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# The Womanist

Fall 1993 Vol. 4, #2

A feminist newspaper distributed nationally

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## *Election coverage*

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McLaughlin

Sheila Copps

... All-party

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Editor: Joan Riggs

Managing Editor: Caitlin McMorran-Frost

Editing and production staff: Catherine Browning, Saira Fitzgerald, Valerie McLennon, Michelle Simms, Lynne Tyler, Viviane Weitzner.

Who helped with this issue: Lucy Chapman, Lyse Blanchard, Noelle-Domenique Willems, Michelle Lemay, Laura McFarlane, Joanne Steven, Donna Truesdale, Alex Keir, Jane Vock, and Anne, Leah, Daniel, & Matthew Haynes.

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*The Womanist* was created to empower and enable women. We want to get back to the basics, the common ground that built the women's movement, while celebrating our differences.

*What can we agree upon? That we as women are important and that we have a right to be heard, to be respected, and to be trusted.*

*As a movement, we have a responsibility to enable all voices to be heard, equally. That is the commitment in this newspaper, to empower with ideas, information and inspiration.*

*The Womanist* appears approximately 4 times a year.



From Inside Out  
by Patricia Ellen  
Cresswell

Dear Womanist:

I am working on a piece about the bureaucratization of grass roots organizations from a grass roots point of view. I have been given many reasons for the phenomena taking place in shelters, and the underlying message is that the change is a necessary evil and a natural progression. I say "bull"! These are the feeble rote excuses of narrow-minded patriarchal clones devoid of imagination.

The potential of the shelter movement as a force on the cutting edge of social change must be nurtured, encouraged and fought for. Shelters bring the message of anti-oppression and emancipation of women out of the large centers and into small towns and rural areas where attitudes are often stuck in a "1950's" time warp.

I have drawn my line. In my heart, in my gut, I know that shelters must grow from a woman-centered philosophy, and the internalized patriarchy which seems to be spreading must be stopped now. I strongly believe that internalized patriarchy is the most destructive force presently working within the shelter movement.

Breaking the silence has become a familiar phrase to most women. Those who have been victims of abuse are being encouraged to speak out, make public the hitherto secret behaviour of the perpetrator. When the shelter movement began, long-silent, frightened women stepped forward with their stories. When the shelter movement began, I expect there were high hopes that this might be the beginning of a new age for women.

My experience as a counsellor in a shelter had such a beginning. At last there was a safe place to put to use the accumulated knowledge gained through years of women's tireless work. I was in for a rude and painful awakening. The shelter in which I was employed became a text book model of the uphill struggle women must still endure against the worst of patriarchy, power and control used and abused by others who believe that their methods are the accepted standard. They are correct, but the

# Womenspeak

Dear *Womanist*

Kim Campbell's clinching of the Tory crown is not a victory for women in Canada. I do not agree that Campbell's win will give women more courage to have high expectations. Campbell's win will not help women and girls to realize they can be winners too, in any field. Kim Campbell's election will help a few women in Canada, women like her who have bought into the Tory dog-eat-dog, Darwinian survival-of-the-fittest, survival-of-the-richest agenda.

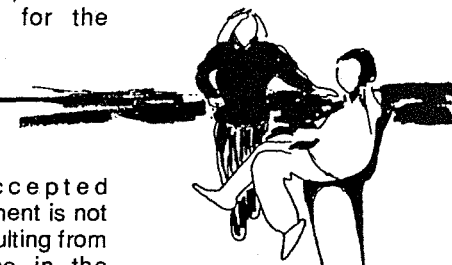
Former Minister of National Defence and Quebec lieutenant, Marcel Masse, and former Associate Minister of National Defence, Mary Collins, did little to assist members of the Canadian Armed Forces who are victims of harassment and discrimination. The seven member advisory board on women in the Canadian Forces chaired by Ottawa lawyer Mrs. Shirley Greenberg has travelled for three years, but little has changed for victims who complain. Canada's first female Defence minister, Prime Minister Kim Campbell, was too busy campaigning for the

leadership of the Conservative party to make a difference. Defence minister Campbell's new policy of zero incidence has not changed anything for victims of harassment and discrimination who have grievances with the Canadian Armed Forces.

I joined the (RCAF) Canadian Armed Forces for a steady income, patriotism (1967 was our Centennial year), career opportunities, travel and to leave home and become a responsible adult.

The following is based on 22 years of observation and my own personal experience while serving on HMCS Provider and at CFB Esquimalt, and shows how the Canadian Armed Forces deal with complaints of sexual harassment and sexual discrimination. When I complained about harassment in the workplace, steps were taken to ensure that I would be released from the military.

Continued on page 58



## Definition of Womanist

1. From womanish (Opp. of "girlish", ie, frivolous, irresponsible, not serious.) A black feminist or feminist of colour. From the black folk expression of mothers to female children, "you acting womanish," ie, like a woman. Usually referring to outrageous, audacious, courageous or willful behaviour. Wanting to know more and in greater depth than is considered "good" for one. Interested in grown-up doings. Acting grown up. Being grown up. Interchangeable with another black folk expression: "You trying to be grown." Responsible. In charge. Serious.

2. Also: A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or nonsexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility (values tears as natural counterbalance of laughter), and women's strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically, for health. Traditionally universalist, as in: "Mama, why are we brown, pink and yellow, and our cousins are white, beige and black?" Ans: "Well, you know the coloured race is just like a flower garden, with every colour flower represented." Traditionally capable, as in: "Mama, I'm walking to Canada and I'm taking you and a bunch of other slaves with me." Reply: "It wouldn't be the first time."

3. Loves music. Loves dance. Loves the moon. Loves the Spirit. Loves love and food and roundness. Loves struggle. Loves the folks. Loves herself. Regardless.

4. Womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender.

From *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens*, Womanist Prose by Alice Walker.

source of the accepted standard of management is not a brave new way resulting from women's experience in the work place. Their standard is the same old well-used methods based on power-over, control-over patriarchy.

Patriarchy and empowerment are diametrically opposed. One cannot exist in the presence of the other. To try and administer a shelter which is dedicated to the empowerment of women using methods based on the traditional model creates an atmosphere of suspicion and dis-ease. Unfortunately the shelter developed into a place of secrets and fear. The victims in this instance were, and still are, staff. I believe it is time to break the silence. Anything less would be breaking the faith with those whom I have counselled.

Shelters play a vital role in the emancipation of women, children, and men from the belief that might is right. What role are we, as staff, modelling for others if we continue to allow ourselves to be mistreated in order to protect a system that has developed such a major flaw? Here is an example of a double standard which must not be tolerated. I am requesting that women who

have been victimized while employed in a shelter or are still being abused speak out now before it is too late. Since I began putting my thoughts together in May, I have been laid off due to "lack of work" in the shelter. I remain as committed to the movement as I was when I began working seven years ago. Has anyone out there made the same discoveries? I would like to connect with you for the purposes of discussion, sharing support, and ideas for positive action. Please write!

Yours in sisterhood,  
Patricia Ellen Cresswell  
SS3, Site 3, Comp21  
Penetanguishene, Ont  
L0K 1P0

(Part of this letter was first published in *Quota*)



## The Election Issue - pages 11-51

The next 40 pages contain detailed information about many issues that need to be addressed during this election. We have

- articles from the Bloc Québécois, Green Party, Reform Party, and National Party
- interviews with Audrey McLaughlin and Sheila Copps
- analysis of 17 issues and positions by the three main parties.

## Editorial

Since we first started publishing five years ago, *The Womanist* has been committed to making free copies of the paper available to women who could not afford subscriptions, or who would not otherwise see the paper. We cannot continue to publish free copies of the paper without more financial support from you, our readers.

We think we have grown into, not just Canada's largest, but one of the best feminist publications in the country.

Where else can you find articles from women across the country on topics from the debt to menopause? Where else can you find a womanist perspective on the major economic, social and international issues of the day? In *The Womanist*, you get facts, you get analysis from leaders in the field, and you get personal stories from women who have been there.

We publish 20,000 copies each issue, and distribute them in over 75 communities across

the country. We are better and better known among a diverse and growing readership that includes the women's movement, but also reaches far beyond it.

That success depends on support from our readers. We took a chance that, if we published *The Womanist*, you would want to support it. And many of you have. But we need many more subscribers to keep going. Please subscribe today.

*The Womanist* was one of those wild and crazy ideas two women had five years ago. Why not put out a quality newspaper that speaks to women about how the world is affecting us? A newspaper that isn't just available to women who already identify with the "feminist" movement, who already feel comfortable going into a women's bookstore. If feminism is to be truly a social change movement, then we need to share and develop ideas based on the realities of all women.

The dream has become a

reality over the last five years. We are available in 75 communities in Canada, and 30 countries around the world. We have remained free... you can find the paper in libraries, welfare offices, daycares and, yes, bookstores. But the finances have never matched our enthusiasm.

We naively thought that, although the paper was distributed free, women who could afford the paper and supported it being accessible to others, would subscribe. And over 1,000 women have. But it hasn't been enough.

This issue will be our fourteenth. Our debt averages \$10,000 per issue. We need your help.

This paper is important – it means something to women. There are hundreds of women who distribute this paper in Canada and internationally. On average, over 70 different women write for the paper every time it comes out. Women have written, advertised, distributed, subscribed, lent us money – have always been there for *The Womanist*.

We know that many of our readers think this is a great paper, because some of you wrote us as part of the readers' survey ... "I love the range of topics, valuable information and the fact that it has a Canadian focus" ... "The best women's magazine I have come across" ... "I love it! There is literally something about everything!" ... "The 1990s has been a keep quiet, don't make waves decade. Your magazine has brought out many voices needed to be heard. Thank you. It's important."

Help with what you can. We love this paper, and we hope you do, too.

Subscribe. Donate.  
Advertise. Thanks!

*Sheila Copps*

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# Inclusion and democracy in the women's movement

by Chandra Budhu

Lately, I am much more motivated to speak out. For although I am constantly reminded that the past struggles of women and men of colour have made it possible for me to sit up here and speak to you, sometimes that knowledge does not inform my everyday reality.

When I look at the all too familiar struggles in which my 20 year-old daughter and her friends are involved, too often they are engaged in similar struggles, using the same kind of words, getting the same kinds of answers I've gotten.

Race continues to determine too much of what they can be. This bothers me—it makes me want to cry—but it also makes me so very angry that I want to get out and become more involved in the struggle to create a world in which we can all find safety and security and dignity.

The theme of this conference is "Healing the Past: Forming the Future." What does healing the past mean for me? Healing seems to be about "fixing" and "mending." But — if you have never had a "whole" that was safe and inclusive — what are you healing? As women we need to understand the past as it has impacted on all women before we can begin a healing process. We need to ask some very fundamental questions about *what it is* we are healing and not to take the easy way out and rush into seeking commonalities.

Many people who are looking at violence against women talk about the increase in violence in recent times. Some talk about the safer world of yesterday. But safer for whom? The world has been an unsafe and violent place for most people for a very long time. Those of us involved in the struggle to end violence against women need to be very careful in our analysis and our understanding of the past. We need to challenge ourselves to make the connections between all the ways in which all women are violated.

We are not talking about 10 years, 20 years or even 50 years. We are talking about at least 500 years of deep inequities—500 years in which the bedrock of racism has been shaped and deepened. We are talking about conquest. We are talking about slavery. We are talking about colonialism and imperialism, and all other forms of oppression. We need to remind ourselves of the women who were destroyed or were subjugated to the will of the conquerors.

as women and as people and then work to combat them. Only then can we talk about the commonalities and *struggle on common ground*. I think being women together is not enough — has never been enough — will never be enough. If we just locate our struggle at the level of a gender analysis, what will our understanding be of racism, classism, heterosexism, able-body-ism, and all the "isms" that separate us as women?

Where we are located



When we look at the horrors that are coming out of the former Yugoslavia, the brutality of rape and violence elsewhere in the world where there are no TV cameras, many of us, as women are not sure what to say, what position to take, or what to do.

I hear women talk about the need to talk about the *commonality* of rape and in so doing they are not naming the ways in which men who have power use race and ethnicity in the brutality of rape to do "ethnic cleansing." I think it can be a very dangerous thing for us to "flatten" struggles to look for commonalities that are very easy and simplistic.

Of course we need to seek out our commonalities as women, but we also need to understand and respect the profound differences that exist and have existed between us

depends on our colour, our class, our sexual orientation, our ability, our age, our geographic location and, of course, our gender. As women, we also use our privilege to suppress, exclude, and marginalize those of our sisters who come "wearing their differences." So — within gender analysis — we have to create an analytical framework in which people who are excluded or marginalized find the safety and honesty to talk about the way in which they need to struggle.

The divisions in women's communities are fuelled by misconceptions, mistrust, and misunderstanding. The need to question and challenge existing models and definitions is critical if we are to form a better future. The need to include other perspectives in our analyses is vital if we are to work together with all of our differences. I may appear to be all over the place but that is because I come "from all over the place." My analysis and contribution will be informed by the interconnectedness of my experiences.

Recently, established women's organizations have found themselves being challenged by women of colour, native women, lesbians, women with disabilities and others to become "open and inclusive." A few are

responding in positive ways, but many are finding this a very difficult challenge.

As a woman of colour I am often intrigued at the creative ways in which some White women maintain their privilege and power, while at the same time asserting their feminism. Some White women's attempt to deal with the race question is predicated on their belief that well-meaning efforts to simply *include* women of various differences will solve the problem. But such good intentions often fail to understand and deal with the deep *systemic* barriers and the hidden racism endemic in such organizations.

Others, when responding to the issue of race, understand it to be limited to some model of racism awareness training for staff while everything else is business as usual. And, having provided this training, they become impatient and feel affronted if someone finds the courage to challenge their perspective or interpretation of events or their approach to "including differences."

We have to *challenge* ourselves and to ask ourselves some very tough questions: Has there ever been a single women's movement that spoke to all of us?

Women all over the world, in many communities, have struggled and continue to struggle for women's rights. Within Canada, this is equally so, but not all these women are seen as feminist or are included in our collective picture of the women's movement. We need to name these women as reference points when we are naming our struggle.

There have been many women's movements and whether we need one entity — or many — will depend on the terrain of struggle and who is involved.

I think there is space for all of us, and there is much to do to keep us all busy. But there is no place for a hierarchy in this struggle. We can begin to challenge this hierarchy today. One way of doing so is to include the works and ways of women other than those who are currently seen as the "leaders" of our struggle. We need to rethink the definition of feminism, to one that includes us all.

What we are talking about here is how to democratize our organizations, how we move from the exclusive to the inclusive. How we work for this democratization of our organizations and our feminist agenda is very important. It is

moving away from simply "giving spaces" to women of colour, lesbians, women with disabilities, older women and other women who have been excluded. That is "accommodation" and limits the potential of those who are then included — and limits the organization from truly benefiting all women. What we have to do is transform the organizations so that they become new entities — so that they are informed with all of our different values, experiences and visions.

We need to facilitate those deeper kinds of changes. Such changes will not be easy. When we include women who have been left out we need to be prepared for conflict, conflicts that can only fuel our movement further as we collectively seek an inclusive future. Of course when we as women of colour are included we bring with us a variety of experiences and ways of seeing the world. Our reference points will be different at times.



The experience of most non-White people has been that their contributions to the world have been silenced or negated. Women of Colour in particular have not had their contributions named. One is reminded of the not too distant past when great discoveries in the non-European parts of the world were explained away as either the work of White male visitors or the visits of extra-terrestrial beings.

While I would not suggest that we do away with all of our reference points, I would certainly encourage us to examine them — and include *new* ones that speak to the contributions and histories of all women. If we begin to do that, we will begin to heal the past and form a future that is inclusive of *all* women.

Chandra Budhu is currently the Coordinator of Community Action on Violence Against Women for the YWCA of Canada and a founding member of Women in Global Partnership.

ONTARIO IMMIGRANT AND VISIBLE MINORITY  
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION



TOGETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE EQUALITY

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This article is based on a presentation made by Chandra Budhu at the National Association of Women and the Law Conference "Healing the Past: Forming the Future", this summer.



# Analysis of the Report of the Panel on Violence Time for action

by Dale Godsoe

The YWCA of Canada is one of the largest providers of shelter, transition housing and counselling for women who are victims of violence in Canada, serving 11,000 women and their children in 1992. Because our front-line workers experience first-hand the urgent and compelling need for solutions, we felt a compelling need for the report of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women to make a real difference in the lives of women. How well did it succeed?

If we remember that the mandate of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women was to deliver a National Action Plan to end violence against women, it may be easier to measure success or lack of it.

This was a very consciously set mandate because many who work in the field doubted the need to once again study the issue. Once the Panel was in place the priority became clear – a clear well-resourced action plan, not more words on paper.

At over 400 pages, the final report, **Changing the Landscape**, is daunting to read. The panel makes almost 500 recommendations, with no clear focus, and even more disappointingly, no prioritizing, and no action strategies with suggested resourcing and timelines.

