

Women's Caucus History Tape: Recorded March 9th, 1997 at Pat Davitt's house

Those present: Pat Davitt, Anne Roberts, Marcy Toms, Andrea Lebowitz, Ellen Woodsworth, Jean Rands

Transcribed by Pat Davitt and Anne Roberts in 2013. Material in parentheses is explanatory and was added later. Material in brackets is parenthetical and part of the original record.

Transcript:

Andrea: What we are going to do today is a chronology and to define some questions we think are pertinent and can share with other people.

Ellen: Yeah, to lay out the questions so that the large number of women in Women's Caucus (WC) can join in this discussion we're having. We can start with the question: Why was the WC formed at this time, as compared to other kinds of women's things that were started at this time. I'd like to see a kind of tree network of what was actually on the tree and the kind of splits that branched out of that into new organizations.

Marcy: The Feminist Action League; that was the precursor! The reason that it was called that was because it needed a name, because Dodie Wepler and I were writing a paper together. It was in the early spring – somewhere April/May, and it coincided with a fairly rambunctious series of student actions on campus concerned with democratization – quote, unquote: student representation on various administrative bodies at SFU – the Senate and the Board of Governors, plus this crisis of who actually could get admitted to the university through transfer credits from the various junior colleges. The thesis that some of us held – that there were difficulties unless you happened to be of a middle-class background, getting into SFU.

So there are a number of different things going on. There's students getting organized at SFU; there are things happening on the college campuses; and there

was the Templeton thing in 1967, and that was part of the whole sort of labour/student ferment in PSA.

Anne: What was the Templeton thing?

Andrea: When graduate students from the PSA Department, which was Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology and Archeology were all one department chaired by Tom Bottomore, who's now dead. Three graduate students -- we used to call them "The Beatles" because they were all from England, remember? Phil and Martin Loney, and Chris Huxley. And who was the other guy? Phil who? Phil was the boyfriend of Margaret Sinclair! That's right! (Laughter!) Someone else is doing the PSA History!

So these three guys went down to Templeton (Secondary School in Vancouver), and they talked about Free Speech at a local high school and they were going to get suspended at Simon Fraser, and there was that whole "in loco parentis" thing, and double jeopardy and all the rest of it. So, I don't know if that was the first event, but it was a big catalyst in getting student-type people worked up.

When was the sit-in?

Marcy: The sit-in was in the (SFU) Board of Governors office, which was around the whole issue of democratization, and along at the same time, Dodie and I wrote this paper which was supposed to be a feminist, a women's perspective, a re-writing of the Communist Manifesto, and we decided that since we'd written this, and the stuff did make sense, and there was stuff happening at a number of different levels that we knew about, in Canada and elsewhere, that maybe we should get together and have or organize some kind of women's group. We did not give what we'd call any thought at all (to naming it). The reason it was called the Feminine -- or was it the Feminist? -- Action League -- I can't remember.

Voice: I think it was probably Feminine. Marcy: I think you're right.

Marcy: I think the influence for that was that Dodie was involved in the LSA or the YSA, being the Young Socialist Alliance?

Jean: I think it was called just YS.

Marcy: OK, the YS, which was a Trotskyist group in Canada at that time, which was why the League stuff came in. Anyway, so we had a number of meetings...

(Voice: where were the rest of you coming from?) On the campus... (Were the rest coming from a Trotskyist background?) No, no. No! I guess we were just emerging socialists. We were seventeen, eighteen, nineteen years old, and we were fairly unformed, I would think. If it were otherwise, I'd be fairly surprised.

And then in the summer Maggie (Benston) and Brenda Morrow got involved, by about May of that year and at the same time, we occupied the Board of Governors' room in the old Administration Building at SFU, which was still in the Library. (Who's we?) A number of people connected to the SDU (Students for a Democratic University) plus the women who were involved in this initial organization: May of 1968. That's when we had the idea, the same group of women, who I can't really remember their names, Dodie and myself for sure, we had this idea at the same time of trying to turn this into a daycare. So it was all kind of going on at once. (Melody Killian was there. And Maggie. Melody had a child...that's why you thought of the daycare!!!!?? Laughter) And then Jean got involved at the same time, in the summertime.

Jean: I don't think so; I was in Toronto in the summertime.

Marcy: When did you come back? And someone had the idea of having a psychologist (not because she was a psychologist but she seemed to be an interested woman) come to one of our meetings.

(What happened to the occupation?)

Marcy: Oh, it ended. I can't remember.

You were doing this as this women's group?

Marcy: It was very amorphous; it was a very fluid kind of thing.

Jean: Isn't it true, the way I remember it. I can't even remember when I left Vancouver and moved to Toronto and then came back. It was like six months that

I was away, so a lot of this stuff happened during that time, but the impression I had was that the occupation of the Board of Governors' room, an SDU occupation, some kind of liberation of the university kind of thing, but that in the end, it kind of went on and on and on because the Board of Governors said: we don't care and we have the BC Hydro Board room downtown. Gordon Shrum was Chancellor of the university.

Marcy: And Jack Diamond had some role.

Jean: And the way I remember it is that although it was an SDU action, it ended up being a feminist action around daycare and the university, and that the occupation was resolved by them giving us space for a daycare.

Marcy: It was at the end of the summer that we changed the name because it became more expressly political.

Pat: Brenda (Morrow) sat me down in my kitchen and said: We have to do something about the condition of women. I thought, "Oh God, Brenda, give me a break!" So she rattled on at me for about five minutes, and I went: "Oh, you're right; hmmm." I was very easily persuaded! Mostly because she was right! I was a student by then at SFU, a PHD student in Sociology (PSA). So we organized a meeting in Maxine Gadd's apartment in the next building to us at 4th and Burrard with the psychologist. I think it was Brenda who dredged up this psychologist; I can't remember her name at all. What I remember was that Maxine was living as a hippy poet and waited tables; she did anything. She was just sort of scraping by and occasionally going to school and whatever. So she didn't have much furniture and we were mostly sitting on the floor. But she had one chair, and so we had to give the visiting psychologist the one chair. So she sat up in this rather ornate Victorian chair with carved arms, and the rest of us were sprawled all over the floor, and we listened to this woman tell us that girls grew up naturally to be women. They develop like flowers! And we're all sitting there going: Holy Fuck! Where is this broad coming from? But we were very polite in those days; we let her dribble on for a half hour or so and then she stopped. And then, I think it was you, actually (Marcy: I don't remember any of this!), this voice piped up: "Well, that's all very well, but I want to talk about a socialist analysis of women in

society! (I really don't remember that!). And from this point on, this poor woman was totally ignored (Laughter)! There was her and this woman named Rosemary Nash; she was married to Gary Locke; she wanted to continue this discussion about growing up like flowers, but the rest were really into Marcy's perception here, that what we needed was a socialist analysis in Canada.

