of racist harassment, as they appear to be directed at apprehending *only blacks* who might be contravening immigration law, even though blacks make up only a small percentage of those living illegally in Canada. However, the sheer scale and escalation of the raids indicates that racism is perhaps only one motivation within the context of some larger political strategy.

Searched at gunpoint

At a public meeting held in late February at the University of Toronto's International Student Centre, Jesse Daniel and Jurebu Cason of Gayap Rhythm Drummers, an Afro-Caribbean drumming band, told an audience of nearly sixty people about a raid on the band's rehearsal space located above a storefront in Kensington market. On February 6, 1981, the Emergency Task Force burst in on the band's evening practice. Brandishing rifles, they forced the five musicians present to kneel with their hands on their heads. The Narcotics Squad, Metro cops and Immigration officials then entered and a search war-

Mistaken for a ride In trying to ascertain authorship of the raids mentioned in this report and other raids known to have occurred FUSE magazine spoke with immigration lawyers, Metro Police, the Toronto Star and the Toronto and Ottawa offices of the Immigration Department. In talking with Metro Police, some ten officers, mostly staff-sergeants from 52 and 14 Division told FUSE that many different records are kept of police operations. Though the police would say where such information might be found and who "would know if anyone knew", the round-robin series of phone calls produced a fat zero: no confirmations of any raids in Honest Ed's, Bloor Place, Gayap Drummers or Knob Hill Farms.

The Immigration Department was more co-operative. Their Toronto Media Relations director, Paul Hardy, told FUSE that after checking "all down the line, (we) weren't even aware of them (the raids). It sounds more like a police operation; we don't work that way." Hardy explained that the Toronto Immigration Enforcement section has only 24 officers and they "couldn't pull off" raids of that size. Yet in many of the raids, eye-witnesses reported the participation of "immigration officials".

The RCMP also has an immigration unit, as its jurisdiction covers all federal laws including the Immigration Act. The Immigration Department implied that the RCMP and Immigration each act independently. What role if any has the RCMP Immigration Unit been playing in the recent Toronto raids? What control does the Federal Minister for Immigration have over the enforcement of the Immigration Act? And who were the "immigration officials" present during the Toronto raids? Federal Director General of Immigration Enforcement, John Hucker told FUSE from his Ottawa office that Immigration could not support any misuse of the enforcement of the Immigration Act as a cover for non-related police investigations. And yet police officers have stopped visible minority citizens and asked them for their papers and passports. It has happened on the street, in churches and in stores. If the Immigration Department and the RCMP are not involved then such substantial immigration operations are without authority.

— C.R.

rant was produced. Under suspicion of concealing weapons and/or drugs, the premises were searched. Some members of the band were stripped, handcuffed and searched at gunpoint. At one point police threatened to flush the head of one of the band members down the toilet.

Unable to find either weapons or drugs, the police raided another apartment upstairs, and finding a small amount of marijuana on the premises, arrested the two residents, who were also black.

Meanwhile, Immigration authorities suggested that the Gayap drummers might be harbouring illegal immigrants. They were ordered to produce identification, which they all did. They were then taken down to Police Division 11. The reason? Failure to carry their passports with them. After being detained for several more hours and subjected to further intimidation, the band members were released. "They waited until after the subway stopped running to let us go", Cason told the crowd. Earlier in the evening, he and Daniel had identified a black man in the audience as one of the officers who had taken part in the raid. They also identified another policeman and a member of the local KKK, all in street clothes, who had infiltrated the meeting.

Two weeks later, Daniel talked about the possible motives for the raid. He suggested that the search for drugs and weapons was less than a priority — perhaps little more than an excuse — adding that for years the police have perpetuated the idea that Rastafarians traffic actively in both. He also suggested that the reason for taking Gayap to 11 Division, when the raid took place in 14 Division, was due to 14's reputation

for minority abuse and harassment. 14 Division, no doubt, didn't want to be associated with the raid.

Looking for 'illegals' but none found

The Gayap incident parallels a similar case that occurred in December, 1980, when the home of a Toronto Sikh family was violently raided early one morning by the RCMP, again in search of illegal immigrants. While the father was held at gunpoint, officers ransacked the apartment, desecrating the family's prayer shrine in the process. Again, no charges were pressed as no illegal immigrants were found.

The Gayap raid, involving three different sections of the force, two police divisions, and Immigration officials, required a great deal of coordination as well as considerable public expense. Charles Roach, a local black activist and civil rights lawyer, surmises that the authority for the raid, given its scale, must have come from the Unit Commanders in both Divisions. It seems impossible, however, to justify such a massive effort when in the end no charges were pressed against any band member. Daniel suggests that the nature of the band's activities, both as performers (their songs explore concrete political realities, such as racism) and as educators (working with black youths in the city) may have been a factor in singling out Gayap for harassment.

Two weeks earlier, the Bloor Place, a downtown restaurant/nightclub frequented by a racially mixed clientele, was raided in a similar manner, and has since closed down as a direct result. At about 2 a.m. on January 25, the Metro police, the Task Force, the Narcotics

Squad and Immigration Officers all burst in without warning, turned on the glaring overhead lights and forced terrified customers (the black ones only) up against the wall. Juliet Gillette, a cashier working that night, estimates that there were at least seventeen policemen, not including the Task Force officers. "They were holding the guns — it was like they were in Africa hunting down wild animals. They said on the search warrant that they were looking for weapons, but it turned out it was more than weapons, because they came with Immigration (officials). It was like a police station there. People had to talk to some cops, they had to go up on the stage where they had to sit down. (Then) they were checked out by Immigration."

Gillette says that several women were taken aside to be strip searched for drugs. At least one woman was fully stripped before an officer advised the other policemen just to check for identification, and not to bother with a thorough search. Gillette added: "There were two white girls there and they just let them go out the back. They told them there were better clubs for them to go (to)."

Over sixty people were taken in three paddy wagons to 52 Division. The majority of those detained had been unable to produce "sufficient" identification, e.g. their passport. A few others had outstanding fines. It has been impossible at this time to ascertain how many immigration infringements were uncovered in the raid, but by all accounts from within the black community, there were very few, if any.

Media ignores harassment complaints

There have been rumours that other clubs, including Foxes and the Caribb Tavern in Scarborough, have all coincidentally closed down within the past two months, some for so-called 'renovation'. Charmaine Montague of the Universal African Improvement Center suspects that they were also victims of police/immigration raids. Dudley Laws, Executive Director of the Center, held a press conference in early March in response to the nearly fifty complaints the Center had received regarding raids, passport checks on the street, and related harassment. Both Jurebu Cason of Gayap and Juliet Gillette spoke at the press conference, but the media virtually ignored the event. Only the Toronto Star responded, running a brief news item which didn't mention any specific cases, only that there were "complaints".

Honest Ed's, a discount department store in Toronto owned by Ed Mirvish (who proudly claims that he has "more bargains than brains"), was allegedly raided on February 21 by police and Im-

migration officials. According to one anonymous report, the police were looking for someone in Solomon's Barber-shop (a business on the same block that caters to blacks) and were directed from there to Honest Ed's. Once in the store, the doors were sealed, about forty blacks singled out, and those lacking passports were taken down to 14 Division.

However, Staff Inspector Ernest Bailey of Community Services insists that there was no raid that day. He claims that a woman had been arrested the previous day in the store for shoplifting, and that two officers were sent the day of the alleged raid to collect more information. Ralph Carston, Honest Ed's Chief of Security also insists that there was no raid, but said: "It's not an isolated rumour, it's coming from all sides."

The key piece of legislation involved in these and other raids (stories also circulate about a raid in February at the Jesus Christ of Prophecy Church, involving 90 people), the Immigration Act, is conveniently loose in its definition. It allows peace officers (a catch-all for The RCMP, the Provincial and City Police, and Immigration Officers) with "reasonable grounds" to suspect that the Act has been violated, to make an arrest. Likewise, adequate identification may be defined at the discretion of the officer, so that, strictly speaking, the demand to produce a passport (even on the street) is, in the eyes of the law, defensible.

Linked by computer to Immigration Centre

Although Metro police have on many occasions publicly claimed complete uninvolved in Immigration matters, reality contradicts the claim. Charles Roach told FUSE that in 1972, Deputy Chief James Noble was responsible for implementing an interactive computer system which put the Metro Police force "on wire" with the Regional Immigration Centre in Toronto. Roach says of this liaison: "Since that time, the (Metro Police) have a pretty set policy of checking out all persons who are arrested or stopped, and who look as though they may be immigrants because of their colour or their accent or something — checking them out to see whether they are wanted, or whether they are here illegally." (Toronto Immigration enforcement denies the computer link.)

The implementation of this cooperative information system only underlines what can, at times, appear to be police policy — that blacks are guilty (of something) until proven innocent. While these large organized raids are recent occurrences of the past two months, the enforced criminalization through the harassment of individuals

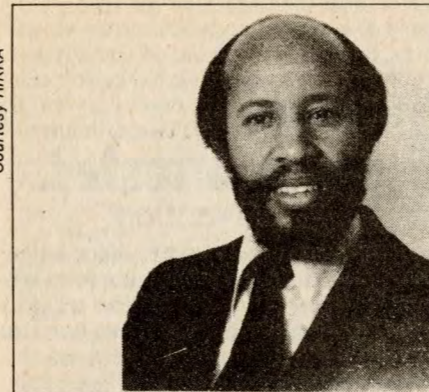
has a long history, even more so with the RCMP, who have traditionally been more public about their execution of immigration law. The recent cases described below are but two of many.

RCMP uses strong-arm tactics

• Carmen Murray, a Canadian citizen working as a nurse at the Barton Nursing Home in Toronto, arrived at work one morning early in March to find that two RCMP officers had been searching through her employment files, which contained her landed immigrant status papers, passport and citizenship number. Investigator Rod Douthwright and H. Rogers (Immigration and Passport Section) locked her in the administrative office of the Home and interrogated her for about forty-five minutes. They insisted that her real name was Grant, and that she was not a landed immigrant.

In fact, Murray's maiden name is Grant. She married her husband, Radway Murray, a landed immigrant, in 1973, and has been a citizen since 1979. The officers, however, refused to believe her and threatened that they would return. She has since contacted her MP Bob Kaplan who has promised to investigate the matter. She insists: "I have my rights, and I have to protect myself and others. I have heard reports of this type of harassment before, and some people are afraid to talk. But I am not afraid. I want this matter investigated."

• Ron Taylor's case is more disturbing. A Canadian citizen since 1971 (originally from Jamaica) and an unemployed electrician, Taylor had a room in a boarding house in downtown Toronto. On the morning of January 29, 1981, his door was kicked in by two plainclothes RCMP officers, who began to choke and beat him, referring to him as "Williams" during the assault. The landlady, hearing the commotion, came up, and tried to tell them that they had the wrong man, that a man called Williams did live there, but was in the room next door. Realizing their mistake, they stopped beating him, and began to talk to him. They allegedly told him that if he didn't lay assault charges against them, they wouldn't charge him with assault either. He kept asking them to leave his room, at one point trying to push them out the door, but they repeatedly refused to do so. One of them went to the room next door and found that the real Williams was there. However, Williams broke away. One of the officers pursued him, and the other remained with Taylor. Metro police officers were then summoned, and Taylor was again beaten — the landlady stated, that at one point, the police officers threw him on to the bed, jumped on top of him and hit him



Courtesy RIKKA
Civil rights lawyer Charles Roach.

repeatedly, at which point the bed collapsed. Bleeding quite badly from numerous injuries (which were later documented) Taylor was arrested and charged with two counts of assault causing bodily harm. The case went to court, but he was arrested again before it was concluded, because the police had discovered what was referred to as a "minor outstanding charge" against him still pending in Montreal where he remains. The RCMP and the Metro Police were no doubt eager to keep the case out of the courts, and the public eye. Taylor's appearance on the CBC Evening News the night after the raid, which featured a closeup of his battered face, may have prompted the RCMP to bury the incident for the time being.

The preceding accounts show the similarity between raid tactics used by the RCMP and Metro Police. However, the involvement of the Metro Police in the recent large-scale raids on the Gayap Drummers, Honest Ed's and black clubs, like the Bloor Place, is a new development and would seem to point to an emerging role for Metro Police in Immigration matters. Add to this the suspicious silence in the media about the raids, and it would appear that harassment of blacks is not the final motive for these recent police actions. If it were, one would assume that the press would be full of stories about how the cops are cracking down on the "dangerous problem of black illegals that has mushroomed in recent years." Actually, one suspects that both the media blackout, and the vigorous police denials that such raids have occurred, may be linked to their marked lack of success in uncovering drug, arms, or immigration violations.

Using fear to control

I asked Charles Roach if he saw the raids as a backlash to the self-mobilizing of the black community last year in response to the Albert Johnson case. He commented: "The factor of creating a situation of terror in people's minds is a way of controlling their conduct. (However) I think that the police are sophisticated enough now to realize

that such actions could (in turn) trigger demonstrations and make things worse."

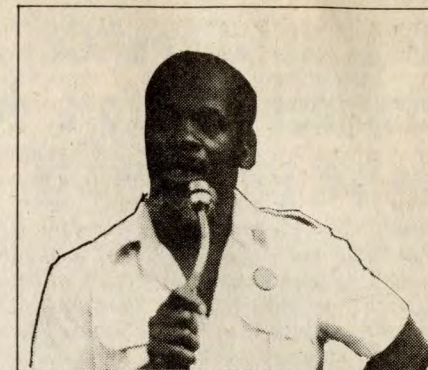
Many associated the bathhouse raids with the provincial elections and the direct political gains the Tories made by putting the NDP/Liberal 'lipservice' promises (to amend the human rights code to include sexual orientation) on the hot seat. Similarly, the current immigration raids are being linked to government. Roach surmises that this specific local situation ties in to events on a national scale. "Perhaps the police chiefs are thinking about their readiness for a mass situation that might arise at any time. Trying out their ability, making test-runs on situations where they are sure that it won't blow up in their faces, because it's a weaker situation. In Ottawa, they're talking about: How can we react to a hostage-taking situation if, for instance, the U.S. embassy is taken over? Do we have the capability? They've been talking in police intelligence units about situations like that, so I rather suspect they (Metro Police) are developing their Emergency Task Force (even though) they don't have enough opportunities to deploy themselves. So I think that there may be a temptation to flex their muscles in a situation that really doesn't warrant it."

The black community used as guinea pigs?

If Metro Police are using the black community as guinea pigs to practice their projected war games on, this only underlines the fact that these raids are at best a make-work project. An exercise in self-justification by a force swollen dangerously both in budget and numbers far beyond the needs of its community. Roach continues: "I can't imagine that they would have a couple of hundred more men doing nothing. The amount of manpower that they've got going and the amount of general police authority they've got — I think you'll find it resulting in more people being arrested."

"One thing that we're sure of is that they're not reacting to any present danger when they move like this ... certainly there wasn't any call for force in the Gayap situation or in the bathhouse situation. Since there was not an emergency created by some lawless person, for instance, then one must assume that these particular operations were triggered by considerations of their own. Emanating from them (the police) as opposed to emanating from the outside."

Roach sees the various race relations committees and police/community liaisons as hopelessly reformist, at best wasting their time demanding public inquiries that would still be controlled by the Police Commissioners. He condemns the Community Bureau, which



Charmaine Montague
Dudley Laws, Director of the Universal African Improvement Center.

he says consists of less than a dozen officers of various ethnic backgrounds. With ties to the Intelligence Division, these officers infiltrate community meetings and gatherings and investigate political organizing, not crime.

"I think that there are two basic solutions to these things. There must be some kind of supervisory body, not a complaints bureau, but something like a rights commission on policing. Something that is, in itself, community controlled and separate from the police."

The second is the liquidation of the present Board of Police Commissioners. "Right now (the Board) is comprised of five fairly well-off people who don't reflect the views of the victims of police repression. We want to see Phil Givens and all of those people fired. We should have gays and native people and black people and workers and a good variety of people; we should have them run the police force, from the top."

From that position, he suggests, true reform could begin. The dismantling and decentralization of the entire police administration is something, he admits, that could only happen under a radically different government. The sprawling militaristic stations would be replaced by a network of much smaller 'storefront' stations, ensuring greater community access and responsibility, and preventing large mass manoeuvres from occurring. He suspects that there would be resistance from the community, fearful that more stations (though smaller) would mean more interference and greater oppression. These concerns were expressed in Detroit when a similar decentralization plan was initiated almost a decade ago. Yet as it developed, people realized it was a workable alternative, and Roach says there has only been one case of an 'unjustified' police killing since.

"52 Division is down on Dundas near University. That's not a neighbourhood, it's a wasteland. For example, I think that if you had a small police station with half a dozen men in some place like Kensington market, maybe you wouldn't have had the Gayap raid. You wouldn't have the capability for terrorizing people."

OFFENCE/DEFENCE

On your way to a demonstration? Read this handy guide for activists, including what to do if you're arrested.

The following is excerpted from a handbook prepared by the Law Union of Ontario, *Offence/Defence: Survival Seminars for Activists*, which is designed for use in seminars conducted by the Law Union. The next scheduled seminars include: *Gay Rights and the Police* (April 16, 1981), *Public Meetings and Demonstrations/Security* (April 30, 1981), and *Meeting the Police* (May 14, 1981). They will take place at the International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street, Toronto, at 8:00 pm., admission \$2 per evening. For more information call 368-6974. The handbook is available from the Law Union, 2 Bloor St. West, No. 100-203, Toronto, Ontario M4W 3E2, for \$6.50.

In an introduction to the handbook, the Law Union states: "These materials are provided for informational purposes only, and to assist the reader in his or her understanding of the law, as outlined in the seminars. The information is of a general nature and will not answer every question nor apply to every case."

"The information should not be relied upon in any legal proceeding and is not a replacement for proper legal advice."

Part one: Demonstrations, rallies, marches

Preparing to go: If you are concerned that the police not know that you are going to attend a particular demonstration, rally or march then you should not discuss your plans for attending over the phone, nor in your home or any other place that might be bugged. Of course you have to be of significant interest to the police for them to be bugging your house or your car.

Do you want to be identified? It is safe to assume that the police photograph every demonstration, rally and march. They try to get pictures of every person in attendance. (Other photographers will be in attendance as well, including members of right-wing organizations and security firms compiling files). The police will later go through their files in order to identify individuals and they will update their files. Their concern includes knowing who was in attendance as well as establishing which individuals play leadership roles and the connections or affiliations of the individuals.

The Law Union of Ontario is a coalition of progressive and socialist lawyers, law students and legal workers.

of the individuals. ("Independent leftists" are more trouble in this respect.)

In the winter it is much easier to not reveal one's identity since scarves and hats can cover a great deal of the face. Eyes and ears are two features that are focused on for identification. Wigs and eyeglasses and other items can provide the necessary aids, if you are determined to both attend the demonstration and remain unidentified. Iranian students studying abroad have pioneered the use of masks (even bags over the head with eye holes cut out) in order to avoid identification by intelligence services. This technique also has the propagandistic value of dramatizing the fact that photographs are being taken and that freedom of assembly (so proudly touted by government officials responsible for the police activities) is not so free in fact.

Remember that your clothing is identifiable as well as your face. Police informers in the crowd are also used to identify people.

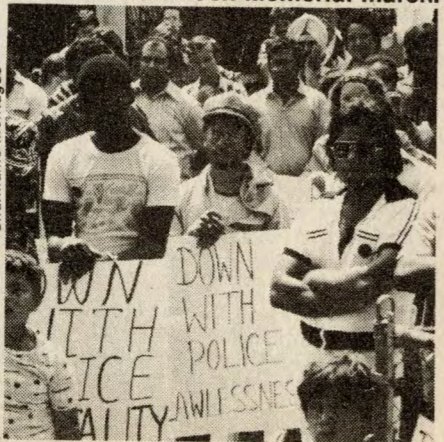
What to take with you

Paper and Pen. The pen is sometimes more powerful than the sword; especially later in the court when they do not allow swords. Use it to:

- write names of arrested persons and their phone numbers, their friend's phone number, their condition before they disappeared from the scene, the words spoken by the police during their arrest, the number of the car or wagon they are put into etc, badge numbers and/or descriptions of police involved in the arrest.

- police badge numbers (of those that are aggressive, those who make arrests

The Albert Johnson Memorial march.



or are just on the scene, since sometimes there may be testimony from police who were not in fact at the scene at all — of course photographs are also useful).

- significant conversations.
- licence plates of vehicles (and/or squad car numbers of police vehicles) and description and location of vehicles. Take down information *before* the shit hits the fan. You must anticipate, because once the action starts you will not necessarily have time to get enough down. For example: a car carrying four thuggish looking characters is parked on a side street as your march walks by. Later that car speeds by across the rear of your march and someone is knocked down. You got the license plate earlier and recognize the car, although no one was able to get the plates at the time of the hit and run. Later, because of your astuteness the car is identified as belonging to a known member of the KKK. (Of course, a picture taken when they were on the side street would have been better.)

Cameras: There is no general right to privacy in Canada. You can take people's pictures without their permission.

The camera is a powerful weapon. At rallies, demonstrations, etc. they are essential. The more the better. *But you must arrange for them to be there.* You cannot rely on someone showing up with one. And you certainly cannot count on someone with the right consciousness about these matters turning up with a camera. Use them to:

- provide some deterrence to police brutality. The sound of shutters clicking in those tense moments sometimes can prevent the police from doing things which they might otherwise do.
- take pictures of the licence plates that you want to record.

- take pictures of the police, both plainclothes "old clothes" and uniformed. Later witnesses may want to identify the officer who did the dirty deed.

- take pictures of those you *only* suspect of being police. They may show up later in more interesting circumstances.

- take pictures of those who seem to be provocateurs.

- take pictures of those who you suspect of being fascist thugs.

- take pictures of any "incident" including arrests. These can be useful in both the press and in court.

- get shots of the general lay-out. This helps in court too.

Remember that cameras have a tendency to fall out of hands when they are capturing scenes that are damaging to the police public image. Often one finds that one gets an excellent picture of a policeman's palm print rather than the scene one intended to photograph. However, when there are many cameras as it is possible to get pictures of these "accidents" where cameras are destroyed or of the police officer posing his palm for a photograph. Bring enough film!

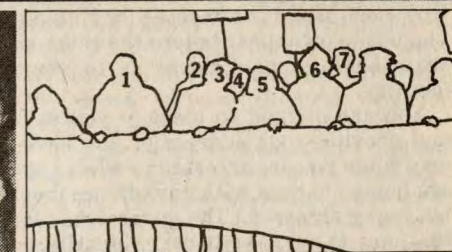
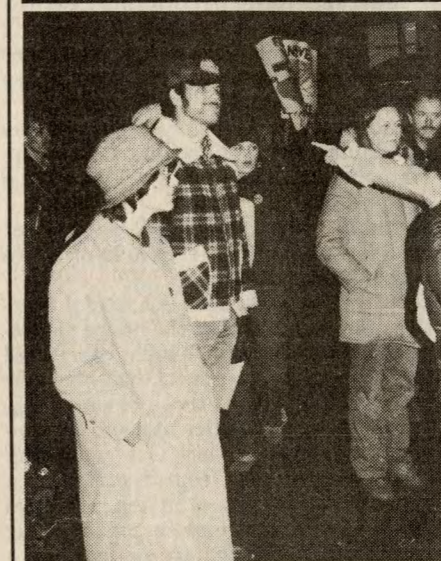
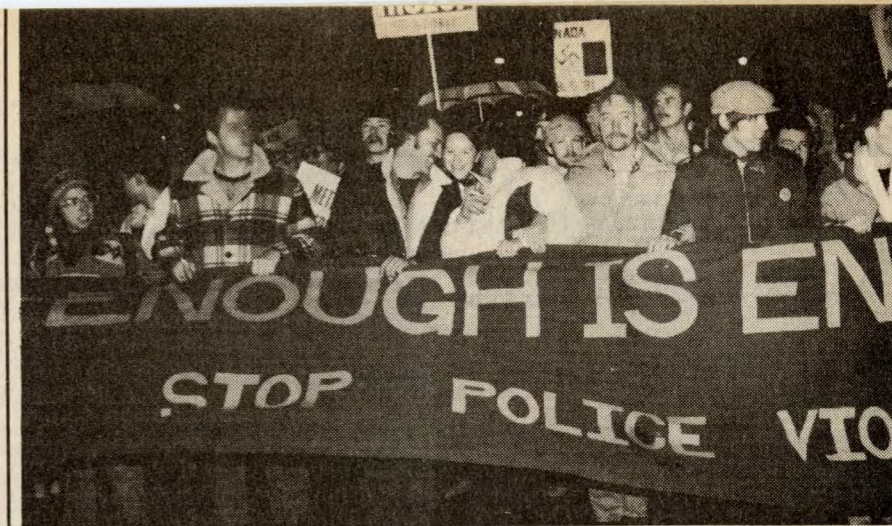
Preserving the photographic evidence for the court is critical. The main problem is that of "continuity". This means that in the court it is necessary to show a continuous chain of possession of the film, negatives and prints. This must be done to counter any suggestion that these items have been tampered with. It is necessary to have the negatives so that it can be established that the prints are in fact derived from the negatives, etc. Also it must be shown that the prints made were not selected to avoid the more damaging evidence (or to provide only the damaging evidence).

The safest way to handle this problem of continuity is to have as few people as possible handle the film, negatives and prints. The best situation is to have one person take the pictures, and develop the film. In that case it is necessary to call only one witness. That witness can establish that there has been no possibility of tampering. It will be necessary to be able to establish that no other person has had the opportunity to come into possession of the film, negatives or prints. Therefore, you want to be able to say something like "I took the film home, I locked it in a drawer (or I placed it where no one else had access to it) and I developed the film myself and I can account for where these items were at all times from the time I put the film into my camera until I have brought them to court on this day."

The other concern that the court will have is that the photographer can testify that the print is an accurate reflection of what he or she saw with the naked eye through the view finder. For that reason it is necessary to use film that does not "distort" reality and also to not have any settings that would have similar results.

Tape Recorders. It may be useful to record comments made by the police, a factory owner, scab, provocateur, or perhaps participants in your own demonstration, rally or march. A recording device that is not visible has certain obvious advantages but one that is visible may have the same deterrent effect that the presence of cameras often has. (Recordings also have their uses for the media.)