Instead, the Panel Report is a gigantic wish list, at a time when women in Canada need action, not more words. All of us know that a wish list offers governments, businesses and individuals the excuse to delay even more while they pick and choose whatever may fit their ideologies and their budgets. Further, government cannot be held easily accountable without these clear action statements with accountability measures.

Not all the news is bad, for the report does recommend an important and radical shift in the way our society views violence. Not since Florence Bird issued the Royal Commission on the Status of Women Report in 1970 have we had a national call for women's equality which covers so many bases.

This report, with its linkage of valuable research with the voices of women survivors, will be an extremely valuable resource for those working in the field and for those in government who attempt to form action plans.

The report's analysis carefully describes how sexism, racism, and classism sanction and promote power and control of men over women in a society still largely in denial about the violence it produces. The compelling voices of these women irrefutably link the

abuse they suffer to their inequality as women.

The Panel has contributed new and important research on Aboriginal and Inuit issues which connect women's subordination to historical racist practices.

Economic inequality is clearly exposed as the main contributing factor to violence against women. This linkage may result in an important shift in the way our society views violence.



The slow pace towards equality for women can be directly linked to the lack of political will and financial commitment from government and institutions. The economic inequality of over half of our population is not only terrifyingly unjust, it deprives us of a great source of productivity. In the end, the result will be a longer term deficit, in both human and financial terms, than the one we face now.

The final report includes an analysis of the process and lessons to be learned. Even more importantly, recommendations for accountability are included in

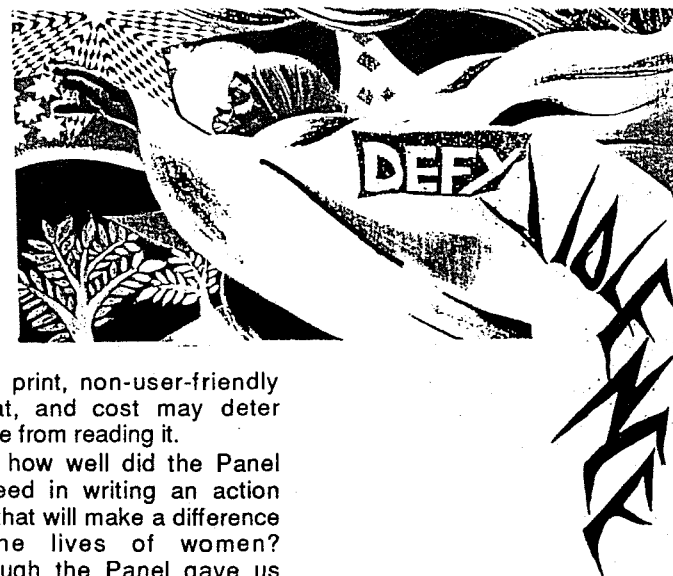
"Section 4 - Monitoring and Accountability Measures."

Two important, although far from perfect, recommendations are worth noting. A monitoring and accountability body composed mainly of representatives from women's organizations, "a zero tolerance accountability board" is recommended in the Report. As well, "the elevation of the Sub-committee on the Status of Women to full parliamentary committee status, with responsibility for regular review of progress toward implementation of the National Action Plan and the federal government's commitment to ending violence against women."

The process was at times disrespectful to the women who came to testify. The Panel frequently gave them little notice of dates and locations, arrived late, often did not allow women enough time to speak and not in their own language, sometimes seeming not to really listen. The flaws in the process left some people feeling bruised from their experience, victimized again.

From all corners we hear criticism of the \$10 million cost of the Panel. It is a huge amount of money spent at a time when funds are increasingly scarce for groups working on equality issues and the delivery of services to women survivors of violence. The \$10 million spent by the Panel can only be justified if it results in substantive action by governments, institutions and by individuals.

The cost of the Final Report and the accompanying Community Kit is prohibitive. It is somewhat inconsistent to decry women's economic inequality on the one hand and then charge \$20.00 for the Kit and \$32.00 for a copy of a report which urges the whole population to take action.



Small print, non-user-friendly format, and cost may deter people from reading it.

So how well did the Panel succeed in writing an action plan that will make a difference in the lives of women? Although the Panel gave us grist for our mill, it did not

## Panel on Violence excerpts

"Canada ranks second among nations (to Japan) on the Human Development Index compiled by the United Nations. However, when the Index is adjusted for gender disparities, Canada drops to 11th place overall."

- The average annual wage of women full-time workers in 1991 was \$26,842. For men, it was \$38,567.
- Three out of four earners in the ten lowest paying occupations are women. Eight out of ten earners in the highest paying occupations are men.
- Breast cancer is the leading cause of death for Canadian women aged 35-54 and the leading cause of death from cancer for women aged 30-74. Less than 1% of health care research funds are spent on breast cancer."

*Changing the Landscape: Ending Violence - Achieving Equality, Final Report of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993*

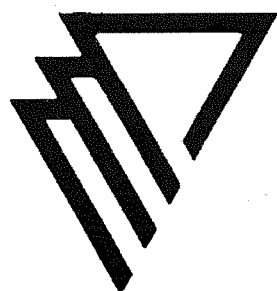
deliver what was so compelling a need, a National Action Plan.

We must all take responsibility for pushing for a concrete action plan now. It will not be easy, as the landscape of violence is so deeply rooted and pervasive that only massive will and effort, collective and individual, can effect real change. This landscape of violence can only be changed if the women of Canada, women's organizations and individuals, and the larger public demand that the resulting action plans be implemented.

We cannot afford to let this report gather dust. This wish list must be turned into action NOW. In the final analysis, that is how the report of the Canadian Panel on Violence must be judged.

The report calls on the Federal Government to respond to the recommendations with a clear statement of commitment within three months. We must not lose sight of this and must hold the new government accountable immediately.

Dale Godsoe is President of the YWCA of/du Canada.



**YWCA**  
of/du Canada

**100 Years of Service**  
to the Women of Canada

## To order documents from the Panel

Please note that you have to pay the government to get these reports. We have also been informed that you should quote the catalogue number when ordering.

- Final Report: Catalogue No. SW45-1 / 1993E \$32.00
- Community Kit: Catalogue No. SW45-4 / 1993E \$19.95
- Executive Summary: Catalogue No. SW45-3 / 1993E \$19.95

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tel (819) 956-4802  
fax (819) 994-1498

# Justice for Jocelyne C.

by the Justice for Jocelyne C. Ad Hoc Committee

Jocelyne C. has not seen her six year old daughter since May of 1992. After turning herself in to authorities in her home town in northern Québec, on May 21, 1992, Jocelyne C. has been held in the Orsainville Prison for Women in Québec City.

Her crime? According to the justice system, it is contempt of court. Jocelyne C. refused to comply with the courts and divulge her daughter's whereabouts. According to Jocelyne C., she was simply protecting her daughter. Disclosing where her daughter was would have allowed the child's father, an alleged sexual abuser, court-ordered access to the child. Sixteen months later, the whereabouts of the child are still unknown.

The issue of access by an alleged and/or known abuser is one that warrants serious consideration. The question Jocelyne C. asked herself and we, as women and mothers, must ask ourselves, is how safe is a child, if the court-ordered "supervised access", (supervised visits by the alleged or known abuser), is to be facilitated by members of his family? Family members may not believe that the child is at risk and so may not supervise the visit as

determined by the courts.

A second question that we need to consider is, why should a known abuser be granted access to his victims at all? And perhaps most importantly, what psychological effect will the child suffer if contact continues between the abuser and the child, even if the visits are supervised?

The justice system has failed women and children in many different ways and often mothers faced with this situation feel they have little option but to agree to the court order. Refusing to comply may mean risking permanent custody of their children. Jocelyne C., however, made the decision to take that risk and did so at a huge cost.

The child's father had been physically, emotionally and sexually violent with his wife Jocelyne for most of their sixteen years together. When Jocelyne C. realized that he had begun to abuse their three and a half year old daughter, she left him. She soon found herself embroiled in a bitter custody battle over their daughter.

Although Jocelyne C. was originally awarded interim custody on July 10, 1991, the father was allowed "supervised

access" every 15 days. Judge Paul Corriveau determined that the "supervised access" was to take place in the home of the man's brother and sister-in-law. Not convinced that these visits would in fact be supervised, Jocelyne C. began to seek other legal counsel and did not comply with the court order. Subsequently, on September 13, 1991, the father was awarded custody. When the police and the Québec

awarded to the father on April 2, 1992.

On May 21, 1992, Jocelyne C. turned herself in after consulting a criminal lawyer. Jocelyne was held in prison without bail, because she was considered "dangerous".

On October 7, 1992, Jocelyne C. was found guilty of contempt of court. On December 4, she was sentenced to 2 years less a day in prison. She was brought

mainstream press within Québec has given the case limited and unsympathetic coverage. Almost nothing has been reported outside of Québec. Jocelyne has received some support from CALACS (Québec Component of Women Against Violence Against Women) and her immediate family has always supported her choices.

Unfortunately though, Jocelyne C.'s story is only one of many, many women who are faced with similar circumstances. A film was made recently about an American woman, Elizabeth Morgan, who made similar choices as Jocelyne C. Whatever choices the mother may make about her child, it is without doubt, the child who suffers most, whether in the presence of abusers via supervised access or in hiding to evade court decisions.

Meanwhile, Jocelyne C. remains incarcerated in the Orsainville Prison for Women. Her health is deteriorating, she suffers from weight loss, seizures, fainting, hyperventilation and dangerously high blood pressure. Her daughter is still in hiding and has not seen her mother in more than sixteen months.

Who is the criminal?

I BELONG TO ME  
and it's up to me to  
choose who touches me.



equivalent of the Children's Aid Society arrived to pick up the daughter on September 14, 1991, Jocelyne C. was there, but without her daughter. Jocelyne C. left her home town September 17, and a warrant for her arrest was issued on September 26, 1991.

Court proceedings began without her present on October 31, 1991, and after many court dates, sole custody was

back to court again on April 13, 1993 and again found in contempt of court and given an additional 45 days.

The case of Jocelyne C. has become an extremely complicated one, full of bizarre details and questions that beg to be answered. The

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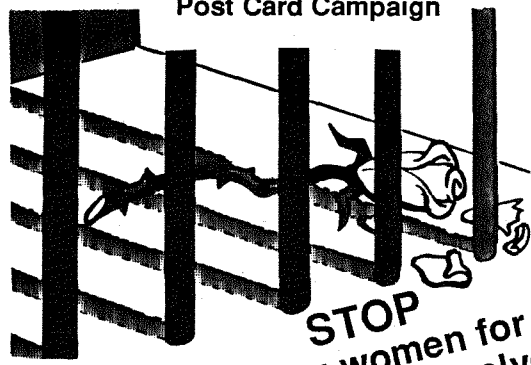
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## Battered Women's Syndrome

by Kim Pate

The 1990 decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in the Lavalée case marked the recognition of the "battered women's syndrome". For the first time, the limits of self-defense were altered to recognize battering within a domestic homicide.

At that time the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies commenced a Battered Women's Defense Project.

As a result of the Lavalée decision, if a judge or jury finds that a woman who reasonably apprehended death or grievous bodily harm was in a relationship where she was battered, and that she used an appropriate amount of force in response to the threat, then the woman should be acquitted. Accordingly, this decision set a precedent by determining that evidence of abuse could legitimately be raised at a woman's trial in Canada.

While this was clearly a step forward for Canadian women, we would now like to see a defence that more clearly recognizes the realities of women's experience of abuse, rather than needing a "syndrome" defense that stresses the woman's victimization and defines her behavior in terms of her own

personal defects or incapacities. We would like to see a defense that defines as "the problem" the man's abuse, rather than the woman's response - an interpretation which stresses reasonable actions of self preservation.

Over the past two years, we have explored the circumstances of a number of women who have been charged and convicted as a result of their involvement in the deaths of abusive partners.

At the present time, it appears that there is no consistent resolution of these cases within the criminal justice system. In virtually identical circumstances, some women have been acquitted on the basis of self-defense and as a result of the court's acceptance of evidence of "battered women's syndrome", while others have received first degree murder convictions and life sentences. In most cases it is virtually impossible to launch conviction and sentence appeals, often because evidence of abuse was never raised in court or was deemed irrelevant at the time.

There is a growing perception that these women were abused not only by their spouses, but also by a society that provides insufficient assistance and

support to women in abusive relationships. Our legal system in turn furthers the abuse by punishing the women, who often are forced to resort to such drastic measures in order to escape their desperate circumstances and achieve some degree of personal safety.

CAEFS has requested that the government of Canada undertake an *en bloc* review of the cases of women currently serving federal sentences of up to life imprisonment as a result of their involvement in the killing of an abusive partner. This is a process which permits the cases of all women who are in similar situations to go before a review body at the same time.

We are presently seeking the assistance of others, to persuade the government to conduct an *en bloc* review of the situations of women currently incarcerated due to their involvement in the deaths of abusive partners.

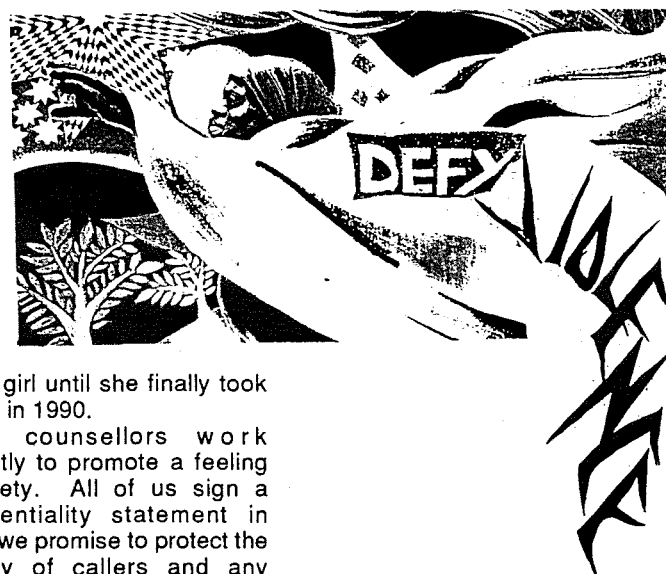
Kim Pate is Executive Director of Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies. For more information contact CAEFS, Suite 600, 251 Bank Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 1X3.



## A welcome victory

# Keeping rape crisis centres safe

by Anne Marie Wicksted



Try to imagine this scenario: You have just been sexually assaulted; you are confused and terrified but know that you must reach out for help if you are to survive. So you call the one place you know will be a safe place; you call the local Rape Crisis Centre and speak to a counsellor. After several appointments in which you sort through your most intimate feelings, you feel strong enough to report the crime to the police and soon will have your day in court.

Later, when your assailant goes to trial, his attorney subpoenas the records as well as the counsellors at the Rape Crisis Centre. You remember all the private, embarrassing things you spoke of, and once again feel betrayed.

had no choice but to risk a contempt of court charge and possible jail sentence.

It has taken many years to build our agency into a safe haven for survivors. The needs of victims of sexual assault as they have defined them are for confidentiality and the security of the information given to our staff and volunteers. Victims need to know — need to be **guaranteed** that nothing would ever be disclosed to anyone.

We did not want to participate in the further victimization of this woman and we also wanted to give a strong message to all victims that we would protect their privacy, at all costs.

Therefore, our agency

to the striking down of the Rape Shield Law saw a dramatic **decrease**, in the following six months, in the number of women wanting to enter the Criminal Justice System. Women felt they no longer had protection if their private life was to be open for review and scrutiny.

We can learn from the experience of the children, when they fear being exposed. Most of the children who call our service do **not** follow through with treatment because we cannot guarantee them confidentiality. Minors frequently express their intense fear of not feeling safe due to our legal obligations to reveal their identity and the circumstances of their abuse. They cite this specific reason for not seeking help and most remain in their abusive situations instead.

In 1987 I responded to a 13-year-old girl who called the crisis line late one evening asking for help. She described that her step-father was regularly having sexual intercourse with her as well as forcing her to perform fellatio on him. We spoke for several hours one evening and I was unable to convince her to follow through with continuing support or to report her abuse. She would not agree to reveal herself unless I promised to protect her identity.

This young girl eventually did call back several years later — on precisely the day she turned 16 and I could protect her. Sadly, she had to endure several more years of abuse before she could get the help she deserved. I am sure that if she had been able to get the support she needed to feel strong enough to escape her abuse, she would have been saved from the continuing damage of her step-father. This damage tormented this

young girl until she finally took her life in 1990.

Our counsellors work diligently to promote a feeling of safety. All of us sign a confidentiality statement in which we promise to protect the identity of callers and any information regarding them. Any breach of this promise will, and has, resulted in their immediate dismissal and/or disassociation from our agency. It is a promise they must renew annually.

I am convinced that if victims of sexual assault heard that their identity and file information could be accessed by defense attorneys, they would no longer feel safe at our agency nor at any Rape Crisis Centre in the country. The security and mandate of our services would be lost even if the risk of disclosure of information is minimal. There would no longer be a **guarantee**, a solid promise that we could make to survivors of sexual assault. Victims of sexual assault would stop calling and crimes would go unreported and unpunished. What deterrence would there be if no one reported this crime?