(Ellen: At this point, was the Communist Party in Vancouver? Answer: Oh, the Communist Party was here in Vancouver.)

Marcy: But they had nothing to do with this.

Ellen: Did you use the expression: I wanted a socialist analysis?

Marcy: I can't remember, but it was something like...

Pat: Social or socialist; clearly we wanted a political discussion.

Jean: People were active in SDU, right? We'd been having all these discussions until we were blue in the face, using the university as red bases kind of stuff, and endless arguments about the letter of (Antonio) Gramsci to somebody or other, and what he had to say about civil society.

Andrea: And another thing that's important about this is that although the analysis may have been fairly naive, there was an analysis, and we didn't think women were naturally born as flowers. And today all this analysis about the "construction" of women; we weren't using those terms but we were certainly trying to figure out how women are "made" what they are; we didn't assume that it was some essential "given", for better or worse. And I think often people looking back, their thesis is that we were so naive. Well, we were naive in many ways, it's quite true; but we weren't so naive that we had no political analysis, and we all kind of believed that women were "constructed" by their society. Otherwise, how the hell could we un-construct or change?

Ellen: Jean was saying you were all socialists.

Marcy:: Well, we all called ourselves that. EW: What would you have included as your basic text? Many voices: Marx!

Pat: Very few of us had ever read Marx, you understand, but we had attended enough of these discussions to know exactly what he had probably said...(But don't forget the courses we had taken; there was a lot of talking; people read *Capital*.) I didn't.

Anne: But PSA at the time, with Bottomore as Chair, attracted all the Marxist faculty, and there was an amount of intellectual material that was being read and discussions and all within that context.

Jean: We were talking about the position of women in capitalist society, and we were also talking about the role of women in the revolution. The papers that I was looking at were called things like "Why Women will be the Vanguard of the Canadian Revolution" Voice: Who wrote that one? Jean: I did! (Much laughter!)

Ellen: So people were talking about Kollontai?; who were the women who were the reference points?

Marcy: I certainly by that time had read Alexandra Kollontai; I think lots of us knew a bit about Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg; I still have some really good biographies of Rosa Luxemburg that I bought at that time. It was all happening concurrently, so we were examining a bunch of different questions, learning some of the traditional socialist texts and trying to find some other analyses that were socialist but also had women involved.

Jean: Some of the things I went to were almost leading discussion groups some of the first meetings that happened off campus, at Brenda's place, and they were about things like Juliet Mitchell and things in the *New Left Review*.

Pat: After that first meeting, just to back up a bit, we had two or three other meetings off campus that really were like consciousness-raising groups and there would be like, I would go, Brenda would go, Maggie (Benston) would go. A core of people from that initial group, and other women – the word would go out and others would come. It was very clear to us that if we didn't get better organized for those meetings, what they really were were consciousness-raising. People complained about their partners, their relationships and what to do about it, their jobs or whatever, and then we'd never see them again, and the next meeting

would be another group of people doing the same thing, and we'd do our: "You know, this is capitalist society and the role of women....da, da, da, da, da, and they'd go away, and there were two or three meetings like that in that summer of '68, and then we decided that this wasn't getting us anywhere. It was obviously useful, well marginally useful, for the people who were coming in, and going away having decided maybe it wasn't their fault -- but how long could you hold on to that idea -- but it wasn't going to change anything. What we were really interested in was some kind of social movement that would actually make some changes.

Marcy: Yes, to have some specific projects to work on, too. And we did have some conferences.

Women's conferences?? Yes.

Jean: What happened in that first summer when I wasn't here? Wasn't the Women's Caucus of SDU formed?

Andrea: Yes, because the Caucus was formed at Simon Fraser because it was a caucus of something.

Chorus: No. No. NO.

Pat: There was the Feminine Action League. It didn't exist anymore. What we had was this core group of women who wanted to do something. At the end of that summer, we decided we were going call ourselves "Vancouver Women's Caucus". It wasn't in reference to SDU or anything else, in fact, that Caucus existed as a political organization.

Marcy: It wasn't, as we would understand it, perhaps from a more sophisticated point of view, a caucus of anything.

Pat: I think we knew that then. It was a word that would totally define us as being political rather than a consciousness-raising group, which was the major deal at the time.

Andrea: Although it continued to exist at Simon Fraser as a club because remember, we used to get money.

Pat: Oh absolutely! We were not above being a club!

Marcy: I think we got money, a hundred bucks a year.

Anne: Maybe people should talk about the formation of it; the dominant thing going on in the States was consciousness-raising groups. That's what we were aware of, the consciousness-raising stuff coming out of the States. Not so much in reference to Eastern Canada, were we? There was something that people were reacting against.

Andrea: No, that's not...I think we were ahead, actually. There were consciousness-raising (c-r) groups in town, largely very informal, private ones. We certainly were ahead of the people in the east, because even people in the east will say that we got it together to be an organization sooner. I think we always thought of ourselves as the vanguard. That's how I recollect it: that we were more informed, that we had more analysis; we were more political.

Pat: And what we responded to, you were right, we responded to what happened when we started doing this. When you have three meetings in a row and you have people bleat on and on, it's useful in the short term, but if that's what's happening, but that's not what we wanted to do. This isn't working. Now we're going to have to look at some other way of doing this.

Ellen: I think there were other groups in town; there was a women's group at UBC which I didn't join because I thought it was very middle-class; it was with Lynn Smith and Anne Petrie (who was later host of a CBC radio show) and a number of other women who did start a group at UBC. It wasn't connected to Women's Caucus although I was the person connected to Women's Caucus.

Anne: When was that? When did they form? (It was in '68 or '69; I don't know.) I think it was '69; we can probably find it – they've probably written it down. I think they came a bit after in response to the ferment around the Women's Caucus.

Pat: And we did some stuff too.

Anne: But they were going to form a separate group that was a bit different, and they were very middle-class and professional women concerned about a specific range of issues.

Marcy: They were all students at that point.

Anne: But they knew where they were going.