This kind of evidence is admissible in the court but there are certain procedures that must be followed as there are with photographs.



(Top) During the February 20th rally protesting the bath raids in Toronto, seven undercover cops were identified later in this photo carrying the 'Stop Police Violence' banner, that led the march. The Right to Privacy Committee, in a press conference later, proved with exhaustive photo documentation the shocking extent of police infiltration at the rally — 28 undercover cops have been identified so far. (left) Although a woman correctly fingered this man as an undercover cop during the rally, she didn't know that the woman on his right (No. 4) was one too: (right) No. 9, the man on the left, in action again: this time monitoring a city council meeting where the council voted for an independent inquiry into the raids.

- there is the problem of "continuity". (Read above with respect to photographs ie. under the heading "cameras.")

- you must have someone who will be able to identify the voice. That is, someone who can connect the voice to a particular individual. Thus, it is necessary to remember who was making the remarks you have recorded. In the case of a police officer you might want to write down the officer's name or badge number and with other individuals you will have to rely on some method of identification. You might want to indicate the place on the tape (by use of the counter) where the relevant recording begins and/or ends.
- you will have to be able to testify that the tape was run through and found to be clean before the recording in question was made. You don't want to have your recording of Bach played

in the court before you get to the relevant portion.

- you will have to testify that the machine was in proper working order.
- you have played the tape over after making the recording and heard voices that you can identify.
- a transcript of the recording has been made. If typed, then keep the original notes.
- the transcript has been checked with the original recording by the witness who will introduce the recording in evidence.

Walkie-talkies. These allow you to keep in touch with your friends who are ten blocks ahead of you (you hope) at the other end of the march. They also allow you to speak to people who are walking in the surrounding area to see if the police mounted squad, or riot squad is forming up, or to see if some fascist

gang is approaching.

Of course the police use these as well so that you must remember that you will be talking to them as well (and they may be talking to you).

A lawyer's phone number. Have the organizers arranged for lawyers to be available?

What identification to carry

If you are arrested you sometimes (depending on the gravity of the offence with which you have been charged) can be released from the police station. However, one of the excuses for holding you until you appear before the court is that there is some doubt as to your identity.

You are obliged to identify yourself and provide your address (if you have one) when you are arrested or when you are being charged with any offence (but not being arrested.) The general rule is that you do not have to carry identification in this country.

If you have some identification your chances of being released from the station are much greater. Nevertheless, something like a birth certificate or driver's licence should be enough and you may not wish to provide the police with the knowledge of every club you belong to, your place of work, etc. In that case you should only take with you the identification you will require for release.

You may wish to carry no identification. As long as you provide your name and address (if you have one), you have fulfilled your obligations. You may find that you are held in custody until your trial if the court is not satisfied that you have been identified. But after your trial, and any sentence that you may have to serve, you will be released because there will be no grounds for holding you. There is no *right* on the part of the state to hold someone for the purposes of identification when there are no charges pending. Of course, if you have committed an indictable offence (more serious than a summary offence) they will have the right to take your fingerprints and they may be able to match them up with your prints taken on an earlier or later occasion. Providing a false name to the police may amount to "obstruct police" or "public mischief".

What to leave behind. Even the innocent are arrested (and arrest includes the right to search) so:

- leave your three joints behind.
- remember what might be construed to be a weapon.
- make your decision on what ID to leave behind (if not all) — see section "what identification to take with you."
- leave behind your address books and any other papers that you don't want the police to see. There is no need to

help them complete their charts on who is connected with whom.

Remember that your arrest may inspire the police to pay a visit to your home, so you should also consider the security of your home. Thus leaving things behind may not mean leaving them in your house.

Going there

By car. You may want to park a good distance from the site if you are concerned with not being identified. If you don't your licence plate may be traced.

Warrants for unpaid tickets also provide the excuse for arrest and you will miss the march, or your dinner after the march, while you sit in the police station waiting to be bailed out.

Inoperative lights or other obvious mechanical defects provide the excuse for police hassling and a request for a driver's licence.

By public transit. You might want to get off a few stops early or late in order to look over the scene.

Scouting the area. This is a useful practice. You will find that the police are doing the same thing. You are concerned (perhaps) with the fact that the riot squad is forming up three blocks away, or at the closest police station. Or, you may find that a fascist is unloading their baseball bats from the trunk of a car and you, the casual citizen, will have obtained the licence plate, model of car and colour, and if you are really good, a picture as well. You may then be able to alert your friends at the rally or march. (this will be easier if you have your walkie-talkie). You *may* want to alert the police (getting the name or number of the officer you tell) so that they will not be able to say later that they were unable to protect you because of the "surprise".

Once you are there

Who to be with. In general it is better to be with four or five other people who have an agreement that they will stick together. These "affinity groups" provide for good self defence. The isolated individual is an easy target for police abuse or fascist attack. The isolated individual may find that he or she has no witnesses.

What you say. Remember the stranger beside you may not be a friend. Standard police practice includes placing officers in a crowd (some wired for sound perhaps). Parabolic microphones, which pick up sound from a great distance (including your suggestion to trash the building), are standard police equipment as well.

What they say. Write down or tape record the words of provocateurs and of course get their pictures. See section on cameras and tape recorders.

Pointing out the undercover police. It is

certainly nice for someone to know that they are speaking to or within the hearing range of a police officer. Even the most innocent conversations can be misconstrued and of course there is the danger of embellishment. Some courts have held that, in some circumstances exposing an undercover police officer will amount to the crime of "obstruct police". Of course there are still ways to *not* commit the crime and accomplish one's purpose. It is not uncommon for large numbers of people to begin chanting and pointing to an officer.

Common offences charged

The most common offences charged at demonstrations, rallies or marches are assault; assault police in the execution of their duty; assault to resist arrest; obstruct police in the execution of their duty; mischief to property; causing a disturbance; possession of a weapon dangerous to the public peace or carrying a concealed weapon; and trespass. Less common are unlawful assembly, riotous assembly and conspiracy.

Assault. This offence includes not only touching someone without their consent but also attempting, or threatening by acts or gestures, to apply force to another person.

Assault police. This is an assault on a peace officer. The peace officer must be "engaged in the execution of his/her duty" otherwise it is just a common assault. In some instances an assault will not be illegal because it is done in self defence or there is some other lawful excuse. Similarly with assault police if the police officer is not in the execution of his/her duty you may get away with the assault. But don't count on it.

Assault to resist arrest. The arrest may be your own or someone else's. The arrest must be legal for this charge to be made out. However, this is also a hard one to beat since the courts tend to lean over backwards to avoid finding an arrest is not legal. One is allowed to use "reasonable force" to resist an illegal arrest of oneself. There is some doubt about your right to aid someone else who is being illegally arrested, although the English common law tradition said you could.

Obstruct police. Once again the police officer must be in the execution of his or her duty. Your interference (or obstruction) must be willful. For instance, if you are knocked into a police officer while that officer is trying to make an arrest and the person is being arrested escapes, then you will not be guilty. But if you intentionally interfere — you will be guilty. If the arrest is illegal you have no problem in either case. At least theoretically.

Mischief to property. To qualify for a conviction in this case you must wilfully destroy or damage property or render

property dangerous, useless, inoperative or ineffective or obstruct, interrupt or interfere with the lawful use, enjoyment or operation of property etc. This is the one they use when you destroy the Toronto Sun paper box after they print another racist or sexist article, or when you stop a car trying to cross a picket line.

Causing a disturbance. You have to do this in, or near, a public place and not be in a dwelling house. You can do it by fighting, screaming, shouting, swearing, singing (presumably the wrong songs) or using insulting or obscene language. Also this can be done by being drunk and as well by impeding or molesting other persons. There are other methods as well. This is the charge they trot out when they don't like the chants at your demonstration or they claim that your picket is impeding the traffic (pedestrian or vehicular).

Trespass. This is not a "criminal offence" it is a "Provincial offence". However, you probably won't appreciate the difference while you are being arrested, carried to the paddy wagon and lodged in a cell before your release. At the moment the maximum fine is \$100.00 but the government of Ontario has announced plans to increase this amount to several thousand. They could include a jail term in the new law as well. Trespass involves entering unlawfully (without their permission) another person's land when that land is enclosed or it is a garden or lawn, or notice has been given by word of mouth, writing, posters or signs.

Unlawful assembly. You can commit this offence by getting together with two other people (at least) *with intent* to carry out some common purpose and you assemble in a manner that causes people nearby to fear that (a) you will "disturb the peace tumultuously" or (b) you will needlessly and without reasonable cause, provoke others to "disturb the peace tumultuously".

Riot. This is an unlawful assembly that in fact "has begun to disturb the peace tumultuously". If a sheriff or sheriff's deputy reads certain magic words after a riot has started and you are still around after 30 minutes you will have committed a much more serious offence. Similarly if you interfere with the reading of the magic words.

Conspiracy. The essence of this charge is the *making of the agreement*. It is the agreeing that is the crime. That is why you always need two people to have this crime committed. You have to agree to "effect an unlawful purpose" or to "effect an unlawful purpose by unlawful means." You do not have to do anything but make such an agreement. The prosecutors like this charge because there are special rules of evidence which apply and make their task easier; that is anything any of the

"conspirators" does to further the conspiracy can be used to convict you as well as that other person. This is why you have to be careful about where you talk, who you talk with (try to exclude agents from your planning meetings) and what you say. Theoretically, you could get two years for agreeing to Jay walk with someone else. You have agreed to effect an unlawful purpose. This is the one they used to get the early unionists on, when they agreed to "restrain trade" by keeping wages up. Now they talk about conspiracies to breach contracts since breaking a contract is illegal — two years for a wildcat!

Part two: arrest

If you're not under arrest. You are under no obligation to chat with a cop or to identify yourself with two exceptions:

- if you're the *driver* (and note that we mean driver, not passenger) of a vehicle, you are required to produce ID if a cop stops you. But that's all: you don't have to talk with him/her.
- unfortunately, a very recent decision by the Supreme Court of Canada suggests that there is another situation in which you need to identify yourself to the cops. A bicyclist out in Victoria ran a red light. A cop saw him do it. When the cop caught up with him, the guy refused to identify himself. He was charged with obstructing the officer in the execution of his duties and was convicted. The Supreme Court held that he was rightly convicted. Now the cop's problem in the case was that because the offense was so minor, the cop couldn't actually arrest the guy. But he *could* send him a summons, if only he knew who he was and where he lived. The Supreme Court felt that in that particular situation that the public interest demanded that a person should be required to identify him/herself.

So, what should you do if a cop starts talking to you on the street? Well, if you're not in the mood to have a friendly conversation with a cop, walk away. Unless a cop wants to make his chat with you official, and arrest you, treat the cop like anybody else you don't want to speak to. Now if the cop takes exception to being treated so rudely, we suggest that you sweetly ask if you're under arrest. Unless the answer is a clear "yes", then keep walking. If the answer is "yes", then ask what for. The cop must tell you — but only if you ask. If the cop asks you to identify yourself, then you should again ask if you're under arrest, but also ask if he wishes to charge you with an offence. If he says yes, ask what offense. Then ask him/her if he/she saw you committing the offense. Even with the new decision of the Supreme Court, you don't have to identify yourself unless:

- the cop wants to send you a sum-

mons.

- the cop actually *saw* you do something illegal.
- the cop tells you what he saw you do and what law you broke.

There may be situations in which you *do* wish to give the cop information about who you are, or what you're doing, but remember that if you do, there are no rules that will protect you later if you volunteer information that they can use against you in court.

Being arrested. A cop can indicate to you that you're under arrest by telling you, or by touching you. If a cop touches you, you should ask if you're under arrest. If the answer isn't a clear "yes", tell the cop to take his mitts off you. If the answer is "yes", then ask what for. If you *ask* the cop has to tell you.

It sometimes happens that a cop will want to "take you in for questioning". The cop has absolutely no power to do this if you don't want to go along. To take you anywhere, a cop must arrest you. That is, a cop can take you in, if you agree to go. But unless you agree, the cop is powerless to make you. But if you agree to go, then you must realize that you can't complain about it later. A few really bad cops might tell you that if you don't come along willingly they *will* arrest you. You'll have to decide whether or not to call their bluff. If you feel that you have nothing to lose, you might want to go along, but we suggest that you tell a cop that you'd like to talk to your lawyer first, and that you will call the station later to make arrangements. Then find a lawyer — fast: the cops won't be wanting to talk to you because they think you're a model citizen. Remember: they want something. Are you willing to provide whatever it is they want?

In Canada, there is no such thing as being arrested "on suspicion" of some crime. If a cop tells you that you're being arrested on suspicion, walk away.

When can a cop arrest you? If he has a warrant for your arrest, he can certainly do so. If he has no warrant, then he can only arrest you if he suspects that you've committed some serious offence or if he actually finds you committing a minor offence, such as causing a disturbance. It's not likely that you will know exactly which side of the line the offense you're charged with lies (most lawyers have to look these things up in the Criminal Code). Some of the minor offenses for which you can only be arrested if you're found actually committing the offense are: doing an indecent act, being nude in public, causing a disturbance, trespassing at night, throwing a stink bomb, *any* provincial offense or breach of a by-law, such as the by-law prohibiting postering.

If the cops want to arrest you for any of the things listed above, they can't do it unless they actually found you com-

mitting the offense.

If you are being taken away without a lawful arrest, protest. But don't physically resist — they're better armed than you are in most cases. If there's anybody else around, ask them to witness what's going on. Give them your lawyer's name. Make an illegal arrest as public as possible. You will probably want to sue later, and you'll need witnesses, because the cops certainly won't admit what really happened.

You have the right to remain silent

There is no way to overemphasize this point: Once you are under arrest, anything you say will be used against you. And it isn't true that only *signed* statements can be used against you. *Anything you say to the cops can be used against you in court. Anything.* Now let's suppose that you're not guilty. And further suppose that you can point out to them things that you think will prove to them that you aren't guilty: maybe you were somewhere else when the crime was committed. Add to this fact that you'd like to get the hell out of the police station and get home for supper. So you tell them why you're innocent. But maybe they lied to you — maybe the time they gave you for when the crime occurred is not correct, and you unwittingly place yourself at the scene at exactly the time it really happened. Or maybe you're upset and you aren't thinking clearly and tell them facts that aren't accurate. Perhaps you say that you were at a friend's house between 6-9 p.m. Maybe if you thought about it with a cool head, you'd discover that you were at the friend's house not between 6-9 p.m. but 5-8 p.m. or 7-11 p.m. Suppose that the cops can later prove that you weren't at your friend's house at six. It may only have been a mistake on your part, but you can be sure that in court it will look as if you were covering up. Getting home for supper pales in significance to being convicted of a criminal offense. *You have the right to remain silent. Exercise your rights.* The best way to exercise your rights is not to stand mute, but to say: "I am not going to discuss a matter as serious as this until I've talked to my lawyer." (That phrase was lifted from the book *LAW, LAW, LAW*). The stories about how cops get you to talk when you don't want to are legion. They'll try to get you talking about your family or another "safe" topic, and before you know it, you've said something incriminating. *Shut up.* Save pleasantries for your friends.

There is one exception to the silence rule. If you are charged with possession of stolen items, then you *must* give your innocent explanation of how they came into your possession as soon as you're asked. If you fail to give your in-

nocent explanation right away, the Crown can rely on that fact at your trial to help prove that you *did* know the stuff was stolen.

Warning. if the police really want to get you, they may put a cop in the van that carries you to court, or in the cell next to you. The cop will look just like all the other people who are in jail. But if you talk to him, he will make notes later. If you say anything incriminating the court will know. So don't talk to other prisoners about your case, either. You may think you'd be able to spot a cop, but many are the people who have been fooled right into a long prison sentence. Talk *only* to your lawyer about your case.

Calling your lawyer. The other right you have at the station is the right to call your lawyer. But you've got to ask. And the right to call your lawyer is not one that you can only have "later." You can call a lawyer immediately. Insist on it. Now, when you call your lawyer, don't discuss the case with him/her. The cops may have all the phones tapped. Just tell your lawyer what the charge is. After you finish talking privately (and your right to talk to a lawyer means a *private talk* — tell the cops to leave the room), your lawyer will talk to the cops later to get more details.

What if you're being beaten up, and you think it won't stop unless you forget about your right to remain silent? Well, it's true that anything you say because of threats can't be held against you in court, but it often happens that officers will swear they didn't lay a hand on you — and guess who judges believe in court? Hold out as long as you are able.

Things that will happen at the station. You'll be booked. You'll be searched. You will be asked to give all kinds of information about yourself: address, religion, education, etc. You don't have to answer these questions, but it's probably wise to do so, unless you have some special reason for not doing so. The reason you should answer these questions (as opposed to questions about the offense, where you were, etc.) is that you want to get out of custody. And no one, cop or judge is going to let you out of custody if they don't know how to find you again. So unless giving answers to these questions puts you in some further jeopardy, answer them. You may be fingerprinted, which means you'll be taken to headquarters, and then back to the station again.

Getting out. In most cases (not all) the cops can release you from the station if you promise to appear in court on a date they specify. For some offenses, they *must* release you from the station. If you're not released from the station, you'll be taken to court either that afternoon (if this takes place early in the day), or the next morning. Then your lawyer will argue for your release

from the courthouse. Often conditions will be put on your release. You may have to promise to report to the police once a week, or sign a document that says you will pay the court money if you fail to show up for the trial. The Court may ask that someone else sign to guarantee that they will pay if you don't show up.

If you haven't been able to get hold of a lawyer by the time you go to court for bail, speak to the *duty counsel* — there will always be one in bail court. If duty counsel can get the Crown Attorney to agree to terms of release, then let duty counsel go ahead and speak on your behalf. But unless duty counsel has struck a bargain with the Crown, then have the matter put over to the next day so that your lawyer can get there to argue for you. Duty counsel will see to it that your lawyer is called if you ask him/her to. The reason it's better to spend another night in jail instead of letting duty counsel argue for you (when there's an argument about whether or not you should be released) is because duty counsel is overworked and can only get sketchy details about who you are, and so on. If there's going to be an argument about whether or not you should be released pending trial, it's best to have someone arguing on your behalf who has lots of details. And if you lose the bail hearing, it takes a while longer to appeal the decision, so you'll be locked up longer than just one more night.

Citizens as cops. Citizens may arrest other citizens in certain situations (but be careful — the citizen you arrest may sue you if you detained him/her unlawfully):

- you can interfere to prevent a continuance or renewal of a breach of the peace (i.e. a fight) and detain a person who is committing the breach *for the purpose* (only) of handing that person over to a real cop. You can use no more force than necessary to stop the breach or than is reasonable in relation to the seriousness of the breach of peace being committed.
- anyone can arrest (this is your famous "citizen's arrest") a person that he finds actually committing a serious offense (you can't arrest for the offenses we listed above) or who has committed *any* criminal offense and is escaping from the cops.
- if you're in lawful possession of property, you can arrest anyone committing an offense on or in relation to that property (for instance, it's *ok* to detain the peeping tom looking in your window).

If you arrest someone, you must turn that person over to a real cop right away. Note: Security guards, store detectives and the like have no more powers of arrest than ordinary citizens, but they know the above rules better than most of us.



MAMA QUILLA II

The night a women's band won the Super Bowl ...and other frontline stories.

John Greyson and Clive Robertson of FUSE talked with the members of Mama Quilla II, on March 12th, 1981. The following is a condensed version of the interview. Mama Quilla, a Toronto feminist rock band came out of the women's community where they were first visible at the annual Fireweed Festival Dances. Making an historic appearance at the 7th Women's Music Festival in Champaign, Illinois (1980), Mama Quilla have taken their dynamic women's music into downtown clubs including the El Mocambo, the Cabana Room, the Edge and the Horseshoe.

Lorraine Segato (vocals/rhythm guitar), Susan Sturman (lead guitar), Maxine Welsh (conga/percussion), Linda Robitaille (saxophone/vocals), B.J. Danylchuk (keyboards/vocals), Jacqui Shedker (bass), Linda Jain (drums) and Nancy Poole (sound processing and manager).

FUSE: So how did Mama Quilla get together?

Linda R: Everbody met very definitely through the women's community — that's where it all came from.

Nancy: It was new year's of 78/79 when a number of women got on stage. Linda had decided to play drums and three months later there the band was. It arose out of women wanting women to play at women's benefits.

FUSE: So the band had a function playing benefits?

Linda R: We were a benefit band for a number of years (laughter). It started out as being folksy. I was playing acoustic guitar and sax, we had an acoustic piano and another acoustic guitar. And then people started coming in. Susan was next and then B.J. used to be our sound person; she got up on stage one night to do some vocals and never returned to the sound board. There was a whole community of musicians that included Susan Cole and Cathy McKay (with No Frills) and Jacqui who had played together before.

B.J: I remember talking Jacqui into joining just for one gig. One more gig, and one more and so on.

Jacqui: And I kept saying I don't want to play that shit.

Linda R: I have played off and on for twelve years same as Jacqui and Cathy Mackay. Susan Cole and I had never really met before I got into the women's movement.

B.J: Lorraine and I met just before Fireweed in 1979 and had a long harangue about what kind of piano would be good.

Linda R: Unknown to me, Lorraine was working on the Fireweed committee and I was complaining to B.J. that they didn't have it together and Lorraine, who had had little sleep in five days suddenly burst out with "What do you mean?"

Nancy: What was really important about that first night and the next two years was the support from the women's community. At those dances we played whatever was up, disco tapes, whatever. Finally it was exciting actually to have women up there.

Max: I was just amazed, I was playing with my mouth wide open because I was relatively new to the band and I was playing on the edge of the stage and these women were jumping so much that my congas were slipping. I thought — what am I doing here? Everybody was so excited but I wasn't sure why.

Susan: I think music has been a really vital thread. Not just in our community but throughout North America and it was a real energy focusing at a particular time and we made our first serious move towards making music when the bar (The Fly-by-Night) was opening and Broadside (a feminist newspaper) was starting. I think the way those kind of events pull the community together are really important. We get a lot out of it for that reason, and also a lot of women felt the same joy, that there was something that they could focus on and get some impetus from. Since then it's spawned a lot of other women who have been getting into their own music.

Max: I think that women in Toronto at that time had been to the women's music festivals in Michigan and Illinois and there was a feeling that some of that spirit could exist here in Toronto.

Few role models

Linda R: I'd play in bars for so many years, mainly with women's groups, and to go and experience Michigan and Champaign and that amount of women together was great. When you play in the bar scene you don't get to see many other women's bands. I was in one of the first women's rock n' roll bar bands that refused to play topless. Women's music has gone through so many changes...

Lorraine: But don't you think Mama Quilla started defining itself more clearly in a political way in the last fourteen months? Mama Quilla was always made up of feminists but it's just in the

last year that the women's community gave us the confidence to venture out and define those things on a more visible level.

Max: I worked as a percussionist, I didn't speak Spanish, I wasn't male, I was an older female. I didn't have Cuban heels and they'd always say why are you doing this? Partly through the band and the women's music festivals, I've met excellent percussionists — women from Alive and Dia Mata. It's so good to sit down and talk about percussion without having to get into did a man teach you?

Nancy: Also the day I went with you to the Toronto Percussion Centre and you introduced me as someone who was working in a rock band. They looked at you as if you were nuts. You were a percussionist in a rock band!

FUSE: What seems related is the way that a lot of newer musicians have developed as musicians. It seems to suggest a different function than a traditional dream?

Susan: I think in many ways it's inevitable for women to choose that route. When you finally dare get involved yourself, you are a lot older than most male musicians who've decided that they want to be a guitar player or a bass player. You've made some other choices around your life in terms of what you're doing. There's an awkwardness about starting late and it's not as easy to approach learning with the same humility.

Jacqui: Even more so for rock n' roll.

Lorraine: The first time I ever had a drummer and bass player behind my music I was playing acoustic and people came up to me and said why don't you go electric and sing some other kind of music. I kept thinking of the transformation I would have to make personally to put on an electric guitar — I mean I thought I would have to get certain clothes for the task (laughter). Even though the music I had been playing was fast, it was by no means rock n' roll. I thought something different would happen when I changed but it's like a suit — just take it in a little bit and it will still fit, still be okay.

Susan: It means you don't take learning your instrument for granted and you don't take three-easy-steps to success. Every time I hear those hard-road-to-rock-and-roll songs being made by bands making millions of dollars, I feel like vomiting. It all seems like a big lie that, say, young guys in basement bands believe. And I think in some

ways we're immune to that.

FUSE: In the same way I think that one of the advantages for you is that you don't as a women's rock n' roll band, have to live up to the 'story'. You knew from the start that it was not allowed. You had few, if any, role models.

Susan: That's for damn sure!

Max: I think the opposite happens for women who see the band. They don't find the same mystique or barriers. I was talking to a guitar player in Ottawa. She was unsure, but she did know that there was some place to go for a change as a musician and it was becoming her decision and not a dictation by the music industry.

8,000 women talking behind your back?

FUSE: Also most people begin without a specific audience in mind, whereas you know who you're addressing your music to.

Susan: We could not get away with star-tripping with the audience that we play to — just as a political dictum, it's one of the most heinous crimes that any women performer could commit. Just think of 8,000 women talking behind your back at one of the festivals!

Max: We spend a lot of time as individuals talking to the audience. People we know and people we don't know. We are all aware that there's an educational process involved on both sides — and I think we as individuals seem to make a conscious effort to break down the normal barriers. We've always insisted our sound engineer or road manager are members of the band, that it's not just musicians that make the performance.

FUSE: What was it like to play at the Women's Music Festival in Champaign?

B.J: Very crowded sleeping arrangements.

Jacqui: Fourteen people in one room on a hot summer night.

Jacqui: They didn't like rock n' roll. They were into disco as dance music.

Lorraine: But some people really dug us.

B.J: They didn't know whether it was politically correct to play rock n' roll.

Jacqui: They hadn't really thought about the possibility of reclaiming rock (as women's music), so we had to get past that.

Lorraine: But there was more than just folk music, there was everything from country to jazz, some fiddle and for some reason that was more acceptable.

FUSE: You were the only rock band there?

B.J: Oh yeah ... well the closest was Terri Garthwaite.