On August 10, 1993, we walked into the courtroom supported by a large group of people peacefully protesting outside the building, to hear the judge's decision. We felt confident but had our bags packed just in case.

Judge Robert Main began reading his decision and from the very beginning we knew we had won. "...to understand the issue in the balance, one must have some sense of why a sexual assault or rape victim talks to a counsellor. Sexual assault is unique. As a society we are just beginning to

understand the profound and often permanent trauma experienced by victims of sexual assault... That there be a source of counselling available to such a victim is essential." He went on to say, "I do accept that if such disclosures between the sexual assault victim and her counsellor were made accessible it would result in injury to the victim, and to the relation between her and the counsellor. As an axiom of common sense, the spectre of having these most intimate disclosures made open for public scrutiny would be most inhibiting. For some victims, this would be an insurmountable hurdle that would prevent or delay them from seeking counselling and therapy."

The Judge concluded his decision by stating, "...I am persuaded that the relative values in favour of privilege in these circumstances outweigh those in favour of the defense... I do uphold the assertion of a privilege with respect to communications between this complainant and her sexual assault counsellor."

We walked out of that courtroom victorious and elated — an unfamiliar feeling for women within the Criminal "Justice" System.

*Anne Marie Wicksted is the Executive Director of the Barrie and District Rape Crisis Line. She has worked with more than 2500 victims of sexual assault.*



The defendant believes he has a right to have access to all your statements about the alleged assault so that he may have a fair trial. But you are thinking, "what rights do I have?" If you had known that everything you said could be revealed to your attacker, would you have made the decision to report? Would you have even reached out for help? Would any victim?

The women working at the Rape Crisis Line in Simcoe County, Ontario recently faced this scenario. As Executive Director of Barrie and District Rape Crisis Line, I was recently subpoenaed by a defense attorney, along with another counsellor, Bonnie Bobbette, and our records of a client we had recently assisted. We were being asked to disclose everything the woman had said in her counselling sessions. In Canada, only the confidentiality between a client and their lawyer is recognized by law, not the confidentiality between a client and their counsellor. We believed we

attempted to have the subpoena quashed by maintaining our client's right to "privilege" within the courts. In our defense on May 19, 1993, our agency's lawyer, Gavin May, argued on the Rape Crisis Line's behalf, making the following points.

Each year the Rape Crisis Line responds to an increasing number of callers; last year more than 1200 victims received assistance within Simcoe County. An additional 500 people used our crisis line anonymously, too frightened to identify themselves. We could not convince them that their identity would be protected either because they were under the age of 16 (and therefore we are legally obligated to report the abuse) or for other reasons.

Approximately 15-30% of our callers eventually report their abuse to the police. This percentage fluctuates with the information that is heard in the media about the consequences of reporting. For example, the intense media exposure given



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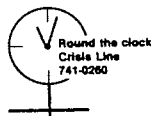
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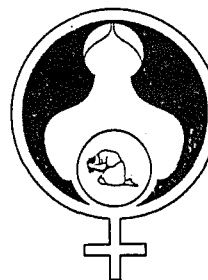
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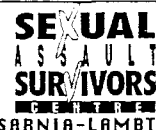
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# Sexual harassment in the military

By Caitlin McMorran Frost (with excerpts from interviews with Patricia Tondreau)

Private Patricia Tondreau's story is long and painful and takes a number of twists and turns that are hardly believable in a country where we are proud of our rights and freedoms. She wanted to be able to recommend the military as a noble career choice, but today she cannot do that.

Instead, after years of harassment, retaliation and numerous military hearings and investigations, Patricia Tondreau is challenging the Department of National Defence.

The Canadian Forces has policies on personal and sexual harassment as well as discrimination, but in Patricia Tondreau's experience, and in other cases of harassment across Canada, there seems to be a serious problem with the way this policy is (or seemingly is not) implemented. In Patricia's experience, the guidelines were seriously neglected if not totally ignored, which has resulted in serious consequences in both her personal and professional life. As a result of intense personal and sexual harassment that was allowed to go on for months, Private Patricia Tondreau now suffers from Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (caused by intense trauma which causes flashbacks and sometimes blackouts). She has suffered not only the trauma of extreme sexual harassment, but she has suffered retaliation for reporting the harassment. She was shunned in her workplace, was denied the usual training, and expected promotions as the systematic dismissal process took its course. She was eventually released from her job of seven years on August 15, 1993.

## The Background:

The problems began in December of 1988 when I was transferred to the National Defence Headquarters. I had been posted north working as a finance clerk until this time and I had received many letters of recommendation and reports of exceptional work. In my new position in Ottawa I was placed on filing duties.

Soon the problems with my superior officer started - the pats on the bum, the sexual comments about my body. When I lifted my arm to protect myself, he threatened to charge me with insubordination. He could do this because he was a higher rank than me. He would give me far too much work to complete in a day, and would tell me that I would go to military prison if I didn't have

the work done by the next day. He would yell at me for speaking French because he said that it was an "English only" office.

Once he started seriously harassing me, I started reporting him on a weekly basis. After two months, nobody was talking to me because he would yell at anyone who spoke to me. The worst thing was when he would call me at home to ask me personal questions about my sex life. At that point I no longer felt safe in my own home. By the end of the 6 months of harassment, when he came near me, I would jump in fear.



People don't realize the impact it has when your boss is being verbally and physically abusive to you. I was physically ill at the thought of my workplace. I feared for my safety, my livelihood, and my well being. My whole social life was destroyed because he had me working so much overtime.

Some people in the media try to get me to name the man who harassed me. My point is to get the system changed, to deal with the issues publicly, not with the individual. Focussing on the individual man who harassed me does not change things for all the other women who are facing harassment now, and will face harassment in the future. Of course he must be dealt with as an individual, but it is the system that failed to protect me, and it is that system that we are challenging. Remember the Bonnie Robichaud case or even the Anita Hill case? I don't want that to happen to me. It is easy to pile everything on one individual and sensationalize our lives. Then nobody has to ask themselves how come this harassment lasted six months with fifty staff members there? How come people were too scared to say anything? This is about a major system in the Department of National Defence - which is supposed to

stand for everything that is good and honorable in this country, and it doesn't work. It doesn't protect its people and cannot guarantee a safe work environment for women. That is the story.

## The complaint process:

When I told the offender that his behavior was not appropriate and that he had to stop, his answer was that I was "paid seven days a week, twenty four hours a day", and I would do as I was told. My answer was that I would do as I was told, but he had to keep his hands off me.

Over a period of months I reported the harassment to one, two, and three levels

above his head but nobody responded. I was forced into the position of having to go to see the offender's boss myself - five ranks above me - the "Chief Warrant Officer of Discipline". His response to my complaint was that I was "too sensitive", and that "women should never have been let into the forces in the first place".

The military has conducted several investigations. The first summary investigation concluded that I was harassed but stated that I was to blame because I was a "disciplinary problem". Suddenly my file mysteriously filled up with complaint letters and I was labelled as a "problem". I was treated as if I were mentally unstable because I was reporting harassment. I feel that they put me of tranquilizers to keep me under "control".

In the military it is not like a civilian job. You cannot just walk off your job. If you do you will be charged as a deserter and will be put in military prison. You are victimized and re-victimized by the same people who perpetrated the abuse originally but you have to remain there.

Also, because I was in the military, I could not get legal aid for military matters. I was told by a military lawyer that I could not get military legal aid

because I was in a "conflict of interest" because I was accusing a higher ranking military member. I was told that I had to hire my own lawyer if I wanted to be represented. This was not a choice, it was a matter of survival. When the military said that I was going to be discharged for "poor conduct"

## Fighting the case in the legal and political arena.

When I applied for Ontario Legal Aid I was told it was a Canadian Human Rights matter. I signed my complaint on January 19, 1990. The Canadian Human Rights Commission undertook an objective investigation. They told me that they did not defend me or the offender and that I would have to wait. As of yet I still have had no legal representation from the commission.

In the meantime they sent a letter to the Department of National Defence advising them that I had signed a complaint. This put me in a situation where my employer could take free shots at me.

What I want is an apology, and I want to know what action was taken. I want the system improved for other women going through this. In my redress I had asked that a sexual harassment briefing be started at the headquarters. I asked that the offender and his two bosses be disciplined according to Military Law, that the two other supervisors be briefed as to their responsibility, and I asked that the harassment policy be revised. I was told that it was not a "personal oppression" so according to them it was "none of my business".

I was then offered \$25,000 to drop the case. To me that is wrong. No amount of money can compensate me for what I have suffered and what I must still suffer as a result. A public apology gives me back my dignity as a human being, and sends out a message to any other privates out there and to the population as a whole, that sexual harassment is not acceptable, and that you do not have to remain silent about it. That I can live with.

In June 1990, Associate Defence Minister Mary Collins officially acknowledged that the harassment had occurred, and said that disciplinary action had been taken. However, citing the Privacy Act, Ms. Collins refused to disclose any information regarding the action taken. It is believed by Patricia and her supporters that Ms. Collins did

in fact have the legal discretion to release the information but chose not to.

## The court challenge:

The court challenges being brought forward by Patricia and her lawyers include a challenge to the Crown Liability and Proceeding Act, a law that gives sweeping immunity to the Department of National Defence.

They hope to change this act so that individual military members, regardless of rank, are accountable to the laws of Canada. It will help to make a safer work environment for all military women and men, and will help to make a safer country for all Canadian people. It is not wartime in Canada, and military persons do not need the immunity that wartime may require.

The second challenge in the case involves the problems faced by any victim of workplace harassment or discrimination. The lawyers argue that there may need to be a Tort of Harassment/Discrimination, which would allow individuals to take those cases to court, rather than having the Human Rights Commission as the only option for recourse. The need for such a Tort is based on the reality that the Human Rights Commission can be understaffed and very slow, and does not guarantee a hearing will ever take place.

Patricia now needs to raise the money to be sure that this case goes to court instead of being swept under the carpet by the military. Her case may not be resolved until it reaches the Supreme Court of Canada, but to go there she needs to raise the funds. The case has cost well over \$30,000 to date. She has now been officially discharged from the military and is now unemployed.

Donations can be sent to any branch of Canada Trust in Canada, or can be mailed care of:

The Tondreau Defence Fund  
Canada Trust Company  
1800 Carling Avenue  
Ottawa, Ontario  
L2A 1E2

Caitlin McMorran Frost is Managing Editor of *The Womanist*.

# Midlife and new beginnings

by Janine O'Leary Cobb

(Excerpts from a speech given at the September 1993 conference in Ottawa "Women in Mid-Life: New Beginnings.")

The idea that midlife and menopause bring crisis and disarray is pervasive in North America.

I want to examine the possibility that the changes of midlife, including menopause, are "positive adaptive responses" on the part of the female. What can midlife offer us in the way of new beginnings ... biological, psychological, social or cultural?

Yet, I recently heard again at the North American Menopause Society's annual meeting, the old and tiresome description of women in midlife as "sick" and in need of treatment.

Both the International Menopause Society and the North American Menopause Society are dominated by male gynecologists — so much so, that at the last International Menopause Society meetings (in Stockholm this past June), it was suddenly realized, to the consternation of many, that there wasn't a single woman on the executive committee. The incoming president caught wind of a petition being signed by the women (and some men) attending the conference, and hastily "appointed" two women to the board.

I leave you to imagine an International Congress on Prostate Problems which is organized and directed by women only. Is this not bizarre?

A majority of gynecologists in both Societies — as compared to family physicians, for instance — believe that menopause is some sort of deficiency condition. A few believe that it's a disease.

The myth of menopause as crisis was not helped by Gail Sheehy's book, *The Silent Passage: Menopause*.

Her latest article, "The Flaming Fifties", in the October

issue of *Vanity Fair* is more reassuring. She notes that, in a survey of close to 700 women at or around the age of fifty, the lowest sense of well-being registered at 47 ... followed by the highest sense of well-being at 53.

Menopause has become problematic only in this century and only in Western societies. In less developed countries, where multiple pregnancies are the norm, menopause is a non-



event. Multiple pregnancies may expose a woman to danger in terms of difficult childbirth, but they also protect a woman from many of the hazards we associate with menopause (such as hot flashes) as well as from the risks that, in this society, increase with age — such as osteoporosis and breast cancer.

Initially, it is the biological changes of midlife that we recognize. When menstrual periods become less predictable — lighter, heavier, occurring more or less frequently — or, even before this, when we find that we gain weight more easily, get tired too quickly, suffer from headaches more frequently, feel temperature changes more acutely, ache in this joint or that ... whatever the bodily sensations, they act to put us in touch with our bodies, our biological selves. We slowly realize that we have taken our own well-being for granted and are now, often reluctantly, compelled to pay more attention to our bodies.

Our bodies appear to have a biological alarm that starts to ring as we get close to fifty. It's a sophisticated alarm that vibrates very quietly at first, heard only by the body's owner and then only if she's accustomed to listening hard. But the more that alarm is ignored, the louder it gets ... "feed me better" ... "take me out for a walk" ... "stroke me and let me relax" ... "stop the noise and all the demands" ...

"put me to bed". Of all of these, the most important is "take me out for a walk" because, more and more, I have come to believe that regular vigorous exercise is the key to successfully negotiating these biological twinges and aches.

If the woman in that body chooses to ignore these inner promptings, her biological alarm merely gets louder and louder, the ailments accumulate and ultimately it affects everyone around her.

It is impossible to predict what biological changes will affect each of us because it's highly individual. But these biological changes are necessarily reflected in a woman's psychology.

We tend to think of midlife psychological changes as negative changes ... irritability, mood swings, confusion about the ego, the mind that we persist in viewing as in charge of this body.

Any body undergoing internal stress, whether it's due to flu or surgery or menopause, is more vulnerable to external stress ... more irritable, more prone to "the blues" or to sudden fits of weeping. Why should we be surprised?

Ursula Le Guin, the well-known science fiction writer, has said that midlife is the time when women in this society give birth for the last time ... they give birth to themselves, the "I" who is more than mother, daughter, sister, wife, or whatever other label you have used to define yourself.

Women feel guilty for strong feelings of anger or resentment but these are merely labour pains and the corollary of that anger or resentment is often a new and unexpected assertiveness. (I'm sure you've heard the new slogan: This is not a hot flash. This is a power surge.)

The psychology, then, involves the inner self: the voice that asks, "What do I do now? What kind of person am I becoming? What do I do with the rest of my life?" Plato said that the unexamined life is not worth living. Midlife offers a time when the examined life assumes new importance.

I would argue that this kind of introspection is a very necessary and a very positive response to midlife ... although the examination may take time away from once important duties and responsibilities.

This is where psychology meets the social. Any changes in the way you perceive yourself — as a result of bodily changes, or taking to others, or reading or talking about this transition — are bound to have an effect on the people around

you. You tend to bounce off each other — husband, boss, lover, children, associates at work — while you undertake the painful task of renegotiating your role in relation to each, and eventually to all.

I have been speaking for years about the letters I receive, from women who decide that they no longer want to cook meals or do laundry or take care of the social secretary stuff for their families, in addition to a full-time job outside the home. These women are often urged to go to a doctor to get something that will return them to the "the way they were". The implication, of course, is that women should continue in their usual roles, that any change is threatening to the people around them.

And it is threatening. But I wonder why women are expected to continue to play the same old roles, without complaint, year after year? Is it menopause, or is it just time to move on, to get a promotion, or to transfer to a different department ... where someone else does the laundry, the grocery shopping, and the Christmas cards?

**"Women don't have hot flashes. They have power surges."**

Midlife brings the "Now or Never Syndrome" — the compulsion to re-adjust youthful dreams to present reality and to do something about it.

The readjustment often entails trading in old roles for new. Some women quit their jobs, some women enrol at university, some women start new businesses, some women leave their husbands. These kinds of decisions may cause all sorts of repercussions in the short term, but the long-term results are usually very positive indeed.

One way in which women change at midlife is their valuing of female friends. The experiences of menopause are so uniquely female that they are almost impossible to share with anyone other than a female friend. A man can be supportive and soothing, but he simply cannot understand in the way that a woman can.

When we see research that demonstrates that friendships become stronger and more important as we grow old, it is undoubtedly a positive adaptive response when menopause urges us to spend

more time with old friends, or to make new friends based on our common experience of being a woman.

In societies where the aged are rare, they are highly valued and respected. Because we live longer than men, old age is essentially a society of women. And that society exists, so far, within a culture which denigrates aging.

The terror of aging is so pervasive in this culture that we are expected to think and behave in prescribed ways: we must continue to try and look young, to be sexually attractive, to move lightly, to dress in fashions that maintain the image of youth.

Thanks, but no thanks. I want clothes that are comfortable, I don't want the bother or expense of tinting my hair, I have tried to lose the weight gained over the last decade but I can't so I've learned if not to love my rounded body, to at least accept it as a permanent extension of me.