Ellen: But the context was different because you all had been part of the student movement in a rebellion that really had some power to it and really had some clear sense that you were going to get some victories, even though you didn't get what you wanted in something was strengthened. What happened at UBC in the student movement – we occupied the faculty club and that was quite different: there was this women's group that wasn't active in that occupation at all, or any of the anti-Vietnam stuff, or the Red Power and Black Power stuff. That women's group wasn't. A couple of us were but then we joined with you.

Andrea: I think the contexts are very different, because Simon Fraser was only three years old. It was in all kinds of upheaval institutionally because the faculty were pretty revolting too! (In more ways than one!) So that made probably a really big difference with UBC. Like, I was faculty; I came to Simon Fraser (But you weren't revolting!). That's probably why the women's groups were quite different because of their context. UBC was, and still is, a very different institution.

Anne: When decisions were made, you're saying the end of the summer of '68, and that's when the decisions were made to form Women's Caucus.

Pat: We named ourselves and essentially redefined what it is...well, we started to redefine...I remember we had a meeting at Simon Fraser: Maggie and me and a woman named Ornette?? Orlene, something like that and a couple of other people. And we had this discussion: where do you start? Everything is circular, in terms of socialization of the children, and socialization of girls in school, there's the workforce and everything conspires to make women what they are. But where do you start? And we had this long discussion, looking for the key (Andrea); no, looking for a way in. I mean looking for a way in, because you see this totally

circular thing, and we decided that, OK, we're in the educational system, so where we're going to start is where we are.

Marcy: Didn't we decide to do some educational as well as to do... (Andrea: charm schools; you used to go into classes, do you remember that?). No, I remember some of the things in the cafeterias but I think that was about a year later; this was right at the beginning of the fall of '68. Was that when we decided to do some educational, a more formal kind of thing with the guerilla theatre things. Also, remember when we picketed the Engineer's Club and we had a number of other kind of things that were kind of, Get our....

Andrea: No, that was later, in '69, wasn't it?

Marcy: And in the fall of '68, there was the build-up to the occupation. Can anyone remember. Was that in '68? Yes, it was, because the strike was in '69, so in the fall (of '68), there must have been some kind of...

Pat: But that was more the Students for a Democratic University and the major issue there -- remember Lyle Osmundson (and Sue Claus) from Langara (College)/issue of transfers from community colleges to university.

Marcy: But I thought there was some educational works downtown that happened then. (Andrea: that was a year later) And we also had a conference.

Pat: There was a conference, that fall, Marcy Cohen was saying that we had at UBC. That was '69. (General agreement) It's the gap in the fall of '68 that we're having problems with, and I don't have the next edition of the Pedestal.

Marcy: The first Pedestal came out in the fall of '69. I'm sure we did some things.

Andrea: Well, when was the McGill (Burnaby Public) Library series, a free series....

Marcy: I think that was connected to the strike.

Andrea: Yeah, I don't remember exactly either. But going back to your point that we decided on education and one of the first things that happened (Who's we? It was quite an amorphous "we"; we were Women's Caucus). Pursuing the education thing, there was a non-credit course...

Ellen: Were you people meeting regularly?

Andrea: Yes, but it was a small place; there weren't that many people: we had coffee. It wasn't like meeting at twelve; we were in and out of each other's lives all the time.

Jean: But there were meetings; there were all kinds of formal meetings set up too. Weren't there? There were formal meetings by the fall of '68 when I arrived in the middle of the occupation or just before it.

Marcy: And remember, in March of '69 we had an International Women's Day celebration at the Labour Temple (in Vancouver) (Voice: that terrible thing we did?)

Marcy: So we spent some time organizing that.

Andrea: I think the McGill Library thing was later; I was just going off on a tangent from what Pat was saying, was that one theme that got developed was to do some kind of education work: going into classes; doing presentations with "fellow-travelling" faculty, etc. Then there was the McGill non-credit, then there were the first credit courses: Geography of Gender (quite a bit later). That whole education stream went off that way.

Pat: But there was also "Women in Teaching" that came after the split with the Trots, in 1970. That's what you're saying, that different bits of it (the education stream) continued off of it in different ways.

Marcy: Where does this fit in? A number of us including Pat and Melody and Jean wrote some papers (I don't know if Anne wrote something) on various aspects of organizing women and they were presented, but I don't think they were presented at...(wasn't that at the time we had an office?) No, it was earlier than that; I don't think it was in '69. I don't think it was for that joint conference where the women from the United States came up.

Pat: No, that was the Indochinese Women's Conference.

Marcy +others: No, it was one at UBC, with that woman, Laura X, remember? (Many screams of OH YES! And laughter). She was so flaky, and we couldn't believe it! Oh! My! God! And we thought all those folks from San Francisco would be so politically sophisticated (much laughter) and they didn't know...they were not well versed in what we thought was important in analysis.

Jean: And all these people came from Saskatchewan and Alberta and they were horrified.

Pat: That's right! That's right!

Marcy: I think we did something of a women's conference type before that.

Long pause: "Really?"

Marcy: I think so.. Why else would we have written these papers? And you wrote something, Jean, and Pat, you did too. Melody, too.

Pat: I remember that you (Marcy) and somebody wrote a paper which was presented to the SDU.

Jean: That's this: (reads title): A Report Back to the Simon Fraser Left on Women's Caucus Summer Organizing, September, 1969 by Marcy Cohen and Jean Rands

Ellen: Why were you reporting back if you were independent?

Jean: I thought the Women's Caucus basically was a caucus of the student left in the beginning.

Marcy: It was and it wasn't. It formally wasn't and informally could say it was.

Anne: Get that down: your whole sense of it.

Jean: First of all, I wasn't there at the beginning; I probably have that part wrong. When I came, it was in the middle of the Occupation and all that stuff...actually, during that period of time, Women's Caucus became totally inactive. It was still one of those things that fell off the bottom of people's priorities list. We didn't have time to go speaking in classes and stuff; we were trying to keep this bloody

Occupation going! Anyway, so at that point, it pretty much was a caucus of the Simon Fraser Left. But, according to this (Jean and Marcy's article), it was February of '69 that we began to move off campus.

Marcy: Yes, and that would fit right in with the Labour Temple and the International Women's Day thing.

Jean: By September '69, according to this (?), we were having regular monthly membership meetings, we had the office in the Labour Temple and a membership list of over 200. And a newspaper: that would be the Pedestal, which had just barely started.

Pat: That was the first issue of the Pedestal, that came out...

Jean: In late August, early September

Anne: That's a wonderful document!