Susan: Well there was a day-stage band called Electric Lady. They played one afternoon, did some Patti Smith tunes and a lot of the younger women were really receptive to that. I felt the same



Mama Quilla II in concert: "I want people who listen to the music to be alert to those things I feel are threatening to women."

thing when we played — it was sort of more their music. A lot of women were not willing to make the mindstretch required to somehow like rock again, because for a lot of them it seemed that they had been away so long. It was almost alien music.

Jacqui: There were all sorts of connotations like not being womanly.

Susan: Connotations they had almost learned by rote. In some ways it was P.I. (politically incorrect). It was like there was a whole list of reasons, and in spite of the fact that we stood there challenging those same reasons — the resistance still seemed to be there.

Max: I think in addition to that, it might have something to do with age. In a gathering like that where some people are there for political rather than musical reasons they're there to listen to the words. They get support and

encouragement from the lyrics. So when they're listening to Holly Near or someone like that, they hear all the words without any problems. They have difficulty with rock n' roll because they can't understand the lyrics right off the bat.

Nancy: Another thing we had there was that all the musicians did workshops, so you had ample opportunity to discuss the music. Alive, the women's jazz ensemble from the States, helped us. They've worked out a lot of stuff. They're a larger group who have lived, worked and travelled together with a great sense of energy.

Lorraine: We work as a collective very much. For us to communicate any kind of musical idea, we have to communicate with everybody. The structure is such that it takes longer, is more painful, but makes for the kind of music

KKK

1 There's no need for panic
It's no 'racial incident'
(An) Indian boy was strangled
but it was an 'accident'
A member of the Klan lived just upstairs
It was mere co-incidence
White power, white sheets, white lies
The colour of his innocence

2. Hold on to your smugness
No matter what the cost
Don't believe the danger
'Til you see a burning cross
'Everyone is equal'
'It can't happen here'
Tell that to the ones who want to hate
'wops, niggers, kikes, and queers'.

CHORUS:

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)
Master plan (master plan, master man)

Our destruction (KKK)
is their Final Solution

3. Women chained to kitchen, kids and church
Boy scouts trained to kill
Klan enemies like Reds and gays
Bigots are not hidden by their sheets
They're hidden by complacency
'Til they wipe us off the streets
in the name of 'decency'

CHORUS (repeat)

(dub, rap on Chorus: e.g. 'Final Solution, Racial Pollution, Our Destruction is just around the bend', 'Kinder, Kirche, Kuche, Remingtons and Lugers...', etc.) (Then rap: various liberal truisms, ending with 'There's no use in getting paranoid...')

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that we do.
 FUSE: How much strain do you feel is put on the collective by the fact that Mama Quilla is not your full-time job?
 B.J.: Tremendous (laughter)
 Nancy: That is the most debilitating factor we have to face.
 B.J.: It just drives you crazy.
 Max: It isn't just having day jobs. It's when we decide, okay this is it, I'm moving over. We quit our day jobs and then start running out of money and there's a strain in paying rent, food etc... So we have to take part-time jobs. It then becomes not taking work by choice.
 Lorraine: It's also that most of us or maybe all of us have jobs that are not your regular basic day jobs — they are equally as demanding as the band would be full-time.
 Linda R: You're drained — for some of us it's been four years, or maybe two, that's a long time.
 Susan: You have to make your economic ends meet in a system that's antithetical to what we're specifically doing. The kind of community that we are trying to continue among ourselves and be part of the larger women's community — a community that's trying to be self-sufficient but hasn't been. It's not like the economic base that say the gay male community has. You constantly have to defer your aspirations, it's very frustrating and an anger-making process and sometimes we can't target the cause and we bring it directly into the band and hit each other with it in an indirect way.

Working in party time

FUSE: I remember you saying once that you felt that Mama Quilla was the most important and effective work you could do within the women's community.
 Susan: For me, I think it is probably the most effective way to convey a particular energy that really strengthens and solidifies the community. I think there is other political work that we do that's equally important, and sometimes more important. Now is a time for rallying around. So much is going on, we have to be on top of it and be aware in the larger community, what the police are doing and so on.
 Max: I've found with other women who are very political that it's very P.I. to play. Why are you at a dance when you could be folding leaflets? I think that's changing. Our music is constructive politics; sometimes, as we have said, we assist the unification process.
 FUSE: Getting back to the politics of rock n' roll and its historical chauvinism. When I hear Mama Quilla's music and its relation to black music, I see that as its political connection.
 Lorraine: It's hard for me to think of Mama Quilla as a rock n' roll band, although we play the music — I see it really more as a funkier kind of band.
 Jacqui: As a bass player those are my roots. And Linda's too. The whole rhythm section is into R & B.
 Max: I'm still not sure it's a conscious effort, certainly not on my part. But when you're talking about percussion you know it *has* to have its roots in Black

music.
 Nancy: I feel that Sippy Wallace and early black women are important precursors of rock music.
 Susan: I think that Alive in particular is conscious of its identification with roots music because they want to be more connected with music that came out of the earth. They've very much ecologically and spiritually based. I think on a more unconscious level we might be evolving that for ourselves. It also is important because of the size of the band. David Byrne talked about the democratization in African music that relies on each player giving a small part to the total sound. That certainly describes some of our recent work. When we started we just clunked along. It went thud, thud, thud. As we gain confidence and learn to work together the connections become more important.
 B.J.: One of the reasons that people get into rhythmic music, African music, latin music is that it changes their alpha waves and party time. (laughter) Well, it's true and that's unconsciously what we're doing, ladies, I'm sorry but we're a biological experiment. (more laughter).
 Lorraine: We're still working out what to do with our rap, our telling stories, in this band. It happens in "Alienation", "Angry Young Women" and "After Tonight."
 Nancy: I think it is really important that it be sensual music as well as a polemic. We recognize that we must move peoples bodies *and* their minds.
 FUSE: So what differences are there for you playing the benefits to playing at say the El Mocambo or The Edge?
 Lorraine: I like playing for smaller audiences.

Susan: I think that what terrifies bands about playing the Edge is that they expect a hostile audience. If you allow the obnoxious pseudo-Johnny Rotten look-alikes to sense that you're freaked out by them, or if you're really belligerent and aggressive they can get off on that. It's just the energy they want, the energy they can throw back at you. But if you hit them with a wall of powerful women-identified music, they can't deal with it. "Where is *this* coming from?" I was worried but they didn't know what to do with us. It was alien to their experience. Maybe they just decided to lay back.

Turning their heads

Max: At the El Mocambo the big thing for me was on one side there is the stand-up bar and that night the Super Bowl was on their TV. I said to Nancy do we have to compete with that, can't we switch it off? She said, "No, we can't". So I'm positioned on stage where I can see the TV and I'm watching all these men with their backs to me standing with their drinks watching

the Super Bowl. It was almost like a challenge. Can we turn their heads? Well the game was on and one by one they turned until finally that whole side of the room was looking our way — nobody was watching TV.
 Lorraine: It was good. It took them all of twenty-five minutes. "All women" they were thinking. How do they play those things, holy shit, how do they do that?
 Susan: It's quite obvious that we are not trying to sex things up on stage in the way women performers are usually seen. Also these clubs are not the end for us. It's not our goal, so we'll put the energy out.
 FUSE: You've also mentioned before the progressive women that have played in mixed bands and their effect on women's musical roles?
 Lorraine: They're important. When we did an interview with Jeannie Becker (City TV's New Music) I was thinking that's not fair. She wanted us to say something critical about Pat Benetar and we did. I don't think it's the purpose of Mama Quilla to comment on other women, feminist or not. Especially in comparative terms that, for us, would not be instructive.
 Susan: It's a patriarchal trick question.
 Max: Just for the record, I went to a concert recently at the St. Lawrence Center. It was a Stuttgart chamber orchestra playing Brahms, it was good but there was only one woman in the orchestra. One violinist and she was not even in the first string. And they played a work that needed a harpsichord who was a woman. I was clapping by myself. So it's not just pop music.
 FUSE: Are you thinking about recording?
 B.J.: We have a few options, we haven't been forced to choose yet, so we haven't decided.
 Jacqui: I don't think as a band we have discussed this next stage.
 Nancy: There are other decisions that I find hard to make such as how do we get money and how do we charge for what we do.
 Lorraine: When people say "I can't afford to see your band" it makes me crazy.
 Nancy: When nuclear disarmament groups, political groups, or whatever, want you to perform and they find out what it costs it's scary. We do generate a lot of money but it's also a lot to put out and it's hard for groups to conceive of that.
 Lorraine: Mama Quilla pays their rent! You should mention our situation.
 Nancy: After eighteen months each musician made one hundred dollars.

The ideology of romance

FUSE: Mama Quilla writes songs about the KKK, child custody cases, the



Hitting the audience with "a wall of powerful women-identified music."

disintegration of the nuclear family. In dealing with social issues within rock, what happens to the lyrics that Max was talking about earlier?
 Max: I wasn't meaning to imply that nobody catches the words or listens to the lyrics. I was talking about a particular group of women who are more familiar with easy listening music and women's music in the early seventies was folk music.
 Susan: There's a kind of women's easy listening music that I personally don't like. In some ways it's insidious, because it lulls people into a false sense of "everything's alright". It's very romantic, a lot of it deals strictly with personal relationships, woman to woman, and it's great that they're women-positive but a lot of the time they don't stretch beyond that. They

tend to make you feel safe within your own community. They're couched in a musical style that makes everyone feel happy, relaxed and sisterly. While there's nothing wrong with that, I live in an urban reality that is often anything but pleasant. That's where I live and write. I see attacks coming towards women on all fronts in that environment and my response to that is angry. I want to be alert and I want people who listen to the music to be alert to those things I feel are threatening to women. For the most part, I've been discontented with a lot of gutlessness of the soft pop mode that's become very popular in women's music. It's beginning to cross over to a mainstream market and just by the virtue of it being women-identified, for me that's not enough. If it's not the music

Alienation

1. I'm living in an Alien Nation
 My back's against the wall
 I'm living in my Alienation
 I find it hard to recall

Image on the sidewalk
 Tombstone shadow
 People making small talk
 You're crowding my sorrow

CHORUS:

It's an Alien Nation
 No one can live in it
 No one can give a shit

It's an Alienation
 I wanna run I wanna hide
 I wanna hide
 I wanna find that ship and ride

2. Before the threat of a nuclear
 devastation
 Before the transformation
 Before the birth of A Ronald Reagan
 Before the so-called women's liberation

It was an image on the sidewalk
 Tombstone shadow
 People making small talk

You're crowding my sorrow

CHORUS

3. The cornered mouse becomes the bear
 Tell me is there anymore clean air
 I know no land has escaped being soiled
 No person, has not been ripped off

Becomes an image on the sidewalk
 Tombstone shadow
 People making small talk
 You're crowding my sorrow

CHORUS:

It's an Alien Nation
 No one can live in it
 No one can give a shit
 It's an Alienation

I use to run
 I use to hide
 I will not hide
 I'm gonna find my way
 to fight, survive

Isolation, confrontation,
 transportation
 I am your travel agent

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It's A War

1. It's a war, and all the little boys display
 their missile fleets
 Atomic armageddon makes the holocaust
 complete
 Did ya hear (did ya hear) (didya hear) the
 the angry rumblings of the earth?
 It's a war — they keep on dealing death
 We keep on giving birth

CHORUS:

Call it out by name — it's a war
 Stop their deadly game — it's a war
 It's who can tell the Biggest Lie
 While Mother Earth and women die

2. It's a war (it's a war) where women
 get murdered in the street
 Where mothers tell their children, 'There's
 nothin' left to eat'
 Didya see (didya see) your sisters in the
 unemployment line?
 It's a war — don'tcha know your chances
 get smaller all the time?

CHORUS

BRIDGE:

They try to keep us deaf and dumb
 They try to keep us blind
 They're messing with our bodies
 And messing with our minds
 They always have to kill
 What won't submit to will
 The earth
 will rise
 And we
 will rise
 We won't
 sit still...

VERSE 1 (repeat)

CHORUS

INSTRUMENTAL BREAK (fade to end)

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that speaks to my experience, I can't truly accept it politically.

B.J.: Well I think that everybody has different experiences and it's unfair to say it's politically invalid or it's invalid musically. For instance Holly Near is a person who plays to people who are basically filled with tension in their lives and she soothes them. People come away feeling re-invigorated, stronger, connected, centred. They go back there and they're back on the front lines. We're currently involved in something different. We are taking the person who is already semi-centred, they're in party-time, and we're saying look at this stuff that you look at all day, the stuff you want to forget about later on in your day. Let's take a fresh look at it, a different attitude so you can

get some perspective and a measure of control. We're focusing on an entirely different thing. But it's similar if the result is that we can be on top of what oppresses us.

Susan: I don't mind love songs, but I object to love songs that simply have the gender substituted.

Jacqui: There's pleasing but then there's inane. I think that's what you're talking about.

Max: I think you're confusing the content with the mode.

Jacqui: When we played in Illinois I was told: "Interesting politics but I don't like your package." They did not like rock n' roll and that was all there was to it.

Lorraine: What we do is important in terms of what we're dealing with. What

they do is important to articulate the fuck-ups in a relationship or the craziness because it's still an unresolved issue. Lesbians, women, men, men and women still haven't worked it out. Sure there's inane music, and a lot of it is the music part but the content is valid.

Susan: There is a danger in the ideology of romance and I don't think women's music is immune to it. As feminists we've talked about and wrestled with heterosexual romance because of its connotations and the ways in which women have been held back or held down by it. In our music we still want some soul connection, we still want to express love in our music, it's just that, let's face it, it's so easy to fall for the cliché. □

LISA STEELE

FEMINIST RESEARCH

Interviews with five women who are actively constructing the links between theory and practice.



(left to right) Thelma McCormack, Margrit Eichler, Naomi Black, Gertrude Robinson, and Angela Miles.

Within academia, there are two requisites: to teach and to research. For women academics, these two are ecologically interdependent because as women began to teach from a feminist perspective, they found that the materials did not exist from which to work. They found that within the accepted literature, women simply did not appear. They were absent. But as women address this absence — their absence — they do not simply 'fill in the holes' in the already existing structure; they redefine the entire structure of social and political relations itself, and in the process often question the way in which the definition is arrived at in the first place. Feminist analysis, feminist theory, feminist research — in their truest spirit, all are attempting more than just 'catching up' to the past. As Jo Freeman said in "The Building of the Gilded Cage": "There is more to oppression than discrimination ... all societies have many ways to keep people in their places ... It will take more than a few changes in the legal system to significantly change the condition of women, although those changes will be reflective of more profound changes taking place in society."

Lisa Steele of FUSE recently interviewed five academic women who are all actively engaged in research in the social sciences: Thelma McCormack, Margrit Eichler, Naomi Black, Angela Miles and Gertrude Robinson. Amongst this group, the range of inquiry is diverse, with some overlap of analysis as well as differences of opinion within conclusions. The selection is not categorically representative, but rather is intended only to reflect the breadth of women's studies at the present time. (All interviews were edited for length).

(The cartoons included in this article are printed courtesy of Pork Roasts, an exhibition of 250 feminist cartoons curated by Avis Lang Rosenberg. The exhibition originated at the University of British Columbia Fine Arts Gallery. A catalogue in comic book format is available from the UBC Fine Arts Gallery, Main Library-1956 Main Mall, UBC, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1Y3).

Thelma McCormack What is non-sexist knowledge?

Thelma McCormack is Professor of Sociology at York University where she is currently chairperson of the Sociology Department. Her research is mainly in communications and political sociology. Her most recent work includes "Good Theory or Just Theory" (a feminist approach to the philosophy of social science) and "Development With Equity for Women" (on women in the Third World).

FUSE: Is there any connection between your personal experiences and your research because the topics are very diverse — pornography, androgyny, voting patterns in families, women's position in the Third World...

Thelma McCormack: I got involved in pornography because back in the '60s I was fascinated by the underground media — the new left, the Berkeley Barb and all that, which seemed to me a very exciting kind of development. And I was also interested in the problems of censorship and wrote an article on the sociology of censorship. But I had no idea of what was being censored, so I thought I should take a look at what it was. Since I was interested in the underground media, I looked there. They were doing a kind of porno-politics — a combination of political dissent and a kind of cultural revolution that was taking the form of what courts were defining as pornography. It was at that point that I started understanding just exactly what pornography was. Because I was doing this work, one of the big criminal lawyers in town called me up and asked me to be a witness in one of these cases. At that time I was a very hard line civil libertarian and I said well yes I thought I could be. So of course he started dumping all this literature on me. I testified in some of these cases because inevitably they were arresting the guys who worked in adult book stores and inevitably these were U.S. draft evaders and if they were found guilty they would be sent back, no doubt into the army or prison. It was really a combination of conviction and compassion.

Then I began to think about the women's movement. My original interest in the movement was really on behalf of my daughters. I thought that I had really had a lot of good breaks in my professional life that they might not have, if I viewed the situation correctly. I thought that the least I could do was something for them. About that time, my husband died and I discovered that being a widow was to be the absolute non-person. At that point I began to understand that the feminist movement was for me and not for my kids. I

had to. I was really quite shocked that when you cease to be part of a couple, you cease to be. At this time I began to look at pornography again and to examine what feminists were saying about pornography. But it was still a very academic interest. I was very concerned about the kind of hawkish attitudes that some members of the feminist movement were taking toward pornography because I thought it was a very dangerous kind of thing. At the same time, I began to understand that you could not be a feminist and be a civil libertarian at the same time. This was a hard realization for me. I am convinced that you can't. In a sexist society you can never approximate John Stuart Mills' little model of the world. I then started thinking this one through — if you're not a civil libertarian, are you for censorship, especially of pornography which is certainly very offensive in its treatment of women. A lot of people felt it was contributing to violence, contributing to rape. You can't be a feminist and say you don't care, or say that freedom of expression is more important — because it isn't. At the same time, I was never convinced that pornography contributed to rape. I think it contributes to a milieu in which some of the things that women want are more difficult to achieve, like daycare and equal pay for equal work. But what I saw of pornography was essentially a reinforcement of the view of women as masochistic, rather than a legitimization of rape. Now I think that's a very serious thing but it's by no means confined to pornography.

So I started looking at censorship as its own form of sexism and this is when I finally concluded it's a choice between two forms of sexism — the paternalistic kind of sexism, which is censorship, where you put power in hands of men to look after the interests of women or into the hands of the Phyllis Schafleys and people like that. Or you go for a civil libertarian stance which I think simply puts power into the hands of a lot of macho swingers. It was a choice between two forms of sexism and that seemed to me no choice at all. I therefore said that I would not go for censorship but I thought that the real solution in the long run was this emergence and development of a feminist kind of art so that there would be a real alternative. And this would require some kind of subsidy.

Determining our own sexuality

FUSE: Do you see that becoming a replacement in the value system?

T.M.: I think in a good society, the feminist movement and feminists would have a way of expressing their notion of themselves and their sexuality in media that they control. Of course,

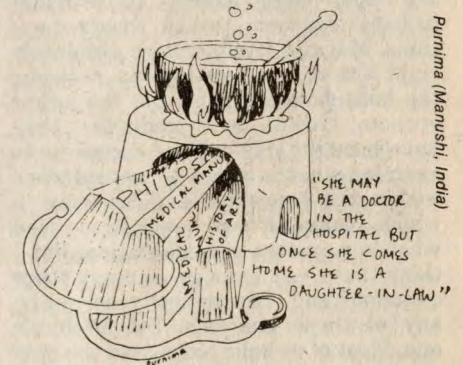
this is the problem in a sexist society — the whole knowledge of our sexuality is taken away from us. It's in the hands of male gynecologists, male psychiatrists, male sexologists. Women really need to discover what their own sexuality is. I think that art is one of the ways in which to do this.

FUSE: Do you think, for instance, that some forms of censorship proposed by feminists could be seen as a stop gap, a holding tactic until the 'good society' arrives?

T.M.: I wouldn't put censorship out altogether. I think it has to be considered a possibility. There might well come a time when the physical danger to women is so great that there is an obligation in terms of their safety to censor, but generally speaking, no. It doesn't solve any problems. The problem is sexism in the society and that has a legitimization without pornography. Another point is that there's a misogyny running through our high-brow culture and throughout our social science.

FUSE: In terms of the kinds of research that is done?

T.M.: Yes, men believe that women are masochistic. If you read Stoller's book on female sexuality, basically he feels that sexuality without some kind of sado-masochism is not interesting at all. And that's typical.



FUSE: Is there a thread connecting your recent research?

T.M.: One of the threads is that I've been very interested in the sexist bias in knowledge, in high-brow or serious knowledge in the literature of social science, and in the research on the media. It seems to me that these studies have been done by men and they are male points of view. Quite a bit of what I've done is, in a sense, an exposé of sexism in the curriculum that's taught in university. This includes media research as well as political sociology. I've written an article that will be published very shortly that deals with what is the nature of feminist theory and how do you make a case for social justice when history has been unjust and your methodology ties you to history. I suppose these are philosophical questions about feminism.

FUSE: But it does define how you ask a question and that's a lot of what feminist research is.

The modernization of the patriarchy

T.M: I think that. But a lot of young feminist researchers began as I did, going through their own literature and thinking, my God this stuff is terribly biased. Then you get to the point that you ask, what would non-sexist knowledge look like? There are some women who say they know what non-sexist knowledge is but the whole scientific method is implicated in the male hegemony. And there are others, like me, who say it's not. I'm not ready to abandon this very powerful way of thinking. That's one debate. Another is the question of social change. Feminist thinking is really split into a number of categories. I don't fall under any of those categories — like radical feminism, marxist feminism, liberal feminism. I have no idea where I stand in this regard. I just know that there are some very serious and persistent questions. For instance, I don't think patriarchy is restricted to capitalism. While I see exactly the point that marxist feminists are making and I think that their analyses of some of these questions is absolutely brilliant, it seems to me at the same time there are questions that are not being asked. It provides brilliant answers to the wrong questions. Marxist feminists are absolutely right about the relationship between the household economy and the larger economy. It's to their credit that they have brought this out and forced us to examine what is meant by unpaid work within the household and the way in which women have sentimentalized what is a system of exploitation. But I think that there are a great many other questions and they are not resolved by any of these analyses. Patriarchy is one. Most of us believed — and this was a widely held confidence — that as society became more secular and more modernized, patriarchy would just disappear. Instead we would have women who were independent, autonomous, self-sufficient, professional — perhaps not in the work force — but very competent in running households where you had to be a business manager and child psychologist and a nutritionist and so on. Well, the big shock is that patriarchy has survived and has become modernized. Now I think that means that we have to do some re-thinking about that issue. I do not see it disappearing, I just see it becoming transformed.

FUSE: How do you see that transformation?

T.M: The kind of patriarchy that you get in simple homogeneous societies where there's a male head-of-household leader who gets a great deal of

deference, was a very diffuse, undifferentiated kind of thing. The new kind of patriarchy is more specialized, more fragmented — what I call, an expressive patriarchy which manifests in pornography and macho attitudes. And then you get an instrumental patriarchy which is job discrimination, etc. These things are quite different than the older style. My point is that patriarchy has become transformed, not disappeared, and it's much more difficult to come to terms with.

FUSE: I know that you think affirmative action is a real necessity at this time. What does this mean?

T.M: I think this means preferential hiring, preferential promotion, preferential admission to educational opportunities. I can't think of any area where it isn't necessary. I also think it must be made very clear that in some ways tokenism is worse than discrimination. Affirmative action leads to a gender-free occupational structure — period.

FUSE: Do you think that this would have a great effect on things now?

T.M: Well, whether or not, it's got to be. Whether it will lead us into utopia or not, I don't know. It's a principle that people understand.

FUSE: What are you working on now?
T.M: I just finished writing the NAC (National Action Committee of the Status of Women) brief to the Applebaum-Herbert Commission. We set up three guidelines: one is the removal of barriers which is of course a kind of affirmative action. The second is what I call self-determination. Women need access to the media of communications where we set the agenda: feminist magazines, feminist art, feminist programmes, feminist networks. The third is equalization. The principle is that there are women in rural areas who are disadvantaged. And it is the position of women that we don't get ahead at the expense of other women. I think those are good guidelines for a federal arts policy particularly in regards to women.

Margrit Eichler Institutional response to change

Margrit Eichler is a professor of sociology. She teaches and does research at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. She has written *The Double Standard*, published by Croom Helm (London) 1980, and is at work on another book, *Families in Canada*, to be published by Gage.

FUSE: You are currently working on a book on families aren't you?

Margrit Eichler: Yes, it's on the changes in Canadian families from a policy perspective and of course it is

also from a feminist perspective, but I don't advertise that.

FUSE: When you say from a policy perspective, is this for a government agency?

M.E: I see the government's policy in terms of how it affects families and what education does to affect families. People think that what happens within families is mostly private and determined by their own inclinations and decisions, and that, of course, is a great misconception because it is to a very great degree determined by external forces. I am trying to look at the interplay of the two and also critiquing the policies and making suggestions as to how they should be changed.

FUSE: How did you become involved in researching women's issues? What triggered it for you?

M.E: Well originally it started when I was a graduate student at Duke in North Carolina. I was pregnant, taking my preliminary examinations and wondering what you do about child care. I went to a women's consciousness-raising group and we later re-formed as a collective to write a children's book, (*Martin's Father*). At that point I decided to pursue the questions raised in that group academically because I saw what we discussed as being of extreme importance but was very dissatisfied with the way we went about answering the questions.

When I finished my dissertation at Waterloo University and began teaching a course in women's studies — probably the first course of that kind in Canada — in the winter term of 1971, I found that there were very few Canadian materials at the time, practically none.

FUSE: On women's studies?

M.E: On anything at all relevant. So if I wanted to teach the stuff, I had to start writing something to develop my own theoretical approaches. At the same time, I founded the Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women — now called *Resources for Feminist Research* — in Waterloo in 1972 because it seemed useful to make people aware of who was doing what so that you could have some kind of cumulative effect without everybody going through the same motions. For instance, everybody was starting out trying to build bibliographies. Well, one person can do that.

Looking into family policy is just one of the logical consequences of my overall interest because that is obviously very important to family sociology, which is one of the most sexist areas you can find.

FUSE: How?