Women intuitively recognize that menopause is a threshold to aging, that the transition to a new status, the non-reproductive woman, is a biological marker which gains us entry (whether we like it or not) to a new stage of life.

There are losses to be acknowledged, there is grieving to be done. But the energy that we spend in fighting the terror of aging is energy that could be spent in more productive ways. There is a time to fight, and there is a time to surrender. With a thoughtful surrender of unrealistic dreams, of counter-productive "if only's" — we find peace and renewed purpose.

The biological changes of midlife can have an enormous impact on one's sense of self. The interactions of the biological, the psychological, the social and the cultural are circular and each affects the other. It is difficult to maintain a strong sense of self, a positive self-image, within a culture which demeans aging.

Therefore, I would ask each of you to join me in this quest to nudge our culture into a more gracious acceptance of the vagaries of, and individual responses to, both midlife and aging. This would indeed mean a new beginning, a beginning which could have enormous positive impact on the experience of midlife for our younger sisters, daughters and even granddaughters.

Janine O'Leary Cobb is editor and publisher of the menopause newsletter, *A Friend Indeed*.

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## This election is about economics. There is a problem.

### Debt Facts

- In 1992-93 it was \$687.3 billion or 66.7% of our GDP.
- Individuals now pay almost half of the country's taxes; corporations pay only 7%.
- If interest rates were lowered to their traditional level of 1.4% above inflation, it would save \$6 billion in federal debt payments in the first year alone.

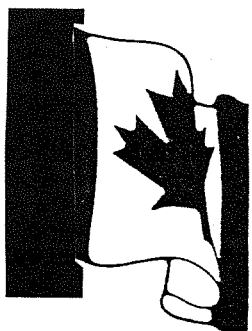
### NAFTA Facts

- Rules governing NAFTA will be enforced by a permanent bureaucratic commission not accountable to Canadians.
- Existing laws to protect jobs, health or environment could be challenged as "barriers to trade".
- NAFTA will compel Canada to ship energy resources south to meet U.S. needs, even if there is a national shortage here.

### Employment Facts

- The official unemployment rate in July, 1993 was 11.6%.
- If we add the unemployed, the underemployed and the discouraged workers, the **real** unemployment rate becomes 20%.
- The average cost to the state of an unemployed person is \$17,000 a year.

There is an alternative – read Hazel Henderson.



### Election issue

The next 40 pages contain detailed information about many issues that need to be addressed during this election. We have

- articles from the Bloc Québécois, Green Party, Reform Party, and National Party
- interviews with Audrey McLaughlin and Sheila Copps
- analysis of 17 issues and positions by the three main parties.

## Changing the way economics works

by Hazel Henderson

*Hazel Henderson spoke with The Womanist recently, outlining some of her views on the current economic crisis in the Northern industrialized nations, including Canada. Some of her comments are excerpted below. Throughout the article, in italics, are excerpts from her article "Shifting Gears" from the British journal, Resurgence.*

The most important economic issues facing the economies of the North, such as Canada, are the relationships we have with the nations of the South. In northern countries, two-thirds of our economic activity is related to consumption – our economies are built on waste, obsolescence and consumption, whether through shopping malls, capital-intensive agriculture, etc. This consumer spending is fuelled by advertising and easy credit, and can no longer support two-thirds of consumer societies' economies, even in the U.S.

The Southern hemisphere countries following our methods and the outdated economic development theories we have set out, are generating more and more stresses on the environment, added to those we have already created. Their bargaining chip has become the future of the planet – the ozone layer, the rainforests, the oceans. All they have to do is keep doing what we have been doing, and the earth will not survive.

The world is now facing a karmic impasse that will force a complete economic restructuring. This crisis is inevitable, and in fact is almost necessary to bring about the profound change needed.

Leaders of the G7 at their recent summit were seen wringing their hands at the perplexing "new" phenomenon of "jobless economic growth". How can it be that our economies are growing, they say, and yet the unemployment rate is also climbing? Most Western European nations are experiencing unemployment levels of at least 10%, and Eastern Europe is far worse off, yet wealth (i.e., goods, services and profit) is being generated.

What is so perplexing to the leaders of the G7 is painfully obvious to many people around the world. For 300 years, the goal of the industrial revolution has been to produce more goods and services with fewer workers. We have been spectacularly successful.

The old economic textbooks used to say that as we automated agriculture, workers would move into growing jobs in the manufacturing sector, and then, as we automated manufacturing, workers would move into new jobs in the expanding service sector. Well, now we are automating the service sector, and there is nowhere left for the workers to go. This trend, so accentuated in the Western economies, is happening to a lesser extent all over the world.

*Old economic theories are being blown away by today's hurricane of change and turbulent globalization processes: the globalizing of technology, production, information, financial flows and stock markets, labour and migrating workers, arms trafficking, and pollution. Most economic models still assume that economies tend toward general equilibrium; that markets can allocate resources between guns, education, public transport and investments in research and development; that relative distribution of income, wealth, power, and information between people is irrelevant; that nature's capital (clean air, water, and environment) is still essentially free and inexhaustible; that scarce resources can always be substituted; and that the planet can continue absorbing human and industrial wastes which economists downplay as "externalities."*

I started to recognize this in the 1960's and began raising a public debate about how we would deal with this cornucopia of technology overwhelming people's lives and jobs. Should we say that, if the machine takes your job, you automatically own a piece of the machine? Or should we provide a guaranteed annual income, so that people would have money even if they did not have a job? Or should we institute a shorter work week, to share the jobs among more

people?

But the debate floundered on the protestant work ethic. We were told that if we separated work and income, people would become lazy and stop working altogether. Even those who had jobs would quit them because it would be so attractive to have the income, even a much lower income, without working.

institutions. Hillary Clinton is discovering in the US just how complex it will be to restructure the "health care" system (which is really not about health care, but about medical crisis intervention through technology), because, although it is expensive, inefficient, and unhealthy, it involves huge numbers of jobs. As is the case of the military



During the 1970's, we decided that the way to deal with the problem of technology throwing people out of work was for the government to become the employer of last resort. Governments did this in three ways: warfare (wars create lots of jobs), workfare (all the various subsidies to industries so they would stay in business), and welfare.

But then these took on a life of their own, and became entire social and economic

industrial complex – we must dismantle this dinosaur, and yet we must do it carefully, because there will be such a disruption to so many people's lives. This is just an indication of the magnitude of change we are talking about in economic re-structuring.

Unfortunately, the tremendous opportunity for positive change in Eastern Europe over the last few years has been derailed by our old economic textbooks from the

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# Sheila Copps speaks

**Liberal**

Sheila Copps, Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party, spoke with *The Womanist* during her election campaign.

**Question:** Your job-creation plan seems to reinforce the notion that building infrastructure is limited to construction projects. Why not, like Clinton, expand the definition of infrastructure to include education, training and other investments in people?

We have. There has been a public misunderstanding about our approach to this area. In fact, the public works aspect (I prefer "public works" to the term "infrastructure") is only part of our program. Several years ago, Canadian municipalities asked for help on public works, and that aspect of our platform is a response to their need. Overall, we are proposing a \$5.6 billion program, of which only about \$2 billion is for public works, dealing with the basics of fixing roads and sewers and so on. But the biggest part deals with enhancing knowledge-based, high-tech industries, especially small businesses, where women have been notably successful. We also have the youth job development, which provides opportunities for work in environmental protection.

When Mr. Chrétien announced the public works

program, he also announced the intended cancellation of the helicopter purchase, to pay for it.

**Question:** Some commentators have suggested that there needs to be a complete re-thinking of our economic policy, that for example, GNP and GDP and the traditional economic levers do not accurately take into account the complete economic, environmental and social picture. To what extent is the Liberal platform looking at significant changes in the economic paradigm to reflect this?

If you are referring, for example, to the unpaid work of women in the home not being included in the GDP, it's true that is a shortcoming. Some of this thinking has been useful background for us – for example, Marilyn Waring, author of *Economics As If Women Counted*, participated in one of the Liberal policy conferences. That is reflected to a certain degree in our platform.

However, for the election period, we have decided to focus on the fact that there are 1.6 million people in the paid labour force who are not working. There are obviously some very serious issues that need to be addressed immediately.

Our view is that the economy has to be more knowledge-based. That's a shift from the past focus in Canada on resource-based industries.

We have also looked significantly at the feminization of poverty in our platform. That's one reason we have moved on childcare. We are not prepared to kill it off the way the Tories have. Childcare



is needed for women to be a part of the paid labour force in a way that is remunerative to them and to the economy overall.

We have set funds aside in our platform for women's health, for example, pre-natal nutrition. These are relatively modest expenditures, but they do indicate a serious commitment to the needs.

**Question:** What are the main differences between the Liberals ten years ago and now?

Political parties, of all kinds, tend to follow rather than lead changes in the public. That being said, there is a real recognition that in this election the voice of women is a significant shaper of public policy in a way we have not seen before.

Two years ago, I talked to Mr. Chrétien about getting more women candidates, because that's where the real power is – not in advisory boards or special committees, but around the caucus and Cabinet tables where decisions are made.

There are many within the party who criticised me, and not only weren't supportive but actively blocked my suggestions, calling me a man-hater and so on. To Mr. Chrétien's credit, he not only was supportive, but asked me to put together a program. If it hadn't been for his support, the whole thing would have been sabotaged by others in the campaign organization. Many of them were horrified at having goals, saying we shouldn't have "quotas".

However, the change has happened, and even die-hard misogynists in the party see the wisdom of it now. We eventually agreed on a goal of one-quarter of Liberal

candidates being women (although I originally wanted 30%), and here we are in the campaign with 23% women candidates.

We tend to have higher success rates among women candidates, because they have to work extra hard to get to where they are. Because of that, I think we will see about a 30% increase in women in the next Parliament.

For the Liberal party, 1988 was a tough election, but this year we stand a better chance, and the smell of victory is in the air, which means a lot of women candidates would tend to get elbowed out of the way by the old boys. So, given that, 23% of candidates being women is especially significant.

**Question:** You have mentioned several key issues of interest to women. Are there any others you would like to add?

I just hope people see change as real change. Kim Campbell is playing on the fact that she is a woman and is from the West, but I hope people look at the real issues. We had the experience of a woman Prime Minister in the U.K. who surrounded herself with men. That's not a direct analogy to Kim, but she certainly has Sacred leanings, which will mean policies that are damaging for women.

## the way economics works

continued from page 11

West. Eastern Europe has been pushed into a 19th century version of capitalism. The advice and experts we have sent over haven't even imported a recent version of capitalist economies. The result is inflation rates of 200-300%, unemployment at depression levels, and the consequent breakdown of formerly very cohesive value systems. The only markets we have encouraged are black markets.

To achieve the necessary turnaround of G-7 and other industrial economies, policy makers must free themselves of such out-dated economic generalizations as:

- 1) "free trade" is always in the best interests of everyone;
- 2) "industrial policy" is always bad even if some countries in Europe and Asia do it;
- 3) "investment" is always good in the private sector, whether in research to "innovate" a new brand of dog food or in fibre-optics, whether in a new toy factory or another S&L;

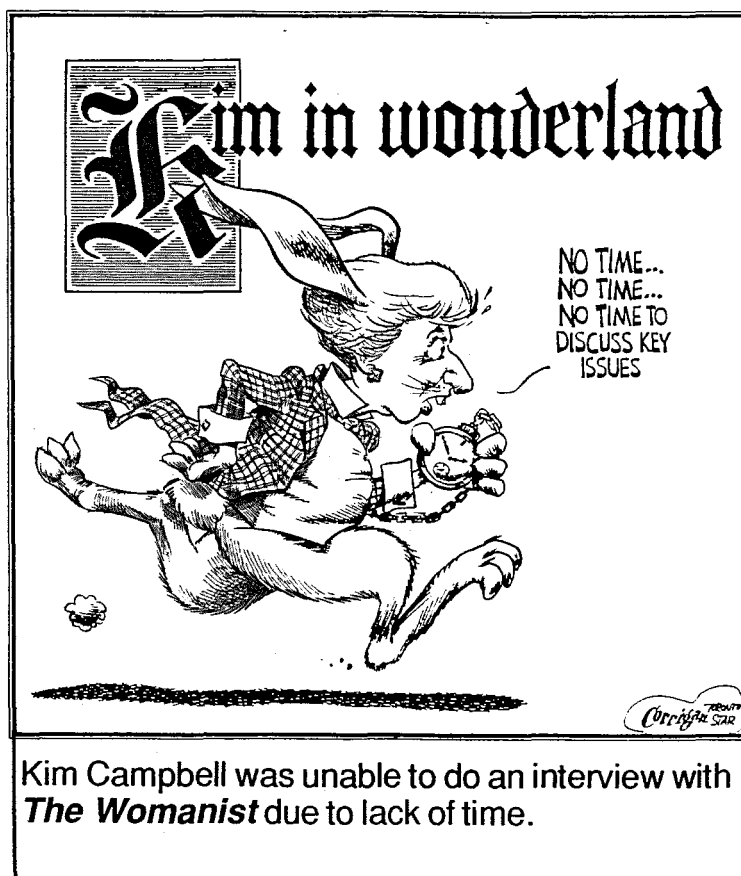
4) in the public sector "investment" in maintaining public infrastructure – roads, dams, public buildings, airports, etc. – is classified in GNP as "spending" because, inexplicably, public facilities are not carried on the books in national accounts as "capital assets". If they were, the deficit would shrink. The only country which has reformulated its GNP/GDP to account for such capital assets is New Zealand;

5) GNP/GDP as "scorecards" of wealth and progress which came into widespread use during World War II to mobilize the allies' civilian economies and war-production. Few politicians – relying as they do on their economists – have since examined the premises, goals, and values still underlying GNP/GDP; military production and output of goods and services are valued highly while educated citizens, children (a nation's future), and environment are valued at zero. Only money transactions are tracked--while some 50% of productive work in all industrial

countries that is unpaid (volunteering, do-it-yourself home building, repairs, food growing, local government service, parenting children, caring for the elderly, sick, and disabled, maintaining households, etc.) is ignored. In developing countries, the percentage of such unpaid work is much higher. This reflects a deep bias in economic theory that co-operative, altruistic work is "irrational" and only humans maximizing their individual self-interests competitively are "rational."

China will be profoundly important in the next decade, partly because it is the only major country still committed to socialism, what they call socialism with Chinese characteristics. They have always acknowledged the usefulness of markets, and have recognized that markets make good servants but bad masters. The challenge over the next years will be to see if they can demonstrate the evolution of socialism with

cont'd on page 14



Kim Campbell was unable to do an interview with *The Womanist* due to lack of time.



# Audrey McLaughlin speaks

Audrey McLaughlin, Leader of the New Democratic Party, was interviewed by *The Womanist* during her cross-country election campaigning.

**Question:** Many progressive governments, for example, provincial NDP governments or the Clinton administration to the south, have come into office with major reforms, but have run into larger economic forces, notably the central banks, international investors, and multinational corporations. How do you plan to implement a national employment strategy or economic development policies in light of these constraints?

No doubt there have been negative experiences, but both through my own observations and in talking with colleagues in Europe, I have concluded there are ways to address these areas.

It's a question of being fair – no one is trying to drive business out of Canada. I have talked to heads of business who say that for them the bottom line is profit. For example, if there are no environmental guidelines, they are happy to work that way, but if there are environmental guidelines, they will find a way to be profitable while working within them.

The broader issue of the power to implement new policies is important. One reason we are opposed to NAFTA is precisely because it transfers power towards large corporations and away from elected governments.

**Question:** Some of the newer political parties on the scene have been advocating a complete re-thinking of our approach, a "paradigm shift". They talk about sustainable development, focussing on domestic markets rather than global competitiveness, and ensuring a human scale of development. Why has the NDP not chosen this route of more fundamental change?

In fact, we have often been leaders in those areas. We have been proposing ways to change the system without doing away with it. Many of these other groups are essentially proposing the elimination of programs and supports that now exist. Those Canadians who would feel the absence of many of the present systems most severely would be women. For example, unless we have a strong foundation of childcare



and health care we will not be able to build a healthy economy or ensure the full participation of women.

Often those who present themselves as radical and new are really radical and old, proposing policies which really amount to "the survival of the fittest". That is not the kind of country I want for my grandchildren.

I believe we are a rich country – rich in resources and in people and in intellect. We need to safeguard and build on that richness. Many of the supposedly radical new parties would see us return to a system we had 50 years ago.

In terms of ecological approaches, that is certainly part of my own thinking. It is important to base our policies not only on sustainable development, but on a sustainable society, because it goes far beyond the economic side of our lives.

I find it frustrating when people say that poverty isn't a current issue, and talking

about it isn't a new idea. Well, when UNICEF releases its statistics on child poverty, it **better** be an issue we talk about. We only have to look to the south to see what happens when there is an ever increasing gap between rich and poor.

If you think you can ignore the environment, just look to Eastern Europe, where people are dying, children are dying, because they set aside environmental guidelines. The human and economic cost there is enormous.