Jean: Yes, as far as facts go; the rest is all polemics! (Much laughter) One of the things that always strikes me when I go back to this stuff, is how hard it was, how horrible the men were, unbelievable!!! Do you remember...when did those German SDS'ers come over? Frederick Wolfe...

Marcy: It was during the strike.

Jean: That was '69 already, (Marcy: they picketed with us) and even that late, I remember we had a meeting with Heidi that was women-only, and the men were trying to knock the door down!!! It was just taken for granted that women organizing separately at all were perfect grounds for any kind of violence on the part of men.

Marcy: That's right, because when we had our first meeting, with the group Dodie and I started, we had to lock the doors in the meeting room in the rotunda because they were trying to peek around the windows and through the doors; it was quite juvenile.

Jean: I was in Toronto in the fall of '68, and there it was, even if anything, worse. There was a group called Toronto Women's Liberation, which simply consisted of

Laurel Limpus and Paulette Giles; I think that was about it. But they published a couple of pamphlets, and everybody was going around saying “what they need is a good fuck!”

Anne: During that Occupation, when you said women’s things are at the bottom of the agenda, part of the thing was that women were doing that old “gestener/getting the leaflets out/making the coffee/cleaning up/ getting the food: that was all part of what women were reacting to. And there were lots of tensions around that, too. A lot of breaking up, a lot of destructive things all through that; it was hard on people. These weren’t: you just go to meetings and you have fun; there was also a lot of tension around this.

Andrea: I think a lot of people...I mean, my recollection of the first four years of Simon Fraser, is that everyone changed partners. For one reason or another...we were doing it for political reasons, but other people were doing it for other reasons (laughter). But it’s the point that you’re making, Jean, that the violence of it – I’d sort of forgotten that. And just how you had to **defend** just having a meeting with only women; I mean that was a cause for so much angst.

Marcy: Anger, real anger.

Pat: I wasn’t up at Simon Fraser yet, but all you guys had the Feminine Action League, and the jokes about FAL ...

Marcy: Oh, I didn’t hear that, but I did write a little article saying that we were doing this, and they put...it was either an article or a letter...and the Peak editors put these ears on the top of the newspaper (Like bunny ears?): Two breasts, bare! I remember that, because then I was forced into the position of writing another letter back (Laughter)! Fighting the sexual trivialization, or something!

Anne: And what the men were saying is that this was undermining the whole revolution and we were setting it back forever for our own little petty personal....

Marcy: The most bourgeois ones were the ones saying that!

Jean: I remember ... there was a conference sponsored by the NDY (New Democratic Youth) worker-student alliance or something, and it was in Banff; a bunch of us went up to it. This conference...I don't remember when...

[The next section of the tape is an attempt to distinguish various conferences in 1968 or 1969, and Jean's recollection of Jim Harding's speech claiming that he had started the women's group at Simon Fraser, but it wasn't a good idea, so he cancelled it!.]

Pat: So basically, what we're saying about the fall of '68 is that a lot of energy went from being in the Women's Caucus to that whole thing around the Occupation, and I think whoever said it was right, I know I was totally involved and then afterwards it took a horrendous amount of time organizing the defence and all the rest of it...I spent two or three months working on the defence committee, getting people together, getting people organized, trying to figure out what we were going to do. Then, of course, we all went in and paid our \$250 fines, and that was it. But that took up quite a bit of time, even into March '69 or something. A lot of people were involved in that.

Marcy: There was still, we must have been doing still some fairly specific women's and political women's activities in order for us to be ready to open the office in the Labour Temple. We had to do the other things.

Jean: it must have been February or March.

[A discussion of when the office in the Labour Temple actually opened. The group concluded that an "action" – a Women's History Pageant of some sort - had taken place at the Labour Temple before the office opened.]

Marcy: It was terribly didactic.

Pat: It was absolutely ghastly! It had different people doing these long readings, hideous readings, really. And "Bread and Roses": because nobody played music at that point, an old scratchy recording that you couldn't make it out; you couldn't

even tell it was music. It was unbelievably awful. Fortunately, only about ten people came.

Marcy: That's not true, Pat! There were lots and lots of women there, including a number of women who had left the Communist Party in 1968 over the invasion of Czechoslovakia. They were sort of not sure about this, because they'd always held their own CP International Women's Day celebrations and they came to ours, because, of course, they couldn't go to the one that the rump of the CP was holding, and I read something from a number of women socialists from Russia and I also read something from our comrade, Leon Trotsky. I could just see them down there. They all had practically apoplectic faces, like the name of Trotsky being spoken there!!! And Max Schnee -- I can't remember exactly -- she might have been the one because she had those contacts who got those women coming.

Pat: You may have said that there were lots of people, but what I remember, really, was a very large auditorium with not many people in it.

Jean: No, there were way too many of them (Laughter!!).

Marcy: But remember, we thought it was OK. Looking back now with more sophisticated and cultured eyes (laughter and exclamations of Oh no!!!).

Pat: Oh no! We knew it was a disaster even while we were doing it! That, I remember!

Marcy: It was the first time, though.

Pat: It was the first time; we got better at doing all these things.

Marcy: And that was at the same time as we were organizing the abortion counselling service. With Donna Liberson, and Helen Potrebenco. Everybody knows that it was completely and totally illegal to be doing anything like that. We have to make sure that we get that (fact) in there. Somehow that was connected with some of the educational work on birth control that we decided we were going to do.

Pat: We were doing that from 1968; along with the educational work, we decided that the other real area of concern to women, particularly women students, was how to get an abortion.

Andrea: And how to get birth control, because that was illegal.

Pat: That, we didn't get involved in. What we did get involved in was the real biggie – getting people abortions. And we took one person a month (at SFU) being the contact-person for the few resources that there were. We even ran ads in the Peak saying: Women, are you having problems: Well, you can call this number, without specifying what it was. But the word got around, and it was really hair-raising when it was your turn to do this, because, first of all, you got a certain number of desperate calls, and there weren't very many resources.

Anne: Was it Donna who developed the contact with Dr. Makaroff?

Marcy: I don't know who did.

Jean: Well, Makaroff was really well known, going back to 1964, when I first moved out here.

Pat: People knew, and then there was a clinic over in West Van, but we couldn't send anyone to that: they would "take your appendix out" for \$1500. But nobody had \$1500, but Bob Makaroff would sometimes do sliding scale. His charge was basically \$500, but he would do it for less.

Ellen: I seem to remember some trips across the border as well.

