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The next meeting was in Barcelona. There were a couple every year at that point. By then Alex had already started some of this stuff to get me out of the chair. Then we came together because there was a feminist book fair in Amsterdam and I went over there using some of this travel grant money to tell people about the committee and meet other people, and this German woman, Karin Clark, came, and Monika came, because it was in her backyard. Monika told me about all this stuff Alex had been doing at that point and said, "The next congress is going to be in Brazil. That means a lot of the people who are supporters of the committee are not going to be there because they can't afford to go. Be careful. They're going to try to get you out of the chair then. They might try to destroy the committee, because they might have enough votes to do that." So I didn't know what to do.

I couldn't even get people in my center to talk to me about it. Karen Kennerly wouldn't even talk to me about it. So I really went into this alone, and when I got there, Peter Day — oh, and Karin Clark and I had had a disagreement about the budget for the Frankfurt Book Fair. She wasn't coming to Rio because of money. And I was using some of the UNESCO money to pay my way to Brazil, and I planned to use it to pay my way to other congresses and she wanted to use it all for her budget. She said I shouldn't use any of it because I would jeopardize the grant. Peter had told her that I couldn't use any of it for congress travel expenses and I said, "They told me I could use it for congress traveling expenses." She said, "No, you have to approve my budget that doesn't give you any money for that."

And then Peter Day and this woman from Swedish PEN, Ana Valdes, wanted to meet with me first thing. She was not very much in the inner circle of Swedish PEN. She was a Uruguayan immigrant who had sort of gotten herself onto the board of the committee. She wanted to work, and so on, but turned out to be very crazy. But they had to meet with me first thing. So Peter said, "You have to approve Karin's budget. Otherwise, I will make sure that there is enough of a fight in the committee so that your report is not accepted by the assembly. And if that happens, you know, the future of the committee will be up for grabs. You may not have a committee."

I didn't know what to do. I needed the money to go to the congresses. I didn't know where else I was going to get it. I didn't have a job then. I was living in a very hand-to-mouth way, mostly dependent upon the generosity of a friend who was trying to help me because I had already left my husband. I agreed. I didn't think I had any choice because I really knew that I might lose in the assembly. So we had a pretty inconsequential meeting. Karin made a report by proxy and everybody accepted it. And then Alex came up to me immediately after and said, "Did they accept your report?" and I said, "Of course. Why wouldn't they?" And that was

the end of that, except also at this meeting, you see, the next congress was planned to be in Dubrovnik, but the war in Yugoslavia had already broken out and Dubrovnik was actually being shelled as we met in Brazil. And a number of centers, including my center, didn't want to go to Dubrovnik, not just because they didn't want to be shelled, but because they thought they would be taking sides in a civil war. And while the Serbs were unquestionably horrible aggressors, the Croats weren't so great either. And we didn't want to be in the position of endorsing one or the other.

And there had been PEN centers in each of the different Yugoslav republics before, because countries are allowed to have five and they had slightly different cultures. The Slovenian language is somewhat different, and there was one in Zagreb and one in Belgrade and one in Montenegro. Well, they were all fighting each other, and it was awful. And so we started raising just small objections — my center did — to having this congress in Dubrovnik, because it was six months away. We didn't really know what was going to happen. But if the war continued we said we would have to look into the free expression issues in Croatia. Some women writers, the Scandinavians said, were being attacked.

And what happened is, that the head of the Croatian center, a little shit named Slobodan P. Novak, who was a nationalist — that's why he was the head of the center. I mean Tudjman, the head of the Croatian government, was also a member of the Croatian PEN center, because he was a minor poet. That center was full of nationalists, and so Novak went back and he gave a press conference, when he got back to Zagreb, and said the congress was being put in jeopardy by women writers in foreign press about how there wasn't freedom of speech.