If you think you can ignore racism, just look to South Africa, where apartheid is tearing them apart. There, too, they are paying a financial cost, with an economy that is very unstable as a result of the racial hostility.

It is the same with inequality for women – there are social and economic costs to this way of thinking.

Many of the elements in our system are based on listening to only one group in society. Instead, I believe that people in positions of power, elected politicians such as myself, have a responsibility to ensure the needs of all people are addressed.

**Question:** What do you see as the key issues for women in Canada right now?

Like many Canadians, women have been very hard hit by unemployment due to Conservative policies – the trade deals, the interest policies, farm policies, and others. There are huge pressures on women as the economy heads downward – just one example is the textiles industry, where many women work.

And many women – immigrant women, aboriginal women, and others – face double the pain.

The upsurge of "home-work" is basically a return to 19th century working conditions, with no benefits, no environmental protection, no health safeguards. These are terrible conditions, and very different from the comfort and independence of working at home on your own computer at your own pace.

The lack of childcare is inseparable from the economic self-sufficiency women are striving for. Women rely on the availability of adequate, safe, affordable childcare to be able to return to work, or to undertake training or education.

We have to take a holistic approach to what we want as a society. The environment, social programs, and the economy are not distinct entities, but inextricably related. This is often a difficult concept to get across. I sometimes reflect on my previous life doing cross-cultural work, because this is really the difference between linear thinking and horizontal thinking. In horizontal thinking, all elements become part of one. Whereas in our western European way, we tend to put things in little boxes. In a global system, this is impossible. We cannot say, for example, that as a country we have no responsibility to people around the world who are hungry, because our economic, social and environmental future is connected with theirs.

Many women I have talked with have part-time work, not out of choice, but because they cannot find full-time jobs



or because their full-time jobs have been cut back. The expansion of part-time work will have a long term impact no one is talking about – what will happen when these women reach 65? Their pension earnings will be much smaller because they were part-time workers, and their chances of poverty will be that much higher.

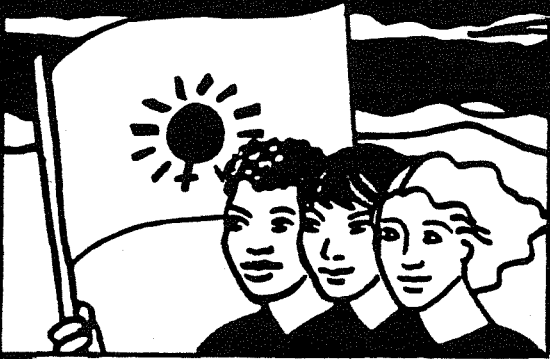
Undermining the universal health care system is a serious concern of women, whether it is related to pre- or post-natal care, or the devastating issues of breast cancer.

Women tell me they feel we are going backwards, that progress we have made in the last 20 years or 50 years is now in jeopardy, for example, the potential recriminalization of abortion, an issue I feel very strongly about.

In hard economic times, there tends to be greater pressures on women, both emotional (as women are often expected to hold the family together), and economic (as women feel pressure to stay out of the paid workforce when jobs are scarce).

As a mother, I have always felt that work in the home is vastly undervalued. When we diminish the value of what women do in the home, we diminish the value of all women's work.


Women, like everyone, are concerned about a range of issues, but these are some of the ones that I hear more about than others.



Raising our Voices  
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# Changing the way economics works

continued from page 12

some of the positive elements of capitalism, while maintaining the "iron rice bowl", the commitment that all citizens are entitled to food, clothing and shelter – even as some will become richer than others.

How will the economic restructuring needed in Canada and other northern economies take place? Through the emergence of new values. Everywhere throughout the G7

nations exist very large groups of dissenting populations, ordinary people who are already practicing the new, healthy, sustainable forms of economics. This includes the holistic health movement, organic farmers, natural food networks, those who are re-examining the concern of Native American cultures with the effect of their actions on future generations, socially

responsible investment organizations, people who practice "shopping for a better world" (rewarding responsible companies and avoiding the products of those whose labour or environmental practices are not responsible).

*"Sustainable development" is replacing the old formula of "economic growth." Thus the first task of steering human societies into healthier forms of development is that of examining old assumptions, belief-systems, and paradigms that were appropriate in earlier, less complex times but are now dysfunctional.*

However, despite these widespread movements for change, the forces of the past still have the lobbying power to control most governments. And when new governments with new ideas come to power (like Bob Rae, who came into office with some quite sensible ideas), these forces of change run into the power of the central banks, such as the Bank of Canada.

The power of central banks to set policy over the heads of elected politicians needs to be checked. These banks are one of the last rearguard holdouts of the old ways of economic thinking.

For example, this crazy goal of zero inflation shows that those who promote it do not understand the causes of inflation. Even if you disemployed half of the population, you still would not have zero inflation, because the economy is not linear as these theorists seem to think – instead it has very fast feedback loops, so that measures to curb inflation (such as high interest rates) cause immediate impacts that lead inevitably back to more inflation. This is because interest rates underlie the prices of all goods and services in the economy. When they are raised, this tends to raise all other prices in a multiplier effect.

*... "inflation" is now coming from new sources not yet described in economic textbooks: the increasing complexity of interdependent industrial societies where rising social, environmental, and regulatory costs enter the price system and cannot be squeezed out of the consumer price index by throttling economic activity and employment.*

All of the European economies are at the mercy of the Bundesbank, the central bank in Germany. A huge outcry has arisen over recent years about the need to democratize these central

decision-makers, and make their powers more connected to the needs and realities of the people whose lives they affect. Most central banks are much more linked with interests of stockholders and investors than with the majority of us who are employees.

We must completely change the way in which our economies work. Why do we encourage industries to put people out of work, through so-called "investment" incentives that favour technology over actual people doing the work? Why do we allow companies to avoid paying the real cost of producing their product, including the cost to the environment, to future generations, to communities they abandon for cheaper labour elsewhere? Why do we encourage the diseconomies of scale, whether in vast cities, or huge nuclear power plants, or elsewhere?

*Economic models are linear and economists often do not see what systems theorists and ordinary citizens find obvious: what goes around, comes around. For example, GNP produces a short-term "cash-flow" type of accounting which would lead a private company to under-invest and neglect maintenance – ending in bankruptcy.*

Thus the U.S. economy, on a "net worth" basis, has disinvested in public infrastructure and fallen behind all its G-7 competitors. Worse, since GNP/GDP does not account for "human capital", education continues to be treated as "spending", which during the Reagan/Bush era lowered U.S. functional literacy rates below most other industrial countries and even developing ones such as Costa Rica.

If we make this transition successfully, we will have an economy that is:

- guided by a new scorecard of progress, such as my Country Future Indicators (see chart), instead of GNP;
- decentralized, with many more small enterprises, worker stock ownership, greater employee participation, and co-operative structures;
- has a price system that rewards employment, sustainability and responsible corporate behaviour;
- green taxes that discourage waste, obsolescence, use of virgin (unrecycled) materials, and pollution. (European studies show that revenues from these type of taxes would be so significant that governments could reduce income taxes);
- taxes that favour employment, such as an employment tax credit that would give a tax credit to

companies that create domestic jobs. This is in contrast to the more familiar investment tax credit, which was supposed to create jobs via trickle-down theories, but which cannot work in a global economy, since investors will simply go all over the world looking for the highest return, rather than start new enterprises and create new jobs in Canada;

• probably requires less government to regulate.

**The power of central banks to set policy over the heads of politicians needs to be checked. These banks are one of the last rearguard holdouts of the old ways of economic thinking.**

*Infrastructure must be redefined from its initial focus on military fortifications, roads and bridges needed for troop movements, as well as its nineteenth-century focus on transportation and concrete pouring: dams, railways, interstate highways, canals, and public works. Twenty-first century infrastructure not only means education and communications systems. It must also include better management of forests, conservation of soils, and restoration of damaged watersheds and other ecosystems. Shifting gears will entail not just public infrastructure construction but restructuring in all countries and shifting their entire production bases to run on renewable energy and resources using environmentally compatible technologies--all managed for sustainable, long-term productivity.*

Moving to sustainable forms of development will require restructuring and won't be easy. The best way to get from here to there is to de-emphasize macro-economic management, demote the economists, and bring more multi-disciplinary approaches to be on complex policy issues.

Hazel Henderson is an independent futurist, international consultant on development policy, and syndicated columnist for Inter-Press Service (Rome) and the Los Angeles Times-Mirror syndicate. Her most recent book, **Paradigms in Progress**, is published by Knowledge Systems, Indianapolis.

## One hundred and thirteen New Democrat women candidates.

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**Yukon:** Audrey McLaughlin. **BC / C.-B:** Dawn Black, Lynn Hunter, Joy Langan, Margaret Mitchell, Sandra Bauer, Betty Baxter, Lynn Fairall, Gillian MacDonald, Heather Suggitt, Sylvia Surette. **Alberta:** Susanne Abildgaard, Rita Egan, Jacquie Gaboury, Andrea Garnier, Colleen Glenn, Lori Hall, Karen McLaren, Catherine McCreary, Stephanie Michaels, Catherine Rose, Anne Wilson, Terry Zawalski. **Saskatchewan:** Lois Ross, Caroline Saxon, Donna Shire, Elizabeth Thomas. **Manitoba:** Rose Buss, Pauline Dupont, Connie Gretsinger, Mäureen Hemphill, Leslie King, Martha Owen, Judy Wasylcia-Leis. **Ontario:** Rosemarie Blenkinsop, Gayle Broad, Emily Carasco, Barbara Clarke, Ursule Critoph, Carolyn Davies, Shirley Davy, Marion Dewar, Julie Foley, Denise Giroux, Rosanne Giulietti, Mary Anne Greenwood, Gael Hepworth, Mary Ann Higgs, Cathy Hird, Margaret Hoff, Jane Hughes, Lynn Jacklin, Betty Lambeck, Stephanie Levesque, Mary Maron, Lynn McDonald, Judie McSkimmings, Marsha Mitzak, Cindy Moriarty, Winnie Ng, Lesley Penwarden, Pat Peters, Norma Peterson, Karen Ridley, Lucy Rybka-Becker, Carmela Sasso, Diana Stewart, Catherine Vainio, Janice Waud-Loper, Lili Weemen. **Québec:** Hélène Bois, Francine Bourque, Martine Caouette, Gisèle Charlebois, Audrey Carpentier, Maryse Choquette, Louise Cloutier, Majella Desmeules, Nicole Des Roches, Frances Ebourne, Ann Elbourne, Suzanne Fortin, Elizabeth Holden, Patricia Houle, Marie D. Jalbert, Catherine Kallos, Renée-Claude Lorimier, Stephanie Mitchell, Christine Moore, Francine Poirier, Germaine Poirier, Josée Panet-Raymond, Afsun Qureski, Marie-France Renaud, Catherine Rideout-Erais, Nathalie Rochefort, Marielle Sanna, Martine Simard, Marcella Tardif, Jutta Teigler. **N.-B:** Shirley Brown, Kim Gallant, Pauline MacKenzie, Parise Martin, Nancie Quigley. **PEI / I.-P.-E:** Dolores Crane, Karen Fyfe. **NS / N.-E:** Barbara Jack, Lynn Jones, Joanne Lamey, Sheila Richardson. **Newfoundland / Terre-Neuve:** Linda Soper, Sharon Walsh.

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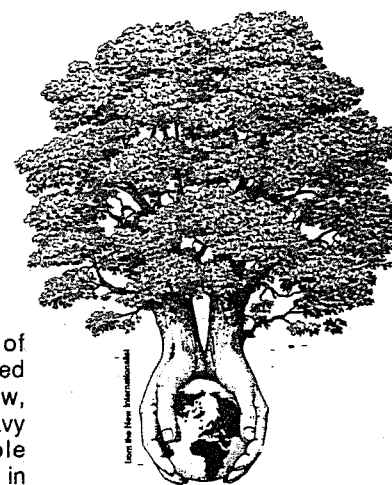
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# The Green Party

by Morgan Van Wyck



The Green Party of Canada has just celebrated its tenth anniversary. While it has not, like its sister parties throughout Europe, elected a member to the House of Commons yet, the upcoming general federal election should see that goal coming into view.

The last year has seen extensive and repeated coverage in the media of the Canadian electorate's frustration and disillusionment with politics and politicians. Canadians are definitely sending out the message that they want a change, a significant change, in the way the country's affairs are conducted.

As a Green Party candidate in this election, I feel that the Greens offer the most comprehensive and life-sustaining agenda for the short and long term. Our positions on every aspect of public and private life address the pressing issues of unemployment, deficit reduction, ecological destruction, community empowerment and the need to abandon the centuries-old patterns of patriarchy and hierarchy which dominate all our institutions and our political agendas.

Above all, a Green society is one which is sustainable. Sustainable activities are those which use recyclable materials, continuously reliable sources of energy, and which come mainly from the potential of human beings. Sustainable activities are also sensitive to the cultural and social needs of people, and to the very pressing need to protect nature's genetic and biological diversity. There are signs all around us that we have reached a critical point in our pursuit of growth for greed's sake, and in our rates of investment and consumption needed to buoy an artificial economy. It is more than time to work for policies that aim to meet the needs of everyone, not just those who are already advantaged, and in a way that does not undermine the integrity of the earth's ecosystems.

A Green government would support ecologically-sound and socially useful businesses. Priority would be given to local businesses since they keep money in the community, as opposed to multinationals which drain money from communities. The current free-market and increasingly globalized system consistently undervalues life-sustaining assets, and fails to provide adequate protection to social systems, cultural uniqueness

and the environment. Employment opportunities which are not subjected to the vagaries and pressures of globalization can be plentiful, meaningful and much more viable over the long term.

At present, however, the Free Trade Agreement and NAFTA increase product globalization, cultural and lifestyle homogenization, and the global division of labour (loss of local expertise). Wealth, power and control are concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, thus disempowering communities and bioregions. Democratic control over production and resources is increasingly lost,

environmentally-friendly infrastructure will provide a wealth of new jobs. For example, we can build sustainable communities, develop better urban and mass transit systems, support more comprehensive recycling programs, and invest in environmental technologies, including renewable energy systems. The global trend – in the interests of global competitiveness – continues to see workers being replaced with robots, computers and communications technologies. While we know that a Green society is a society which must include the best of technology and science, we also know that

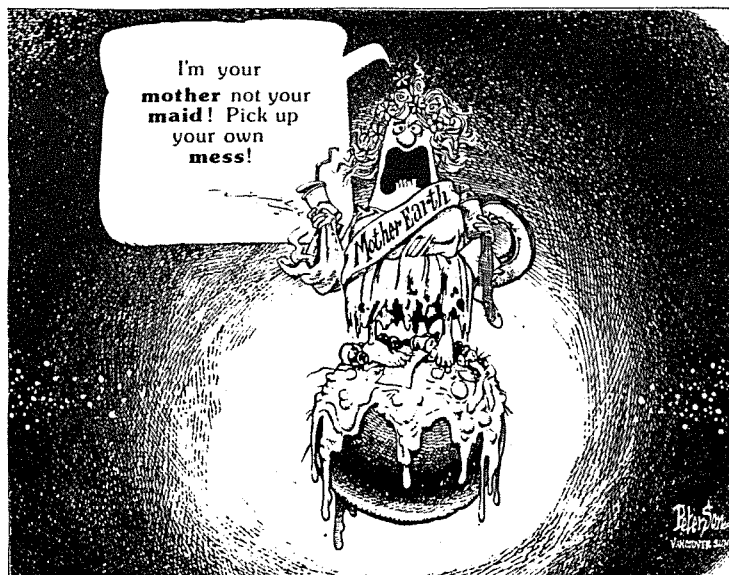
implements, instruments of Canadian culture and recycled products, to name just a few, would be tax free, while heavy taxes on non-renewable resources would be phased in over a given period. In addition to resource and a carbon tax, we would press for the imposition of emission and disposal taxes to replace the non-discriminatory GST. Additionally, Greens suggest shifting the government's main source of revenue from personal income taxes onto unsustainable and disruptive practices such as extraction and use of non-renewable resources and land development.

Central to Green Party philosophy and political focus is the need for deep-seated change in societal values regarding competition, domination, confrontation and progress at the cost of other values. As such, the Green Party stance goes far beyond women's issues as usually seen from the political perspective.

In order to be able to move beyond the practices and attitudes that contribute to poverty, violence, economic gender disparity, and the destruction of a healthy environment, the Greens speak openly about the need to adopt what are traditionally seen as "feminine" attributes of co-operative, egalitarian and holistic approaches at all levels of public activity. As the public reflects these values, so too will the more intimate details of women's private lives change. In concert with this basic philosophy, the Greens propose a number of solutions to the marginalization of women and women's voices.

In order to eliminate the poverty trap that single parents experience, most of whom are women, a Guaranteed Income Supplement Plan would replace most income-support programs and subsidies and would be non-judgemental and cheaper to administer than the present programs.