Pat: Well, they finally opened up a clinic in Renton, just south of Seattle; we sent some people there, and then Harvey somebody or other, in LA or Oakland with vacuum aspiration, but that was later, more like the second year that they were operating because we still couldn't get them here. That was scary, but we did it.

Andrea: How did Donna get into it at that point?

Pat: She was a friend of Brenda's and a friend of mine; she lived right beside me in the next apartment house, and the abortion stuff...I had a feeling that she'd had at least one abortion herself. Anyway, something really struck a nerve with her,

and she had that entrepreneurial energy. She just wanted to run with it and she did. Because in those days, pregnancy testing, you went to a doctor and they might give you the results in two weeks, or they might make you wait for six or whatever, which was disgusting. And so once we had the office, it was once a month or so clinic, people could come. I don't know how we got to Helen.

Jean: Well, Helen was involved really early on because I remember meeting with Helen; and the other person who got involved really early on was Mary Stolk. She had been actually doing stuff around abortion for many years already, as a Catholic; she was involved in some Catholic women's groups, that got out first of all information on birth control. It was all very hush-hush. I think it was soon after I started working at Simon Fraser that I remembered meeting with Helen and I think, Mary; Mary was a nurse. She really put a lot into this too.

Anne: That would be an important thing, if those women get together to reconstruct that part of it.

Pat: The other thing that I'll say is that Ann Thomson is writing a book about Everywoman's Health Clinic, but she's going back and focussing quite strongly on the beginnings of this, so there may be a whole bunch of tapes and information. But I always find when it's just me and an interviewer, that there's so much I don't remember. (Winning Choice on Abortion: How British Columbian and Canadian Feminists Won the Battles of the 1970s and 1980s by Ann Thomson. Trafford Publishing Ltd., 2004)

Ellen: These group discussions are helpful. I think the other thing that I find interesting is that it's gone from the Simon Fraser group (both students and workers at Simon Fraser) to suddenly – I'm involved at UBC and other people who are not students are involved: the focus has shifted very much away from student politics. And yet, if look at all of us who are active, we're not including any of the other things we were still working on. We had this core of Women's Caucus which we could go to for support, and that we were using for many of us as our central focus in analysis and practice. But we also used that energy to fuel other activities. And that's why I think the "tree" idea would be useful, because so many

things grew out of that analysis. As we got stronger as women, we used that to fuel other things.

Andrea: Although, it strikes me that what was happening was, as Anne said earlier, that women's issues were at the bottom of the agenda and they'd fall off if something (came along), and I think the agenda was getting reversed, so that the women's issues were coming to the top of the agenda, for me personally, and that if anything was going to fall off, it was going to be something else.

Anne: But my memory of that -- and everybody has a different place in how that developed in their histories in the groupings and around Women's Caucus -- where it really ascended and the others dropped off was more after the strike when there were legal appeals. You know, the men floundered and talked about - - and did set up -- some kind of labour education centre. The women, who had had this ferment of things developing and then the shift went whole hog on that. I mean, I think you're right; it's a process, and when exactly it was for different people and different activities... But my sense, it didn't come full-bloom until '69, in that period.

Jean: Well, '70, really. (General agreement on the date)

Jean: Because I think that around the strike in '69, the same kind of thing happened that happened around the Occupation, even though some of us were really frustrated by it and didn't want it to happen, and wanted to keep feminist organizing at the top of the priority list, we weren't all that successful. We did put out the Pedestal, and that took a lot of time. At the same time, I think we were all... I think there was a lot more about women in the strike than there had been in the occupation.

Ellen: But the whole thing became a kind of vortex centering on the abortion (issue) and all the demonstrations and rallies and actions, and then the abortion cavalcade itself. It went by really fast.

Andrea: Going into the summer of '70...

Pat: So maybe we should back up a little bit; I think we're getting ahead of ourselves.

Anne: Through this period, through '68 to the fall of '69, when the abortion counselling service and the educational work is going on... I was just suggesting that those people could reconstruct the abortion counselling service, and that might be a thing to do at some point. I don't know if people want any more around this, or do we want to go into the summer of '69: the office is set up. It goes to the Labour Temple.

Pat: How did that happen?

Jean: Well, there was...

Marcy: We put those educationals on first, before we actually got an office, at the Labour Centre.

Andrea: We thought we needed one; we convinced the Labour Temple to give us this space.

Jean: We rented it.

Pat: Thirty dollars a month.

Marcy: It was a lot of money in those days. And a phone.

Jean: Yeah, a phone: that's a major expense. I remember worrying about that. Before we actually got the office, we organized some of the demonstrations around women in the work force. And that was majorly important: like all the stuff about the post office, about equal pay.

Marcy: And picketing the Post Office.

(Demonstrations at Christmas, '69 and another in '70: check the Pedestal for details)

Marcy: A number of things in that particular period we did get press in the mainstream papers, for both the Engineers Club and the first Post Office picket, and some other things that we did.

[Ref. To Pedestal, Oct.'69 for the Engineers' Club demo.]

GAP IN TAPE: Pick up with Andrea:

Andrea: Calling ourselves feminists rather than women's liberationists

Anne: It was the other way around; we wanted to be women's liberationists. We felt very strongly that that was different than a feminist.

Andrea: In fact the term "feminist" has taken over the popular consciousness.

Ellen: I think what I said is that that's when there is a major political shift from a base in a class analysis concerned with international revolution to equality politics. I don't remember it being a big discussion internal to us – maybe some discussion down at the Carrall Street office; I can't even remember. Didn't the Trots start putting the "Velvet Fist" in 1971? And using the term "feminism"? It was a Toronto publication.

Andrea: I don't know that it was us so much, but that general shift you're really right about – that kind of shift from women's liberation to feminism. It was a linguistic signal.

Marcy: And also many women were doing some research into history, organizing for women's rights and came up with the information that we hadn't really spent much time thinking about, which was that there was a long, long lineage of what we now call feminist thought and feminist organizing in a variety of areas. Perhaps there was that addition of knowledge of the past that we hadn't spent a lot of time thinking about before.

Pat: I remember finding some magazines in some junk store or something – there was a magazine called "The Arena" published around the turn of the century. I had a number of copies of this magazine; it was smallish in format; it was a magazine of social comment; it didn't have pictures or anything like that. Every

issue had an article on women; this is like 1903, 1904, 1907 and honestly, I can remember thinking at the time, you just change a few references in these articles and they were totally up-to-date. They were American magazines. It was just a real eye-opener because so little over seventy-odd years had changed: there was stuff on childcare, stuff on working women, all these things, and it was still all the same.