So that was like unleashing these dogs to go after the women writers in question. They were made the subject of the big press assault under the name of "the five Croatian witches." They were Slavenka Drakulič, Dubravka Ugresić, Rada Ivčković, Jelena Lovrič, and Vesna Kesič. They weren't a group at all. Some of them had actually never done anything in the foreign press. Dubravka and Slavenka had written things in the foreign press that were satirical about Croatian nationalists, and Slavenka had written an article about rape, some of the rapes that were going on, where instead of saying these were Serbs raping Muslims and Croat women, she talked about men raping women in war, you know. This soon became a big thing, became a big thing that divided the Croatian women's movement as well, which line you took. Were these crimes against the nation? Or were these crimes against women?

WEIGAND: We're running out of time here.

END DVD 5

## DVD 6

TAX: We were talking about Yugoslavia.

WEIGAND: All the complications in PEN.

TAX: Right. And what happened — I started talking about the “five Croatian witches.” So what happened is, that they became the subject of a big press campaign, the kind that in communist countries used to be called “trial by public opinion,” where the press would whip up sentiment against them. And only two of them were even people who had published abroad, Slavenka and Dubravka. Jelena Lovrič was not liked by the government because she had been writing articles exposing corruption. Vesna was a feminist who had worked in the feminist movement, and Rada was also a feminist who had worked in the feminist movement and also her father had been one of the *nomenclatura* [Communist Party elite], so they didn’t like her. These were all — the nationalists were all guys who had been on the outs until after Tito died and they were sort of pariahs themselves and now they were very much in power and chasing down the children of old enemies.

And three of them ended up being driven out of the country. Dubravka really had a hard time. She was a professor at the University of Zagreb of Russian language and linguistics, and she was doing a dictionary of the Russian avant-garde with her professor. He stopped talking to her. Nobody would talk to her. They printed her phone number in the paper with, in one of the papers, with the saying, “She likes sex. Give her a call.” People knew her address and she used to get threatening calls constantly, all around the clock. And it was very — and Rada was also — they didn’t like her because she was married to a Serb. Serbs and Croats had been citizens of the same country two years before, and now it was no longer permissible for them to have any contact.

So what happened is, one of them, Rada, came to New York and I met with her through a friend who knew her, because there’s another organization called the Network of East-West Women and she came and she was staying with Anne, or was at her house for breakfast and I was eager to meet her and so she told me all about this and I got into contact with all of the witches except — oh, with three of them, with Vesna and Dubravka and Rada, and we started trying to figure out what we could do to defend them. And this was also during a period in which there was increasing debate about whether to hold this congress in Dubrovnik. I weighed in as much as I could and fed information to my center, though I must say nobody was very interested in it. The director said, “This is the Women’s Committee. This has nothing to do with us.” And they were doing their own plotting. It was because the woman who was the director never wanted to include me in anything.

So I had raised a little money by then from different foundations and individual donors and I had some money for translation, and I put together

a booklet — this was Vesna Kesić's idea — that translated all the attacks on them, and some of their responses, and made them into a little pamphlet and circulated them, at least around the Women's Committee. So I was very out there opposing having a congress in Dubrovnik and I was getting people in the Women's Committee worked up about it because of the mistreatment of women. I was saying if they do a congress, we should have another meeting somewhere else to defend these women and to bring women together. I was doing all this very openly, by fax. There was no email yet, but I was faxing everybody on the committee, and so that included Peter Day.

Peter Day was totally on Alex's wavelength and he, by then, had also decided I was a danger to the organization. He started calling me and sending me faxes and saying I had to resign as chair of the committee. I was ruining the organization, I was a danger to everything, and really harassing me. I mean, I would wake up in the morning and read these horrible faxes. Monika happened to be here for something and I showed them to her and she said, "Who does he think he is? What right does he have to do this? He's not even a woman." So, at her suggestion, I faxed Ronnie Harwood, who was still president of the English PEN Center, a copy of this and I said, you know, "This is your center's representative to the Women's Committee. This is the way he's writing. Are you going to do something about it?" So Ronnie made him get off the committee.