Greens also support increased pressure to implement pay equity programs. Legislation to eliminate sexism in advertising and the media must be introduced. Maternity and paternity leave should be extended. Strict gun control legislation must be revisited. Safety considerations in urban design should be introduced. Universal access to day care through tax credits and community-based facilities are fully supported by the Green Party while, at the same time,



forcing the acceptance of the lowest common denominators in environmental and labour standards.

Green Party policies would foster job creation programs that included the adoption of sustainable fishery, forestry and agricultural practices. Job losses through reduced yields in forestry and the fisheries, for example, could be replaced through value-added production in these communities, rather than through the export of raw logs and wood fibre. A Green government would support organically grown food production – which employs more people, requires fewer inputs and builds soil instead of destroying it – and would make it increasingly profitable for organic growers to compete in the marketplace. Financial assistance could be offered to Canadian farmers making the transition from petrochemical agribusiness and, rather than supporting the GATT proposals of internationalizing agriculture, Greens recommend regional self-sufficiency in basic foods to the fullest extent possible.

Further, environmental cleanup and developing more

we must return to more labour intensive activities in the interests of employment opportunities and economic stabilization.

In keeping with the focus on sustainable activities, the Green Party advocates the creation of government policies favouring increased research into and use of continuously reliable sources of energy. Nuclear and large-scale fossil fuel developments are unacceptable sources of electricity and home heating. Greens would press for aggressive conservation programs and the promotion of soft energy sources like solar, wind, geothermal, bio-mass and wood-fuel co-generation. Fossil fuels are expensive, unecological and should be replaced with more local, renewable and cleaner sources of energy that do not contribute to global warming and toxic pollution.

If we accept that the government's main role is to promote and discourage activities through taxes and tax breaks, then instead of across-the-board taxes, a selective "green" tax system would promote Green values. Bicycles and gardening

we wish to make it more possible for women (or men) to remain at home with children if they so wish. It should not be necessary for two parents to work full time, especially if it jeopardizes the integrity of the family. As such, the Green Party supports job-sharing initiatives, financial compensation for a stay-at-home parent, reduced work weeks and other creative and human-centered approaches to integrating women's needs and societal change.

The above represents just a very brief introduction to Green Party policies. It is a large and extremely complex agenda and one which, in many instances, will not meet with great enthusiasm, because it would be seen as threatening to those currently dominating the political and economic agenda. We believe that our position on every aspect of life touched by politics makes enormously good sense, and, additionally, is extremely realistic. If it is as yet a "small voice in the wilderness", it is a clear and vibrant voice nonetheless. Canadians of every persuasion and from every region have so much to gain by embracing a Green vision for this still beautiful country.

Morgan Van Wyck is an Environmental Consultant in Ottawa and is a Green candidate in the riding of Ottawa West.

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# The Reform Party

by Diane Ablonczy

Reform is a new political force created by ordinary people determined to change the way of politics in Canada.

The Reform Party was founded in 1987 by Canadians who are committed to working together for democratic political change. From the start, women have filled positions of leadership in the party. In 1989, the first Reform Member of Parliament, Deborah Grey, was elected. I served as Party Chairperson through Reform's first formative years. There are about 200 Reform candidates in this election, many of them women.

Reformers believe there are a number of serious issues facing Canada which are of concern to the vast majority of Canadians in every part of Canada. Rank and file Reformers have been working together for the last several years to vigorously address these concerns with fresh ideas. Through extensive discussions and votes at the grass roots level, we have arrived at a solid platform of policies which we believe truly reflect the common sense of Canadians.

We are working toward a Canada where all citizens are treated equally regardless of race, language, culture, creed or gender. We want a Canada where the economy is strong enough to produce goods with

good incomes and to sustain essential social services. We want a Canada where politicians are accountable to those who elect them and where streets and communities are safe for everyone.

Reformers disagree with the traditional parties' methods of treating issues such as child care, abortion, pay equity, and family abuse as "women's issues." We believe that these issues are of concern to the whole society, and that this categorization implies that women are not equally concerned with the nation's fiscal, economic and constitutional problems.

We are concerned that it has led to the segregation of women into a special interest group, diminishing both the voice of women and the effectiveness of the traditional parties in dealing with many vital matters of public policy.

Women should not be marginalized as a minority "interest group." They comprise half of the population, and Reform prefers to address all issues in a manner consistent with that fact.

We prefer to categorize these issues as equality issues, social welfare issues, and justice issues, all of which can be addressed in terms of Reform principles and policies:

- Equality issues would be dealt with in a manner

consistent with our belief in the equality of all Canadians, seeking policies which effectively eliminate systemic barriers while recognizing individual liberties.

- Social issues would be handled in a manner which respects personal values and majority opinion while recognizing the Reform concept of universality based on need.

- Justice issues would be dealt with through mechanisms whose prime focus is prevention, backed by a legal system based on common law principles that place the protection of law-abiding citizens above all other objectives. Sentences must provide an adequate penalty and deterrent.

Here is a brief outline of some Reform positions that may be of interest to you.

**Social Spending:** The goal of Reform's detailed economic plan is to safeguard and preserve funding for the services that are most important to Canadians. These include health care, advanced education and skills adjustment programs, pensions for low-income seniors, public protection and justice, and programs to protect the environment. To do this we will gradually make the government smaller over three

years; reduce the perks, pay and pensions of Members of Parliament; reduce government spending on lower priority programs; and abolish grants to corporations.

**Jobs:** We believe that these measures will encourage job creation. Government spending does not create real jobs. If it did, at the rate past governments have spent, there should be zero unemployment in Canada! In our view, the greatest obstacles to job creation are government debt, government deficits, high interest rates, and the tax levels that are required to support them. Reform wants to remove these obstacles and create a more vigorous economy that will lead to private sector job creation. This will help ensure financial security and independence for women and men in this country, and their children.

**Free Trade:** We believe in free trade, but not at any cost. You might be surprised to know that Deborah Grey voted against NAFTA. The Reform Party believes there are major flaws in the current government's approach. The government did not follow through with training for displaced workers, or with spending and tax cuts promised to go along with the original Free Trade Agreement. These items are again being ignored as part of the NAFTA package. It is our belief that they have to be addressed first to ensure we keep Canada on a solid economic footing.

**Immigration:** The immigration policy of the Reform party is designed to meet the following objectives:

- to be a non-racist, non-discriminatory policy based on Canada's economic need.
- to create a positive source of economic growth, cultural diversity and social renewal for Canada.

- to remain responsive to humanitarian needs through a legitimate refugee policy, based on grounds of threats to personal safety, but which adequately deters false refugees.

- to respect the need for united family units through facilitating the unification of immediate, dependent family members.

**Québec:** Some people wonder why there are no Reform candidates in Québec this election. This is because Reform is a populist, "bottom-up" party which cannot effectively organize in any region or province or constituency unless there is genuine rank-and-file interest

in our goals and policy solutions. We expect this interest to develop in Québec after the federal election, once we have demonstrated an ability to win support elsewhere.

Reformers will continue to work together on specific public policy issues, including issues affecting women, searching for realistic solutions within the context of a democratic society of free individuals.

Reform exists to address, through open, bottom-up processes, the concerns of all Canadians, including women. I issue an open invitation to all of you who are dissatisfied with the state of the country and your political options to investigate the Reform Party as an option for real change. But please don't rely on what you hear from others about us; find out for yourself.

*Diane Ablonczy is a founding member of the Reform Party and is the Reform candidate in Calgary North.*

## Thinking of voting Reform?

- Reform policy calls for privatization of the "vast majority" of crown corporations. That would mean the sale of the CBC, the National Film Board, the Post Office and what's left of Via Rail, and much more.
- Preston Manning has opposed universal medicare since it was first established.
- Manning wants to turn over social services and part of the education system to private enterprise – and charities. The Reform policy book states that government programs are not the best way "to care for the poor, the sick, the old, and the young."
- The Reform Party will end the debt by ending social programs, eliminating grants to advocacy groups for women and others, and by implementing a huge 15% across-the-board cut to spending.
- Manning says he'll not only keep the GST but expand it to include food.
- Manning says his party is "populist." But it was founded by millionaires. Manning's "New Canada" would look an awful lot like the Old Canada of the 1930s where survival of the fittest created misery for millions. In fact, Reform policies look a lot like Tory policies. The main difference is that Preston Manning would get us there faster.

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# Bloc Québécois

by Pierrette Venne, MP

The Bloc Québécois is a sovereignist party. If there is one thing which is clear for Québec sovereignists, it is that sovereignty will only be achieved through a democratic referendum, and such a referendum can only be called by a Québec government.

But more importantly, the Bloc Québécois has no intention of obstructing the business of the House of Commons. It will not seek to do what can only be done through a referendum in Québec. The Bloc will abide by the rules of the House of Commons. Why should the Bloc undermine parliamentary democracy, which will be the foundation of its strength and legitimacy?

## Debt

Among the seven largest industrialized countries, Canada is the one in which the public sector debt has grown most rapidly during the past 10 years (from 1984 to 1993). The federal government, which is responsible for 80% of the total public sector debt, must be held accountable for this situation.

In 1984, the year in which the Conservatives came to power promising to tackle the deficit, Canada's net public debt was 26.7% of GDP as compared with 29.7% for all the G7 countries. In 1993, Canada's figure is 57.8% of GDP (more than doubled in 10 years), as compared with 36.2% of GDP

federal government in the fiscal, taxation, and unemployment insurance fields, and calls for a reform of federal administrative operations with a view to reducing costs.

- We also call for a substantial reduction in military expenditure and the adoption of a policy on participation in international action that is more in keeping with Canada's financial capacity.

- The Bloc Québécois is also asking for the outright abolition of the Senate.

## Social and Health Services

The Bloc Québécois is calling for respect for Quebec's jurisdiction and for the transfer of all federal budgets related to health and social programs. In the meantime, the Bloc Québécois will defend the equity Québec has lost in the form of federal government contributions to the financing of joint programs.

In its quest for the preservation of the principles of universality and of accessibility to social and health programs, the Bloc Québécois will oppose any cuts in these items and is therefore opposed to user fees.

## Violence Against Women

The Bloc Québécois is the only federal party that supported the principles contained in the Final Report of the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, published earlier this year. The Bloc Québécois will continue to be extremely concerned by all types of unfair treatment of women, be it physical violence, working conditions, income security, family rights or daycare services.

The Bloc Québécois wants to abolish the enormous costs related to the overlapping jurisdictions and duplication of services between the federal and the provincial governments programs in order to put priorities where they belong: reducing the deficit, maintaining health and social services at their present levels, and improving the rights of women.

*Pierrette Venne is the Member of Parliament for Saint-Hubert-Québec.*

# National Party

by Daphne Kelgard

The National Party has been in existence for less than one year. The Party was founded because a group of Canadians felt it necessary to do something new and different about the crises facing this country: the loss of Canadian sovereignty, the deliberate deindustrialization of Canada, the dismantling of Canadian social programs, the corruption of the democratic system, and the growing despair of many Canadians, particularly the young.

Not surprisingly, our platform for this election focuses on economic reform and democratic reform as essential measures for taking back control of our lives and our country.

Among our economic policies which affect the debt and deficit, we advocate reducing real interest rates (to bring down carrying charges for federal, provincial and municipal governments as well as businesses and individuals), letting the dollar find its own level (a lower dollar increases exports stimulating employment while decreasing imports), increasing tax audits of transnationals, introducing tax reforms to close loopholes,

directly on all such nation-changing issues.

In keeping with our stated positions on democratic reform we are committed to developing our policy position by means of wide-spread consultation with our membership and with other groups and organizations. Because of our youth and the election campaign, we have not had the opportunity to formulate the details of comprehensive, programmatic policy in most of the areas you raise.

We can state definitely, however, that the policies we are developing will be consistent with the framework of principles enunciated in the pamphlet "Hope for a New and Better Canada". It clearly states:

- "equality for all Canadians..."

- "the National Party recognizes and embraces many feminist solutions to end violence and discrimination against women..."

- "...rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment are totally unacceptable."

- "the difficult decision regarding an abortion should be made by the woman."

- "a policy of full employment



Like most MPs, we intend first and foremost to represent the interests of our constituents as best we can. This being said, the mandate of the Bloc will be a clear one. Should Ms. Campbell try to unilaterally cut \$4 billion from transfer payments to provinces, or should Mr. Chrétien try to go ahead with his plan of further invading provincial jurisdictions, then clearly the Bloc will act with the utmost determination. In the same way, the Bloc Québécois intends to assure that Québec receives its fair share of the most strategic federal expenditures, those that are vital in the development of a modern economy and in the search for competitiveness.

## NAFTA

A North American Free Trade Agreement between Canada, the United States and Mexico would normally be an excellent opportunity for Québec to even further increase its exports and strengthen its manufacturing sector. But, will it be the case if we collectively decide to sanction this agreement?

In order for the provinces to benefit from such an agreement, one condition will need to be fulfilled: Québec, like the rest of the provinces, will have to put in place a mechanism to actively participate in managing this agreement and to efficiently resolve the disputes and come up with solutions acceptable to all parties concerned.

for all of the G7.

As is illustrated by the growth of the public debt, public finances in Canada are a disaster. Unfortunately, this is but one aspect of the poor management of the public purse. Every year the cost of overlapping jurisdictions and duplication of service is growing at a catastrophic rate. A federal Treasury Board study has identified numerous cases in which federal programs overlap with provincial programs. Analysis of the services offered by the two levels of government has shown that overlapping exists in 45% of the programs examined, which represent approximately 42% of the expenditures on the federal programs — over \$40 billion.

The Bloc Québécois has prepared resolutions on the rationalization of public expenditures. The party's principal proposals are summarized below:

- The Bloc Québécois calls for a substantial reduction in the number of federal ministries and a general rationalization of federal expenditures.

- We are also asking for a halt to investments in megaprojects such as Hibernia, in which the government has sunk billions of dollars without the slightest guarantee of profitability.

- The Bloc Québécois insists that an evaluation be made of the administrative costs of services assumed by employers instead of the



government restructuring to cut duplication, and a full employment strategy. In addition to the economic stimuli, we have developed a policy to improve small business access to capital, to research and development, and to skill-building. The focus is particularly on new frontier and value-added resource industries.

The economic reforms we are developing are designed to ensure that we return to the principle of universality and of truly national standards for Canadian social programmes. A corollary of this position is a return to a progressive personal income tax system.

The National Party actively opposes NAFTA for reasons of political and economic sovereignty, and environmental integrity. Yes, we would abrogate the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the U.S. for the same reasons. Further, we believe that the Canadian people must be consulted

coupled with pay equity and affirmative action programs (to) correct inequities in the work force...."

"We do not intend that women's perspectives be limited to only a few things arbitrarily identified as "women's issues." We would ask the other parties, "just which issues do you think are not women's issues?"

In order to be that party, we will take the necessary time to create the detailed policies that merit women's "Yes". The women from whom we seek input are women from the diverse communities in Canada who have demonstrated commitment to seeking and expressing the perspectives of women, as women, on any and all issues.

*Daphne Kelgard, Ph.D., is the National Policy Director of the National Party of Canada.*



# An employment strategy: Building on small business

by Catherine Swift

The issue of job creation has become, as it should be, the paramount issue of importance in the upcoming election. Although the various political parties may have different ways of coming at the issue, there is no doubt they all see the question of jobs as vital, both substantively for the economy and symbolically for voters. The real question is whether any government, whatever their political stripe, can really do anything meaningful to actively create long term quality jobs at a cost the Canadian economy can sustain at a time of very high

Until the mid-1970s, Canada enjoyed a very high standard of living and low unemployment. Around that time, the value of natural resources were reduced. To this day most commodity prices have remained flat and are expected to remain that way for the foreseeable future. Also, from about the late 1960s, we saw a virtual explosion in the size and cost of government at all levels, which was increasingly financed not by current revenues but by incurring debt. Another major trend affecting everyone was the beginning of the technological revolution which saw labour in many industries replaced by

should be introduced into these discussions. For one thing, proponents of the "increase taxes on business" school of thought seem to believe that corporate income tax is the only tax businesses pay. On the contrary, the real tax story over the past decade has had nothing to do with corporate income tax and everything to do with the proliferation of other types of taxation such as payroll taxes, capital taxes, sales taxes and property taxes.

Secondly, small businesses and large businesses pay different rates of tax, with small firms consistently facing a tax burden 25% to 30% higher than

have had employees and run a business out of commercial premises. The pressure of high taxes at federal, provincial and municipal levels and regulatory overload has driven that person to work out of their home and sub-contract work out to others who are self-employed.

When looking at the recent data on where any employment is being created these days, it comes as no surprise that the fastest growing category is self-employment. Of course there is nothing wrong with self-employment, but it should be happening for positive reasons, not negative ones.

An interesting trend in the

Business, we frequently survey our members on their most pressing problems. What we are hearing at very high volume these days is how the lead blanket of over-taxation and over-regulation is smothering small firms, and providing a disincentive to job creation as a result. The current unattractive climate for small firms also discourages prospective entrepreneurs from establishing new firms, and most analysts agree that if we are to see significant job creation in the next few years, at least half of it will arise from new businesses that do not even exist today.