M.E: One of the best examples you can come up with is the sexist view of violence within marriage. Until very recently people would say things were good for the family — for the unit — but they wouldn't break it down into who was in the unit. And sometimes it

is good for the husband and not for the wife. It might be a wonderful tension release if you hit your wife; it's not so hot if you are being hit. Until the women started speaking up, it was kept totally silent and the theoretical models were constructed such that the problems remained invisible. And then being invisible, when anybody came up and said: Hey this is something we should look at — for instance violence in families — then people said, but where's the evidence? Well, you could not have the evidence because your model was constructed such that you couldn't even collect the data. So it was a self-perpetuating system whereby you simply excluded many questions.

A 'family policy' can be repressive

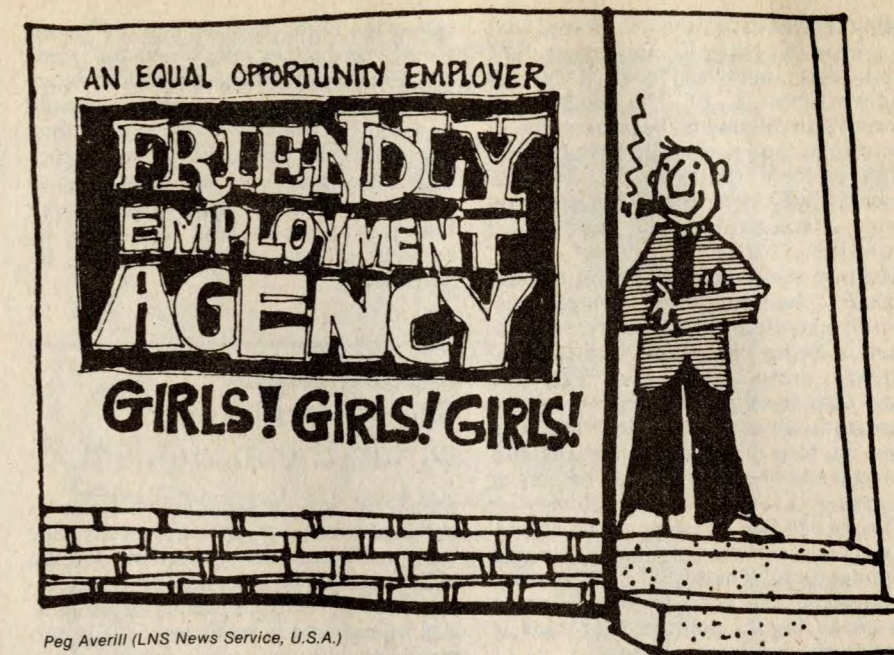
FUSE: You talk about the lack of institutional responses to changes within the family.

M.E: The income tax law for instance is contradictory in terms of the family. In one sense there is a slight encouragement for wives *not* to earn money, especially if they would have a very low income because the marriage exemption is lost. And if you are a marginal earner and have other expenses, that might make a big difference. Obviously, this is a lack of response to changes, because all of these women are in the labour force already — more than 50 percent of the wives — so we are talking about the majority.

But the most dramatic area of non-response by institutions is in the area of child-care. I am convinced that you will never get sex equality until child care is being equally shared by father, mother and State.

But there are various ways in which the State should be concerned with families and various ways in which it shouldn't be. I wouldn't advocate that we develop, for instance, a "family policy" because things like this usually tend to backfire and are the most conservative tools. They usually define what the 'right' type of family is. What usually happens is that in the name of supporting families, you are actually working against them and penalizing people who live in relationships that happen to deviate from the norm. It seems to me that administratively what you want to do is generate all your policies towards the individuals and not penalize any individual for what sort of relationship with an adult they are living in. And if there is a child involved, then the State has a portion of the responsibility to see that the child has all the things that it needs — a place to live, etc. What the structure is should be irrelevant to the State. It is up to the people to decide what they wish to do and recognise that it is liable to change. There should be no penalties attached if people want to change their behaviour.

FUSE May/June 1981



Peg Averill (LNS News Service, U.S.A.)

But that is, of course, not the way that we have currently written many of our laws, or our policies. The effect is, for instance, if a relative babysits your child, then you cannot claim it on your income tax. Why on earth not? Children still need to be looked after. Why is a relative any less worthy of getting a little bit of infusion, directly or indirectly, of public money than a stranger? The thinking behind this is that it's the right and responsibility of the family to provide this care but the effect is to penalize the family — for doing some of the things that you are supposed to do. The same applies if you care for elderly persons.

FUSE: Does it have something to do with what we think of as important, what we think of as productive labour? It has been said by feminists that the kinds of work that women undertake in the home, such as caring for children, the elderly, and the husband, is viewed as non-productive work — unless it is outside the home.

M.E: And then it is underpaid. That is undoubtedly true, but I think that it is hopefully changing for the simple reason that some of the women are not doing it full-time (within their own homes). When you have to replace the services, you realise what has been done all along.

FUSE: Putting a dollar value on it.

M.E: And of course it's too low at this point — way too low. I think this is one area where I would expect a bit of change.

FUSE: What is the International Project you are working on?

M.E: It is a study which involves, at this point, four countries: Italy, Poland, Romania and Canada. It includes 150 top decision makers in each of the countries. Since there are many fewer women in high decision-making positions, we started out with them and

then went on to the men who would have the exact same equivalent position. We asked questions which concerned their attitudes and experiences at work with respect to family and to involvement in formal organisations, such as parties, unions and voluntary organisations of all types and sizes. We will basically describe the social structure in each of the countries and then have a comparative analysis where we look at the types of public participation of women and the barriers to that public participation, as well as the equality in families and sex equality/inequality overall.

FUSE: What is the model of women's participation in politics you are working with? How are you asking the questions and what is your definition or re-definition of women's participation?

M.E: I have tried to explain why women participate in politics to a lesser degree than men (a common statistical finding). Underlying this, of course, is the way participation is defined, which is totally within the framework of electoral politics — things like canvassing, putting up a sign, writing to an M.P. It would seem to me that a more important question is *why* are there so few women in the decision-making positions? So it's necessary to re-formulate the question as to the opportunity structure for participation and decision making.

Outside the electoral process

The other thing is that if you are excluded out of the system then the methods that are open to you in order to have an impact politically tend to be non-traditional. You may make some sort of petition or you start a movement or something. And traditionally,

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political scientists have not viewed that as a type of political involvement. So I think that there has been a serious underestimation of the degree of women's involvement because some of the things that women do that I would define as highly political — for instance anybody who is in the feminist movement — tend not to be seen as political activities.

FUSE: Or the environmentalist things?
M.E: Yes, the same thing. Also you raised the question earlier as to what is seen as being important. The issue of daycare centers is a good example. Since that issue is not considered to be important, all of the work that has been done in that area by women is discounted and doesn't end up to be part of the analysis (about participation).

There are lots of women who are active in grassroots consumer-oriented organisations. That would be another example of the activity that I would define as highly political, but that is outside the electoral process.

FUSE: Do you think that this will change when women have more control over the decision-making processes? Do you see this as a prerequisite?

M.R: Definitely. It seems to me to be impossible that the structure wouldn't be changed if you had appreciable numbers of women in those positions of power. That's not because of any biological difference between men and women but because the experience is different. Most of the women have other obligations within their families, whether or not they are married. The fact that there are more *unmarried* women in high positions now is simply an indication of the difficulties that women who are married or with children have in getting these types of positions. If they were more present that in itself would introduce a type of experience that is, at the present time, lacking. I think you would see a more lateral type of thinking, where you have to connect rather disparate things with each other because I think that is what we all do as a matter of course in the type of lives we lead (as women). But I am quite sure that men could learn this too.

On the other hand, if you want to talk in ideal terms — so far I have not, but if I switch gears — then I think on the long haul it's not highly desirable to simply aim for maintaining the current inequality of wages and having half of it shared by the women, because you still have half the poor being women. And so in that sense I think that besides working for sex equality what we should also be doing is working for social levelling altogether.

For instance in terms of wages, what you do is give much larger increases to everybody at the bottom. I wouldn't even bother trying to get equal wages (between men and women). What I would suggest is to reduce the gap be-

tween the highest wages and the lowest ones by lifting the lowest ones, of which 80 to 90 percent of them would be women and 10 or 20 percent of them would be men. But that's fine because if they are that low they need to get higher wages too. That I see in the long run as a radical and more important strategy than just trying to share the current inequality around and distributing it indefinitely.

Naomi Black Social feminists within the movement

Naomi Black is an Associate Professor in political science at York University. She has published on Canadian foreign policy, Canadian-American relations, international relations theory, feminism, and women and development; she is currently working on a cross-cultural study of the non-militant women's movement which will be published in book form. Her next publication will be the introduction of Elsie Gregory MacGill's book *My Mother the Judge* which is being re-issued this spring by Peter Martin Associates.

FUSE: What is your background?

Naomi Black: I majored in political science with my specialization in international relations. There are very few women in that field; you are very much in the minority. The connection with women's issues is not all that obvious, but it is there. I got involved in the Ontario Committee on the Status of Women which got me into various activist things, which in turn got me interested in the background of it. In political science, there was very little available on women's roles, and even less interest in the organizations, particularly in cross-national research which is what I'm working on now. My organizational involvement with the Status of Women Committee predates any professional work I have done. That's what got me reading. The first feminist book I was given to read was Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* in 1972, I think. It wasn't a new book then either, which shows you how late I came into it. (With women working in academia) there are two strands. For the younger women who were not established professionally when the women's movement re-emerged in the late '60s, and whose work in the academic world began at a period when it was not very easy to get into the tenure-stream type of jobs, their careers evolved naturally into women's studies. Others of us who are older were pretty lonely professionally before we got interested either personally or professionally in women's studies. It works differently for us. For one thing we go on doing some of our

previous studies, working in fields which we were engaged in before our involvement in women's studies.

FUSE: What is the cross-national study you are doing now?

N.B: It's a political study of the non-militant women's movement, comparing what has happened in Canada with what has occurred in France, Britain, and the U.S. focusing on transnational women's organizations. One of the interesting things about these groups is that you find that women who have no political rights in their own country as yet, can operate internationally and they can do that because of the nature of international law. It's interesting in terms of international relations.

FUSE: What do you mean by "They can operate internationally"?

N.B: Well, for example, in the 19th century, women couldn't vote in most countries — maybe New Zealand and some of the American territories were the exceptions — which meant that they had no official access to any sort of forums within their own countries. At the same time, they got a whole series of international congresses going. Transnational organizations usually begin with political constituency groups within their locations. But in this case, the women's organizations didn't exist locally like that, so they began to meet internationally. These congresses fed back into the national politics of the countries, rather than going the other way from the national to the international. We think of things like the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City and the Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen as being very modern, but in fact these kinds of meetings have gone on for many years in women's organizations. FUSE: You talk about "social feminists" as opposed to "political feminists." How do you define that because it would seem to me that feminism is political at base?

Finding an international forum

N.B: They are both political; I would agree completely on that. But the division I'm talking about goes back to the 19th century. The political feminists could also be called equal rights feminists. They base their argument on the assumption that women are basically the same as men and any distinction in law or custom will disadvantage women. What is working against women is 'bad laws' and 'bad attitudes', and in contemporary feminism it's also referred to as 'socialization' — that's what holds women back. They are trained to have self doubts, etc. That's very much equal rights feminism. The assumption there is that if you could even things out between women and men, you wouldn't even have to necessarily make that distinction (as to sex)

anymore because it wouldn't be meaningful.

The easiest way to define the two groups is in terms of the vote. Every sort of feminist worked for the vote. For equal rights feminists, the absence of the vote becomes one of the major blocks in the way of women becoming like men. The vote itself becomes a symbol for the way in which women are treated unequally. So you don't actually want the vote to do anything with it, but not having it is harming you and stands for something very bad.

Now social feminism is quite different. They start from the assumption that men and women are very different. The naive expression of this is what is called maternal feminism — to have a womb is to make you a purer, finer person. One of the arguments against this kind of social feminism is how badly this attitude has been used against women in the past — stay at home, get up there on that pedestal and be worshipped. But another way of looking at this is to say that women are different because they have had a different sort of experience. They have been kept at home; they have not been allowed to rule; they have not been trained to fight. While it could be said that if they had had this training, women would turn out to be the same as men, it is more likely that there are certain characteristics of being female which do have permanent meaning: being in a different body; having a different sexuality. Now that's completely irrelevant in a lot of areas. It has very little to do with whether or not you can type, and it hasn't a lot to do with whether or not you can fight. But it may give you a different perspective. Certainly you can say that, historically, women have had different experience and have been forced to experience their sexuality differently. And I think that as long as you have the possibility of conception, however much you control it, you've got a different relationship to life.

"A great big housecleaning"

The social feminists believe that women, in their relatively disadvantaged experience, have been spared certain bad training that men get, that they have been kept from sharing a public life. But they have also developed some qualities which are of value to the society — not just for private life — such as cooperativeness, nurturance, consensus. They also argued, particularly in the 19th century, that men had made a mess of public life. This is still a common theme in modern feminism. Here in Canada, the Feminist Party argue this. So social feminists argued that women should participate in public life *not* just because they have the right to in order to be like men, but because of the changes it will bring

Somethin' Else



Marian Lydbrooke (Rumbles, Canada)

about. It's no use just going out there and becoming another power-monger. But if you can go out there and maybe moderate the brokering of power, that's worthwhile. Maybe we can change the structures of socialization of men so that we'll end up with a different sort of world. The simplest metaphor is of a great big housecleaning. Nellie McClung talks about this a lot. 'We're going to go out with a great big broom and get all the dust out of the corners.' It was naive, but this was the major argument for getting the vote. But they were really much more realistic about the symbolic value of getting the vote than they look to us now. In the 19th century, the large suffrage organizations believed that

women didn't just have the right, but the *obligation* to get out there and get their hands on public life. Now partly this was to protect women and children because the men weren't doing this properly. But another part of it was just to 'fix it all up'. They had a whole range of things that they wanted to do once they got the vote, from mothers' allowance to equal pay — or at least minimum wages — right up to readjusting the budget so that it wouldn't all go to war. These were the so-called social feminists.

FUSE: What is the distinction you make between militant and non-militant feminists?

N.B: It's more a matter of style. Generally speaking, the social feminists

are not militant, but I think you could say that some of the militants were social feminists. Generally the social feminists tend to be less outrageous, particularly in the past. This is one of the things that makes people doing research into women's activities in Canada very unhappy. They discover that most of the women were social feminists. They tend to all be relatively subdued in tone. They don't go in for confrontation. They work within the system. These groups upset the radical young women who go out and do research into this history, particularly those involved in the left. They are not really far out on the fringes and yet they produced quite a lot of change. My major point is that by having this sort of approach to women moving into public life, it's possible for very conventional women to think it's quite all right. Where it might be seen that these women were just looking after 'women and children', it turns out that 'women and children' includes everything. That's why Bella Abzug was fired from the Status of Women Commission in the U.S. She advocated that there should be more resources available to women and children instead of so much going to armaments. She started questioning the whole budget allocation.

FUSE: You have said that answering certain questions about women's organizations, such as why did militancy and non-militancy develop differently within them in different countries, would likely affect the whole notion of social change. What do you mean by that?

N.B: Well, the simplest example: the women's liberation movement took over the concept of revolutionary change from such movements as the student movement or the civil rights movement. The imagery is of revolution. Now in a revolution you can either shoot all the oppressors or merge with them, if they're a different race, or obliterate the categories if it's a religion, or replace them. Those are really, I think, the only alternatives in a revolution. But if you're talking about women and men, none of those fits. So if you talk of liberation, you have to talk about it differently. Similarly, going back 120 or 130 years, you have the Seneca Falls women taking the Declaration of Independence and applying it to the women's situation. But the people who wrote the Declaration of Independence were completely at liberty to separate, which women are not. You can't do it by secession and you can't do it by revolution. So how do you do it? You end up with the question but you don't have the answer because the answers don't fit when you're talking about complete communities. So really the whole thing is an extraordinarily large transformation, not just of those in power, but of what power means.

Gertrude Robison Locating women's media presence

Gertrude Robison is the President of the Canadian Communications Association and the director of the graduate programme in communications at McGill University in Montreal, which is the first university offering a Ph.D. in communications in Canada (1976).

FUSE: When did you first begin to look at women's role within communications and the media?

Gertrude Robison: It really grew out of my own life experience. As I tell my students, I am now in my third career. I was a Betty Friedan-era college student and then a highly-educated mother who raised a family for ten years and then decided to go back to school. This was very difficult in the early '60s when few "mature students" were returning to school. I happened to be at a school, the University of Illinois, that permitted graduate study on a half time basis which was the only way I could do it, since I had three small children. I was looking for a programme with flexibility and this is how I backed into the communications programme. In the course of doing my studies, I became aware that I was very alone in the sense of finding my way but also in the sense of finding women role models with whom I could discuss things. There was another woman in my programme who had given up a career in advertising to go back to school. So she and I were essentially in the same boat. It was this whole business of how do women cope with carving out professions for themselves that has made me follow up that same topic in my own research.

When I came to Canada in 1970, there were no communications studies at McGill University. So my early publishing was very oriented to providing teaching materials and the beginnings of a sketch of the Canadian media situation for my students. The best thing we had at the time was the Davey Commission report. With the help of four students, we produced a series of fourteen models in 1973 titled, *Studies in Canadian Communications*, one of which dealt with women in the media. Writing this model proved extremely difficult because nothing had been written on the topic. The CBC was beginning to do its analysis of women in the CBC — published as *Women in the CBC* in 1975. There was also no survey of women working in daily newspapers. So in 1975, I decided to do such a survey. I used a questionnaire which was a parallel questionnaire that had been used in a study in the U.S. Well, this created incredible waves in the media — mainly in the daily newspa-

pers. My questionnaire was the subject of a lead editorial in the *Globe and Mail* in which I was accused of asking questions that "gentlemen shouldn't ask". The implication was that I was asking illegal questions, such as "within a \$1,000 range, what is your yearly salary? Do you belong to a political party? Are your friends in that political party or another political party? What are your extra-curricular activities?" Things like that. The *Globe and Mail* blasted the questionnaire off the face of the earth. In effect, one of the newspaper chains forbade their people to answer the questionnaire.

Instead I did a telephone interview. I called all of the daily newspapers across Canada, and asked the chief editor to give me statistics on the number of women they had on staff, the positions they held and so forth. In effect, asking 10 or 15 questions on the phone and insisting they give me answers, provided the first very simple survey. And I think the only one which is available on all of the women who were then working on the then-105 Canadian newspapers. It turned out that there were about 504 or so of the total work force. The majority of these women were plain reporters and most of them were to be found in the small circulation papers.

FUSE: Did you find that the 'women were ghettoized within the "women's section" of the paper?

G.R: Yes, but I found that the ghettoization was less in Canada than in the U.S. Here we have more small circulation newspapers and indeed women have more of a chance to cover a greater variety of topics. There are also less 'beats' in Canada that are 'gender-typed' (like sports) — so there are more openings for women here than in the U.S.

FUSE: You have also done content research on women's presence in the media.

Magazine fiction says women still housewives

G.R: Yes, two of these are most interesting. The first is a study of the portrayal of women in fiction. Here we followed Betty Friedan's content study of short story heroines in women's magazines in the late '50s, early '60s and '70s. The really staggering finding of the study, which included *Chatelaine*, was the following: whereas the majority of heroines had of course been housewives in Betty Friedan's days, it had gotten worse in the early '70s. They were even more disproportionately housewives with absolutely no professional ambitions. Their major problems were psychological problems, ones having to do with love, marriage, jealousy and things like that. This was in spite of the women's movement!

In the second study I really wanted

to look at the whole notion of change. There were a number of hypotheses about the women's movement resulting in change, and I did not really think that the fictional content would be as good an indicator as the realistic content to find out about the attitudes to women and work.

Stereotyped categories

We found that the largest category, the most articles about women's changing lifestyle in women's magazines, concentrated on the working situation. Interestingly enough however, this topic was handled in a very stereotypical manner focusing on only eleven issues. The most important of these were three: what are different kinds of jobs and professions like? how does one plan a career? and how equal is the access to these jobs? These three issues received about 50 percent of all article coverage. While others — discrimination at the work place, dual roles, volunteer work, etc. — were covered in another 30 percent of all articles. Five additional issues were handled only very rarely and spottily.

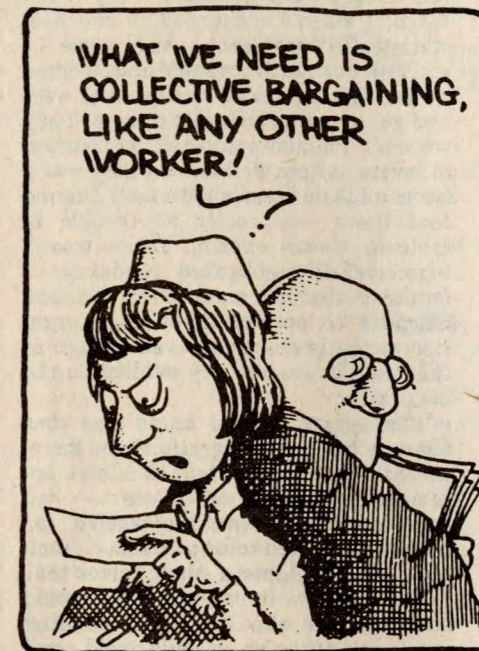
FUSE: You found, interestingly, that even though there was more coverage (in the '70s) of women and work, it still didn't statistically reflect the actual extent of women's entry into the work-force.

G.R: That's right. But what is more important are the assumptions which our society carries in its heart and in its head about women's existence. These assumptions are an underlying set of values and on these values are based a set of expectations about people's behaviour. It was this I was trying to document in this thirty year study of attitudes toward women and work between 1950 and 1980. This is why I also compared public opinion poll responses to the various aspects of women and work.

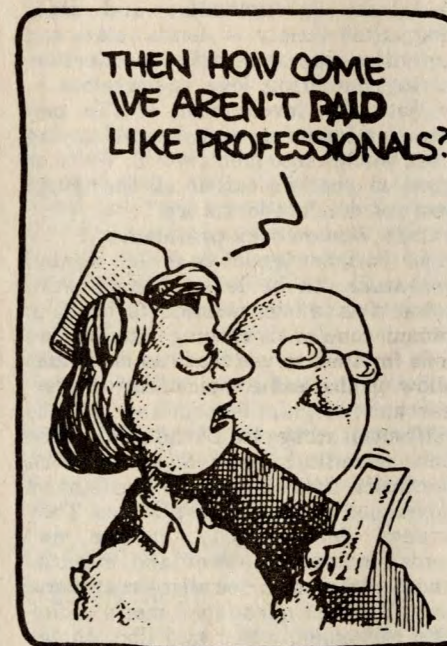
FUSE: So for instance, in one poll a majority of people were in support of equal pay for equal work and yet the reality at that time did not correspond at all to those opinions. There was (and still is) tremendous inequality of women's incomes in relation to men.

G.R: While that was the only thing that both women and men in the polls were in support of — the concept of equality in wages — there was very little support for other things such as, in the '50s, the idea that women who were married should work. In the '60s the issue was whether mothers had the right to decide whether or not they wanted to work, but *only* if their children were older or if their children didn't need them at home anymore. We are still exceedingly conventional when it comes to giving a woman who is younger and who has smaller children the right to make a decision whether she wants to work or doesn't want to

Whitecaps



YOUNG LADY! YOU PEOPLE ARE PROFESSIONALS! YOU CAN'T STOOP TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING!



GO 'WAY, KID, Y' BOTHER ME.



Ben Sargent (Texas Nursing, U.S.A.)

work. We are dead set against it. In spite of the fact that the group that has seen the greatest increase in entry into the labour force in the 1970s has been women with small children.

Public opinion has just not caught up to the fact that more than half of the women who are married and have small children today work. Polls show that it is still generally believed that the role of women is to be in the home, and the role of women is to be mothers. As mother, your first job is to *personally* look after your children. Consequently we have not really gotten very far with

establishing an adequate number of daycare centres and support systems for working wives and mothers. Yet since the early '70s, expectations about the standards of living can no longer be met by one earner. The cost of living requires that both parents work in many cases. That means that societal conditions, economic conditions, are forcing us to bring our values, our more traditional values, in line with new realities. In conjunction with the sharply reduced birth rate, these in turn will ultimately lead to new ways of judging working women.

Angela Miles Toward an integrative feminism

Angela Miles is an active feminist who has been teaching women's studies in the Social Science Department of Atkinson College, York University. This fall she will be teaching at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S. She is a member of the Feminist Party of Canada. Her Ph.D. thesis is entitled "The Politics of Feminist Radicalism, a study of integrative feminism".

FUSE: What is integrative feminism? What do you mean by the term?

A.M: Integrative feminism is the term I use to describe the tendency of feminism that goes beyond the important struggle for justice and equality for women as a disadvantaged group, to make a major contribution to the development of progressive politics in general. Within this tendency of feminism the attempt to integrate the personal and political in a new politics has been sustained and developed well beyond the level it could be in the New Left where it originated. In fact, feminism has to achieve this integration or it cannot go on as a movement. It has to look at personal relationships and integrate the individual and collective, social and psychological, economic and cultural moments of struggle.

In 1975 when I began my research this tendency of feminism, which is now very strong, was not very evident. Although all feminists spoke about *integrating* the personal and political, many tended to *reduce* one to the other. Some feminists were reducing the political to the personal saying: "We've got the integration — we've got a certain lifestyle, we've got a certain sexual orientation — that's integration!" Others were reducing the personal to the political saying: "We've got the integration here because we realize that all personal things are to do with power and are therefore political." But that was nothing new. It certainly wasn't the difficult and sustained long term attempt to develop a transformed synthesis of the personal and political that is required to build a new progressive politics.

So I wondered at that time, does that integrative project still exist? Has it survived the early days of feminism? I set out to interview feminists in order to find out.

Political/personal integration

FUSE: How did you select the women to be interviewed?

A.M: I tried to select them politically. I

chose the ones most likely to be concerned with this political/personal integration. Because what I really wanted to see was whether they were there. I wasn't concerned to see how statistically different they were. I started out with friends and women whose written work I was familiar with and got referred to other women. They were all feminist activists. They varied in terms of how well known they were. None of them were superstars. I found that there was really no trouble in locating these women. There was a very clearly delineated tendency in feminism that had maintained this commitment to personal/political integration at the grass roots, even though at this time it wasn't very evident in the literature.