And then, his friends, Karin, this German woman, and Ana, this Swedish woman from Uruguay, who were on my board — although my board technically didn't exist since Alex said we couldn't have a board — I planned a board meeting, because the Dubrovnik conference ended up by being called off. So we had this board meeting instead with whoever could come. And the two of them came. I said Karin could use Frankfurt money and she brought herself, and Ana had money, and they came to try to get the board to make me resign, because of the way I treated Peter Day. I mean, it was awful. It was all this intrigue, and it was constant. We were trying to defend women and this was the response. And the whole thing had been cooked up by Alex and it was horrible. They were really driving me crazy. Of course, they didn't get anywhere with the Women Writers' Committee board — the board was not in Alex's pocket. They thought Karin and Ana were off the wall, and so Karin and Ana went away without getting anything they wanted.

And then came a congress at Santiago de Compostela. By this time, I was really starting to wonder if the committee was going to work, because there were so many things to be done, and it was so difficult to do anything when I was fighting for my life all the time. Also, Alex wouldn't let me send out grant proposals. He wouldn't sign off on them because he didn't want us to have any money, and so I could only raise money through PEN American Center. I went down and met with a guy named Bob Crane, who was the head of the Joyce Mertz Gilmore Foundation at the time, because Ninotchka Rosca had a connection to him and she hoped we could get some money for the committee.

He said, "You should think about becoming an independent organization. Then you could raise money on your own. It wouldn't have to go through PEN." He said, "As long as you're part of PEN, nobody's going to give you any money because they all think PEN has money, why would they give it to you? If PEN has money, why shouldn't PEN support you? And if it goes to PEN, you won't necessarily get it. So if you want to set up your own organization, you know, then come back to us." We did ultimately do that and they didn't give us any money, but it was a very helpful discussion.

So, next came this conference in Santiago de Compostela, because the congress in Dubrovnik hadn't happened. They actually ended up having a fake, without an assembly, but most people didn't go and they couldn't actually make any decisions. But at Santiago de Compostela, they decided it was time to get rid of me. There was no election scheduled. We had drafted bylaws. We said there was a term of three years and at the original Canadian meeting where we set up a network, we said that the chair would rotate, that there would be a term of three years and it was renewable. And I was ending, nearing the end of my second year. I was sort of in the middle of my second year. Karin Clark and Ana Valdez started calling round to all these centers saying I had to be forced out because I was ruining the committee and I was unsuitable. They didn't go into any details, but Ana wanted to run for chair. She didn't tell the Swedish PEN Center anything about this. They only found out when they got to the congress.

I didn't know anything about this until I got to the congress, either. That's right. And meanwhile, my center had been having a secret meeting with all these other good centers, but I wasn't included in that because I wasn't a representative of my center, I was just the chair of an international committee. So I came to Santiago de Compostela with this big documentation of the way they had been persecuting these women and they hadn't even had it at the secret meeting. It was so bad, the way they treated me. This Women's Writers' Committee was really important in bringing in all these new people but it was as though it was something so negligible or even a threat. They said that because I was a committee chair, I was part of the administration. I said, "How can you say that? You know Alex hates me." "Well, still. We don't want to set any precedents." Karin didn't want me around.

Anyway, so we had this meeting and they were going all around saying there had to be this election. And Karen Kennerly, the director of my center, and Monika from the Flemish Center, and Gabi Gleichman of the Swedish Center said, What the hell is going on here? They were totally freaked out. They said, We can't let them have this election. How do we know you would win? I said, "I think I would win it." Well, you don't know, and anyway, it would be such a scandal. It will take the whole meeting. Nobody will talk about anything else. You won't get anything done at the meeting. We have to have secret negotiations.

That's how they always do things at PEN, you know. Never anything out in the open. So Monika and Gabi and Karen went up and negotiated with these two creeps and they agreed that I would step down at the end of my term, which I had already said that I would. I was thinking, I have to do something else. I wasn't completely sure. I wanted to see how things went. But if things kept going the way they were going now, I didn't want to keep doing this. It was too difficult. I couldn't do the things I wanted to get done. But, still, even though I had only a year left to go, they made this fuss.