## Support small business – help generate employment

government debt and rapidly changing global circumstances.

Before addressing that question, we should look at how we got ourselves into our current unemployment rut. Canada's problems are hardly unique. All nations currently face a global recession to varying extents, and unacceptably high levels of unemployment, a cold comfort to the many unemployed in Canada today.

Canada does, however, have several unique characteristics that bear mentioning. Largely because of Canada's proximity to the United States, our economic development has been characterized by the presence of many branch plants of U.S. companies with decisions being made outside of Canada's borders. Although Canada does have a domestic manufacturing sector, it has never been well-developed. To be fair, Canada has also enjoyed a better standard of living that it otherwise would have because of the volume of U.S. investment. As well, Canada's natural resource advantage over the U.S. has provided a balance to U.S.-owned firms' domination in other sectors prior to the mid-1970s.

computers or related technology.

Over the past 15 years, Canada has seen the emergence of the small and medium-sized business sector as the primary job creators. Although larger companies will continue to employ significant numbers of Canadians, there is not expected to be much, if any, expansion in employment in these corporations. In fact, throughout the 1980s over 80% of the net new jobs created arose from firms with less than 50 employees. This proportion will at least remain the same, if not increase, in the 1990s.

Over the same period we have seen a proliferation of taxes which hit the small business sector harder than the larger corporations, and a multiplicity of new regulatory programs and more onerous employment standards which made the business environment much more complex and costly for smaller firms who more frequently had to employ consultants, accountants and other professionals to assist them through the regulatory maze.

There is a lot of rhetoric on the part of some groups in the election campaign that businesses are not paying enough taxes, but some reality

their large business counterparts. And many of these taxes are levied as a percentage of payroll, whether the business is making any money or not, and therefore dampens a business owner's enthusiasm to add employees, thereby increasing payroll and the attendant tax load.

Another question that should be asked is how accurate is our official unemployment data. We know that the officially measured unemployment is over 11%, and yet many people who are counted in these statistics are actually working but not declaring their income. The growth in taxation on all Canadians over the past decade has led to a greater incentive to avoid paying taxes, and a number of researchers have recently shown how this growth in underground activity really took off with the introduction of the Goods and Services Tax in 1990 combined with a severe recession. So although there is undoubtedly a serious unemployment problem in Canada, the dramatic growth in the number of individuals buying and selling goods and services in an undeclared way makes it difficult to get a grip on the true magnitude of the problem, and on appropriate solutions.

The combination of relatively high levels of taxation on individuals and small businesses and the often dubious returns to taxpayers from governments using our tax money has led to a lot of wasted energy spent on avoiding taxes and regulations, instead of energy being spent on more productive pursuits such as creating jobs and wealth. How many of us have heard of a small business owner, who ten years ago may

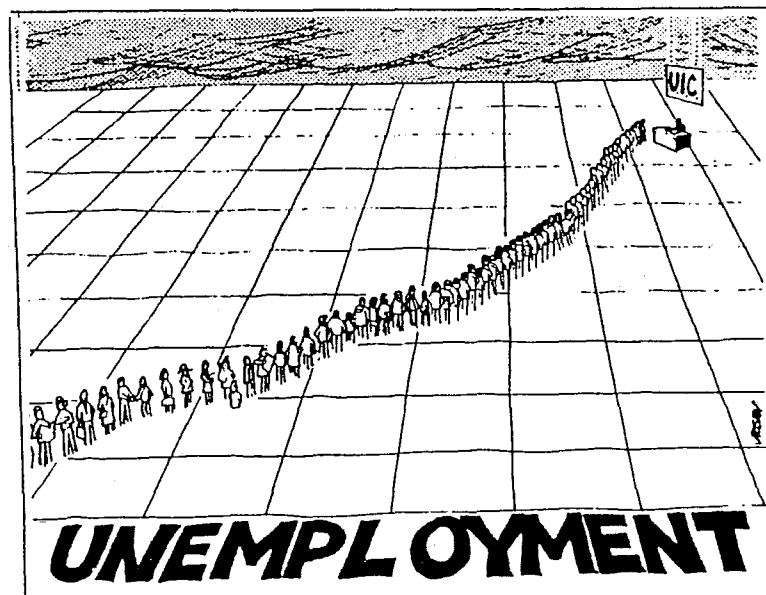
small business field over the past fifteen years has been the explosive growth in the number of women starting businesses. At one point in the mid-1980s, women were starting up new firms at a rate five times that of their male counterparts. The current rate of growth is about three times that of men – somewhat reduced but still impressive. Research also shows that women employ a higher percentage of women than average, lending some hope for improved employment prospects for women in the future.

At the risk of sounding simplistic, if we really want to create jobs, it would seem that encouraging the job creators – small and medium-sized businesses – should be the top priority. At the Canadian Federation of Independent

Accordingly, we at the CFIB have made detailed recommendations to all political parties on such topics as simplifying the GST, reforming the unemployment insurance system, streamlining the regulatory burden and reducing the overall tax burden on small firms.

Whatever the outcome of the election, the next federal government must, in consultation with other levels of government, address the twin problem of over-taxation and over-regulation if the small business sector is to fulfil its job creation potential.

*Catherine Swift is Senior Vice-President, Canadian Federation of Independent Business, and is an economist by training with private and public sector experience.*



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# Party positions: Employment Employment Employment



Prime Minister Kim Campbell has outlined the principles upon which a new Canadian partnership for jobs and new economic opportunities will be built:

A series of measures to encourage the creation of small businesses and the growth of existing ones. Eighty per cent of new jobs come from small business. We will simplify the GST for small firms. We have expanded our pilot-project Canada Service Centres across Canada, giving small business one-stop shopping for government services, and eliminating overlap and duplication. A Community Venture Capital Program (up to \$32 million over five years) will help potential investors get the managerial and other support they need to succeed. We will provide a tax break to those who put money in capital pools that invest in small business. We will extend the 5 per cent downpayment program for homebuyers for another five years.

Education and training. We need better education for all Canadians to make sure our investment in this area is paying the dividends it should. We must do a better job of teaching our children the basics and equipping them with the skills they need. Prime Minister Campbell has already announced measures to increase computer literacy in Canada's schools, and to improve access to

postsecondary education. We also need more and better training. We have to make sure the training fits the skills that are needed. Government, business and labour must do better and do more to train and retrain--life-long learning requires life-long learning.

Creating new export markets for our products. With a small market at home, the best jobs policy is a good trade policy. A satisfactory conclusion of the GATT talks is a priority. The NAFTA opens up the Mexican market. We will also seek to expand trade with Latin American and Pacific Rim countries.

Science and technology. The entire economy of tomorrow will be knowledge-based. We will hold a Science and Technology Summit to find practical ways to increase the inadequate level of business R&D in Canada. A new decision-making system will help the federal government spend its own R&D dollars smarter, and with greater effect. We will build upon the Industrial Research Assistance Program to help businesses get their ideas to market. We will restore full funding for the Centres of Excellence Program to its original annual level of \$48 million.

These measures will lead to an environment in which the private sector is able to create jobs.

The UI system will cost the federal government an

by Donna Hicks

estimated \$21.9 billion to operate in 1993. Last year, premium revenues were \$4.5 billion less than costs. Unless action is taken, the shortfall will climb even higher.

We must keep UI costs in line. This can be done by raising premiums or capping spending. We have chosen to control spending rather than increasing the tax burden of Canadians.

Part of the way we are capping spending is by effectively freezing average UI benefits for four years, starting April 4, 1993. We expected average weekly benefits to increase by about 3.5 per cent during 1993-94, based on current wage increases. We are offsetting this increase by reducing the UI benefit rate for new claimants from 60 per cent of insurable earnings to 57 per cent.

We are also denying UI benefits to voluntary quitters--people who simply choose not to work. People who quit their job for a good reason, such as sexual harassment, unsafe working conditions or obligation to take care of a child will still have full access to benefits.

We will continue to ensure that the Unemployment Insurance system is maintained for those who need it.

*Donna Hicks is Progressive Conservative candidate for Nepean.*

by Marlene Catterall



One of the principles of governing in 1990s is understanding that the key measure of social policy must be investment in people. The best way to create employment, generate economic growth, and produce a decent quality of life is to give people the opportunity, the education, and the tools to be prepared for the challenges ahead.

In the economy of the 1990s, it is the information and knowledge-based industries with their new products, new services, new markets for both old and new products, and new processes for existing businesses that are providing the foundation for jobs and economic growth. For Canada as a whole, comparable advantage now hinges not just on our natural resources or our location, but on our technological prowess - on the sophistication of our infrastructure, our ability to innovate, and most important, the education and skill levels of our population.

The challenge for a Liberal government in the 1990s is to recognize these new realities and to work in partnership with business, labour, and all levels of government to ensure that Canadians can participate fully in the benefits of this economy. We must help Canadians prepare so they can have good jobs with good incomes.

Jobs and growth depend upon making the necessary investments in ourselves and our children. Liberals will better prepare for the transition from school to the workplace and

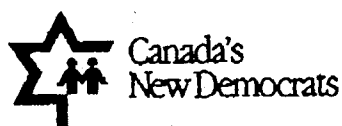
provide a constructive outlet for the skills and talents of younger Canadians through our Canadian Apprenticeship Program and the Canadian Youth Service Corps. We will enhance the opportunities for job training and improve literacy and numeracy skills of Canadian workers. We will improve access to employment for women and single-parents by making quality child care more available. We will create jobs immediately through a federal/provincial/ municipal infrastructure program. This program will also pay long-term economic benefits for Canadians by enhancing our competitive strengths.

A Liberal government will be committed to maintaining a system of unemployment insurance that provides protection for Canadians who have lost their jobs and are seeking work. We will ensure that the funds now paid out as unemployment benefits are better spent to help the unemployed acquire the skills necessary to find work. To achieve this goal, a Liberal government will work closely with provincial governments and the private sector to determine training needs and opportunities.

In contrast to the Conservative legacy of 1.6 million unemployed Canadians, our economic plan will create jobs and opportunities in the short term and build a strong foundation for new employment in secure, well paying jobs.

*Marlene Catterall, MP, Ottawa-West*

by Audrey McLaughlin



Women's participation in the workforce has dropped for the first time in 25 years - a quarter-century trend reversed by nine years of Conservative callousness. The result is that many women are forced to choose between catching up and just plain giving up. Canada works when Canadians work.

Canada's New Democrats have unveiled a plan for jobs that views women as full partners in a full employment economy.

Let me mention a number of proposals to get Canadians working again:

First, our Jobs Plan would cancel the Conservative trade agreement with the United States, and bid the same farewell to the bad trade deal with Mexico, a deal that will kill more jobs in the industries where women are the majority of workers--clothing, textile, data processing and public services. Instead, we would

promote fair trade agreements that guarantee the right to collective bargaining, workplace safety, and human dignity.

Second, our Plan supports adjustment and training programs for women entering or re-entering the workforce.

Key to that end is our third initiative: a national child care program which provides 600,000 Canadian children with quality care, creates meaningful jobs for 70,000 child care workers and opens up education and employment opportunities for countless parents. Contrary to popular opinion, child care is not a "woman's issue." It is an economic issue. And New Democrats have made it an election issue.

Above all, our Jobs Plan sees women as the spirit of small business in Canada, and the cornerstone of our country's economic renewal. Between 1979 and 1989, small

businesses created 85 per cent of all jobs in this country. During 1980-85, women launched more than half of Canada's small businesses. That's millions of new jobs at a time when corporations were laying people off.

As a fourth initiative, we'd eliminate the GST. How? By phasing it out over five years and making up the losses by closing corporate tax loopholes. Compare that to Jean Chrétien's pledge. He says, "Sure, I'll get rid of the GST, but I'll tell you how after you elect me...."

Fifth, our Jobs Plan offers concrete programs to spur entrepreneurs. Our National Investment Fund would give innovative and expanding Canadian enterprises the capital to create high-skilled jobs right here at home.

Sixth, New Democrats strongly support improved pay and employment equity.

Finally, under our plan, New



Democrats are committed to improving the unemployment insurance system, so that it does a better job of helping to build a full employment economy.

The federal government has punished unemployed Canadians by callously limiting Unemployment Insurance benefits and eligibility requirements. New Democrats fiercely fought against the draconian "reforms" in the House of Commons, in particular for the sake of

women forced to leave their jobs.

We will work to reverse the Conservatives' eligibility and entitlement restrictions to ensure that the unemployment insurance system is fair.

The New Democratic Party Jobs Plan treats women as a necessary part of a healthy economy. In that way it validates our unique needs and experiences.

*Audrey McLaughlin is the leader of the federal New Democratic Party.*

**The Womanist**



# How to avoid being bullied by the debt

by Alice deWolff and Ruth Rose (excerpted from NAC pamphlet *We Can Not Afford to be Bullied by the Debt*)

We constantly hear that our biggest problem is the debt, and that the only way to tackle it is to cut social programs and jobs in the public service, and minimize barriers to corporate growth, like taxation, high wages and trade barriers. We know that these policies are creating greater disparities between Canadians, and creating a climate where our communities are beginning to believe that we can't afford equality.

The "Debt" is the accumulated amount that the country owes. Interest on the debt is an important part of government spending and may contribute to the "deficit" which is the yearly difference between income and spending. In years where there is a deficit, the debt gets bigger, while a budgetary surplus reduces the debt. In Canada, as in many Third World countries, both the debt and the deficit have been used as arguments to cut social spending and reduce the range of government activity.

There is no denying that the current debt is large. In 1992-93, it was \$687.3 billion, or 66.7% of our GDP, up from 44.7% in 1984-85. The 1992-93 figure is comparable to what it was in the 1930s during another period of major recession, and much lower than it was during World War II.

But even the Conference Board of Canada recognizes that we don't need to panic; they estimate that with reasonable economic growth (between 3% and 4% per year), the debt will return to a more normal proportion of the economy by the end of the decade.

Putting people back to work is the solution. In the current debt hysteria, governments are refusing to create jobs, and act as if they believe that the only jobs that truly contribute to the

economy are private sector jobs. Many economists disagree, and estimate that every \$1,000 spent creating a job – whether it is a government job or a private sector job – becomes between \$1,500 and \$2,500 in the economy. Of that amount, about half returns to federal, provincial and municipal coffers.

People with decent jobs spend money and contribute taxes. When they do this, more businesses can open, more people can be hired, more money will circulate through the economy and more taxes can be paid. In turn, governments can begin to pay off the debt.

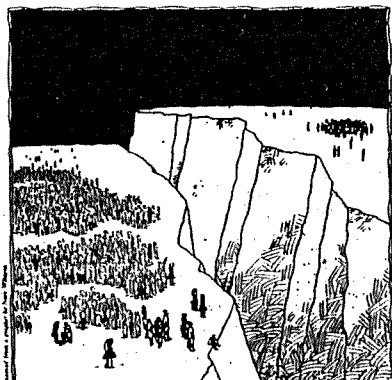
Low unemployment reduces government spending. The government estimates that the formal unemployment rate of 11% will cost employees and employers \$19 billion in Unemployment Insurance (UI) payments and retraining this year.

**Many economists disagree, and estimate that every \$1,000 spent creating a job – whether it is a government job or a private sector job – becomes between \$1,500 and \$2,500 in the economy. Of that amount, about half returns to federal, provincial and municipal coffers.**

Bringing the unemployment rate down to even 6% would reduce UI payments by almost \$10 billion. Getting the hundreds of thousands of people who want to work off welfare and into decent jobs would free up another \$5 or \$6 billion in provincial and federal resources for other programs.

Social programs are the heart of the solution. We are in the midst of a large, international tug-of-war between governments and the private sector about the control of different parts of our service sector. Not surprisingly, the international neo-conservative formula for cutting the debt includes transferring what are now public services to the private sector, either by selling government assets or by reducing programs and jobs. Our federal government has bought this formula, and has severely cut back and in some cases eliminated programs.

Federal program spending was cut from 19.5% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1984-85 to 16% in 1989-90. Cuts to social programs are an attack on our ability as a country to divide our society's



**Lower income people have experienced a 115% increase in their taxes since 1984. The country's richest people are paying only 20% more taxes. Individuals now pay almost half of the country's taxes; corporations pay only 7%.**

resources more equitably. They are an attack on the idea of equity itself.

Spending on effective health care is spending on jobs. So is spending on child care, home services for seniors and citizens with disabilities, public housing, public transportation, improved recycling, roads, military conversion projects, international humanitarian projects, environmental cleanup, and better education.

When jobs are created that assist with social equity and environmental protection, the benefits multiply and become part of the solution.

Interest on the debt has become the biggest single item in the federal budget, increasing from \$21 billion to \$39.5 billion since 1984-85. High interest rates, the result of deliberate policies of the Bank of Canada, have been the main cause of this increase.

The Bank of Canada insists that it has raised interest rates in order to combat inflation. Since 1988, however, there has been no real pressure to create inflation other than that provoked by rising federal sales taxes.