The second thing I found was that not only had this integration been maintained but that a whole feminist approach — or set of values — had developed that was integrative far beyond the personal/political. Feminists had developed a set of values that was integrative in its view of the world and affirmed what had been negated and cut off and marginalized and devalued in capitalist and male dominated society — that is values and activities concerned with reproduction, caring, nurturing, love, co-operation.

With the development of this perspective feminism went beyond saying "Let women into men's world. We're as good as you. We can do all the things you can do. Just let us try."

FUSE: Women bank presidents...?

A.M: Socialist feminists as well wanted essentially to be let in. There were some women who wanted to be bank presidents and there were some women who wanted to get into trade unions and organize and do the socially productive and recognized labour and fight the *real* social struggles. In the early phase neither radical feminists, nor socialist feminists, nor reformist feminists had a developed set of women's values. They argued for equality, justice and redistribution of power and material goods either in a socialist or a liberal way. They all questioned men's definition of women, which said that women were less than human, by arguing that women *could* be like men, could be as *good* as men.

What I found in my interviews was that integrative feminists (whom I found among all types of feminist — socialist, marxist, radical, lesbian, reform) were not just saying that. They were not just questioning how men defined women. They were questioning how men defined humanity, how they had defined it as male. They were also questioning the over-valuation of what men do — of production as opposed to reproduction — and were arguing for a reversal/transformation of production

focused values (whether capitalist or marxist). They were arguing for a revaluation of reproductive work and values as a basis of feminist politics. They continued to push for women's recognition in, and access to, male defined areas and activities. But they added to this insistence that the values and concerns of the long subordinated women's realm of reproduction be generalized to the whole of society. They maintained that any liberatory social transformation will have to involve the reorganization of society to put the demands of people's reproduction as self-actualizing human beings before the demands of production/property/profit.

That's what I found when I did my interviews. That's what I call integrative feminism. It's difficult, of course, because it involves building a feminist politics which doesn't deny the specificity of women's work and values and the fact that at present we really are different from men and lead different lives. It's dangerous because the right-wing uses that. And women's specificity has always been a result of, and been used to justify, women's oppression. But I don't think it's possible to build a powerful feminist politics involving anything other than simple pressure group activity unless we acknowledge that specificity. You can exert pressure for women, but you can't go beyond representing women as a special interest group to develop a progressive politics which has real meaning for the society as a whole.

Beyond the ecology movement

FUSE: Do you see that feminism has had an impact on progressive movements lately, beyond the ecology movement...?

A.M: I don't even think that feminism has had an impact on the ecology movement in general. The male dominated movements are very, very resistant to feminism even when feminists are very active in the area. When women's issues are addressed in male dominated politics they are robbed of their feminism. They are reduced to "issues." Male radicals say "Sure you need day-care. Sure you need equal rights." But the notion of a sisterhood of women, a specific group that represents specific areas of concern, of work, of values, and that is developing a voice that is new and different and has major implications for the shape of progressive politics as a whole is studiously avoided.

For radical men there seem to be essentially two kinds of feminists. There are the "good feminists" who accept the "broad" struggle as defined by men (which I think is substantially different than as defined by women), and

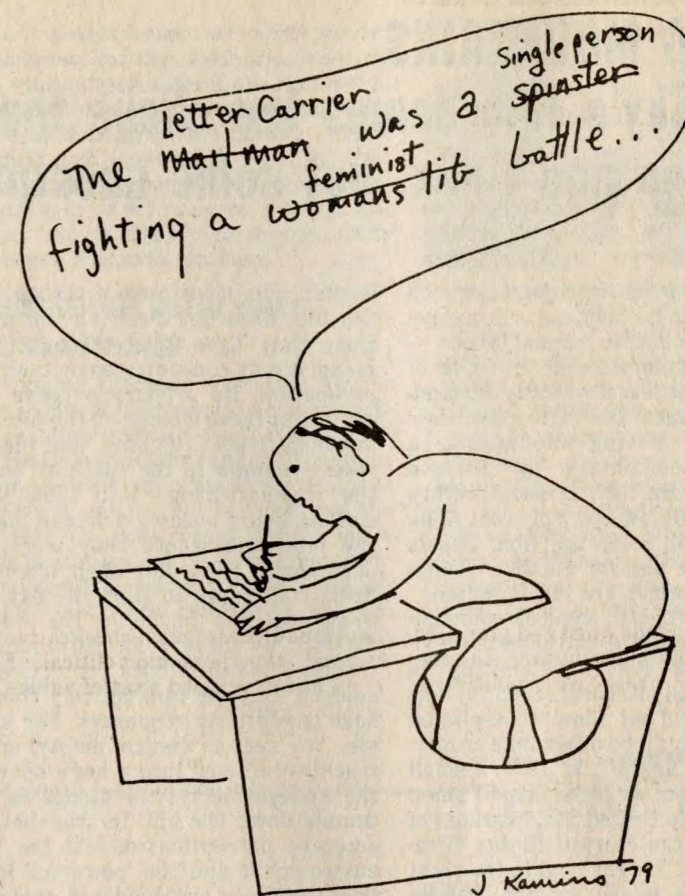
use a pressure group approach to have women's issues and women's place in the struggle recognized. Then there are what they call "bourgeois feminists". By definition, anybody who doesn't accept Left orthodoxy is labeled "bourgeois". It doesn't matter how *radical* these feminists are, or whether they call themselves socialist or marxist or radical or lesbian or liberal, they are hit with this label. In fact I don't know any "bourgeois feminists". It is a contradiction in terms. Even reform feminists are at least as radical as the NDP. They strongly support the organization of unorganized women workers; the fight of native women for their rights; and far better pension plans, unemployment benefits, social services and health care for all. To call these women, never mind feminist radicals, "bourgeois feminists" mystifies and misrepresents feminism to the point of becoming a political attack.

This split is really unfortunate. Because, in the end, the kind of change called for by integrative feminists can't be made by women alone. I believe that, far from feminism being divisive, the *most* general struggle has to be a feminist one. In fact, issues like ecology, the nuclear question, redistribution of wealth, decentralization of power, liberation itself, are all essential aspects of feminist struggle. Nevertheless the dominant definition of what is important and 'political' is a male definition. It is very hard to make the principled and historically necessary demands of feminism when those demands are labelled as divisive, naive, selfish, *unpolitical*, by most self-styled radicals. It's very hard.

FUSE: A lot of your work is focused on the women's movement. Why do you think that's an important area of research and activism at this time?

A.M: There has been a mass women's movement that has been waning and waxing in intensity and changing its form for over 100 years. People call our movement today the 'second phase' of the women's movement as if there was one back there, and now there's another one. But what we see today is a resurgence of a movement which has existed in one form or another for a century. It is the hiatus of the depression and post war years that is unusual, not the activism today. Nevertheless certain specific conditions underlie women's activism today and its particular shape.

The traditional form of the family has changed drastically and women, especially married women, have entered the paid labour force in great numbers. In spite of women's entry into the labour market, there has been no decrease of their workload in the home. Married women are doing two jobs. It's a lot of pressure on women and women are getting, on the average, half the



Jean Kamins (Working Teacher, Canada)

wage of men. Also, the family, a traditional but very repressive, institution which structured women's lives and separated them from one another, is breaking down in its old form. More and more women are having to fall back on each other to cope with the requirements of a double work load and the breakdown of their marriages. They are maintaining contact with their women friends and re-making them when they're desperate. So you have the social context for women to act. The pressure is there.

Non-alienated integration

The potential is also there. Married women's entry into the paid work force represents the socialization and centralization of reproductive tasks traditionally done by women in the home. Women are being drawn into the work force as part of a much wider shift in the relationship between the tasks of reproduction and the tasks of production. Reproduction tasks are relatively more important than they were in traditional industrial society. They can no longer be controlled indirectly by the demands of production for simple labour power. So the structural separation of the production and reproduction spheres is breaking down women's relegation to a marginal and subor-

porate area of life is undermined, and the potential is there for women to act — specifically to struggle for the non-alienated integration of divided aspects of our lives around the requirements and values of the reproduction of self-actualizing human beings. This is the underlying basis for feminism. It's about a whole new shape to the world.

Of course the patriarchal ruling class also responds to limit and control this new potential and to maintain it within existing relations of domination. You draw women into the paid work force, centralize, bureaucratize, socialize and industrialize reproduction. You develop consumerism as a distorted reflection of the new resources available for reproduction and so reinforce privatized, passivity. You have a sexual revolution which extends the instrumental values of production into private lives, makes people objects. And so it goes on. The patriarchy's response to the emerging integrative potential becomes *alienated* integration — a reduction of reproduction absolutely to production. Integrative feminism is a *refusal* of that alienated integration of reproduction into production. I would argue that this is an appropriate, essential, historical response, that anything less is not progressive because it is not speaking to the potential that exists today for a free and fully human existence for all. □

MOVING MOUNTAINS

Laura Sky's film denies the cliché that women and machines don't mix, but some questions go unanswered.

As members of the work force, women are assumed to be helpless or incompetent when it comes to manual labour — traditionally understood as the realm of man. Women do less physically demanding work because, the logic goes, they are fragile. *Moving Mountains*, a 30-minute documentary by Toronto filmmaker Laura Sky, is about eighty women working an open pit coal mine alongside 1,042 men; the film dispels the myth once and for all that women and large machines are incompatible.

Elkford, B.C. is a typical company town where most of the men are employed by the Fording Company to work in the coal pit. Until recently, Fording's policy did not allow women to be employed in any jobs other than as clerical or janitorial staff. In 1975, a small group of women, with the help of union local 9884 of the United Steelworkers of America and the Human Rights Commission of B.C., fought to gain the right to work in the mines, in jobs that involved some of the world's largest mining equipment. Under this pressure, Fording finally conceded.

According to Laura Sky, this film was made mainly for screening within classroom and labour groups to educate and provoke discussion about women in the labour force, especially in non-traditional jobs. One of Sky's major concerns is to confront the lack of equal pay and equal rights encountered by women in any job. Included in the educational kit accompanying the film are figures documenting the disparity: women make up about 50 percent of the workforce in Canada, but earn only about 57.8 percent of the income of men. Traditionally, women occupy the lower-paid sectors of the workforce. Over one-third of the positions held by Canadian women are clerical, representing 76.9 percent of that occupations' work force. In comparison, the percentage of women employed in the construction industry is 1.2 percent.

Going against our conditioned responses

The reason why women want to break into these non-traditional jobs is obvious: the pay for most construction work is almost double that of clerical work. *Moving Mountains* is about eighty

Gillian Robinson is a writer living in Toronto.

women who have broken through, yet the film does not dwell on the transitions they have gone through — instead, it only concentrates on their new occupation. Its primary purpose is to document these women on the job: driving huge trucks, drilling, and blasting with dynamite in the coal pit. We see the women change into their work-clothes, board buses which take them to the mountain where they work, and once there, climb into their mammoth drills and trucks to start the day. One finds that the image of the women, dwarfed by these vehicles, produces a response which is both protective and amazed. But the film actively combats such conditioned responses. For example, we see a woman emptying her truckload of coal into a huge open pit; the camera follows the stones as they tumble down the hill. In this shot, our accepted perceptions of both the 'vast' environment and the 'powerful' industrial machines are suddenly contradicted because the people in control are women.

Yet the film never makes these women heroic, nor endows them with special skills. The machines they operate and the jobs they do need coordination, not muscle, and the ever-present dangers are not related to the physical strength of the workers. While not

discussing it in depth, *Moving Mountains* does document the impact of technology on the mining industry, which has enabled women to be considered capable of such work in the first place. And once the myths have been disproved, the taboos against women working in such non-traditional jobs are slowly being lifted.

On-the-job pressures

One of the strongest and most vocal women in the film is Ina Hees. Hees, along with two other women, was offered a cleaning job at Fording, but thought she deserved work that paid more. When she was given a job in the mines, she was told that she would not last the day. Now she works on the blasting crew. She feels that women should give each other support in the workplace because they are a minority. One of her complaints was that the three women hired together were unsupportive of each other due to competition and the attitude of the men towards the women.

Yet *Moving Mountains* does not explore or question any of these problems that the women must encounter on the job. The women tell of pressures from the company: when hired, they are asked if they know that they are taking

Bev McPhee, lead hand at Fording's open pit coal mine, on the job site.



Laura Sky



Laura Sky

Ina Hees works on the blasting crew.

While it is understandable that Laura Sky did not want to pry into the private lives of these women, she managed at the same time to leave out any of the major problems these women might have — either in the home or on the job. The discussion of women moving into non-traditional jobs and fighting for equal pay and rights is crucial, and *Moving Mountains* is useful in provoking discussions around these issues. In these discussions, one hopes the larger issues will be raised about the problems that all working women still face. □

ISOBEL HARRY

away "a man's job". Asked how he likes working with the women, a man in the film says: "I have to tolerate it". For the most part, the men shy away from the camera and look ill at ease about answering any of Laura Sky's questions.

Although sexual harassment in the workplace is common knowledge, in *Moving Mountains* one feels that the issue has been avoided so as not to embarrass or enrage men. Nor is there a suggestion that this change of workplace for these eighty women has affected the family structure, the town, or the men. Elkford, B.C. is most likely a traditional town with traditional values — women in the home, women looking after their children. In one brief scene, the women sit around in a home talking about the problems they have doing shift work — never enough time to spend with the kids and trying to coordinate work and home on a fluctuating schedule. Laura Sky said there is no available daycare in Elkford and no move has yet been made to set up day-

care. It would seem that while women are allowed to work, the basic structure has not changed. One of the men working in the mine says of the women: "the work is too dirty for them — they should be at home like my wife is". The women who do work have to take their children to other women who do not work, or, if they are lucky, their husbands will care for them.

Traditional attitudes must change

The major problem with this film is that, while it documents women working in a non-traditional job, it avoids all the major issues surrounding women at work. Children are a major impediment to women getting out to work and the internalized guilt when women leave their children must be strong in a traditional town. If women are to move out of their traditional roles, both men and women have to change their attitudes toward child-raising. Equal responsibility must be taken by both parents.

REVEALED SECRETS

In an oppressive power structure, Marta Meszaros sees female feelings at the bottom of the heap.

Nine Months (1976)
Two of Them (1977)
Just Like at Home (1978)
 Márta Mészáros

Mészáros made *Nine Months* when she was 45 years old in 1976, and she draws out this story in very bold strokes, making the characters overstep the bounds of belief in the way they act or live but never in their emotional revelations. This emphasizes at once the complexity of common emotions and the commonness of complex emotions. Janos, a foreman in an iron foundry falls in love at first sight with a new employee, Juli, who will have nothing of it. Janos moons around and mutters many seductive yet meaningless phrases like, "I've waited ten years for you", when in fact he's just ready to settle down, is building his own house but is missing an important part of the puzzle: a wife.

Juli is no better. After rejecting him for months, she falls instantly and hopelessly in love with him at last. Janos finds out about her son from a previous

Isobel Harry works for *The Canadian Composer* and is a freelance photographer living in Toronto.

alliance, and almost falls out of love with her, but not quite. When Juli reveals all to his stunned family, she is chased from their unfinished dream home.

The film ends with Juli giving birth on screen to Janos' child alone, and in hiding.

The Two of Them (Women) was made in 1977, and this film takes another perspective on the same people. Juli now has a young daughter, and leaves her alcoholic husband Janos to enter a women's hostel that prohibits children. Instead of throwing them out of the hostel, Mari the superintendent takes the two into her own apartment on the premises. The women become very close after much initial tension, and through friendship help each other feel less isolated. Mari's husband is a cold fish, and Janos is a drunken slob, but their wives still feel attached to them, strictly from a dependent's point of view. Through the strength of their support for each other, the women become able to think of their own survival for the first time in their lives, despite the differences in their ages.

Just Like at Home is the most recent, 1978, and the most abstract. The story

is purposely contrived like extravagant detail work that surrounds a simple idea. A seven year old girl who lives on a farm with a large family decides to hitch to Budapest to retrieve a dog from the man her mother sold it to. She makes him drive her home with her dog, and then she decides to return to the city with him and he can be her surrogate "father". The relationship between the two is very moving, unusual, a tribute to companionship and love.

An analysis of things feminine

The films of Márta Mészáros are not just for women, despite the fact that they were made by a woman, and they star women. Unfortunately, once you're in the category of making films for a minority group or an oppressed group, and if you come from that group yourself you get labelled.

Oppression is rampant. We see French Canadians getting it, unionists, communists, leftists, Hungarians, Salvadorians, blacks, fish. And now that aware filmmakers are exposing oppression wherever it may lie, it has become easier to understand the roots of



Mészáros' *Nine Months*: close examination of women's feelings, reactions.

oppression and the possible solutions to the problems.

Mészáros' films are concerned with the close examination of 'women's' feelings and reactions. I put 'women's' in quotes because it is more an analysis of things feminine, even the 'feminine' side of men. If there's a power structure in feelings, Mészáros says that female feelings are at the bottom of the heap, and then she delineates exactly how that works.

Mészáros makes *auteur* films in that she is creating one body of work by threading the films together in thematic continuity, using personal subject matter. She is very subtle in portraying character, and since emotions are everything in these films, Mészáros keeps them very simple. The stories themselves are more fanciful, and stretch the boundaries of belief (nobody normal would act like that!) by serving as foils to the protagonists.

There's no need for overacting as the modern personages in the films are like mimes anyway, carrying a message more than starring in the films. To further represent the emotions as separate entities for examination, she uses a cast of drab-looking people who serve as the blank canvas on which are

depicted certain truisms of love. The characters are described in many different situations, as though the director were posing suppositions rather than sticking to real time or continuity. Since the actual details of the lives of the characters are almost caricatured, the heavy emotional output becomes even more dramatic, with much of the construction of the films devoted to extreme close-ups of emotional needs, reactions. It is here that Mészáros' ability shines. She never overplays, but rather underplays. The characters themselves have melancholia etched into their faces, a kind of consummate loneliness, not confined to the women, but distributed throughout humankind. These films are not unlike Bergman films, but on an even more intimate, tender scale.

The Hungarian landscape, the depiction of which Mészáros has a fondness for, is in sympathy with the characters, morose, stormy, in turns hopeful, then resigned. She uses locations to add depth, to portray feelings — those usually associated with landscapes, weather, remembrances, and subtle shadings in sunlight. Conversations in semi-darkened bedrooms acquire mysterious proportions, the words tumble out: revealed secrets. The camera will exa-

mine a moment of restfulness so quietly that it is possible to savour the moment with the character.

Personal ghettos

Mészáros' promise is that "true friendship being formed between man and woman is the most difficult thing in the world." True. But I would like to see the effects (if any) that consciousness-raising is having on Hungarian society. In other words, well-made, well-intentioned films like these often end up ghetto-izing their subjects by limiting themselves to personal feelings and not broadening their concerns by including the rest of society.

The political mood of Hungary is felt everywhere in the films, but only in a kind of unseen oppressive veil hanging over everything and everyone. Only one or two people are explored as individuals. Everyone else is just background information. The Russian presence overrides everything, and no frills are allowed in anyone's conformist life. The lyricism of these films is successful in translating universal feelings and perhaps awakening a light in formerly closed minds. But the concerns are ultimately introverted and tend to repeat themselves.

Mészáros makes excellent characterizations and successful pleas for the independence of women and general humanism, but she posits basically pessimistic films that focus on the interior problems of the characters exclusively. "Men must be won over", says Mészáros, but the solitude and melancholia that result from this victory seem like poor rewards for having won. Mészáros' people should be let outside to learn the broader manifestations of oppression. Only then will they be able to exercise their new-found freedoms. □

MEG EGINTON

THE SEARCH

Two films — seeking what has been lost, what has been forgotten.

In the Bag, Amy Taubin
(16 mm color, 22 minutes)
Out Of Hand, Ericka Beckman
(Super 8 color, 25 minutes)

"Give me twenty-two minutes and I'll give you the world," slyly states Amy Taubin at the beginning of her film, *In the Bag*. This film, in which Taubin as the sole performer dumps, sorts, and Meg Eginton is a dancer and writes for *Live*.

searches through the contents of her handbag, and then cuts, rips, and shreds the various purses, appointment books, and personal effects into confetti, tries to give us emotion through a formalist framework. The act of searching and then the destruction of the objects of that search become metaphors for rage and a restructuring of feminine existence. In this respect *In the Bag* can be linked to Yvonne Rainer's *Journeys From Berlin* and Valie Export's

Invisible Adversaries, two other films which examine rage and the nature of subjectivity from the perspective of feminism in a neo-Freudian context. But whereas *Journeys ...* and *Invisible Adversaries* work with narratives grounded in historical times and places, *In the Bag* is an abstraction of a gesture and as such, is a narrative only in that it is an action which takes place in time.

This repetitive gesture of looking

through a handbag, pulling out its contents and placing them on a table works to produce two sorts of suspense, which in turn transform the action into metaphor. The first type of suspense is the simple anticipatory type: We don't know what the woman is looking for, or why she is frantic about finding whatever it is. The soundtrack of airport announcements of flight numbers and cities leads us to assume that she has lost her airplane ticket, and so we build scenarios in our heads of where she might be going, why she doesn't want to go and so lost her ticket, who is waiting for her at the other end of the flight, etc.

Feminist concerns

The second type of suspense results from boredom. It quickly becomes obvious that the woman is not going to find what she is looking for, and that we are not going to be told what she (we) are looking for either. This tedium is not relieved by Taubin's use of two locations for her search: the first a large wooden table top and the second a bed covered by a blue quilt. The gesture of searching is low in visual interest and as a result, we begin to examine the contents of the handbag. Through these personal artifacts we begin to learn and surmise about the woman who carries this handbag. And again we bring our own knowledge of feminist concerns to the film's action, beginning to suspect that more is happening than a simple exposé of this woman's purse.

An element of irony and self-conscious wit informs *In the Bag*. When Taubin begins to cut up H.D.'s *Tribute to Freud*, several appointment calendars, her eyeglasses, and her diaphragm, the film stops existing as a one-liner and begins to become a metaphor. Taubin is ripping to shreds the various role models and personally defining facts (appointments, eyeglasses, birth control) of her life. In doing so she is metaphorically freed to become her own role model. At this point in the film, it is exhilarating to see a section of very fast cutting between the two locations, perhaps the camera-movement equivalent to the internal state of rage leading to action.

The soundtrack also serves more than one purpose. It primarily exists to represent the world outside the film over which the filmmaker has little control. But it also ties the two locations together and since it is disengaged from its own real environment, it finally becomes just sound. We hear a woman's voice calling out numbers and the names of cities, words which are evocative in themselves.

The mediation of rage

Still, the film's interest is dependent

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THE SEARCH

of the type encountered in repetitive nightmares.

In the second half of the film, the boy plays with such objects as wooden blocks, a yellow suitcase, and a rocking horse. All these props change in size, often seeming to float in mid-air or to suddenly move by themselves. By animating objects in this way, Beckman distorts our depth perception, pulling us into the boy's world.

Chaotic parameters

The main event of the film is the looking for something which the boy has forgotten the name and shape of; he has forgotten what "it" is. The soundtrack of repetitive chants — "Where is it," "let it slip, pass over," and "concentrate, gotta get it" — is the only clue as to what words might be floating through the boy's head. What the boy does is to wildly search through a giant toybox, throwing unwanted toys and blocks out over his shoulder. Once tossed, the objects suspend through their arcs before they fall, or, like the rocking horse, are caught in mid-air.

Once the boy finds "it," a U-shaped block, he begins to discover other U-shaped objects; the furnace is U-shaped, the windows of the house are U-shaped, the handle on his shield is U-shaped. This shape, now found (recognized, named) has a reality in the boy's consciousness: it can be pointed to.

But the film does not proceed in any direct way. The mood is close to day-dreaming, and several other episodic events teach the boy about limits or boundaries. He approaches a glowing furnace and burns his hands, he grapples with a series of barred windows and boxes. A man dressed as a traffic policeman plays a game with him. Both carry shields which have U-shaped handles; they play a terrifying game in which the man throws objects at the boy. The boy defends himself with his shield against the flying objects. In other words, the U-shape, now found and named, can be used.

Through the magical properties of the boy's world, Beckman shows us the child's reality of learning to "see" different sizes, shapes, and uses for things. What is special about this film is that we are as disoriented as the boy in this universe of unnamed objects. Near the end of the film there is a tour de force section of rhythmic editing where the props kaleidoscope in and out in a series of rapid cuts. The rhythm is that of vertigo and the subject becomes motion itself, just as the essence of thinking at any age is motion. This last section recalls an image from the first half of the film. The boy is asleep on a bed and the geometric shapes revolve about his head, ungrounded but not unreal, waiting for names. □

LOCATION SHOTS

Black and Third World women who want to make films must battle with racism, sexism and money.

In a scene from Julie Dash's 13 1/2 minute dramatic adaptation of Alice Walker's short story, *Diary of An African Nun*, we see the novice alone in her cell-like room, rosary in hand. As she paces the floor, struggling to concentrate on the vows of Catholicism, she is unaware that her feet are actually dancing to the drumming from her native village. This scene is a striking image of cultural conflict, and variations of this theme can be found in the films of almost every independent minority filmmaker. If there is a definitive aesthetic developing within their work it would have to be related to the exploration of the dichotomy of our marginal status in American culture. On the East Coast — New York, Washington, D.C., Boston — this exploration has been done primarily through the documentary, which for over a decade has provided a minority people's perspective on our continuing political history, our art, familial relationships, our relationships to our communities, and the societal institutions with which our communities must interact. The overwhelming influence of Hollywood has led Los Angeles-based filmmakers to work more in dramatic films, and this trend is naturally beginning to manifest among filmmakers in New York. But the "Ordinary People" of these dramatic films are students, artists and workers, and the stories told retain a social relevance, given the larger context in which the characters live.

Choosing to be outlaws

Black and Third World women constitute an embryo movement in independent filmmaking, a movement characterized by overt or subtle rebellion within a sphere of limitations. The chief limitation is, of course, money, meaning very limited access to private sources, thus dependence upon government funding, which is controlled predominantly by whites whose practical interests and cultural assumptions are served by the status quo, which in the area of filmmaking reeks of blatant racism and sexism. It is impossible to discuss black women and film without reference to racism, sexism and money.

