

When

first saw the movie *Not A Love Story* a couple of years ago, I was surprised to find the Toronto Police and the Ontario Censor Board thanked in the credits. These days however, systematic cooperation between the anti-pornography movement and the right is pretty standard fare. Taken aback by the resistance they encountered within the women's movement, Women Against Pornography and their many franchises and spin-offs regrouped, formed a hasty alliance with behavioural-mod psychologists, cops and decent citizens, and are now launching a new offensive.

Maybe I hang out with the wrong sorts, but I don't hear any apologies about this alliance. The Vancouver Anti-Pornography Network, for example, use a rhetoric borrowed from countless law-and-order campaigns: they demand that public prosecutors "do their jobs" and convict "porn pimps, whose rights are respected over community standards."

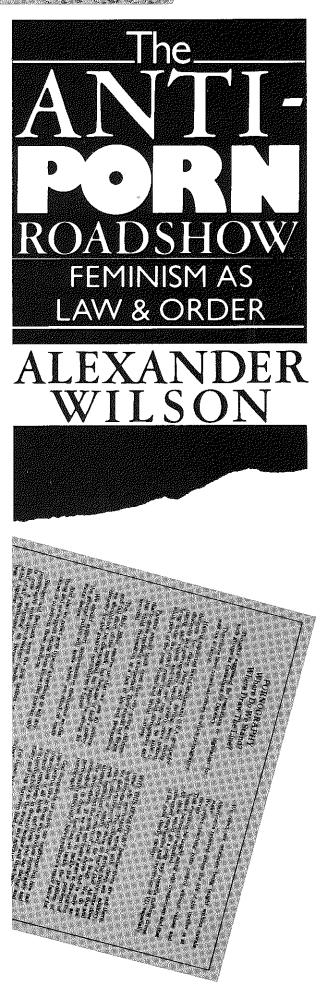
More skillful—and sobering—initiatives draw on research in the social sciences. An example is an ordinance nearly passed by Minneapolis City Council early this year declaring that trafficking in pornography is discrimination against the civil rights of women. Porn is defined as the "sexually explicit subordination of women," which includes representations of women "in postures of sexual submission, or sexual servility, including by inviting penetration." The law would allow-get thisanyone who has made porn to sue its producers or retailers whether or not they themselves "actually consented to . . . or appeared to co-operate with" its making. So much for consent. The bill was authored by Catherine McKinnon and Andrea Dworkin, "in a delirium of hope that women are as human as men." In May, a similar ordinance was successfully passed by Indianapolis city-county council. That campaign saw anti-porn feminists, including McKinnon, work with fundamentalist Christians and the police.

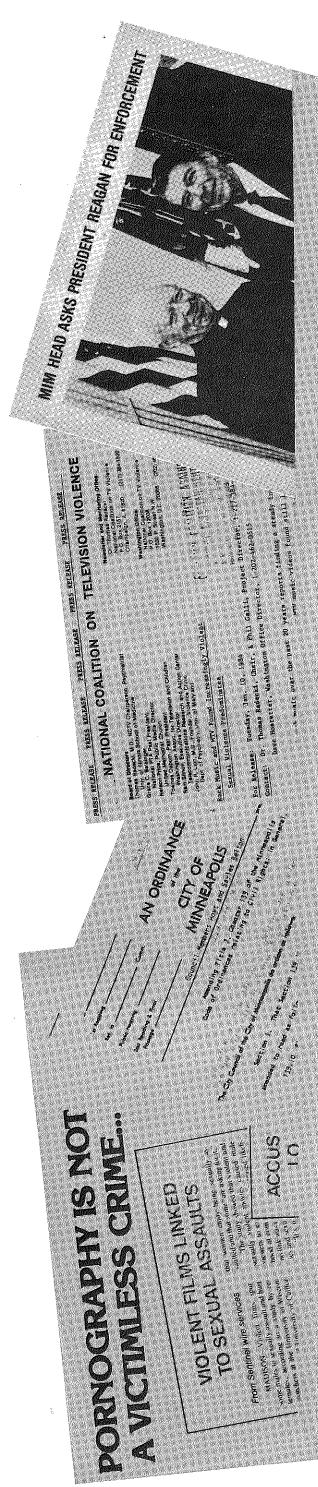
All the proposed legislation I've come across is based on the shaky premise that exposure to pornography and TV cop shows promotes—or even causes—rape, aggressiveness, and something called anti-social behaviour. Evidence that refutes these claims is dismissed or simply ignored.