It was all Alex, and I think Karin's ambition and Ana's, because Ana was very corrupt and she was later kicked out of the Swedish Center for things she did about money, raising money in their name without telling them and things like that. She had her own little NGO she used to funnel money. She and Karin had this arrangement. They would be the chair together after they got rid of me, and Karen would actually do all the work and Ana would travel. Ana could barely speak English, and the two languages at International PEN were French and English. Karin was not a good speaker, either. I mean, neither of them were particularly impressive individuals.

So I was furious. And I also felt I'd been betrayed by my center to some degree, that they should have stuck up for me and said, Let's have an election — although I could also see that it might indeed derail the committee, so I wasn't completely clear. But I was furious with them. We had a committee meeting. It didn't come up. Everybody knew this thing was simmering under the surface. Nobody knew what had happened. Everything was done in secret. It's not the way I like to do things. I announced that we would have an election at the next meeting.

And they made me sign this piece of paper saying I would — they got Peter Day, who's a lawyer, to draw up this contract thing — step down and not run for another three years or something. And they — Josephine, who was the head of the English Center — got up in the assembly and waved it around saying, We've gotten her to agree — as though everybody in the assembly were, you know, against me. It was just so awful. It was so awful. And again, it was this clique of Europeans who thought they could run everything and they could run everything in secret and could pick the people they wanted, do it the way they wanted. They had no accountability, no democracy. It was all Alex. He was at the root of all of it, although the English Center was pretty bad, too.

So after that, I started making some — we came back and we started incorporating Women's WORLD. And PEN American Center agreed to let us funnel money through them during the interim period. And Paula Giddings and Ninotchka Rosca and I incorporated it. And this time, I wanted to set up a proper board and really have a program that emphasized gender-based censorship so I didn't have to fight about what we were supposed to be doing all the time. I was still in PEN and this was also the time the Taslima Nasrin case started. It started in the fall of 1993 — is that right? No, it started in the spring of '93. This congress was in the

13:10

spring of '93. It started shortly after that. Taslima Nasrin is a Bangladeshi writer, a feminist of the kind that is not part of the feminist movement, but very much concerned with the condition of women. She was known mostly, at this point, as a poet and as a newspaper columnist. She wrote a regular weekly column for one of the big newspapers in Dhaka, which was a lot about the conditions of women. She wrote exposés of incest and rape and the sexual harassment of girls. Nobody else wrote about anything like that in Bangladesh, which is a very puritanical society, and so she had a large public of women who thought she was wonderful. And she was doing very important things.

And then the Ayodah Mosque was destroyed in India by fanatical Hindus and, in response, in Bangladesh, there was rioting by Muslims against Hindus. And she, although not a Hindu herself, had friends who were and knew about it. The government tried to hush it all up and say it wasn't happening. And so she wrote a sort of documentary novel about this, called *Lajja*, that came out that spring and was immediately banned by the government. Her passport was taken away because of a passport infringement. She listed her job as one thing — she had two jobs — she listed one and they said she should have put the other one. She was technically a government employee, because she worked in a hospital as an anesthesiologist, and government employees are not allowed to leave the country without permission, so she put “writer” on her passport instead of anesthesiologist, so they took away her passport.

At the same time that happened, she was put under death threat by an obscure religious group in the countryside in Sylhet, called the Council of Soldiers of Islam, for her writing in general, as someone who defamed Islam. This was only in the countryside and it wasn't a terrible threat to her but the government was not protecting her. They took away her passport.

The first we heard about any of this was just a little feed in the AP wire about a Bangladeshi writer being put under death threat. The London office sent it to me and said, “Can you find out anything about this? Do you want to do anything about it?” And so I found Bangladeshi people through the women's movement who knew about her and got me in touch with the major human rights women's organization in Bangladesh which knew all about it. I started corresponding with her. I got her fax number from Hameeda Hossein, who was doing a lot of the exposés.