Valerie Harris is a dramatist and journalist who works as Distribution Manager and Project Consultant at Third World Newsreel. Currently she is at work on two screenplays for independent producers.

Hence, the spirit of rebellion is inherent to the decision to work in the medium. As one filmmaker put it, "Being a black woman and choosing to be a filmmaker is like choosing to be an outlaw."

In that case, the most-wanted list would have to include Julie Dash, Sharon Larkin, and Carroll Parrot Blue on the West Coast; and Jackie Shearer, Kathleen Collins, Monica Freeman, Michele Parkerson, Ayoka Chenzira and Louise Fleming here in the East. Mira Nair, born in New Delhi, is joining the ranks, and Christine Choy, born in Shanghai and Executive Producer at Third World Newsreel in New York, is in a class by herself.

There are two forms of documentary that have been most often employed by black and Third World women: portraits of other women, mostly artists and community activists, and social/pol-

(top) Monica Freeman's *Valerie* (bottom) Kathleen Collins' *The Cruz Brothers and Mrs. Malloy*



itical films. Among the former are Monica Freeman's *Valerie: A Woman, An Artist, A Philosophy of Life* (1975) on Harlem sculptor, Valerie Maynard; Ayoka Chenzira's *Syvilla: They Dance to Her Drum* (1979), a portrait of the late dancer and teacher; and Michele Parkerson's *...But Then, She's Betty Carter* (1980), a project that is more interestingly discussed as an indication of the politics of filmmaking. The filmmaker, like any artist, begins with an idea of what she wants to do, but she may have to compromise more than content to get the money, and then to get the film made.

Limits set by money and circumstances

Parkerson had never met the jazz vocalist, Betty Carter, when she decided four years ago to make a film about her, so a relationship between filmmaker and legend had to be established first. The second phase of the venture — the first filming — resulted in a dynamically-edited 9-minute clip of an exciting performance by Carter in the intimacy of a nightclub, punctuated by brief interview segments. The highly praised 9-minute version, which had been privately financed by Parkerson, was introduced to audiences and presumably to funders as a "work-in-progress." But the final 53-minute *...But Then, She's Betty Carter* aired nationally over PBS in February, 1981, bears little resemblance to the original. It is not as interesting cinematically, none of the previously screened footage is included, and the performance this time is a concert at Crampton Auditorium, Howard University, where technical people were not allowed on the stage. Both tight shots and the intimacy are gone.

"I was pressured to meet the deadline set by my funding sources, so I didn't get all the shots I wanted," Parkerson says. "Plus, Betty wanted only her most current performance shown in the film because she's an artist who's always changing. Although the first version was made 4 years ago I felt I could have used some of it in the finished film. But I had to take into account how she wanted her art presented."

Given the limitations of money, an inexperienced second-camera person, and the demands of the person she was filming, Parkerson is satisfied with the film while acknowledging its flaws.

"Of course I imagine the film I could

have made had those limitations not been there. As far as *my* art is concerned I feel I did the best cinematically with what I had. I used the best shots I had, and took the best statements from the interviews — Betty articulates a lot about herself as a woman, a jazz artist, and a business person. I wanted to show the difference between the woman and her stage persona, and in that sense I think the film stands as a document of the artist."

An effective use of dramatic techniques

Monica Freeman's *Valerie* is more effective. The fifteen minute short demonstrates an understanding of how the use of stylistically dramatic techniques



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No one knows better than Chris Choy the benefits of working collectively with people who share her perspective. Through her ten-year association with Third World Newsreel, she has worked on, produced, or directed five independent political documentaries, produced another for a local TV station outside of New York, and is in the process of producing another, financed by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, on Indo-Chinese refugees to the U.S. The issues she has covered include the institutionalized oppression of the penal system within both men's and women's prisons, the exploitation of garment workers in New York's Chinatown, and domestic violence against women. She is the only Third World woman filmmaker on the east coast who has a real body of independently produced work to her credit,

twenty minute portrait of a traditional Muslim community, including its residents' reactions to a woman filming in the street. Her work in progress — *Between Worlds* — will be our first look at the lives of Indian immigrants to New York. One segment will follow a 32-year-old, working-class man who has temporarily left his wife and family in India, and is still very much tied to his homeland. His friends are young Indians like himself, who play popular Indian music on their tape decks, and move with the street gestures and postures adopted from Indian commercial movies, which are influenced by western cinema.

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Fleming's work-in-progress, *It's Easy* is about a friendship between two women. The film spans 20 years and will show how women grow together and the experiences that cement their rela-

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Hence, the spirit of rebellion is inherent to the decision to work in the medium. As one filmmaker put it, "Being a black woman and choosing to be a filmmaker is like choosing to be an outlaw."

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An effective use of dramatic techniques

Monica Freeman's *Valerie* is more effective. The fifteen minute short demonstrates an understanding of how the use of stylistically dramatic techniques enhance a documentary, rendering both the film and its subject more engrossing. But *Valerie* was made 6 years ago, and neither of Freeman's subsequent efforts have been as well done.

"I made *Valerie* through Nafasi Productions, a co-operative group where filmmakers exchanged skills, equipment and space. The film cost so little to produce that it would be misleading to quote the amount. But my other two films were done without Nafasi, so not only did I have very little money but it was almost like working without a crew. I don't think I've reached even the midpoint of my creative ability. What I've done is make three low-budget films — and I never wanted to be known as an expert in low-budget films."

Freeman is now looking for a situation where she can develop her production skills and grow creatively, but she's not overly optimistic. "There's no real sponsorship for independents in the U.S. The system was not designed to have an alternative media. We're working in spite of it."

The benefits of working collectively

No one knows better than Chris Choy the benefits of working collectively with people who share her perspective. Through her ten-year association with Third World Newsreel, she has worked on, produced, or directed five independent political documentaries, produced another for a local TV station outside of New York, and is in the process of producing another, financed by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, on Indo-Chinese refugees to the U.S. The issues she has covered include the institutionalized oppression of the penal system within both men's and women's prisons, the exploitation of garment workers in New York's Chinatown, and domestic violence against women. She is the only Third World woman filmmaker on the east coast who has a real body of independently produced work to her credit,



Filmmaker Michele Parkerson's *...But Then, She's Betty Carter*.

but when a white feminist filmmaker commented recently that she should now be content, Choy bristled, "For years every film made about Asian, black or hispanic people was made by white people. Because I've made two about Asians in the U.S. people think I should be satisfied. I'm not."

Frequently asked to participate in panels to discuss film, Choy notes that the (white) student audiences are generally much more interested in hearing her opinions on "women's aesthetics" than racism in the arts. When she informs them that she is more familiar with the latter, all questions are often then addressed to the other panelists.

Indian immigrants in New York

Choy remains enthusiastic about the documentary and wants to continue working in the form. But Mira Nair, who has produced one documentary in New Delhi and is at work on another here would like to eventually direct dramatic films. Nair's first film was a twenty minute portrait of a traditional Muslim community, including its residents' reactions to a woman filming in the street. Her work in progress — *Between Worlds* — will be our first look at the lives of Indian immigrants to New York. One segment will follow a 32-year-old, working-class man who has temporarily left his wife and family in India, and is still very much tied to his homeland. His friends are young Indians like himself, who play popular Indian music on their tape decks, and move with the street gestures and postures adopted from Indian commercial movies, which are influenced by western cinema.

"I'm not interested in 'statement cinema'", says Nair. "When I'm filming in the village or the immigrant community here the social and political condi-

tions are evident, but my emphasis is on how the individuals react to those conditions on a personal level, how they work through them, are changed by them."

Nair would like to return to India and work in commercial films. She says that a few women have directed commercially successful feature films there since she's been in the States, and she's curious to see how they've affected the industry.

Independent filmmakers inspiring one another

Black women who want to direct dramatic feature films will undoubtedly have to do them independently for a long time. Louise Fleming's first film, *Just Briefly*, is a dramatic short so true to the experience of a brief encounter between a young woman and a married man that it has the look and feel of a documentary. It was made as a thesis film in 1974 and Fleming is surprised that a distributor picked it up. Now working as a free-lance assistant editor in television, Fleming says that being behind the scenes on projects that are well-financed has made her more "sympathetic to the whole process of independent filmmaking." She's been working on her second dramatic film for two years and thinks she has about another two years to go. "Independents should either hold out for the money or make a good short film. It's worth it. I made *Just Briefly* for \$2,000 but at this stage in my experience I can't make the film I want to for \$10,000. Right now we're all competing for the same money, so until we become less desperate, all we can offer each other is moral support."

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Desegregation of Boston schools in Jackie Shearer's *A Minor Altercation*.

tionships. "Somebody should be making films about the murder of black kids in Atlanta and other political issues, but the black experience is so varied, and that richness and diversity should also be reflected in film."

In that regard, there is not much of an influence to be found in commercial television and film. Fleming says, "I find myself more inspired by the work of other independents, my peers. I like Kathy Collins' *The Cruz Brothers* and Mrs. Malloy as a film, although it's not the kind of film I would make. I want to reflect my own culture in films, to make films about black people. But because I know how hard it is to get a film done, I feel she has the right to do whatever she wants to."

Rejecting the "label" of black/woman filmmaker

The small controversy among black independents over Kathleen Collins' *The Cruz Brothers* and Mrs. Malloy (1980) has focused on: 1) there's not a black person in it; 2) it's not cinematic in that Collins relies too heavily on character and dialogue rather than on imaginatively visual technical shots to "tell" her story; 3) it doesn't say anything, i.e., it's superficial. The hour-long film is about three Puerto Rican brothers, in their late teens to early twenties, who live alone in a dilapidated house in a small town where apparently there aren't many other minority people. Their dead father communicates to them through telepathic messages to the oldest brother. These three young men are approached by an old white woman who hires them to restore her mansion and gardens to their former grandeur, like in the good ol' days when she and her husband used to entertain. She wants to have one last party before she dies. The film shows the brothers' gradual involvement with Mrs. Malloy, particularly the youngest brother, and hers with him, and when Mrs. Malloy

dies the brothers inherit her vintage, well-kept, very expensive looking car. Then they go back to playing basketball.

In a published interview for the Black Films and Filmmakers touring exhibition last year Collins states that she: 1) is "interested in doing movies about minority people who are larger than life...The Cruz boys can allow themselves an experience that is basically very alien to them and not be threatened by it in conventional ways."; 2) is "trying to find a cinematic language with real literary merit. A style that doesn't ignore what words mean, and may in fact end up being very wordy."; 3) simply wanted "to solve some problems in narrative filmmaking. In *The Cruz Brothers* politics and ethnic sensibility would all have to be analyzed with small letters, not capitals, because that's my sensibility."

Collins clearly sees herself as an innovator in independent film — period. She rejects the "label" of black/woman filmmaker, and this rejection has influenced her choice of style, form and content. *The Cruz Brothers* and Mrs. Malloy is an interesting first film, obviously aimed at that amorphous 'general' audience for which most TV movies are made. That it is an adaptation of part of an unpublished novel (by a white writer) may account for the distinctly different personality of each of the brothers, who are characters that have been developed throughout a larger work. But Collins fails to exploit the full power of her story by underplaying the social reality of the relationship between Mrs. Malloy and the three young Puerto Ricans she hires as day laborers on her estate.

Seeing film as a "potent political force"

Jackie Shearer, who is a decidedly political filmmaker, spent several years working in radio, television and as a

free-lance producer before directing her first narrative film in 1977. *A Minor Altercation* employed professional and non-professional actors to dramatically examine the underlying factors contributing to the heat and violence of the desegregation of the Boston school system. After attending and screening the film in two European festivals, one devoted to Third World filmmakers, Shearer became inspired to produce two feature length dramatic films, both now in the planning and fund-raising stages.

"When I saw the work of filmmakers from countries with far fewer technical resources, I knew I wanted to perfect my directing skills. I like form and technique. If I weren't a political person I'd be into the most experimental elements of cinema. But film is the most potent political force in the world today because it works on an emotional level. So my films will include an awareness of those economic and social forces that work to oppress us."

One of the films Shearer is planning is about a black domestic worker in the 1930s who, after being paid old clothes rather than cash for a day's work, decides to organize her sister workers.

"I don't know of a black family in the U.S. that hasn't had some connection with domestic work, and in a lot of cases there's been shame attached to it. Most black women are still doing domestic work but now it's institutionalized."

Shearer wants to make this film because of her interests in the historical period, in black women and work, and because she believes in "the politics of lifestyle — how you spend your daily existence, with whom and doing what influences your ability to be politically active in your own behalf."

The mulatto mentality

Shearer's second project is an adaptation of *Quicksand*, an autobiographical novel written in the 1920s by a black woman of West Indian and Scandinavian parentage. "From the very first page I identified with the character, although I'm not a mulatto woman with access to money. I was plucked out of the working class, put through Brandeis on scholarship, and my mind was blown by the heavy dose of Western Civilization 101 that my college experience was about. It was like gradually becoming bi-cultural, a marginal person, aware of life's possibilities and also of the barriers imposed upon me. So my filmic character won't necessarily be mulatto, since many educated black women experience the mulatto mentality."

In her decision to work in dramatic film Jackie Shearer shares with Louise Fleming a desire to create a cinema that speaks to the diversity of black people's experience, and with Kathleen

Collins the challenge of telling a good story well. "I am intellectually passionate about the domestic workers film, and emotionally passionate about *Quicksand*. I've been living on loans from friends for four months so I can devote full time to conceptualization of the films and looking for money. Making movies means perseverance, and what you have to persevere against most strongly is your own personal devastation."

The obligatory European 'validation'

The enthusiastic reception of black American filmmakers at the Festival des Trois Continents held at Nantes, France in December, 1979 led to a more inclusive festival — Independent Black American Cinema: 1920-1980 — in Paris last October. Subsequently almost the entire program was screened February 27 through March 8, 1981, at Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Public Theater, an excellent location due to the theater's own reputation. According to the programmer, the Public Theater took the program solely on the fact that it showed to standing room on-

ly audiences in Paris. Like jazz and its creators, the 'new wave' of black independent film will probably require European validation to be taken seriously by major exhibitors here.

Nevertheless, not all of the filmmakers were thrilled with the program at the Public. One complained that screening her film in the same segment with a 8-minute, first-attempt student piece belied the professionalism of her work. Another said that she can't get excited about another screening of a film she worked on 5 years ago. Since independent 'film-years' could legitimately be calculated the way dog years are — with a ratio of 7 to 1 — a strictly current program would include less than 5 films. But there has been a lack of critical judgement in programming black films; the criterion seems to be closer to what's available rather than what works, and this attitude has its counterpart in the lack of internal, constructive criticism among the filmmakers themselves. Meetings like the Third World Film and Video Workers Conference held at Howard University in February 1980, where filmmakers can screen and discuss their work in a non-competitive environment, should

become annual events. Beyond that, the only way to get better at any art form is to regularly engage in its process. That opportunity, which in comparison, can almost be taken for granted by writers and painters, is what independent filmmakers have to constantly struggle for.

It is hard to escape an acute awareness of your societal-designated 'place' if you are a black, Asian or hispanic woman with the audacity to want to make movies. By becoming an independent filmmaker you triple your marginality. "If you work in television," notes Monica Freeman, "the only thing you can produce is local black public affairs programs. There are very few of these and they don't tend to last long in the large market areas. Often you're on for the project and when the project folds, you're out. I doubt if I'd get the chance to do anything creative in the networks." And Kathy Collins describes the film industry as "the last solid white bastion" of American culture. So if a minority woman wants to be anything other than a technician or on-camera talent, if she wants control of the final projected image, independent filmmaking is still the only route to go. □

JOHN GREYSON

WOMEN ARTISTS' BOOKS

Five recent self-published books offer a readable feminist culture

If the purpose of artists' books is to contain their content in new formats and structures, because the traditional formats and structures (the novel, the training manual, the magazine article, et al) are inadequate, then the books must invent these new containers. Artists in the women's movement, searching for new ways to express the ideas of feminism, have been instrumental in the development of the bookwork as a challenging, viable, medium. Bookworks date back roughly the same decade and a half as the current resurgence of the women's movement.

All of the books reviewed here were self-published; all have limited distribution, as they are seen to be too 'specialized' or 'esoteric' to be of any interest to anyone other than art buffs. Generally, they're available only through the few artist bookstores that exist in North America. All five address, on direct and imaginative levels, issues important to feminism, and would/could do well in women's bookstores, if given the chance.

Mary Beth Edelson

Reclaiming "witch" culture

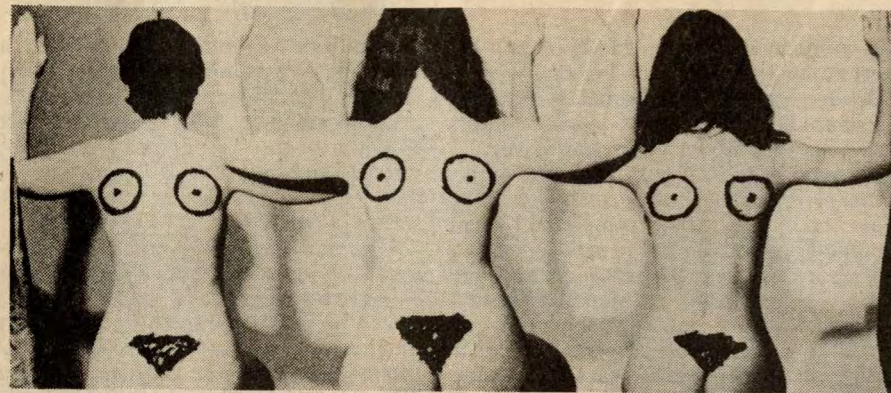
Seven Cycles: Public Rituals
60 pages, softbound, \$10

Lucy Lippard, in her introduction to *Seven Cycles: Public Rituals* says of Edelson's work: "...she understood that

women's lives, psyches, and sexualities were positively multiple, and that the release of this multiplicity was a political act." This book, a documentation of seven multidisciplinary exhibitions and three performances that the artist has accomplished over the past ten years, is such a release. A dry retrospective catalogue of the same work would have deadened and diffused it. By self-publishing her writings, photos and illustrations, Edelson has extended the

works immediacy. The book confronts you not as an information source but as a work in itself, stating things baldly to stir things up. "Sometimes I feel that I must be reinventing the wheel when I work with such comprehensive systems, but then I know that isn't likely to be true since previous systems were not exactly kind enough to include the

John Greyson is an Associate Editor of *FUSE* and an artist/writer.



Mary Beth Edelson's "Cycles: Creation Begins with a Green Light".

feminine mind."

Reinventing, or perhaps rejuvenating, the mythic goddess/witch tradition for contemporary use is the active key to her work. Memorials to 9,000,000 women burned as witches in the Christian era (a 1977 environment/exhibition) included a portal decorated with horned bull and fig symbols, a circular table, and a ladder (a reference both to transgression, and to the witches tied to ladders before they were burnt). On Halloween eve, the ladder alight with candles, nine women related the history of witch hunts, and then led a procession with lighted pumpkins onto the street.

Collaborative processes of feminism

Recognizing that culture comes from shared experience, Edelson has consciously incorporated the collective, collaborative processes of feminism into her rituals. Her massive 'archaeological' search into past matriarchal cultures has unearthed consciousness-raising fodder for contemporary use. Your 5,000 Years are Up! involved nine women sitting in a fire circle recounting the hows, whens and whys of the '70s women's movement. Chanting the title of the piece, they were together telling the patriarchy that its days are numbered.

In many ways, both her work and this book propose a new method of archiving culture. Giving equal credence to myth and reality, through a fusion of both, she emphasizes that for contemporary use, history can be what we make of it. Her Story Gathering Boxes, an ongoing project since 1972, is a good example. The boxes, each divided into four sections, have a title and four subheadings, e.g. "Blood Power Stories: 1) Menstruation, 2) Menopause, 3) Birth, 4) Blood Power." People are invited to scribble on pieces of paper their own contributions to whichever categories they choose. A few brief excerpts are reprinted. In the "Story of Your Life" box, someone wrote: "Once I tried to urinate like a boy through my belly button. But I gave up and went regular like." Edelson wants to publish the hundreds of responses collected over the

years in a book of their own someday. Let's hope the project doesn't become another case of herstory suppression (through lack of funding) — we need it more than ever.

May Stevens

Exposing women's "private" history

Ordinary/Extraordinary
32 pages, card cover,
staplebound, \$6

"A collage of words and images of Rosa Luxembourg, polish/german revolutionary leader and theoretician, murder victim (1871-1919). Juxtaposed with images and words of Alice Stevens (born 1895-). Housewife, mother, washerwoman and ironer, inmate of hospitals and nursing homes..."

Visually the book progresses like a video surveillance system on remote control. Page by page it pans across and zooms in on several old snapshots of the two women, Luxembourg's letters and manuscripts, (in German) and the author's quotes and scribbled notes. These few elements recur throughout, arranged in different sequences and sizes, sometimes in negative, which fill the book with black backgrounds and murky details. The images become compelling not through their intrinsic interest but with repetition, and their changing relation to one another. When we first see the decapitated head of Luxembourg, it is small, and surrounded by photos of her as a young girl. Near the middle it occurs, filling a page, its details reduced to amorphous blobs of black — facing it is the younger face.

The center section contains 'The Words' of both women, selected scraps suggesting in the briefest way, the complexities of these two very different lives. In both cases, the selection concentrates on intimate details of daily life or relationships. While the major contributions Luxembourg made to scientific thought and revolutionary

politics are alluded to in descriptive passages in letters, or in some cases by direct quotation, it is fragments of her private life that figure prominently. She describes her attitude in prison as "tranquil and cheerful", and chastises her lover Leo Jogiches at one point: "When I open your letters and see six sheets covered with debates about the Polish Socialist Party and not a single word about ordinary life, I feel faint."

These collages and excerpts conspire to juxtapose two women, who have nothing in common besides this book. While we experience Luxembourg as an 'extraordinary character' — she understood not only her own life but the lives of others as a project of liberation — Alice Stevens becomes one who was denied the means to even conceive of such possibilities. The author describes her: "She lived in a four room house on a working class street for twenty years. Over the years she spoke less and less... She never asked, why do I ride in the back of the car with the children while another woman rides up in front with my husband? ... She never asked, why does my husband call me Bertha when my name is Alice."

"Everybody knows me"

The book's implicit comparison of two characters reminds one of the tale of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse. However, the terms of the comparison are different, not based on class (rich vs. poor) but more on social/historical circumstances. Feminists researching women's history can locate Luxembourg because of her specific impact on society — the records have been kept. If historians had any interest in Alice Stevens at all, it would only be as a representative of her social grouping (housewife/washerwoman), never as an individual. The only reason the author has information about her in the first place is because she is her daughter.

Our interest in Stevens the washerwoman is created within the book, while our interest in Luxembourg existed already. This dilemma between objective/public and subjective/personal history is thus exposed. We become tricked into remembering this unimportant washerwoman as an historical figure, when she is nothing of the sort. The author, in the process of documenting the memory of her mother, has made us confront our own learned categories of history. Luxembourg's imprisonment and murder are seen at a distance by the author, and therefore the reader, as she remembers her mother's imprisonment much closer to home. The former said that the revolution will proclaim: "I was, I am, I will be," while the latter, at eighty years old in a nursing home murmured: "Everybody knows me."

Miriam Sharon

Sewing tents for social change

Projects '73-'80
20 pages, paper cover,
staple bound, \$5.

This book documents ten projects carried out by Israeli artist Miriam Sharon. The subtitle, "Female Survival Utopias", is more ironic than descriptive. While Sharon's work involves the creation of women's spaces (both psychic and physical) where "there is no jealousy, no hatred, nor class distinction", it has at all times an awareness that such spaces cannot exist outside of their cultural, historical and political circumstances. Some of them were done in collaboration with women from several Bedouin tribes in Israel; others were done with women's groups in urban environments, such as Tel Aviv. The realities addressed by her work — loss of cultural identity, deprivation of creativity and education through class division, ecological rape through industrialization — while involving women centrally, apply also to their society, their culture, their 'Israel', and hence involve men equally.

Each project, described briefly in both Hebrew and English, is supplemented by photographs. Many of Sharon's projects involve "sand tents". In 1976, she prepared and sewed a tent with the women of a Bedouin tribe near Tel-Sheva, then covered it with sand and installed it at the Kibbutz 'Kerem Shalom'. The tribe she had worked with on this project "was being moved into concrete permanent settlements, the younger generation becoming factory workers and future technocrats, disappearing without leaving a trace." She describes how the tent physically illustrated, through its placement, the division between the two cultures — the 'Kibbutzniks' with tractors on the one side, the Bedouins with donkeys on the other. For her, it represented "the

Sharon's "Meditative Space" 173-75.



FUSE May/June 1981



May Steven's "Ordinary/Extraordinary" — fragments of Luxembourg's life.

home, the physical territory of women in a nomadic culture ... a territory being replaced by male professionalism — architecture."

Sharon consciously continues and reclaims the tradition of female culture; historical references to goddesses of Israel appear throughout the book as footnotes. Her use of ritual and collaboration link her to other contemporary feminist artists (including Mary Beth Edelson and Judy Chicago) where the process of creating with other women (sewing, for instance) becomes the central purpose of the art. But Sharon's work also involves men in its explication, especially the projects with the Bedouins where the disappearance of a whole way of life — nomadic culture — is confronted.

Sharon's identification with the Bedouin permeates all of her work. The ragged tents and costumes reproduced resonate against a background of siege; the short texts show Sharon's broad understanding of how much is at stake in this battle. Unfortunately, this book is brief, really only an introduction to the scope of her work.

Romaine Perin

Daydreams for prisoners

Jails
28 pages, cloth cover,
staple bound, 1980, \$3

The plot of Romaine Perin's Jails is a slippery affair, more about story telling than telling its story. Two women, lovers, live in a tenement in a police

state guarded by walls and bullets. One of them, David, remembers half-truths about her Africa, about men gambling their semen away near the mosque, about the woman on the bus in the desert who made love to her, about the narrator's sister who David made love to. "We take long walks when we're supposed to be talking about the revolution, but she always brings up the past..." David visits a man called David who invents alphabets. She distributes her catalogue of propaganda and is incarcerated. The two women meet again in Africa after the revolution, and David begins what she hopes will be. "...a future library book because it's a history of the revolution written before the event, of particular interest to scholars or urban dramas glimpsed through tenement windows."