Ellen: Remember when we discovered Kollantai and some of those discussions, it was Wow! All in 1911.

Andrea: Yesterday in the Sun (Vancouver Sun) in a review of _____ Gates, and the part that struck me was that there was a generational backlash after the suffragettes -- sort of like young women and us today. That was kind of interesting too, because that was one I hadn't known. Not only have we gone through the wave, we've gone through the backlash!

Anne: I don't remember the debate being between women's liberation versus feminism. I don't remember those words. I remember women's liberation being important to us because there were liberation struggles going on everywhere, and we were part of all that, so what it was counterposed to...

Andrea: No, this happened later. I think the feminism-liberation thing happened after the Caucus had basically ceased to be, and I just wondered if we had ever talked about that.

Anne: We talked about something. We talked about those words. We did, in the Pedestal, we talked about whether we were a women's liberation group because there was all this stuff going on in the States. I don't remember what they called themselves but we wanted to be different than consciousness-raising.

Pat: There was also Reform vs. Revolution; that was the big question: Are we reformist or revolutionary? In your papers (Jean's) there's mention of that, and there's probably a paper titled "Reform or Revolution"!

Anne: And there was lots of discussion of whether women's liberation was political or not, or was it relationships between people and working out all that stuff, and we were very keen on being political.

Ellen: It's interesting that the six women around this table all nodded when you said: we called ourselves women's liberation and we identified with other liberation movements, so we clearly came from that base.

Andrea: So that's why, when the word "feminism" took over, I felt it had snuck up on me. I didn't feel that I had made a conscious choice, a change in my thinking that I was a feminist – not that I objected to being a feminist. But I thought that you (Ellen?) were really right on: that signalled a shift even if no one ...

Marcy: I wonder how much of that was fall-out both from the NDP or CCF and the Communist Party in terms of their attitudes, their support of equality struggles and that kind of thing, but feminism was identified by both the CP and at least some people in the CCF as somehow very middle class and somewhat privileged and dismissive to the working class. That was something that we were probably aware of.

Andrea: I think feminism got to be the dominant word because of academics.

Marcy: That's right. That's a really important point.

Andrea: That they were trying to make themselves more acceptable ...

Anne: Or did it come out of the suffragettes, and we were afraid of being just that?

Ellen: Well, there was a whole question: I remember asking (former NDP MP) Grace MacInnis if she was a feminist and she said: No, I'm not. No, I'm definitely not a feminist; I'm a socialist. And then someone started to say: I'm a socialist feminist and others said I'm a feminist socialist.

Jean: All those kind of things about language are contradictory, I guess, but I remember feeling that the word "feminist" was the one we did want to claim, that people who claimed that feminism was middle-class and stuff like that, were

attacking the whole idea of an autonomous women's movement and basically at the time, the CPCML and the Communist Party line was that what we were doing was wrecking and splitting – that's what it came down to. As I recall (my memory isn't all that great on that sort of stuff), I wanted to call myself both a feminist and a women's liberationist. I didn't see there being a distinction there; I didn't see those two things being in contradiction. I thought that both of those words meant more than "women's rights". You know, people who would say "I'm in favour of women's rights, but I'm not a feminist".

Andrea: They're still saying that!

Jean: To me, being a feminist meant that we could develop a women's movement that had a revolutionary scope, sort of, or a global scope.

Ellen: But I think that was because at that point it was just the use of the word to hold us back. Later, it became a word that could be embraced by Kim Campbell (Conservative Prime Minister). Then we had to define the difference. That's an extreme example, but I think then later on we started to have different tendencies within the autonomous women's movement.

Jean: Actually that was true even fairly early on. It was true that the word "feminist" was much broader than women's liberation because there was that group in Toronto – who were they? – they called themselves feminists and they were pretty early, weren't they?

Ellen: Well, I remember Eileen Gregory; they formed the MP; they weren't Marxist or anything.

Pat: When you think about it, women's rights, and feminists generally – that's what it sort of referred to: people who were in favour of women's rights. You can be in favour of women's rights within the context of: men have certain rights and the women should have those rights, or you could say that what the working class have in general isn't enough. Then you're going well beyond the issue of rights, because rights are often already defined by, they're already legitimized because what you're saying is that this group already has these rights, and the other group should have them, without looking at the question of: "where do these rights

come from, and who defines them, and who limits them, more to the point?" We were all more interested in pushing the limits and asking those more fundamental questions.

Andrea: I agree with that, and I think, I mean, I remember we had lots of debates about could working for equal rights be either beneficial or hampering to the "great world of the future". But it is interesting that a lot of times one thinks of a social movement going from the equity issues to coming up against the polemics(?) and then becoming more radical. But I agree with you; I think we did it the other way around. Not that we were against equity issues, but right from the start, we didn't think those were going to do it.

Marcy: I remember framing it quite simply by suggesting that we weren't really interested in becoming CEOs of multi-national oil companies or for some reason the president of Shell Oil; we didn't want that. That is something that stuck in my mind as something that was quite conceivable that women would want to work towards that. That wasn't what we were wanting to work towards.

Pat: I can remember Melody Killian..(

(Uproar over something liquid being spilled on paper. Additional update from Pat 2013: She, Melody, pointed out that we were not trying to enable women to become Generals in the army; that wasn't our goal.)

Anne: Why were we, or whoever began Women's Caucus, everybody – why was it more that way, here in Vancouver? Say unlike many parts of the States, or other women's groups? Why did we end up with that. Was it personal history?

Marcy: It was more than that; it was people from Saskatchewan.

Anne: It was obviously CCF history in Saskatchewan, and the labour movement in BC. You have to look at those.

Ellen: You have go back and look at who were the early agitators, and they were Ukrainians. A lot of the most progressive people were Ukrainians. You know that, Jean. They were the radicals who started the CP. A lot of the most radical movements came out of Vancouver, more than in industrialized Eastern Canada.

Pat: But then a lot of the people involved early in the women's movement here came out of the student movement. You can also look at the effects of that department (PSA: Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology at SFU). You know, hundreds of people sitting there reading Marx and Lenin, and "What Is To Be Done?"

Andrea: Putting that together, it seems to me that the situation here was more fertile because of its history, and then all these young people ...a lot of us came from the States and had been in a lot of experiences...