Thelma McCormack's report for the Metro Toronto Task Force on Public Violence Against Women and Children, for example, was shelved late last year when it failed to come up with the right answer. Another report was drafted by David Scott, a clinical psychologist who is a spokesperson for the Action Group on Media Pornography and the Canadian Coalition Against Violent Entertainment. Scott likes to talk about "preventive morality" and argues that only through legislation will we be encouraged to "entertain ourselves with more prosocial activities." His organizations argue that criminal violence has risen 500 percent in the past 30 years, and that "were it a toxic food additive, it would have been taken off the market immediately."

Just how would you go about taking violence "off the market"? A number of suggestions were made at a Symposium on Media Violence and Pornography held in Toronto this past February. About 750 people, probably half of them women, sat through ten hours of panels and slide shows presented by what the publicity had called "international experts." These turned out to be, as they usually do in Canada, Americans, most of them men. The day opened with a prayer and closed with a Debriefing I was afraid to stay for. Entrance cost \$40, no one under 18 was permitted, there was no daycare, and no questions from the floor. "When a teacher lectures his students," Scott, who chaired the conference, pointed out, "he's not there for any debate."

The lecture began with ten psychologists, who had slides and charts that explained everything from crime statistics to rock videos to erections. Dr. Edward Donnerstein showed outtakes from horror movies that made "normal males" disposed to rape women. Then he showed a movie with what he called "loving sex"—a man and a woman kissing in front of a blazing fire. Dr. Dolf Zillman, however, argued that even representations of "regular heterosexual intercourse" had deleterious effects. Seems that since most porn loops show "copulation of every sortincluding anal," our appetite for "more bizarre sexuality" is stimulated. Who knows what might be next. "Massive exposure to non-violent pornography," Zillman continued, "makes men and women less supportive of the female liberation movement." Applause here. Dr. Thomas Radecki, MD, Chairperson of the National Coalition on Television Violence in the US, talked about the broadcasting of "sadist





hate programming" into our homes. There followed a denunciation of most music videos, TV sports, Dynasty ("frequent emotional violence"), punk band names and war toys. "MTV and other violent TV networks are out to guarantee that the second television generation will be more violent than the first, which turned out to be the most violent generation of Americans on record." So that explains the sixties.

ludy Reisman, recent recipient of an \$800,000 grant from the US Justice Department to study the link between pornography and violence, gave an illustrated lecture that was condescending, preachy and confused. She spoke of her work in a five million dollar programme through the American University on juvenile delin-quency, which aims "to classify, neurophysiologically, all the untrue images that surround us. We need to know how these are subconsciously perceived by us, since humans are wired biologically." She went on to speculate that the "sexual underpinning" of much pornography seems to be 'male against male,'' and was the cause of considerable violence, sexual abuse and crime. Reisman then showed ads with children in them—some of which she said she got from the FBI—and warned how they present kids as "sexual, seductive, sensual creatures, capable of consent We don't know whether this is true, but we do know that sadism creeps in, and this is of concern to the state.'

Dr. Wendy Stock showed slides from the New York WAP show. The programme had noted that Stock was from SUNY Stony Brook and West Palm Beach. She is also Director of the Human Sexuality Center in Lake Worth, Florida. A discussion of detective magazines, Hustler and ads led Stock to the conclusion that "men are taught that no means yes." Stock then revealed that Al Goldstein, "the leader of the pro-porn forces" was planning to disrupt this conference by rushing in and taking off all his clothes. We looked around apprehensively, but apparently Al had stayed home.

Everett Koop, the US Surgeon General, gave the most polished New Right speech I've heard. Tarted up in a red bow tie, Koop announced that violence was now "an epidemic threatening millions of decent families. We all recognize it. We all know what it looks like. And we all know its victims.' We learned that the epidemic began (no surprise) in 1965 and, like a cancer, takes several forms. Apparently, suicide is one. The "Kitty Genovese Syndrome" another. Child Abuse, Incest. Murder. Terrorism.