What was happening — we didn't understand this at the time — is that in Bangladesh, in the countryside, there are a lot of workers, especially from Sylhet, who were going to Saudi Arabia to do migrant labor and then coming back, not only with their wages but with Wahabiism. So there were these fanatical people. In Bangladesh, although the majority are Muslims, it split off from Pakistan to begin with because it didn't want to be an Islamic nation. It wanted to be a modern secular nation. But it was becoming increasingly Islamist. There were two main parties in Bangladesh. One, the major nationalist party, the BNP, was becoming



















First it's got to be published. And the publishers now are looking for, you know, bodice rippers or, you know, stories about the victimization of women and their continuance and bravery that the feminists will like. You know, goddess-type feminists are not necessarily going to like the way I do this, either, which is much more complicated than what they put out. So, we'll see what happens.

But a lot of my writing has been about Jews. I mean, all of my fiction has been about Jews. Not so much the political stuff, but some of it. It's very central to me, because it's what I am. It's what I grew up as. On the other hand, it's not all I am. I'm mostly American, also a woman. I'm not a nationalist. I'm not a Jewish nationalist, an American nationalist, or any other kind. I'm a feminist and a citizen of the world, and a diaspora Jew. It has never occurred to me to live in Israel. I would never. I like it here. Although there are things that bother me about being American, I think this is where my responsibilities are.

So, I don't know. In terms of Jewish identity, I don't think of myself as a Jewish feminist, because I think of myself as a feminist that's Jewish, but I've never been part of sort of the movement of redefining religious rituals and all that stuff, because I wasn't raised to be very religious. I was raised in a reformed temple where I was confirmed — not bat mitzvahed, but —

WEIGAND: So, would it be safe to say that for you, it's more of a cultural identity than a religious one? I don't even know if you can make those distinctions.

TAX: Right. I mean, they're all mixed together. I go to temple on the holidays. I do that stuff. I mean, I have some private system of beliefs. But, yeah, it's more cultural. It's more of a food and family traditions and stuff, but I think that this is — I mean, I think this is the way Judaism mostly has been for women. Women were not ever allowed to speak in the temple. They were hidden behind a curtain or a fence. And while I applaud the efforts of those who have tried to get up onto the pulpit and get out from behind the fences, it's like getting women into Congress or something. It's not necessarily something that I would particularly do because I don't spend that much time in temple that it matters to me. I mean, I would hate — I hate when I have to go to an orthodox temple and be behind a fence. Ugh. But I don't do that very often. It has never been a central part of my life, those communal observances and places.

I know some of those people and I like them all right, but I come much more out of the secular feminist movement, which was, however, in many cases there were a lot of Jews in it, so it was culturally Jewish. And because of the way women have always been treated within the Jewish community, there are a lot of reasons that Jewish women become feminists. There's a lot of barriers and injustice. And contradictions, you know — as in my own life. So on the one hand, you're encouraged to go to college and do as well as possible and be brilliant; on the other, nobody

will ever marry you and the only thing you're supposed to do is get married. So, you know, you're screwed.

WEIGAND: So would you say that there was something about being Jewish or having a Jewish identity that lay underneath the activism you did earlier on? I mean, you were just talking about the contradictions that produce feminists who are Jewish.

TAX: Well, I'm a person who's a product of my environment, like anybody else, so I come to it with everything that I am. Yeah, I think there's a reason there were a lot of Jews that became feminists. But on the other hand, there is a reason a lot of Christians became feminists, too. You can find this in almost any culture. So, those are the specific reasons for me. But I don't think about what I do now coming from that place, you know, in terms of doctrine or original community or anything. It's just that's how I became who I am.

WEIGAND: How about thinking back to some of your important feminist teachers or mentors. Are there people that you feel you learned a lot from or who were particularly influential?