Anne: But it is interesting that more than in the States, when you came to Canada, when you came to Vancouver, people **were** sitting around reading Marx and Lenin, and they were not in the civil rights movement or the student movement in the States. So our experiences in those kind of things – what hit me coming to Canada – was kind of that whole class consciousness and labour history and connection to labour, which I'd never experienced.

Pat: It's a much stronger labour history here.

Andrea: Well, it depends on where you were in the States. I was at the University of Wisconsin, and it had a very long history of radicalism, so intellectually it wasn't totally foreign.

Anne: Did you read Marx?

Andrea: Yes, I did, actually, but there was the environment here that supported that kind of ...

Marcy: The formal political environment in terms of the electoral stuff as well as the labour ... One of the things I remember Dodie Wepler doing was she worked on her Master's thesis. She interviewed Mary Norton, and I recall that being quite something that I was aware of at the time, and that Dodie was actually interviewing those women, when she did that thesis on white women's activism in early B.C. She actually interviewed them. This would be 1971-or '70 or '69. She interviewed some of the women who had been B.C. suffragists, and that had an influence.

Ellen: There were the Doukhobors. Native women were very strong with a land base here. There was a broad-based radical milieu, intellectual context and then I think of what happened to you all at Simon Fraser was the impetus to take it on.

Andrea: Also because BC probably hadn't been industrialized; where it was in its own socio-economic history, not just its left-wing history.

Jean: Although Vancouver then was a much more industrialized town than it is now. But, I think that in some ways, I think this stuff about the militancy and left-wingness of the BC labour movement was a bit of a myth. It wasn't really built that way. But on the other hand, I think what was true was that the right wing – both the ruling class and the right-wing within the trade union movement – was so much stronger in the east, that that probably had an effect. I can remember feeling way more intimidated as a left-winger and as a feminist in Toronto than here. Still in the late '60s and early '70s, it was still almost McCarthyist in Ontario.

Marcy: When was the emergence of the Waffle? '69, wasn't it?

Anne: McCarthyism, I think, is an important factor. In the States, so many people afraid of Marxism and of being called a Communist, [Voice: here too] but nowhere (to the same extent)...obviously it was terribly oppressive. The way people, when I first came up in '68, or '67 it was, I was really surprised the way people used that terminology. It was the kind of thing you would be stoned (with rocks) in the States if you said those things!! I just can so remember how different it was.

Marcy: It was OK to be a liberal in the States, but certainly not a Marxist. It was becoming (OK to be) a small-l liberal politically in the States coming out of McCarthyism and black-listing, but you couldn't really say... I remember Roger Perkins telling me that in the city he was from, whether you said you were a liberal or a communist: it was the same thing!

Ellen: Those people were black-listed in the US; my dad and I were just talking about how people (in Canada) lost their jobs all across the board, and Tim Buck got jailed and shot at while in jail, and people were jailed for being spies. I'm just saying that the east was different from out here.

Jean: I remember when I moved out here from Toronto. In Toronto, it was very scary to go on some demonstrations. I can remember being on demonstrations in support of Cuba and thinking that we were going to get our heads bashed in by right-wingers and counter-demonstrators. And the Toronto cops were much more aggressive against the peace movement and stuff too. They used to ride into our demonstrations with horses, which didn't happen here. When I came here, one of the first demonstrations that I was on, I was amazed that some cop was wearing a button! It was like: What's going on here?!

Marcy: Well, throughout the 1950s and into the '60s, the peace movement mounted a number of really fairly large demonstrations in Vancouver, which, when I was doing the research for my thesis, I was surprised to find – the early 1960s – there were some really big demonstrations. I went on my first demonstration in 1967. It seemed...it wasn't that big. It wasn't as big as the ones for the Cuban Missile crisis and when the Berlin Wall was built. But there were some pretty large demonstrations.

Jean: We had a pretty big one in 1966; I remember that was the first big one I went to.

Marcy: Like 600 or something?

Jean: Oh no! Way bigger than that! Like two to four thousand. [Ellen: Wow!]

Andrea: I think, Ellen, you're right, because women's groupings in the east at the time we're talking about looked to us, here, as being very avant garde. And I think it's because in Toronto and Montreal, they were still feeling much more constrained by the left and the right, than we were. It may, Jean, be more of a myth than a reality, for people coming up here – Now, I'm agreeing with Anne -- it went like: Wow! Because we had belonged to the New Left Review in Wisconsin. Like when we went with the Bay of Pigs invasion and all that, it was some scary to go on those demonstrations. As you described it, you might get the shit knocked out of you. This was in Madison, which was a pretty radical kind of town. So I came here, and you can talk about these things. People would say: Oh yes, but I

disagree because in this volume...(laughter!) and it would turn into an intellectual debate instead of “You can get your teeth knocked out!”

Ellen: We haven't really talked about Voice of Women – had already started and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom – so what relationship did they have, if anything, with Women's Caucus?

Jean: Not much. And also, the other thing that happened - I've never been able to track this down either – that the Vancouver Status of Women actually formed around that time...or a couple of years after. (Discussion: their anniversary was last year; their 25th anniversary...1970-71?)

Jean: There was a Victoria group started before that; I remember they were involved in...

Ellen: They were focussed provincially; I mean (NDP MLA) Rosemary Brown and Gene Errington were talking about that at the twenty-fifth anniversary about trying to change provincial law.

Jean: I was thinking about this group in Victoria that supported working women's struggles and stuff. That was called the Status of Women Action Group.

Anne: Anyway, where are we going with this? [Aside: well, we're providing context.] Do we feel that we have that or...I'm sorry, I don't mean to be too directive... [Voices: No, it's good!]

Jean: But I do think we should try to figure out how we were distinguished from those other groups. Maybe that's fairly simple, but I don't know. It seems to me that it was, like we were the women's liberation, basically, although, I don't know...

Ellen: Well, there was the Women's Caucus, but there was the Voice of Women, there was the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and there was a group at UBC that was focussed on UBC women. Were there any other key.....

Jean: The group at UBC was connected to Women's Caucus, wasn't it? There are some references in papers...

Ellen: That was later on, but not actively. I was the main...there were a couple of us independently, but the Women's Caucus group, I don't think they were as active.

Jean: It wasn't that...It seems to me at least from my point of view – probably because of what I was focussed on myself – Women's Caucus wasn'twell, we tried to be a fairly broad organization and not just...not a sort of a vanguard of the women's movement. I mean you didn't have to be a revolutionary socialist to be in Women's Caucus, and I think that we did organize groups of both high school students, working women and teachers.