Most Americans at the conference added "and Canada" to the ends of their sentences. Koop didn't bother: "We used to be a proud and fearless people in this country. Now we feel weak and victimized." The solution? Mass injections of Depo-provera perhaps? More ketchup in school lunches? Koop's answers lay in 'pro-active law enforcement" and the unspecified work of the Center for the Study of Anti-social and Violent Behavior and the President's Task Force on People Affected by Crime.

Most of the afternoon was given over to panels on the victims of pornography, and predictably enough these tended to be children. Florence Rush talked about "debriefing men who molest children." In the profession, that usually means drug or electroshock therapy or a lobotomy—all 'therapies'' currently in use on the bodies of sex offenders. Ann Wolberg Burgess from the Boston Department of Health announced that she would show slides of child porn and then "speak for the victims." Speak she did. Sexual abuse of children was defined as "any sexual contact with children (including by other children) regardless of consent." That out of the way, Burgess then did a reading of drawings by kids who had been "victims of psychological violence" (that's sex by the way). A boy had drawn breasts on another boy: "Note the gender confusion-a product of sexual victimization." A picture of a muscle car elicited this: "Here's a healthy drawing by a normal boy." And in a drawing of a boy with a hardon we were asked to "note the clear sexual anxiety in the genital area." Burgess is another recipient of Justice Department funds—in this case, \$840,000 that will provide law enforcement agencies with the 'scientific' means to recognize sexually precocious children before they turn to a life of violence and

Superintendent Special Agent Ken Lanning from the FBI Academy gave a presentation so skillful it had obviously been practiced in shopping malls and church basements across the continent. Before beginning his slide show culled from police raids he apologized: "I wish I didn't have slides to show you, but then you wouldn't be convinced." Convinced of what, officer? Convinced that "children are weak, vulnerable victims stalked by hunters and torturers." That "your child can be making pornography without your ever knowing about it." That that nice man down the block That "if you're a single mother, one of them could marry you in order to gain access to your kids." That "this might look to you like an innocent family snapshot, but it's part of an insidious worldwide phenomenon linked by countercultural networks and electronic bulletin boards." That Show Me! is in many pedophiles' collections. But Lanning didn't stop at Child Pornography. There's also something called Child Erotica; that's anything—a pair of sneakers, a diary, a ticket stub—collected by a Child Abuser.

Other cops showed slides of chopped up bodies in plastic bags. Death Squads? No, Sex Offenders, and the only way to stop these criminals is to get to them before they commit the crimes. There followed calls for international agencies to gather data.

Andrea Dworkin was next. She talked about chopped up bodies too, about how we know that men like hurting women,' about how "pornography is terrorism." If nothing else, Dworkin is an electrifying orator. She got a standing ovation.

And on and on. More slides, more gasps from the audience, more women's groups calling for more laws. More cops. More prosecuting attorneys. More hip social

What is to be gained for feminism by sitting on panels with the FBI and the medical profession? Publicity, most obviously. And the illusion of power and legitimation. This was not achieved without some struggle at the Toronto conference. At the bottom of the agenda handed out at the door was this note: 'out of mutual respect for one another's sense of values, all of the participants have been asked to avoid raising potentially divisive issues, such as abortion and homosexuality." Many of the women who spoke disobeyed this directive. and after Koop's address a group of about twenty took the stage, including speakers McKinnon, Stock, Dworkin and Maude Barlow, former Prime Minister Trudeau's feminist advisor. A statement was read in English and French condemning the opprobrium heaped on lesbianism and abortion and the failure to situate pornography within the context of women's subordinate place in society. Other women had protested the high price of admission in the morning and were about to be thrown out by the organizers when CBC and 60 Minutes turned on their cameras. They were then invited to enter for only \$10.

These interventions were hailed as victories in the Toronto feminist press. It was argued that feminism had made such a conference possible in the first place, and that women's concerns had prevailed. Andrea Dworkin, Susan Cole wrote in Broadside, had "come down from the mountain" and 'made those who really don't want to listen cock their ears."