The writing is like one sentence, one piece of string crumpled into a ball. Its illusive style is not ornamental, yet it triggers potent visual half-associations, of climate, places and individuals who combat the grimness with wry humour. Typed with a very old machine, there are horizontal bars and smudges on each column of copy, not quite like prison bars. Several small photos from magazines — scorpions, fingers pointing, railways, a woman in a chador (or is it a man in a turban?) — are reproduced in the wide white margins.

The unwritten story

The style recalls the experience of daydreaming, of how the imagination makes the bus ride to the office bearable. Interrupted by the mundane scraps of conversation that occur, it



captures how those part-time day-dream narratives originate, and where they lead to. Between the lines, (now those bars make sense) we can see the shadow of two women living together in New York, suffering the sexual advances and insults of men, disturbed by the racial tensions they thought their inter-racial relationship would be immune to, waiting with irony for the revolution. That shadow is one we are responsible for creating, however, because we're the ones who are straightening the piece of string out.

**Nan Becker
Eugenics and
traffic signs**

Sterilization/Elimination

Nan Becker, 16 pages, card cover, staplebound, \$5
In 1965, in an address to the United Nations, President Lyndon Johnson said that \$5 worth of birth control (read 'sterilization') in Puerto Rico was worth \$100 of economic development. These were hardly idle words: by 1968, 35.3 percent of all women of childbearing age in that country had been sterilized. 90 percent of these operations were sponsored by private (corporate) interests, and Johnson's clear assumption of their effect on the economy seems indisputable — between 1960 and 1974, U.S. investment in Puerto Rico (exceeded only by U.S. investment in Canada and West Germany), increased eight fold; the profits invested increased twelve fold.

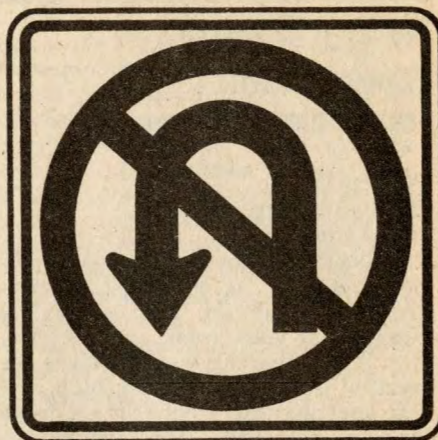
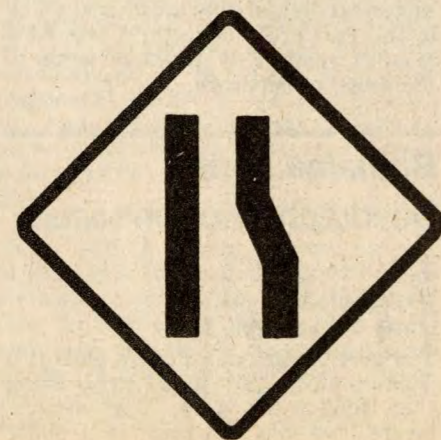
In the second section of Nan Becker's *Sterilization/Elimination*, these facts briefly sketch out the ties between the U.S. government/corporate expansion in Puerto Rico, and the direct economic gains that were made through their implementation of such a 'birth control'

program. Tracing the course of industrialization on the island, she exposes how unemployment was conveniently supposed to be synonymous with 'over-population' (the term, capitalized on after World War II by the State, became effective propaganda) and how sterilization was chosen as the preferred method of dealing with the 'problem', because of its inexpensive permanence.

'A mandate for white supremacy'

The use of Puerto Rico (with the highest rate in the world) as an example of U.S. sterilization practice in developing countries serves to effectively emphasize the points made in the more general discussion of the subject that dominates the first section. Becker traces its historical roots to the science of eugenics — the perfection of the species through the influencing of heredity factors. Correctly defining it as "a mandate for white supremacy," she exposes how the eugenicist movement created and perpetuated the idea of *fit* and *unfit* people (the disabled, the mentally defective, the criminally inclined, those on welfare, the unemployed, as examples of the latter category) and then declared the state of the unfit 'hereditary' (through dubious means), and hence insoluble, since changes in their social environment (costly to the state) would not prevent them from passing on their genetically-acquired 'bad blood'.

The crude typewritten texts are printed black on top of full page grey traffic signs. As illustrations, their relation to the subject is clear: road narrowing, yield warning, children crossing, no U-turns (no turning back). They also serve as an effective metaphor for the state function which through 'rules' determines the way things should be done for the good of the people. Becker makes clear that the same logic that says: "Without traffic signs, this country would be in a mess", is also used to promote sterilization.



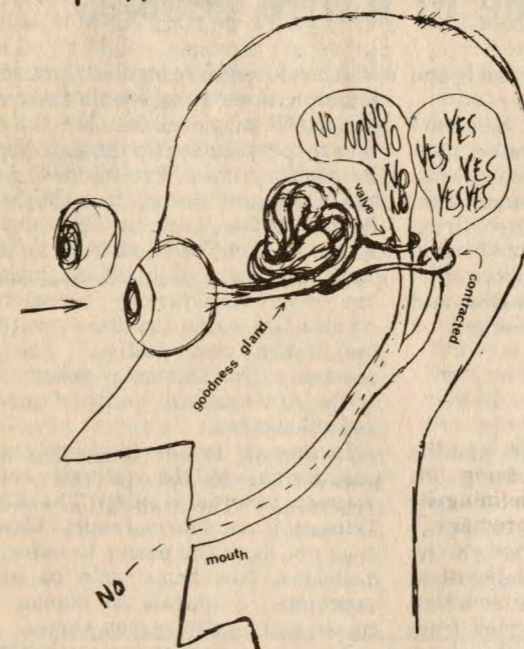
The book, which includes a Spanish translation, could easily be a pamphlet you might be handed at a Women's Day rally. The information is hard-hitting, a fast read that gets across the horror of the situation. What Becker has done, however, is complicate the content *structurally*. The translation runs not parallel to, but *in between*, the English. Every second line is the Spanish equivalent of the preceding line. It's quite difficult to read, and make you feel like the soprano confusing her notes with the alto part. While it continuously emphasizes the essentially racist nature of sterilization practice, its effect is more decorative than practical. This book won't be read by, and wasn't intended for, Spanish-speaking people. Its purpose is to address the issue in a creative way; it was never meant to be educative in the traditional sense.

The major problem, in fact, is that the actual text could have been published as a magazine article. The information Becker has collected needs to be disseminated, something a small-edition artists' book can't hope to do. Becker's fusing of formal art concerns with this urgent social issue is a complex project, and in this instance, she hasn't taken the process far enough. Using a traditional essay style, and then dressing it up with various structural innovations (the 'in between' translation, for instance) confuses, when it could have contributed, to the essential content. The visual aspect of the book contradicts the predictable, objective nature of the writing, for no apparent reason. Becker perhaps should have concentrated on changing or rejuvenating that style, instead of just the *context* within which it appears. In that way, this book's contribution to the issue of sterilization, while commendable, could have given its potential women's audience the added dimension of Becker's own presence, her own perspective.

All five books are available from Printed Matter, Inc., 7 Lispenard Street, New York, NY, 10013. Phone: (212) 925-0325.

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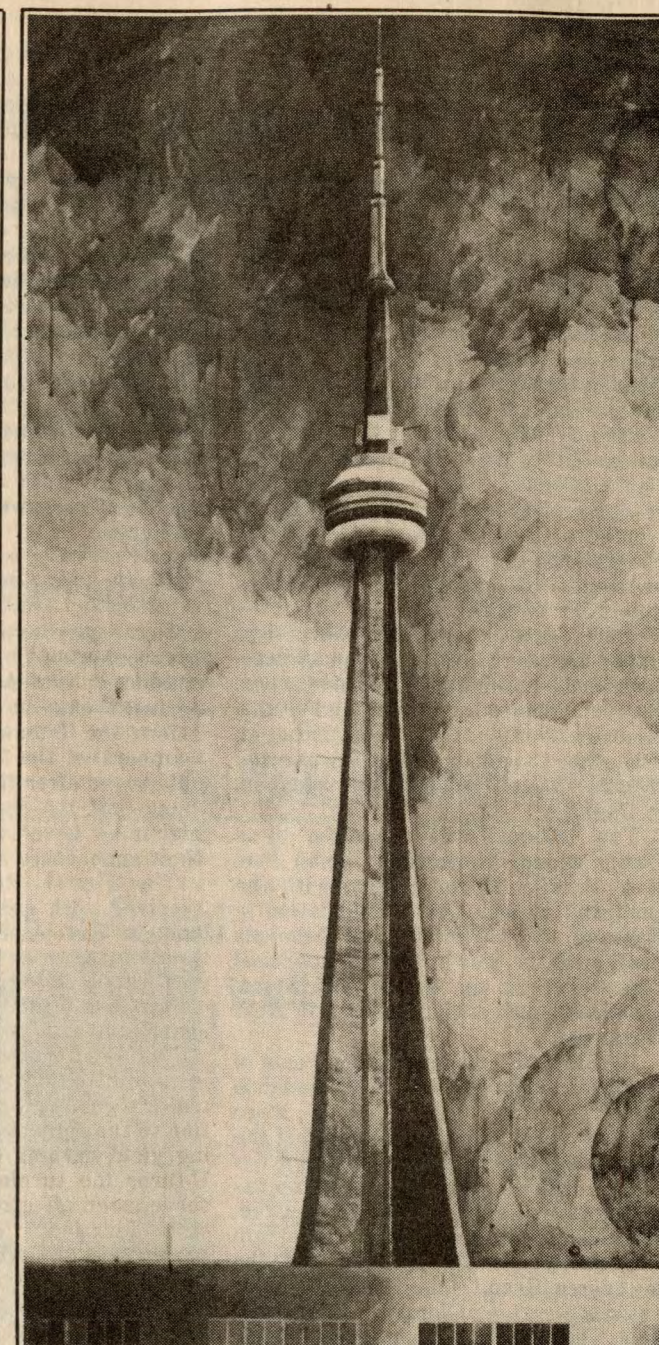
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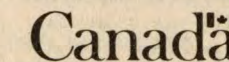


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TREATY 9 RIGHTS

The Russell Tribunal in Amsterdam charged the Canadian government with systematic genocide of native peoples.

On November 30th, the jury of the Fourth Russell Tribunal on the Rights of Indians from the Americas in Rotterdam, Holland, ruled that the Governments of Canada and Ontario have violated international law by attempting to take the land of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation by illegal means. The case was presented to the Tribunal by Grand Council Treaty 9, the organization representing 20,000 Cree and Ojibway of Northern Ontario. The Grand Council charged the Canadian and Ontario governments with "systematic social, economic and cultural genocide."

The Treaty 9 case was one of two Canadian cases out of a total of fourteen cases formally presented by the Native Peoples of North and South America to this international Tribunal. The other Canadian case was presented by the Conseil Attikimek-Montagnais of Québec.

The Tribunal was organized by a Dutch group, Workgroup Indian Project, working in conjunction with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in England. The earlier Russell Tribunals dealt with the War in Vietnam, political oppression and torture in Latin America and the lack of civil liberties in West Germany.

Cases were selected on the basis of material submitted to the Tribunal in advance. Oral presentations were limited to 3 1/2 hours. On behalf of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, Councillor Archie Stoney of Fort Severn opened the presentation with a prayer in Cree. Hereditary Ojibway Chief Fred Plain introduced the presentation and the witnesses: Grand Chief Dennis Cromarty on the native understanding of Treaty 9; Chief Eli Moonias of Ogoki on the disastrous effect of hydro-electric development; Chief Roy Kaminiwaish of Osnaburgh on the systematic oppression of the native people living in the Savant Lake area through denial of hunting, fishing and trapping rights by the provincial Ministry of Natural Resources; Councillor Archie Stoney of Fort Severn on the continued economic reliance of the Nishnawbe-Aski people on migratory birds; and legal counsel Norman Zlotkin gave evidence of the failure of Canadian law to recognize the treaty and aboriginal rights of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation. (As a symbol of their sovereignty, the Treaty 9 representatives used Nishnawbe-Aski

Norman Zlotkin is a member of the Law Union and has practiced native rights law for several groups.

passports to enter the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.)

There were eleven jury members who questioned the witnesses on various aspects of their presentations. They included an Indian leader from Brazil, a woman who led miner struggles in Bolivia and who is now living in exile in Europe, and lawyers and academics from Latin America and Europe. There were no Canadians on the jury.

Off the record

Both the government of Canada and the government of Ontario were invited to present a defense to the charges against them, but they failed to appear before the Tribunal, even though the members of the Treaty 9 delegation, before and after the hearings, received many "off the record" inquiries from high-level government officials about their appearance at the Tribunal.

The Fourth Russell Tribunal was received with great interest and support in Europe. Large media contin-



Caucus of Indian delegations.

gents from Holland, West Germany, France and Sweden were in attendance throughout the Tribunal. Capacity crowds of seven hundred people attended the three daily sessions held at De Doelen, a Rotterdam conference hall. A festival of native films ran in conjunction with the Tribunal. Rotterdam was chosen as the site of the Russell Tribunal because of the strong support offered by its progressive municipal government.

Exploitation of indigenous peoples

In its general findings the jury issued a sweeping indictment of the governments in both North and Latin America

which refused to recognize rights of the Indian nations living within their boundaries. "It may well be that the most severe persecution in human history, lasting for almost five hundred years, has been mounted against the Native Peoples of the Americas," the jury said at the end of the week-long Tribunal. "The machinery of internal colonialism has been continuously consolidated, ruthlessly seeking the disintegration of the Indian communities." The jury went on to find that many governments of the Americas are guilty of genocide and ethnocide.

In answer to the frequently asked question as to the authority of the Tribunal, the jury said, "The Russell Tribunal is not a formal court of law and does not have the power to enforce its decisions. Not being able to impose sanctions, it appeals to human conscience and human reason alone."

The jury called for the establishment of a permanent, international committee to monitor and safeguard the rights of all indigenous peoples. In addition, it demanded a halt to the exploitation of Indian land and to the attempted conversion of Indians to Christianity from their own traditional religions.

The Tribunal also adopted in full a declaration by the caucus of Indian delegations, in which representatives of the various Indian nations laid down fifteen recommendations for the proper recognition of native rights, including "the right of Indian peoples to exist as distinct peoples of the world, the right to the possession of their own territories and the right to sovereign self-determination."

The invalidation of Treaty 9

In response to the case of the Nishnawbe-Aski nation of Northern Ontario the jury found that: "The Indians were told that they were signing a *Treaty of Peace and Goodwill* towards the King and other white men in exchange of which they were to receive certain government assistance. They were not told that the irrevocable surrender of their territorial rights was also a provision of the Treaty. The Treaty was written in English, a language not spoken by the Nishnawbe-Aski in 1905.

"They contend that Treaty 9 is *invalid*, because the most important ingredient of the transaction, namely *consent* was missing. The Indian people could not consent, because the actual terms of the Treaty were not fully

explained to them." (Emphasis in original)

The jury concluded that the actions of the governments of both Canada and Ontario constituted a violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which Canada is a signatory. The jury's finding supports the position of Grand Council Treaty 9 that the Nishnawbe-Aski nation has not relinquished its ownership of more than 210,000 square miles of Northern Ontario. The Tribunal also recommended that all governments "engage in good faith negotiations to seek a peaceful settlement of disputes" with indigenous peoples within their national boundaries.

As well as supporting the Treaty 9 position that the land rights of the Nishnawbe-Aski nation have not been extinguished, the Tribunal strengthened the tie among all aboriginal peoples of the world and enabled the native people of Northern Ontario to establish contacts with European support groups.

Although the Tribunal lacks the legal power to enforce its judgments, it has had an immediate effect on at least two victories won by native people. The first occurred when Indian leader Mario Juruna of Brazil was denied the right to leave Brazil to take his seat on the jury. The Brazilian version of the Department of Indian Affairs claimed that Indians are wards without legal rights and not allowed to travel without its permission, which it was denying to Mr. Juruna. He challenged this decision in courts and, amidst the publicity generated by the Tribunal, he successfully won judicial recognition that Indians in Brazil have the same rights as other Brazilians.

For Canadian Indians, the Russell Tribunal offered a forum for putting forward their demands for the recognition of aboriginal and treaty rights in the proposed Canadian Constitution. This well-publicized Tribunal may have been a factor in the decision of the Liberal government to amend the Charter of Rights to recognize and affirm abor-

iginal and treaty rights.

Everyone participating in the Tribunal was struck by the similarity of the cases presented from the different countries. Whether in Canada, the United States, Central America or South America, internal expansion has meant the building of roads into native-held lands, the building of dams for power and the attempted destruction of the livelihood and cultures of the native peoples.

As the Tribunal heard in case after case, native people are fighting back. They are organizing within their own nations, they are organizing international support, they are lobbying governments, they are fighting in the courts and, in many instances, they are fighting in the streets.

In its struggle for self-determination of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, Grand Council Treaty 9 looks forward to future international contacts with the native peoples of the world and increased participation in the international community. □

CULTURAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE

SERVICE OR COMMODITIES?

When marketability is applied to cultural production, the weak are pushed to the wall.

The following is an excerpt from a discussion paper produced by the Cultural Workers' Alliance (CWA). A copy of the complete paper was also sent to the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee.

In its discussion document "Speaking of our Culture", the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee speaks repeatedly of cultural products, supply and demand, marketing systems, export markets, protected markets, consumer markets, etc.

The CWA totally rejects this commercial conception of culture. While it is true that large areas of cultural activity have been commercialized (and seriously corrupted in the process), discussion of the problems in these terms merely plays into the hand of those in industry and government who want to see and profit from the total commercialization of culture.

Similarly, in the current period of prolonged economic crisis, the argument for 'the best possible use of existing financial and other resources', though in many ways commendable, is an argument for pushing the weak to the wall. The call for the *rationalization*

of cultural activities is, at heart, an attempt to justify a policy, already begun by the government of only granting money to those cultural industries which are profitable. Profitability becomes the major criteria for securing public funds. Social needs and priorities are forgotten.

Already the government has altered the method by which it apportions public money to the book publishers. Whereas formerly the money was granted according to the number of books published, it is now granted on the basis of sales, a not so subtle form of pressure on publishers to print only books which will be a commercial success. Though sales may soar and profit margins increase, will the reading public be enriched by this policy? It seems very unlikely.

We in the CWA want to see a society in which all Canadians are active participants in and critical supporters of the arts, not just passive consumers of mass commercial culture. The profit motive must be eliminated from the provision of all cultural services. When calculating the costs and benefits of culture it is social needs which must be

placed foremost, not profits.

Cultural work must be seen as a social or community service, not as a commodity for sale in the marketplace. No one expects the health service or the educational service to make a profit, nor should the cultural services be expected to. Cultural workers provide a service which has a considerable educational component, as is witnessed by the extensive use in schools and universities of the materials they create. Like teachers, cultural workers contribute significantly to the overall educational level of society, and for this service alone deserve a living wage.

Scaling a guaranteed annual income

We recognize that although a universal guaranteed income is a basic social right, it is still a controversial issue. When asking for a guaranteed annual income for artists, we see this as a reasonable demand within present circumstances, as artists are the only sector of society which has no rational wage structure. We further recognize that a guaranteed annual income should be

scaled to the real income of artists. An incentive to market cultural services should be built into this demand, whereby artists would be encouraged to market their services as these would supplement their guaranteed annual income. For example, say the minimum guaranteed income is \$7,000. An artist who earns say \$6,000 from marketing his or her own services would receive a gross income of say \$12,000. An artist earning an income of \$12,000 would have a gross income of say \$17,000 etc. and an artist earning \$30,000 would receive apportionately less.

The guaranteed annual income would provide the basic measure of financial security that would allow cultural workers to work full time in their chosen field, rapidly develop their talents and go on to earn more than the basic minimum, thus relieving the need for the government to supplement their wages.

A guaranteed annual income would also ensure greater and more equitable access to culture by providing everyone with the price of admission. Lack of money currently bars millions of Canadians from taking an active part in and drawing pleasure from the arts.

Proposing a democratic solution

The members of the CWA would also like to see a major democratization of all cultural activities. Towards this end we make the following proposals:

● 1. The current funding practices of the government are undemocratic. Large sums of public money are being dispensed by a few bureaucrats and their advisors, who rarely need to account for their decisions. This system, which is more closely tied to the needs of the bureaucracy than the arts community, also devours increasingly large sums of money in administrative costs.

We therefore advise that cultural agencies like the Canada Council be small agencies whose sole function it would be to apportion block grants to the unions and other democratic organizations of the cultural producers. It would then be the responsibility of these or-

ganizations to disperse the money among their members and others, and to account for their decisions annually to the general public, the cultural community and the government. (It should be noted that these funds are in addition to those provided through a guaranteed annual income program, and would be directed at production and distribution costs.)

The organizations of the cultural producers (WUC, CAR, League of Canadian Poets, Canadian Guild of Potters, ACTRA, Canadian League of Composers, Actors Equity, Centrale d'Arts du Québec, Council of Canadian Filmmakers, etc.) which are at present largely run on voluntary labour, are the only organizations which have a real interest in keeping the administrative cost of any grant program to a minimum. These organizations offer the best hope of the largest possible amount of money reaching the most people in the most need. By dispersing the decision process among a much larger group of people who know far more about the nature of the work involved, this scheme will ensure both a more democratic and a more effective way of granting money to cultural workers.

● 2. Invariably the same people who direct politics, business and industry also sit on the governing boards of cultural institutions. Through a system of appointments and self-appointments a small clique manages to retain effective control of most public institutions. To end this extremely undemocratic practice we recommend that all governing positions of all cultural agencies and institutions be determined on a regular basis by election from a list of candidates drawn from the cultural producers in that particular field.

● 3. As cultural workers we demand the right to control, in conjunction with the other workers involved, the production and distribution of the cultural services we create. Far more money must be given to the organizations of the cultural producers to facilitate their growth. For example, there is no reason why the Writers' Union should not possess its own publishing house, which it could run as a writers' co-op. Similar-

ly, filmmakers' co-ops should be given more money to build or expand their distribution networks. There should be grants to artists or groups of artists, not only to help them pay for better facilities and equipment, but to set up more artist-run galleries and art schools.

● 4. To ensure greater access to culture for all Canadians there should be free admission to all public museums, art galleries and historic sites.

The points in this brief are general. However, what we are asking for is a fundamental re-structuring of cultural economies. Our fear is that the present trend within official cultural circles is to shift cultural support from the public sector to the private sector, altering what should be a public service into a profit-making industry. Although we agree present public support for culture is inadequate, we feel that this public support should be rationalized and increased, not reduced or decimated. In this regard our two major demands can be summarized as, one, basic economic security for artists, and two, increased artist control over cultural production and distribution.

Our demands are not unreasonable, but could be accommodated within the existing cultural economic structure. A guaranteed income would rationalize the existing arbitrary and inequitable system of government subsidy (including its vast administrative cost). As for artists' control of cultural production and distribution, it already exists in embryonic form in artists' co-operatives, parallel galleries, etc.

We feel that cultural services are as valuable and socially necessary as educational services. As a service, educational support already consists of the things we are asking for: reasonable wages, subsidy for facilities and capital cost expenditures. Culture and cultural activities should be viewed and funded in the same way. This is particularly true as present educational services are being de-valued and the communications industry, which seems to be superceding our culture at the present time, is expanding. □

LOVE AND MONEY

Kissing the hand that feeds, or at least that writes the cheque.

Love and Money
The Politics of Culture
Edited by David Helwig, Oberon Press
(Ottawa) 1980, 187 pages.

When I first saw this book (before opening the cover) I hoped it might be another link in the very tenuous chain of informed criticism. Perhaps I'm being greedy; was it too much to expect this book to really be about the "politics of culture" in Canada?

(As they used to say) Alas, the book is something of a fake. The editor, David Helwig, does not much care for the term *culture*: "It seems to me that those who don't distinguish art from culture don't care about art," Helwig complains in his introduction to the eight essays. *Love and Money* (I thought it was 'love and marriage') takes the position that "art" needs to be protected from a "generalization that includes almost everything we do." The book then goes on, more or less, to reveal that indeed there is something to hide, or something that can be used to hide behind.

Oberon Press is represented in this 'anthology' of essays by its 'head', Michael Macklem who contributes an essay titled "Seed Money". It's your average piece of etiquette vaguely disguised as literary lobbying with a smattering of Canadian publishing history and a dollop of self-praise. His piece ends by saying: "Publishing is an art, not a business, and the art of publishing is to find and develop writers, Canadian writers, and then to cultivate an audience for their work. This costs money, money that only governments can provide. As publishers we need that money and we think we deserve to have it. The Canadian public deserves it too. They deserve to be given the best books that money can buy, or at least the best books we can afford to buy them. Money isn't just for getting; it's also for spending." This little gem surely speaks for itself. The arguments are embarrassing — publishing in this context is a service not an 'art', and while Macklem's story is 'about money' it certainly has little else that would qualify it for inclusion in a book on 'the politics of culture.'

But it could be that much of the information in this collection of essays becomes self-defeating. One of the eight essays is by Frank Milligan, former Associate Director of the Canada Council. Milligan's "The Ambiguities of the Canada Council" opens few informa-

tional doors that are not already falling off their hinges. He utilises terms like "the essential tension", referring to the piglet-in-the-middle function of the Council, stuck between a "suspicious government" and "suspicious clientele". While Milligan does describe the defensive strategies of the Council, what appears to be a gentlemanly revelation is in fact the mere retrieval of repetitive justifications.

Though the book itself does not contain one essay representing any one sector of the arts that has been to use their editor's words, "frankly experimental", *Love and Money* defends



"assumed elitist doctrines of art (that) are somehow disloyal to the democratic ideal." Calling such views of democracy "populist", the introduction to the book decries "the kind of populism which would deny the basic discipline necessary to fully appreciate the special gifts of Bach and Mozart is defending not democracy but egalitarian tyranny."