54:20

TAX: You mean who I knew?

WEIGAND: Well, yeah.

TAX: As opposed to people I read books from?

WEIGAND: Or maybe people you read, too.

TAX: George Bernard Shaw, Louisa May Alcott, Mary McCarthy, Doris Lessing. In terms of people I knew, I've learned things from some of the black women I've worked with: Paula Giddings, Barbara Omalade, Pat McFadden, who's an African feminist that I work with a lot, Mariella Sala in Peru and Ritu Menon in India. I've learned a lot from those people. Those are at a fairly advanced age. I don't know who influenced me early on. We were all sort of mashed together, you know, we were all influencing each other, so I can't pick. I mean, I can pick out people who were my friends, but it's not exactly the same thing as a mentor, because I was in the generation that started the second wave, although there were older people in it, like Betty Friedan and so on, who were —

Oh, I forgot a wonderful story about Betty Friedan when I was talking about PEN. I should put that in now. You can switch it around when you do the transcript, maybe. After we had that meeting and had gotten on the front page of the *Times* and so on, I mean, Betty had not been active in PEN either, and we had had a couple of meetings of what became the PEN American Center Women's Committee, I got a call from Martha Lear saying Betty wanted to have a meeting at Martha's house to talk about the

PEN Women's Committee, and she wanted me and Grace to come. Grace didn't want to go, she didn't like Betty, but we did, we both went.

So we got there at Martha's house, and Martha was very apologetic when we got there. I knew immediately something was going to be bad, because she was so apologetic. "This isn't my idea. This isn't my" — And who was there? Judy Rossner and Gail Sheehey, East Side women that Betty had called together. And Betty immediately — she didn't even look at me. She just talked to Grace, you know. I was not her equal enough to even be noticed. I mean, I chaired the bloody meeting. She was there. But she couldn't remember my name.

And she started trying to convince us that what we should do was a giant spectacle, like the Town Hall debate, between Norman and Germaine Greer and herself. She wanted to debate Norman again. She wanted us to do a big meeting. She said, "This is way bigger than PEN. This is the first thing, you know, that women have done that's been on the front page of the *Times* in a long time. We can really start the women's movement up again. We'll have a Town Hall meeting and I'll debate Norman." (laughs) So, we said, Well, we've already been meeting as the Women's Committee, and we want to work within PEN. That's what we want to do. "Oh, you're letting a historic moment pass. You're dropping the ball. You could start the women's movement up again and you're not doing it."

So we just went away. (laughs) Grace was furious, yeah, and I felt like I could see why Betty has the reputation she does. I mean, she's very gifted, but I never wanted to see her again, and the next time I saw her, I ran. I mean, because I just felt so dissed.

WEIGAND: You're not the only person I've heard talk like this (laughter).

TAX: I know, I know. She has that reputation.

WEIGAND: Yeah. This tape is almost finished.

END DVD 6

## DVD 7

WEIGAND: This is a grand question about what you hope your legacy will be, or what do you see it as now, even though you're not dead yet?

TAX: Well, like I said, you know, I'm not ready to make my will yet, but (laughs) I'm planning to go on for some more years, hopefully 20, write a lot more books and do a lot more political work. I don't feel my job is finished and I don't feel like — I mean, I feel I've stood for certain principles but I don't feel like I've effectively communicated them. I feel like I haven't effectively found a way to communicate and teach people the things that I've learned, which are not so easy to teach, because it's more a way of working and a way of thinking that comes up in concrete circumstances. It's a product of all the different things I've done in my life, so that I can imagine developing a training program where you would do, you know, cases or practical things and examine those and I would be able to teach a certain kind of way of thinking, which is basically a combination of feminism and Marxism that thinks in terms of what groups or constituencies you're working with, what their interests are, but puts those in a broader context of what else is going on in the world and the country and stuff and tries to see patterns and, you know, does very concrete analysis, but in a broader way than most people in the women's movement do it — you know, taking more complicated things into account so you do a very complicated kind of factoring.