Now there's a sick fantasy. My press packet had included pictures of "concerned leaders" meeting with Reagan, lists of antisocial TV shows, an appeal to women to wear dresses, WAP xeroxes of Playboy cartoons, pictures of Mr. T (without Nancy), denunciations of Brian De Palma, brochures from organizations with names like Citizens for Decency Through Law and Morality in Media, Inc. A vision of the liberation of women can be glimpsed through this mishmash?

Sure, in the short term, the anti-porn movement might well attract women-and men—who are unfamiliar with explicit sexual representations and who otherwise have no interest in feminism. In fact, much of the problem seems to be the photographic image itself, in all its presumed verisimilitude. That leads me to wonder what kinds of ethical dilemmas the sex industry will pose when it discovers how to interface biofeedback with robotics and holography. To be more specific, what will happen to my fantasies of being raped once my body gets plugged more directly into the integrated circuit? As our relations to power become increasingly mediated by high technologies, what kinds of sexual representations will become possible-or "desirable"?

For their part, the cops are after three things: more money, more interagency cooperation, and more statutory authority. On the question of child porn in particular (which is usually defined in the broadest possible terms), many US jurisdictions already have task forces comprised of state. local and national police; postal officials; local and state attorneys general; and welfare officers. These bureaucracies are lobbying for legislation that will raise the age from 16 to 18 under which children cannot be depicted in sexual conduct (including "exhibitionism"); and to include child porn violations under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act. This last allows the US Justice Department to require any person or organization to turn over any material deemed relevant to an investigation underway. There has already been speculation in the gay press that Reagan's various commissions on organized crime will be able to dismantle many gay institutions on the pretext of going after "mob-controlled" pornography. Moreover, the recent history of judicial decisions on obscenity, in Canada at least, suggests that the bench hasn't the least interest in encouraging the emancipation of women or youth, but an out and out fascination with controlling sex in and of itself, particularly the practices of marginals.

As for the New Right, their own wideranging agenda is by now well documented and all too familiar. Its most threatening aspect, for this discussion, is the move to suppress all non-marital, non-procreative sex. In a sexist society, that inexorably means control over women's bodies and sexual expression. If anti-porn feminists can be used, like temperance advocates, to legitimize this struggle, so much the better. It seems to me that people who try to disentangle anti-porn politics from the agenda of the right are labouring under a huge illusion. It can't be done. We might just as well try to invent a feminist reading of Sudden Impact, the "Dirty Harriet" movie in which Sondra Locke, with Clint Eastwood's blessing, shoots off the balls of five men who gang raped her and her sister. The point is that feminism is here inserted into a law-and-order discourse. Not that that's any different from the other way round.

Another example. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women met recently in Ottawa to form policy to be used in the upcoming elections. It turns out that the newsstand in their hotel sells skin mags. A press conference is called, the spectre of the corrupted child is raised, and demands are made for the removal of the offending publications, and for anti-porn planks in the platforms of the three major parties. This comes at a time when the Supreme Court of Canada is deliberating two challenges to the Ontario Censor Board (which has the authority to cut or ban virtually all films and videos shown in Canada) on the grounds that its existence is a violation of free speech guaranteed in the recently-enacted Charter of Rights. Now, how would we go about distinguishing. these two "kinds" of censorship? And how do such demands challenge the image of women as hapless victims?

At bottom, of course, censorship will do little to inhibit what is by all accounts a flourishing industry. It is often noted by its opponents that porn is a six billion dollar business. Just what's the problem here? Profit? Then what about fashion, automobiles or arms, which dwarf the sex industry? We can be assured that commercial restrictions on the sex industry will be resisted every step of the way, as they are in every other sector of the economy. In short, in a society that so privileges the ideology of a free market, arguments for censorship ought to be met with considerable

suspicion.