Marcy: There was lots of interest in doing fairly practical things, as well as doing more esoteric thinking sorts of things...

Jean: And a lot of the actual actions were around equality issues, but, I think there is still – although I think we still have to support all the equality stuff – but I think there are major differences between the ones that affect whole groups and the ones that basically affect individuals. That to fight for equality in the work force can mean a whole bunch of different kinds of fights, and some people saw that as meaning...

Ellen: How was the Women's Caucus organized? You just said there were the intellectual discussions and the political discussions.

Andrea: It seems to me what happened was that originally everybody was doing everything, because there weren't that many people, but then because the actions were - well, some of them were fairly scary to non-members – they were reasonable actions – then what happened fairly quickly was that we subdivided into various caucuses within the Caucus. So there was the working women's organization that did stuff more around union stuff, wage stuff. There was a kind of educational wing, and that did stuff both around teachers and around students; I schlepped off to an awful lot of classes and did my routine there, and that one sort of went into starting Women's Studies programs. Then there was

the whole media thing; you were involved in that: you did that slide show and there were various actions around media. And then there was sort of sexuality issues: counselling, abortion campaigns, etc. So my recollection is there was those – the media was probably the lesser. Remember we did agit-prop theatre? So that was kind of the media-artsy wing.

Anne: Remember that beauty contest? We got big media response to that there.

Andrea: And that was where Miss Cherry's Charm School came in and where we also did "Shift After Shift"; remember that wonderful agit-prop little sketch.... We had a speakers' bureau. (Discussion: we all went to various schools; Point Grey; held meetings for general discussion).

Ellen: Were those closed meetings or open?

Jean: They were for members, but it cost two dollars a year or something to join. Anyone who wanted to could join.

Andrea: And I was the treasurer; we didn't have any money. I remember that part. So we all met together; and I think there were sub-caucus meetings as well, right? (Discussion: we met all the time!!) And then if someone was going to do an action, if the working women were going to do an action, then they would recruit from the rest of us to haul out and do whatever this thing was. I mean it wasn't like they were totally exclusive. And then there were the people who did The Pedestal.

Anne: The Pedestal was very important because then everybody took the Pedestal on every demonstration that was going on at that time, which there were lots, besides women's things. We'd be selling the Pedestal and arguing with people about women's stuff. A lot of time was spent on that out-reach; I think we actually spent a fair amount of time on that.

Pat: We had a big speakers' list.

Jean: We all did that. I remember running around speaking at high schools.

Ellen: So was there phones....

Andrea: Yes, there were phone trees.

Ellen: If someone wanted a speaker, where did they phone?

Anne: Let's go back; that's a good question, but let's go back. We talked briefly about getting that office in the Labour Temple, and then we had a phone. We didn't last long – two or three months?

Marcy: No, it was longer than that. (Discussion- we went to Carroll Street; no we were there for at least a year; general buzz)

Pat: Because we had all the abortion clinic counselling in that office. In May we were still meeting in it.

Anne: Before we go to the end of it, let's go to the beginning of it: we set up the office in the Labour Temple. Let's talk about what happened there. [Voice: Oh, that's a good thought!!!]

Pat: So we did have monthly meetings. The reason I know that, not because I don't really remember it, but because Jean has in her folder a couple of minutes that somebody, I actually think it was Maggie (Benston), did up on a ditto and ran off and they're typed and everything, and we all earnestly reported back to the meeting: what we'd been doing and so...I reported on some speech I'd made, and somebody else, and somebody else and somebody else, and there's all this stuff going on and people are reporting back to the main meeting what's happening.

Jean: This was 1969.

Anne: And abortion counselling was also going on.

Andrea: And there was people who "personned" the office, to receive requests for speakers and to staff the office.

Ellen: Was there a mimeo machine there?

Andrea: Oh, I don't think so. I remember one at Carrall Street but not the Labour Temple.

Jean: Well, I think we did, because I have some stuff left over from previous lives. Didn't I have a little mimeograph machine? I think I did!

Anne: Oh great! Jean and her little mimeograph machine under her arm! Have mineo; Will make revolution! (General laughter)

Andrea: And gestetner!

Jean: This wasn't it though. This was something that Maggie did; I think you're right, because I'm pretty sure that this was something that she did at Simon Fraser.

Marcy: This is good, because there are some hints about when certain things happened. Remember we were talking about that conference in Banff? In May of 1969!

Ellen: So what was happening with the rest of B.C.? Was there any connection with the rest of BC? Or Toronto? The States? Or was it kind of haphazard?

Andrea: We were the only game in town, as far as I can recall. People came through, but I don't remember any kind of major contacts.

Jean: In these old files, there are letters from people in other places, and the Pedestal always got correspondence from people from out of town.

Anne: Yes, we mailed that out, across the country; people subscribed to it.

Ellen: And that came out of the Women's Caucus, and when did that come out?

Jean: The Pedestal? Yeah, in 1969. I think we called it September, but it was really in August.

Pat: But these minutes are just wonderful... (see minutes for details)

Anne: OK, we're back with this. You started up in the Labour Temple; you had abortion counselling; you had these monthly meetings...

Jean: Did we figure out exactly when we moved into the Labour Temple? Wasn't it...

Anne: Last time, we said somewhere between May and August of '69.

Andrea: That's right [Jean: earlier rather than later.] That's right, and we stayed there until the spring of '70, when we moved to Carrall Street.

Jean: We were still in the Labour Temple during the Abortion Caravan, so that was at least until the summer of '70. (No, no, no...much heated discussion about date of move.)

Jean: I was in the office in the basement of the Labour Temple when people were chaining themselves to Parliament. We had a press conference in the Labour Temple. We had people there; we got a whole bunch of other unionists from the Labour Temple to come to our Press Conference. We were still in that office; we must've moved shortly after.

Andrea: I had been in Quebec, and when I came back in May, and people were still in the Labour Temple, and we very quickly went to Carrall Street. It was right in there. (June???)

Anne: I can't believe my memory; it must be one blur that put the Labour Temple and Carroll Street together because I can so clearly see people meeting around the abortion caravan in Carrall Street.

Andrea: Well, it was still going on; I think it was in both places

Pat: By the time everybody got back, and we were starting to have the debates about what happened and where we were going, we were at Carrall Street. I think it was probably June of '70.

Anne: June of '70? Yup!

Marcy: At one benefit, we cleared twenty-three dollars!

Andrea: Hey, that was big bucks then! (Laughter!)

END OF FIRST TAPE (March 9, 1997)