And I would like to be able to teach people that, so, I haven't yet found a vehicle to do that and maybe I can only do it by writing. I think I have to write more nonfiction, more stuff about the politics I've done, and political analysis and so on. There's — it's much more fun to write fiction. I'd like to do that more, too.

But the legacy? I don't think anybody will even remember me after I'm dead, frankly, so —

WEIGAND: Let me ask you this: do you think your vision for an ideal world has changed since you first became an activist, or have you been working for the same kind of vision all along?

TAX: Well, I think, yes and no. I think I'm much more conscious of gender and of gay stuff than I was when I started in the women's movement, because nobody was then, unless they were gay. I've become much clearer about how important that stuff is, how important its place in the women's movement and in change is. Although my own politics is still much more conventional than cultural, in some ways — much more rooted in economics and politics and macro-cultural stuff, rather than the internal cultural stuff — I think that I have become more despairing about relations between men and women than I was when I started out, when I still thought that, you know, these things were going to be an easy fix. I think

now that they take generations to fix, and that change for women is enormously slow.

And one of the things I worry about is that all of the achievements, including the writing, of my generation could just be wiped out as they have been often before in the past, of generations of women activists, and nobody will know about it, nobody will have kept a record. I mean, that's one reason I'm doing this. And nobody will understand what they could learn from it.

When I started doing political work in the late '60s, I had to go into archives and do oral histories to learn about the work that women of the previous generation or two had done, because there was no record of it. Nobody had written about it except one or two books. The books that were written by people at the time were out of print, and could only be found in university libraries, if at all. And that could easily happen again. And it could happen anywhere — here, too, which is one reason I felt it important to build a global network, you know, because maybe the ideas will stay somewhere if they get erased here, or we can keep them alive here for others if they're erased where they are. I feel like the world is in a state of enormous chaos and flux and things almost anywhere could get very bad. And they could get bad everywhere if climate change comes. I don't know how that will affect women, or learning of any kind. It might all be wiped out if we descend into a real situation where the whole species is fighting for its life.

And I despair about government. I mean, I never did have much interest or faith in government. I came to government through the lens of the Vietnam War, but it's just gotten worse and worse and worse. And the leadership class in every country — I don't know any country that has decent leadership. I mean, Mandela is almost — I mean, he's very old, and who else is there? I mean, there are one or two, one here, one there. A woman in Norway, you know. The political class seems to have lost whatever imagination or energy or capacity to actually help anybody that it had, ever, you know, and I don't see where it's being generated. I hope it will be generated somewhere.

My generation has mostly been sidelined. We haven't had the impact that we wanted. We stopped a war. We had the civil rights movement, but, you know, it all has to be done again and again and again. Necessity and task, and I don't see who is — I mean, I think there is political energy out there. There's a lot of young people who are interested in politics, but again, the generational thing of how one generation teaches another is very — it's not right. It's not in place. It's not the way it needs to be and it certainly isn't in the women's movement, either, partly because of the problems with women's studies that we were talking about, and the fact that theory has become so divorced from practice, that nobody is writing the kind of things that are very useful.

And in the women's movement, the scholars who do write about feminist practice tend to be more cheerleaders than analysts. And I don't think that's useful, either. They say, Women have achieved great things.

OK, you know, that's not what you need to know when you're starting. You need to know how to do things, what to do. Where do you start? How do you analyze things? How do you break down a problem and figure out how to insert yourself into a situation where all the forces against you are very powerful? How do you use the strength of a small movement as a lever to — where the strategic place to put the lever is? I don't know who is thinking about that stuff. I mean, that way of thinking is the legacy I would like to leave, but I don't know how to get it over. OK? You have any more?

WEIGAND: I don't have any more.

TAX: OK.

WEIGAND: OK, I guess we're done then.

TAX: We're done.

WEIGAND: OK.

END DVD 7

END INTERVIEW

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