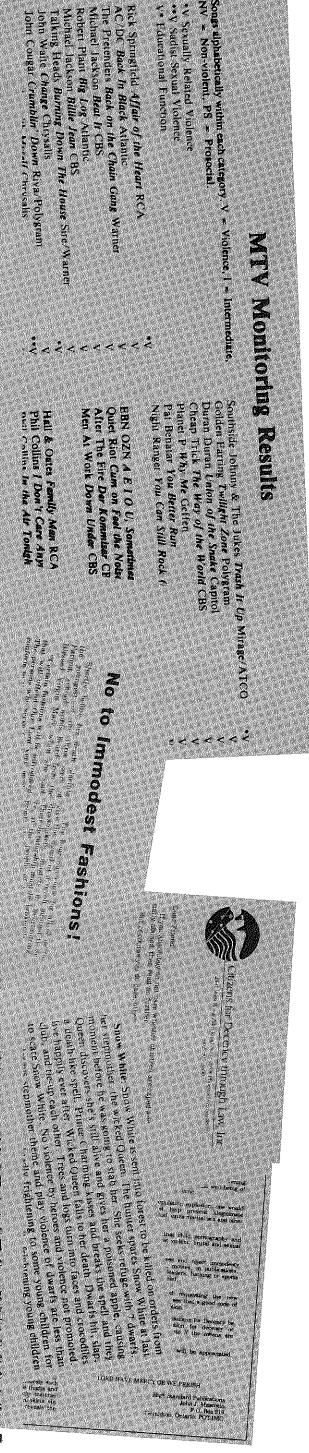
So what other agenda is there in the struggle to rid this society of sexually explicit images? First, the control of sexual practices, particularly among women, young people and marginals. Second, the elimination of the few gains that have been made by the sexual liberation movements of the past 15 years. Lastly, the refusal of the generalized and widespread demands for autonomy everywhere in the world today. An anti-porn politics, and cultural feminism in general, does nothing to challenge the power of the state, or indeed the predominant assumptions about the nature of men's and women's sexualities.

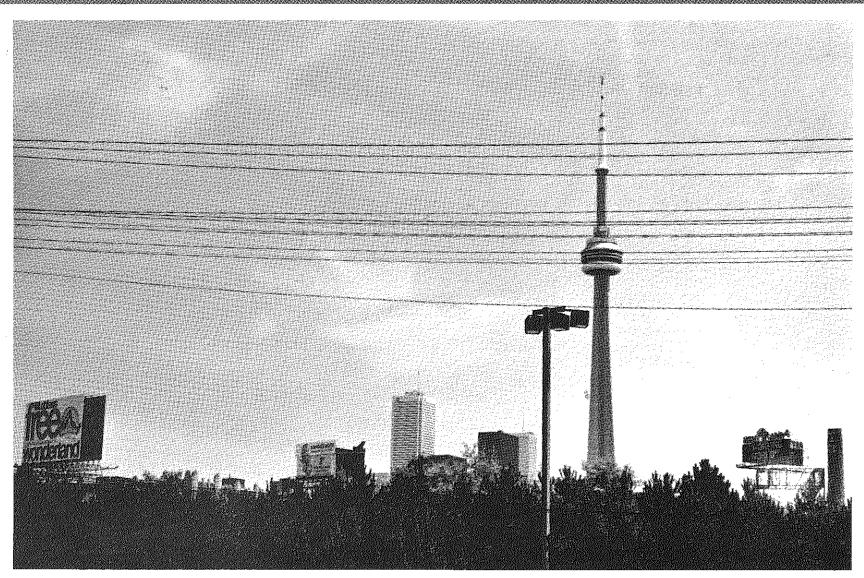
Beyond questions of gender and sexuality, what about violence itself, and its representations? What does it mean for the Surgeon-General of the United States to talk about eliminating violence? Suppose we thought that was a good idea. What would be appropriate targets? Men? Terrorism? The police? Competitive sports? Hurricanes? SM? What do we do with the experience of archaic ecological societies. where violence was understood to have a time and place?

I-don't see any of these questions being raised within the anti-porn movement. Nor do I see that movement addressing in an honest way the complex issues around sex. desire and pleasure that have been articulated by the sexual fringe. Finally, I don't see how it is possible—in theory or practice— for that movement to work toward the sexual, social or economic liberation of women.

The anti-porn roadshow now touring this continent is intimately linked with the most repressive elements of the modern state. It's no coincidence that porn and 'violence" are likened to crime and sickness, for the mammoth apparatuses understood to control these transgressions are already in place. You want laws? Fine. And how about a little psychosurgery while we're at it?