Defending the "cultivated" interests

This defence is not aimed at the screaming hordes may prefer Rush to the

Toronto Symphony. (Two Toronto 'bands' both playing non-original historical musics. The former is a light-weight heavy metal rock band while the latter is a medium-weight heavy metal, skin and string orchestra). No, the defence is there because the call for living, made-in-Canada art gets louder and many artists no longer earn their craft by cloning the gifts of their (distant) relatives. Besides, as we see from Van Gogh's recent effect on Toronto's middle masses, Bach or Mozart or Van Gogh are not exactly endangered species when it comes to Canadian support for their interpreters and followers.

But this ritual defence of (to use Macklem's word) "cultivated" interests flies through the seagull infested airspace in an essay titled "A Clutch of Arbiters" by Thomas Hathaway, past President of the Chamber Players in Toronto. Hathaway bemoans the state of Canadian criticism in some detail. Hathaway is to some degree intimidated by S.M. Crean's book, *Who's Afraid of Canadian Culture* and spends one quarter of his essay squirming with her terminology: "official culture", "indigenous culture", "surplus culture dumped in a colony". Hathaway tried in vain to argue outside of irrefutable political realities: "English-speaking Canadians are not a colonized people; we were the colonizers." Taking Crean's imperfect but laudable efforts to task, Hathaway writes, "not only are terms like "Canadian reality" so all-encompassing as to be unintelligible, but even a more disciplined search for the right word brings us up against the fact that English does not have words to describe what art expresses." "Canadian reality" and "culture" may be too "encompassing" for some, with their disciplined traditions to preserve, but contemporary practitioners understand what the terms mean. Black Canadians for example have their own evolutionary musics that are indisputably part of the current Canadian reality. So while Hathaway bleats about this mistreatment of the European performing arts tradition, how would he survive in the real ghetto of zero state funding, zero media support and zero job potential?

Furthermore to extend Crean's argument, Black music is vital to the cultural health of Black Canadians whereas Hathaway's European classical musics are not vital to our daily lives, though they are certainly necessary for our private scholarship.

Mike Constable

ESSENTIAL WORKERS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO STRIKE BECAUSE

THEIR WORK IS VITAL TO THE RUNNING OF SOCIETY. THEY HAVE

SKILLS THAT SOCIETY CANNOT DO WITHOUT FOR EVEN THE SHORTEST PERIOD OF TIME

SO IF THEY DO WALK OUT WE'LL FIRE THE LOT OF THEM!



TINY FIST

The federal band-aid

This lack of vitality and function is the hallmark of much Canadian state-supported performing arts and it is not the fact that it is state-supported but rather that the artists, musicians, actors and dancers think outside of any polity. The simple fact that such artists choose to define themselves within a prolonged cultural vacuum, deferring

their political responsibilities to some touring band-aid called federalism, in essence, means that they cannot and never will be able to discuss the actual politics of culture. This is evident when so much of the argument of *Love and Money* can be reduced to: How much support can I obtain from the state, and how many column inches can I rightfully demand from the "national" media? Oberon Press deserves to be chastis-

ed for this book that blatantly misrepresents the working experience of so many artists across Canada. What is needed is a book that, unlike *Love and Money*, is not addressed to the funding agencies or deputy ministers of communication. However, we may have to wait awhile before some enlightened press sees the necessity of publishing an updated practical guide to the politics of Canadian culture. □

ANTHONY CHAN

HIS CHINA SYNDROME?

A portrait of a people? No. Instead John Fraser offers a very old-fashioned travelogue.

THE CHINESE: Portrait of a People John Fraser Collins (Toronto), ISBN 0 00 216817 0 463 pp., illus., 1980.

Contrary to the grandiose and rather pompous promise contained in his title, *The Chinese: Portrait of a People*, ex-ballet critic, and Globe correspondent, John Fraser tells us more of the antics, moods, emotions and thoughts of a Western journalist in an Asian country and less about the Chinese people. Reading like a foreigner's travelogue through China's principal cities, hinterlands, Tibet, and Vietnam, the book is not "an invaluable and captivating portrait of a people". Rather, it should have been titled "Travels in China of an Upper Class Gentleman"; reminiscent of a genre that died thirty-two years ago.

During the first 199 pages of the book, we are exposed to hard core tourism — the trials and tribulations of a Westerner "Inside China". When Fraser and his wife arrived in a more relaxed China in 1978, he was accorded unprecedented travel privileges that no Westerner had received until then. Unlike the period of immense restriction during the heyday of the Gang of Four (1974-1975), Fraser was allowed the unique opportunity to probe deeply into the psyche and behaviour of the Chinese people. In the final 250 pages of the book, he tries to do just this. But all we get is a glimpse of a few Chinese people in Peking — a city of 10 million. If his book can be described as a portrait, it is a miniature picture of a fraction of China's population.

Fraser's people are all Peking Chinese. Yet, despite his friendships with members of the Chinese Communist

Anthony Chan lived and studied in Peking from 1974-1975. He is currently teaching Chinese history at the University of Alberta.

party, the People's Liberation Army, a talented musician now studying in Toronto, and some dissidents whom he tried to get close to but failed, Fraser's descriptions smack of an English Safari trip entering the deep dark rivers of the 'inscrutable Far East.'

Despite his emphasis on the Chinese in Peking, Fraser does comment on other people. The most vivid are the "sharp-eyed Shanghai types and the lumbering solid souls from Shandong province." The Chinese people in general represent a Shandong tidal wave of humanity.

Not being able to read any Chinese; having read malcontents like Simon Ley, the dubious Merle Goldman, and the missionary's daughter, Pearl Buck; unable to say anything beyond *Ni hao* (How are you?), *Xiexie* (thanks), and *buxing* (not correct), and therefore relying on others, especially students to be his eyes and mouth, Fraser gives us a highly biased view of China.

Here are some of his gems. He cannot refrain from referring to China as the Middle Kingdom (translated as *zhongguo*) — the name given to dynastic China and obliterated in 1912. He never uses the proper post-1949 name of *zhonghua* as China.

Chinese Communism viewed as religion

He firmly believes in the old missionary tale of the 1930s that Chinese Communism is like a religion. "The Roman Catholic Church has produced both saints and dissenters...In this regard, Communism is similar." Another prize: "Like the medieval Catholic Church (the People's Liberation Army) offers a tangible means of betterment and promotion". And finally, this gem: "The Chinese Communist Party is a bit like the Salvation Army". In these analyses, Fraser mocks the achievement of the

party and the army in the war against the Japanese, the war against Western exploiters, and the war against poverty and superstition.

From the McCarthy era of the 1950s, Fraser constantly refers to China as "taken over" by the Communists presumably from the Americans rather than being "liberated" from the tyranny and oppression of the Guomindang and other warlords. Still with these eyes, Communism is always "tyrannical" and "totalitarian" mainly because its bureaucratic restrictions cramp Fraser's style and prevent him from meeting "real" Chinese people. One senses that Fraser and his ilk would love to live in the China of the 1930s where foreigners were king makers and the Chinese not even allowed in their own parks. For Fraser, the foreign imperialists "simply left behind haughty aloofness and evil deeds." Finally, there is the Cold War description that the People's Republic of China is always Mainland China, assuming that there are still two Chinas.

From the Charlie Chan and Fu Manchu movies, Fraser scattered such great lines as "the Mr. Chi he knew was as sinister and unrevealing as the most inscrutable official in the Manchu court". We are also given a lesson in pidgin English with "Please, Now you change money. I did as bidden".

Fraser provides us with a further revelation into his own character by describing the old "hacks" of China: Mao Dun, author of *Midnight*, a highly acclaimed novel of Shanghai during the 1930s; Guo Morou, a noted academic; and the famous novelist, Han Suyin. He is particularly vicious towards the author of *A Many Splendoured Thing*, which along with *Cripple Tree*, *Birdless Summer*, and *A Mortal Flower* gave all of us a dynamic and valuable insight into China before 1949. Calling her "a type that is now so widely despised",

Fraser's vindictiveness breathes irrationality. What irks him is probably Han Suyin's ability to capture the essence of the Chinese psyche because she knows the language, the people, and the big wigs in government. Born in China, she has known China all her life; certainly more than a dilettantish two years in Peking. Fraser's final cut is rather ironic: "All along the way, she has profited materially from the Chinese connection". In the light of his healthy advance of \$25,000 and film rights sold at a six figure price by his agent, Nancy Colbert, one wonders if calling the pot kettle black is a journalist's trait.

Fraser's mocking of Asian people does not stop with Han Suyin or the Chinese people whom he professes to love — a trait that missionaries possessed while administering to the pagans and lost children in China. He calls the Tibetans a "bunch of weird looking people who look like clowns from a travelling circus".

Of all the people in his book, only the foreigners come out smelling like roses. Of course, Fraser or Fu Ruizhe (his Chinese name) is the star attraction, especially in the Xidan events where he becomes a "living legend".

The best image of himself comes when a Chinese meekly approaches the great white leader and says: "All the Chinese people know the famous, brave correspondent, Fu Ruizhe" to which Fraser replied "That's great!" His arrogance is firmly entrenched in another conversation with a "real" Chinese. After listening to criticism by the Chinese that his articles were "very ignorant", Fraser tells us that "I was rather proud of my first year's efforts in China" thereby dismissing his friend's comments with a simple disinterest.

Like all journalists, Fraser does not list a bibliography of sources at the end of his book. He doesn't need to. His sources are simple: "Our speculation was based on logic." "Anyone with an open mind and honest eyes learns quickly". And finally, an additional source: "the true nature of Vietnamese Communist aggression could be seen by anyone with honest eyes and ears".

In his final chapter, Fraser insults the Chinese by going on for the first two and a half pages on the lack of hygiene in China and the uses and abuses of human excreta. What a way to introduce the Western reader to the chapter entitled "The Chinese Way"!

But, his most memorable description can be found on page 423. Using the dubious practice of analogy, Fraser patronizes the Chinese people and their country by telling us that "someone once described the whole of Communist China as a summer camp presided over by Camp Director Mao. It is not a bad analogy". For Fraser, his portrait of the Chinese is a portrait of a race of children. □

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ON THE BIAS

How do journalists transform the world into news? Who decides what's newsworthy?

Manufacturing the News, Mark Fishman University of Texas Press (Austin and London) 1980, 180 pp.

Last fall, when Toronto mayoralty candidate John Sewell showed up at the opening of the campaign office for ward six aldermanic candidate George Hislop, the media turned out in force to cover the event. One observer later noted that there were more reporters in the office than campaign workers. The picture of Sewell chatting with Hislop was prominent on the front page of every newspaper in the city of Toronto as well as on the local television news.

Hislop was running on a comprehensive urban reform platform and was endorsed by the Ward Six Community Organization. He was but one of a series of left-wing candidates contesting the various city wards that Sewell, himself a progressive mayor seeking re-election, had endorsed. In covering the campaign, the media chose to ignore the more comprehensive qualities of Sewell's support and instead focused on his endorsement of Hislop, exploiting the fact that Hislop is also a prominent local gay activist and pointing to Sewell's record of support for gay and minority rights.

Soon Sewell's opponent, Art Eggleton, played up this alliance by speaking publicly of a sinister "Sewell-Gay Power" force that would descend and envelop City Hall. Sewell lost that mayoralty election by 2,000 votes, and many local observers said afterwards that this innocuous endorsement of Hislop (who also lost in his first attempt for an aldermanic seat) had been overplayed by the local Toronto press and helped nurture the ugly, anti-gay mood of certain sections of the city's electorate.

Contrast this with Sewell's appearance during the election at the fundraising benefit for Ian Adams, the novelist who was being sued by a former RCMP security chief for libel and slander. Sewell was one of a number of civil libertarians who put in an appearance at this benefit. However, no newspaper reports cited Sewell's support of Adams, even though the Toronto mayor was the only politician — local, provincial, or federal — who had come out publicly on the author's side. It was obvious that this did not fit into the media's parameters of what was considered a news-

Paul Weinberg is a freelance journalist who writes regularly for the *Toronto Clarion* and *Quest*.

worthy event.

American sociologist Mark Fishman in his book *Manufacturing the News* is concerned with how editors and reporters decide what constitutes a news event. Fishman fortunately does not succumb to the traditional abstract analysis of many communication theorists who teach in journalism faculties in universities across Canada and the United States. He, in fact, describes his experience as a reporter on a daily newspaper where he worked for several months studying the news gathering routine.

The packaging of information

Fishman suggests that "news themes allow editors to organize an otherwise confusing array of events into packages or groups of interrelated news items." There is nothing particularly sinister about this process. There is after all, a lot of news information bombarding the news room from the wire services and other print and broadcast news outlets; and it is the job of the editor and his reporters to make coherent sense of it.

The problem says Fishman, occurs when reporters are so caught up in the bureaucracies that they are covering, that they can lose sight of actual newsworthy events in the making. He points out that the coverage of the Watergate scandal in Washington in the mid-1970s originated with two reporters on the police beat, not from the regular reporters who were covering the White House.

I.F. Stone once said that journalists

covering the U.S. government during the Vietnam War would be at a loss for copy if the president of the United States failed to hold regular press conferences.

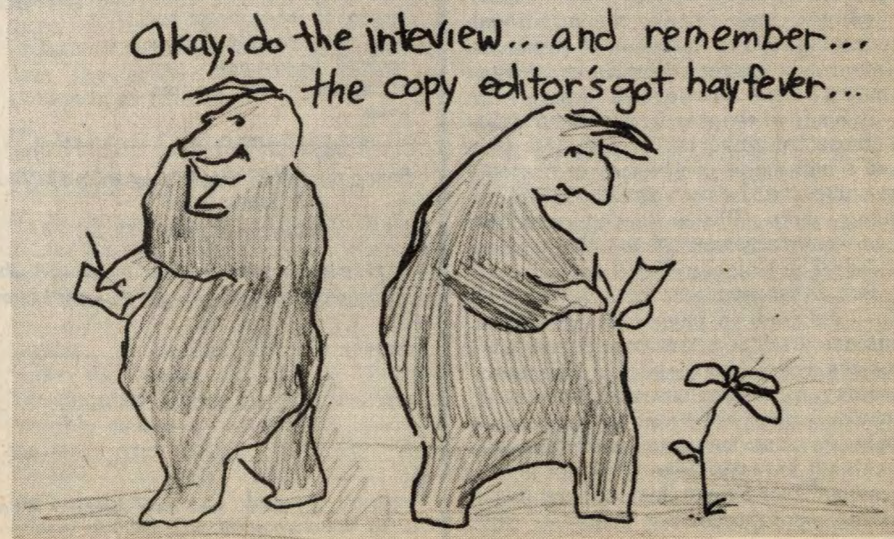
Bureaucracies, whether they be government or private industry, regularly make use of mechanisms such as public meetings, press releases, court trials and elections — all of which provide journalists with material. This is what Fishman calls "hard news".

Hard news

"Reporters do not do all this work from scratch. Indeed, routine news stories involve very little journalistic effort compared to the work done on occasional think pieces and enterprise stories. In routine newswork the detection, interpretation, investigation, and a good deal of the formulation of the written story have already been done by police, city clerks, insurance adjusters, morticians, and the like. And of course, the work of these outsiders costs the news organizations nothing other than the reporter's time to collect what is available."

Hard news writing is a formula that every competent reporter learns to assimilate when he takes on the job of covering a news event. Fishman contrasts this with "soft news" which requires thought, research, and sometimes analysis.

"Without the time or resources to do any investigative work, reporters have less latitude than ever to follow up on their doubts of any given version of



John Greyson

what happened and are more likely than ever to rely on factually safe, easily accessible bureaucratic accounts."

But Fishman fails to explore the implications of his findings. While he accepts the proposition that editors and reporters are selective in what information they choose to use in their news stories, he does not discuss the value judgements that often underline news coverage. For instance, in the Toronto mayoralty election referred to earlier, the local press obviously made value-determined selections in choosing what to focus coverage on. These selections, in turn, reflect the fact that many citizens have yet to accept gays as a legitimate minority with a need for human rights protection.

The memory lapse of the news media

In presenting his analysis, Fishman neglects some important areas. For instance, he makes no reference to the ahistorical nature of most news coverage. What is news today is forgotten tomorrow. In journalistic parlance, that is called "dead copy", as if news is something which must be consumed like fast food. A good example of this 'memory lapse' is occurring now in the press as we see the Reagan government claiming to have documentary proof that the Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua are providing arms to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. This claim, of course, is being used to support American intervention in that country.

The media, particularly in the United States, seems to have accepted these documents at face value without considering the possibility that they might be false. While Salvadorean rebels may very well be getting outside help, we ought not to forget past instances where the American government has misled and even lied to its own citizens — Vietnam, the illegal war in Cambodia, Watergate and the Love Canal being major instances in very recent history. Unfortunately, we see the current cold war rhetoric of the new U.S. administration colouring the interpretation of news by the American media.

In the first half of the book, Fishman does a good job of dissecting the process of news selectively, but starts repeating himself in the second half and ends without any hard conclusions. And he never manages to shake the role of a sociologist out on a field trip long enough to consider the ideological implications of what he is saying — that is, the role that traditional journalism plays in an advanced industrial society with parliamentary pretensions.

Nevertheless the book is a nice departure from the usual treatment of the subject and should be of use in journalism courses. Now what we need is good analysis of Canadian journalism. □

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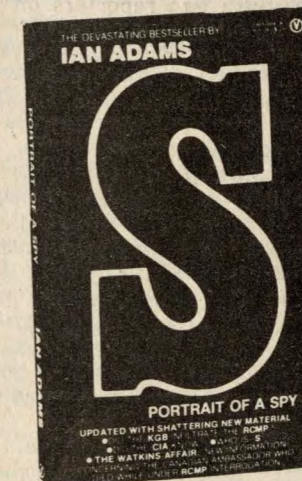
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MUSIC BEGINS AT HOME

There is a political dimension to traditions such as folksinging which survive in spite of the monoculture.

The Green Fields of Canada
An album of Canadian folk songs sung by Rika Ruebsaat and Jon Bartlett, Canadian Folk Workshop.
Distributed by Canadian Folk Workshop, 1537 Frances Street, Vancouver, B.C. V5L 1Z2.

First there's music you've "grown up with." Then there's "teen music," which is usually, initially at least, listened to as a protest against parents. Later you realize that this protest was not so much the result of the free workings of the teenage imagination as of the need for the emerging radio/recording industry to create new markets. As your "musical taste" then developed you came to understand that it was to be considered a private, personal thing which identifies you and which, in a sense, you own — much as you own clothes for instance.

The main thing that distinguished teen music from the songs your parents may have sung with you (or that you made up) is that it was not singable. Not in the sense of people getting together for the purpose of singing. It was disc music and dance music and it talked about you and your private affair with your boyfriend/girlfriend. You "moved along with it" and lost yourself in it. This sense of losing yourself became more accentuated as high-powered stereo systems developed and commercial music became more "complex." You smoked dope and listened on headphones (even to the words).

Most people in my generation still listen to teen music of one kind or another. Not so much through any fault of their own as of the inability of our culture to generate an adult form of expression that would put music in its rightful place as a thing that is shared among equals and produced socially — as something people do rather than consume. When I was a teenager I tried to get out of the contradiction by joining the snobs who listened to classical music. This gave me a nice sense of superiority but it was still a matter of sitting down and grooving to music that somebody had imported on a disc. It was even more private. It removed me even further from my contemporaries or the means of producing music. And it was only possible, as I had to recognize, because there was already some tradition

Norbert Ruebsaat is a writer and a member of the Pulp Press collective in Vancouver.



Jon Bartlett, Rika Ruebsaat: songs to discourage passive listening.

in our family of listening to classical music.

Ethnic cultures

The other tradition we had was folk music and it was much stronger than the classical one. My father played guitar and we sang the old songs. Most of them were German songs and the very fact of our being "ethnic" (immigrants) had a great deal to do with the ability of the folksongs to survive, even as we kids became teenagers and should have been listening to Paul Anka. Ethnic cultures, it seems, are more resilient than the dominant ones when it comes to resisting the onslaught of commercialism. This has to do with language, religion, etc. It's one of the reasons music and culture in Québec, for instance, can take on a political dimension that is entirely lacking in English-speaking Canada. Folk traditions survive where the monoculture hasn't yet penetrated the ghetto or where they can be used as a weapon against the invading forces.

So here I am reviewing my sister's record. Because music begins at home. It's not so much a review, of course, as an appreciation. My point is that music is an intimate art. Sound caressing the eardrums is like a mother's touch, a primary sensation that leaves its imprint long before the ability to speak or think about it develops. That's why its politics and sociology are so often hard to understand.

We are told that music is "subjective," that it can't be agreed upon and shouldn't be argued about. This question of subjectivity is then extended into an argument for the "personal." music has nothing to do with the power of the state or the corporations, for example, because it remains "in the realm of the personal." Sort of like women doing housework. Or ethnics in the

ghetto. Yet the act of singing is one of the most profoundly public acts one can think of and its intent is deeply intrapersonal. Who is doing it?

In Canada we (English-speaking) aren't used to thinking of ourselves as having a folk tradition, of having songs that we can sing that are part of a common heritage and that often speak against a corporate monoculture. We belittle such traditions and, when we do find them, disenfranchise them instantly. In doing so we forfeit the unique strength which an oral cultural form provides: the fact that it resides in human sounds, gestures, memory — in the language of human interaction rather than in mechanically reproduced and economically manipulative objects. We forfeit the ability of songs, for example, to link members of a family together.

When my sister started singing traditional B.C. songs about miners and trappers and the guys who built the railways I smiled, but I listened. Maybe because it was in the family. I couldn't believe some of the twisting lyrics and terrible rhymes. The plain hokeyness and hopelessness. On the other hand the songs talked about places I'd been and I could remember them and hum them when I went back to these places. They became part of the landscape quickly. So I started learning them simply out of habit. It's a question, at one point, of geography, not taste.

So now the record is here and a lot of the songs are on it. The one about the hardrock miner who meets his love (so to speak) in a quartz mine; the one about the Fraser River gold diggers who "labour hard" as does their "bard;" the songs about moving west into the prairies in the eighties and about driving lumber down the Ottawa River at the turn of the century. There's the lovely song of the homesick trapper up in the Lardeau country (which the Dun-

can Dam has now flooded) that Stan Triggs collected from a fellow trapper there, and there's the famous "Blackfly Song" that Wade Hemsworth composed while surveying for hydroelectric projects in the James Bay area. The two sides of the record divide into songs from the eastern and western halves of Canada; a lot of the credit for the B.C. songs goes to Phil Thomas, inveterate collector, who's gone up and down this province for years getting down the songs, and from whose archives Rika and Jon draw liberally.

It's not a perfect product, of course. For reasons I'm not clear on, a number of songs which I would consider the best of their repertoire have been left out (I mean best not in terms of historical accuracy and pertinency of content, but in terms of the *musicality* at which this content arrives, and which will determine its survival) — songs such as the haunting "Song of the Sockeye" about fishing on the B.C. coast and the "I'm Alone Song" about rum running on the east coast. I'd quibble with the technical quality — the voices are badly mixed in places and generally the mix is not great.

But the purpose of the record is to encourage singing and the learning of the songs and not to encourage passive listening. In this regard I think it will succeed. It's the kind of record one wants to see in all elementary schools and in all homes that have children who (until their teens at least) are liable to start singing (for no apparent reason) and will require a tradition to draw upon and channel the energy.

I can't help ending this by talking about one song on this album, a Québec song called "La Famille Latour." It's the kind of expanding song where, with each repetition of the chorus, a new member of the family, the Latour family, is introduced and named and becomes part of the song. It reminds me of a German song we used to sing where, with each verse, a new member of the family entered and the point was to imitate a separate instrument of the symphony orchestra. It created hilarious effects because, with six people singing and trying to render stylized versions and melodically treated accounts of the respective instruments with human voices, the result became a kind of extended parody of the mechanized pomp and circumstance of symphony performance. And since, let's face it, the classical symphony orchestra was merely the first in a series of technologies by which music was gradually removed from the people and turned to other purposes, I see that song now, and the Latour song as well, as a small way of protesting and reclaiming music for the family and the vocal chords.

(This article first appeared in *Left-words*.)

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Prepared by John Greyson and Gillian Robinson

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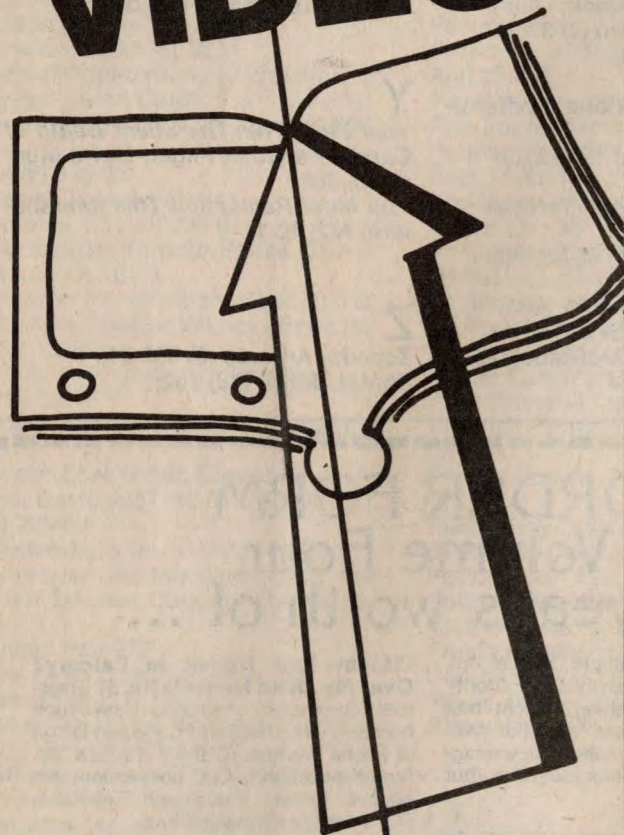
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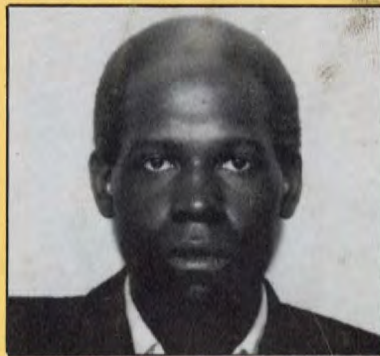
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