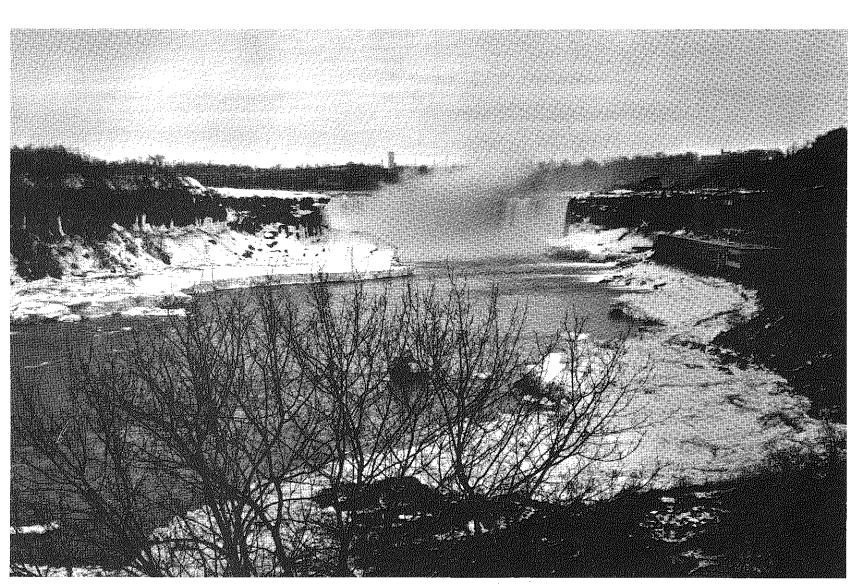
The fight over pornography is taking place on precisely the terrain staked out by the radical sexual liberation movements of the past two decades. If we abandon those visions, we stand to lose far more than the possibility of a sexually healthy and diverse society. We stand to lose our very autonomy. The right understands this. But does the anti-porn movement?





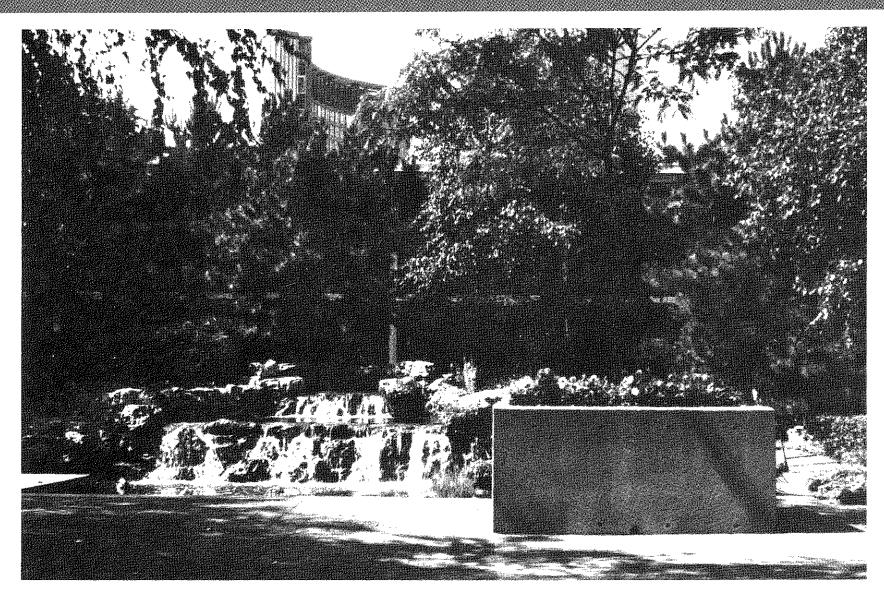
The Trapper had stumbled upon it but too suddenly to be by chance, almost by pre-destination,

There are two realisms: The first deciphers the "real" (What is demonstrated by not seen);



He had a strong sense of intuition. Even as a child he could find things, that others could not find.

The second speaks "reality" (What is seen but not demonstrated);



It was this innate ability to see, to read the signs decisively in a moment, that made the Trapper Legend.

The novel, which can mix these two realisms, adds to the intelligible of the "real" the hallucinatory tail of "reality".