Following the negotiation of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1988, the Bank of Canada suddenly began raising its bank rate. This resulted in a change in the value of the Canadian dollar from 78¢ to 84¢ US in the space of a few months. Even in financial circles, there was speculation that an 85¢ dollar was a secret clause in the FTA. An overvalued Canadian dollar, not justified by underlying economic forces, did terrible damage to our ability to export. It also greatly increased the share of our national debt held by foreign creditors.

Governments are in a different position from individuals or private businesses when faced with their responsibilities to pay their debt. Governments have considerable influence on the interest rate itself, and their overall policy determines the level of economic activity and consequently their own

revenues. Since 1984, high interest rates, plus the lost revenue due to unemployment and an increasingly unfair tax policy, have been the principle causes of the yearly deficits – not spending on social programs.

Lowering interest rates to their traditional level of 1.4% above the rate of inflation would save the federal government \$6 billion in the first year, and \$10 billion by the third.

Lower interest rates would also stimulate private sector economic activity by reducing the cost of financing new investments, especially for small and medium sized businesses, and for community economic development projects.

The federal government must regain democratic control of the interest rate policy. Our economic policies must not be dictated by foreign banks and other large financial interests.

We no longer have a fair tax system in Canada. The frequently painted picture of rich white men shouldering high taxes to underwrite the costs of supporting the poor, most of whom are women, many of whom are non-white or native people, is no longer accurate.

In principle, our income tax system is "progressive", that is, where individuals and corporations are taxed according to their ability to pay. In reality, it is increasingly less "progressive". In the last ten years, the proportion of federal government taxes paid by corporations has been cut almost in half, while income tax on low and middle income individuals now accounts for almost half of the country's revenue.

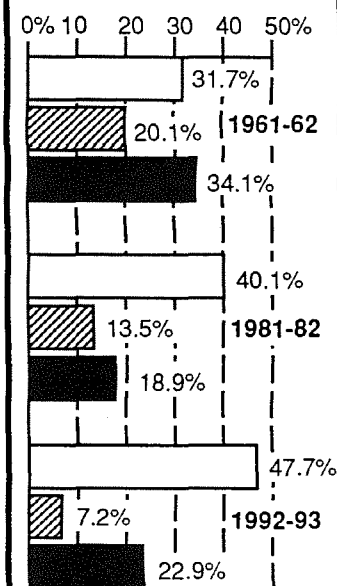
Lower and middle income Canadians are paying considerably more taxes than ten years ago. Lower income people have experienced a 115% increase in their taxes since 1984. The country's richest people are paying only 20% more taxes. Individuals now pay almost half of the country's taxes; corporations pay only 7%.

The introduction of the GST has transferred a large tax responsibility from corporations to individual consumers.

A fair tax system would lower the percentage of government revenue that comes from sales taxes, ensure that personal and corporate taxation is progressive, and increase the percentage that comes from these corporate and personal taxes.

## Taxes as a Percentage of Total Revenue

□ Personal  
▨ Corporate  
■ Sales



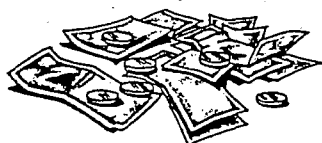
That the country has a debt is not in itself a negative thing: like any business or household, governments borrow in order to finance long-term investments. Hospitals, schools, roads, coast-guard equipment, even educated and healthy people represent assets which are the counterpart to the debt.

A federal government that valued equity would

- reduce unemployment;
- protect and develop effective social programs and public sector jobs;
- reduce interest rates on the debt;
- bring in fair taxes;
- trade fairly with many countries.

Alice deWolff is a researcher and consultant, and a member of NAC's Economic Policy Committee. Ruth Rose is an economist who teaches at the University of Québec in Montréal.

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# Party positions: Debt Debt Debt Debt Debt Debt Debt Debt



by Dianne Marleau

As far back as November 1991, Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien outlined the five economic principles that would guide a future Liberal government. One of them is "being a truly fiscally responsible government", scrutinizing every single item of spending. Mr. Chrétien stressed that if the debt burden is allowed to escalate further, "it will paralyse government's ability to act".

Liberals realize that the deficit and the debt, employment, economic growth, inflation, and taxation are all interrelated. Liberals also believe that economic policies must not merely attack an individual problem in isolation from its costs in other areas. Our balanced approach to economic policy will deal with the five major problems facing the Canadian economy today: lack of growth, high unemployment, high long-term real interest rates, too-high levels of foreign indebtedness, and excessive government debt and deficit.

At the same time, Liberals are aware that, as a country, we are very close to, if not already at that threshold where increased taxes lead to

declining revenues and a growing underground economy. Unlike the Conservatives, Liberals believe that increasing taxes is not a deficit reduction strategy.

Deficit reduction can and must be achieved through a two-track approach which combines unwavering discipline in controlling government expenditures with a comprehensive strategy to foster economic growth.

**Track one:** A Liberal government will adopt a series of measures to put Canadians back to work and foster economic growth. We will take short-term measures such as renewing Canada's infrastructure. We will also take longer-term measures to create jobs and growth by focusing on small and medium-sized businesses where most of the job growth is, setting the stage for an innovative economy. We will invest in people through initiatives such as a National Apprenticeship Program, encourage research and development, and foster trade initiatives.

**Track Two:** A Liberal government will reduce the deficit. We will implement new programs only if they can be

funded within existing expenditures. We will exercise unwavering discipline in controlling federal spending and will reorder current spending priorities to make sure that maximum return is obtained on each investment.

Expenditure reductions will be achieved by cancelling unnecessary programs, streamlining processes, and eliminating duplication. This effort will take place in partnership with provincial governments.

A Liberal government will have as its goal the elimination of the deficit. Liberals believe that a balanced approach to deficit reduction must be adopted — one that recognizes that excessive government spending, lack of economic growth, and high unemployment all contribute to growing deficits. As an interim step, a Liberal government priority will be to reduce the federal deficit as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product, from its current level of 5.2 percent to 3 percent: the standard set by the European Community in the Maastricht Treaty.

Diane Marleau, MP, Sudbury, ON



Canada's  
New Democrats

by Mary Ann Higgs

The best way to reduce the debt is to get Canada — and Canadians — back to work. The strong contribution of women in the unpaid and wage economy is especially important.

New Democrats are committed to controlling the national debt through **full employment policies**, for the following reasons:

- Left to grow indefinitely, the debt threatens the federal government's ability to build full employment and social justice. Each dollar spent on interest is a dollar not spent on building full employment, on the environment, or on alleviating child poverty.

- The federal debt is becoming a regressive instrument, transferring wealth from lower-income taxpayers to higher-income debt owners.

- The rising percentage of total public debt held by offshore investors threatens our national sovereignty, and bleeds our economy.

- Spending proportionately more on public debt charges than our trading partners means that we have less public capital for productive investment — a long-term comparative disadvantage.

The debt is the consequence of high unemployment, not the cause.

Our plan fundamentally reorients federal economic policy, placing the priority on jobs. We propose to deal with the debt in four ways.

1. An employment strategy that will increase revenues and reduce spending on income support by creating 500,000 additional jobs.

2. Tax reform to share the tax burden fairly. We advocate progressive taxation, increasing the number of personal income tax brackets, a wealth tax, eliminating most capital gains exemptions, and taxing private trusts. We oppose business deductions for the costs of meals, entertainment, and escort services. We propose a

corporate minimum tax and a restriction on tax deductibility on borrowing to finance investments overseas. We will scrap the GST over five years.

3. Sustained low real interest rates, which are essential if we are to re-orient federal economic policy towards building full employment, leading to a reduction in the national debt.

4. A program to get the federal government's house in order. We would reallocate spending away from unproductive tax expenditures, i.e. wasteful and inefficient contracting-out of public services, and from the defence budget (no \$5.8 billion submarine-hunting

helicopters). We would phase out no-strings-attached cash gifts to business, have a smaller federal Cabinet and an independent review of MPs' and senior public officials' pensions, eliminate duplication between federal departments, and between the federal government and other jurisdictions. New Democrats would encourage government departments to be more innovative, and promote excellence in the Public Service by speaking directly with those who are doing the work.

These measures would reduce the deficit and get the federal debt under control within the next five years.

The federal New Democrats' approach to the Canadian economy would have a very beneficial effect on federal balances, according to an independent economic analysis conducted by a private econometric research firm. According to that firm's forecast and analysis, the federal debt would drop to \$8.0 billion in 1997, and our Jobs Plan would cut a total of \$10.9 billion from projected federal deficits over the five years from 1994 to 1998.

Mary Ann Higgs is the New Democratic Party candidate for the riding of Kingston and the Islands.

by Dorothy Dobbie

The debt is the sum of all past deficits. Canadians have made it clear that they want the deficit brought down through spending cuts, not higher taxes. We hear you loud and clear.

Taxes are at the limit in this country. There must be no new taxes and no new tax increases. Prime Minister Kim Campbell has made it clear that there will be neither. Any additional revenues must be those that are the result of economic growth. The deficit must be brought down through spending control. There will be no real increases in spending.

In the 15 years before 1984, program spending rose by an average of 13.8 per cent a year. We cut waste, and reduced grants to business and special interest groups. Many programs Ottawa could no longer afford are gone. Since 1984, we have held program spending growth to an average of 3.6 per cent a year.

We passed a law to limit spending. The *Spending Control Act* will help us hold the growth of government spending on programs to an average of 1.7 per cent a year until 1997.

This year's budget set out a plan to bring down the deficit to \$8 billion by 1997. As our goal is to balance the budget within

five years, more must be done.

And we must work in partnership with the provinces to meet that goal, finding less costly ways to deliver programs and services.

Governments must coordinate their plans to keep the lid on taxes, hold the line on spending, and eliminate the deficit.

You have had it with governments fighting over turf, over who will run what program, over who will spend your tax dollars. You want better results and better use of your tax dollars.

Better results must begin at the top. Prime Minister Campbell has made the largest change to the way the government is structured in our history. There are now only 23 departments instead of 32. She has brought back together functions that had been apart for too long and cut operating costs.

When outsiders look at Canada, they do not just see Ottawa's \$30 billion deficit. They see a total federal and provincial deficit that is twice that amount. Within 30 days of the election, we will hold a First Ministers' Conference to discuss a National Plan for Debt Management.

Too many departments are



located in different offices in the same city. This drives up the cost of government, and makes it harder for you to get help and information. Adding to the problem are provincial offices doing similar things. We can give you better service at less cost by starting to combine federal offices in one place, and by combining federal and provincial offices.

For businesses, we are setting up Canada Business Centres to provide easy one-stop access to government services while cutting back on overhead.

Workers who need help are faced with a multitude of federal and provincial offices, and a patchwork of programs that are not coordinated enough. We have taken specific action to work with provincial governments to meet the needs of workers, while cutting back on overhead. We will talk to each province about other ways to cut overlap and duplication, and to improve service.

You should not have to wait weeks when you need government help. A new

computerized system for government benefit cheques will provide better service at less cost.

Prime Minister Campbell is deeply committed to deficit reduction.

One of the hardest decisions she has already had to make was to reduce the size of the helicopter order. All of the cuts apply to shipborne aircraft, and not to the 15 to be used for search and rescue.

She does not, and I do not, accept the suggestion that those who risk their lives to

serve our country or to save the life of others should fly in what are becoming antique aircraft. Buying 43 instead of 50 will save \$1 billion. We are doing what we can to save money. But we will not put in jeopardy our security, our safety, or our sovereignty by cancelling this purchase.

These are but a few examples of the things that must be done in the years ahead.

Dorothy Dobbie is Progressive Conservative candidate for Winnipeg South.





# Healthcare: The Basics

by Jane Fulton

Canada's health care system has become a media event and a cornerstone of the federal election campaign. Politicians, journalists and the public are caught in a storm of controversy surrounding the questions of whether or not Canada's system will continue to survive as we know it, or whether it will become harsh and elitist like the United States' health care system.

There are a few facts we should remember in this debate. The basic philosophical principles of Canada's health system were formalized in the *Canada Health Act* in 1984, three decades after the first legislative moves to make health care available to all.

These principles are universal coverage, comprehensive benefits, portability of the coverage, public (non-profit) administration and no extra-billing. In other words, all Canadians have health insurance coverage, wherever they live or work. This coverage is provided by a government agency whose revenues are drawn from personal taxes and excise taxes on commodities such as alcohol, tobacco and gasoline.

In Ontario, citizens also contribute through insurance premiums paid by employers but deducted from the individual's pay. These premiums cover about one-fifth of the health care costs in Ontario. The resources collected are paid out by this government agency to hospitals in the form of global budgets and to physicians as fees-for-service.

Seniors and many other low-income Canadians are covered by a drug benefit plan which pays for pharmaceuticals and other health aids. There are no charges to Canadians at the point of service delivery. All this, combined with an extensive public health system and a long term care system, costs Canada 8.9% of its GNP.

Notwithstanding, efforts to constrain growth in the system, Canada still has the most

costly publicly funded health system on earth. Even with this expenditure, Canada remains behind Sweden and Japan in infant mortality and longevity but well ahead of the United States on the same measures. It follows that spending more on health care is no guarantee of health.

The health delivery approach in Canada is structured around ten provincial health plans. Canada actually does not have

medical service and there are no bad debts.

Emergency care is available to all Canadians (and all visitors to Canada) at no cost at the emergency room. There is no out-of-pocket charge for ambulance dispatch centers to the most appropriate emergency if several are nearby. For example, a trauma victim may be routed to a hospital where a surgeon and an anaesthetist are already on site, rather than a hospital that

and provincial governments have picked up the deficit. This year, in the midst of a recession and with government revenues down, these deficits will not be welcome.

It is true that medical technology is less available in Canada than in the United States. It is also true that our infant mortality is lower and Canadians live longer than Americans. It is difficult to accept that the over-capitalized and under-utilized diagnostic equipment is not the key to good health. It sounds more like an industry marketing strategy than common sense. In fact, Canada prefers to be compared to other health systems whose values about access and fairness are similar. Good comparisons are Sweden, Japan and Germany, where Canadians are in the same ball park, but still at greater cost.

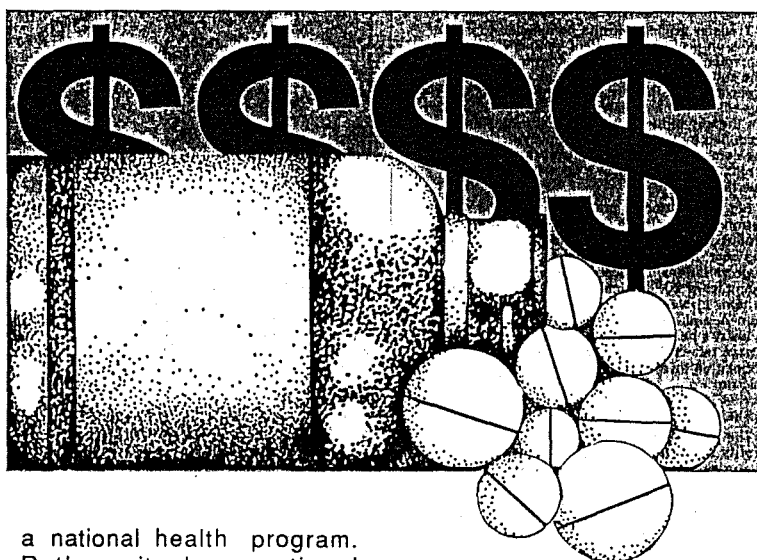
Health planning in Canada also benefits from one insurance plan in each province. Central decisions about where to place a lithotripsy program, or which community needs an air ambulance assist in assuring maximum utilization of the resource and fair remuneration for the physicians working with a program. Entrepreneurial spirit within hospitals encourages government to fund new programs where they are needed, rather than add technology where there is a limited patient load available.

States, where each service delivered is billed to a variety of insurances, each of whom may challenge the diagnosis or accounting.

Universal health insurance has beneficial effects on the economy. Small businesses are not at risk of bankruptcy because of health premiums sky-rocketing. Canadian automobile plants produce cars for \$700 less per vehicle than plants in the United States because the auto industry does not pay health premiums. The choices Canadians have made are made explicitly, by politicians, hospital boards, and doctors. The Canadian non-profit hospital industry allows consumers to choose their doctor, their hospital and their home care support. It is a system that eliminates the fear of child birth or illness or old age. It eliminates the fear of financial ruin due to chronic illness or disability. It eliminates the fear of a physician who refuses treatment because of a patient's inability to pay.

The majority of Canadian doctors find universal insurance and the simple billing procedures in Canada a support to quality care. Patients are treated early, needed drugs are free for vulnerable groups, and state-of-the-art diagnostic procedures are available for those whose conditions warrant. The Canadian Medical Association reported that only 152

## FOR HEALTH OR FOR PROFIT?



a national health program. Rather it has national legislation which causes tax revenue to flow to provinces (on a limited basis).

In Ontario, for example, 2 billion of the 17 billion dollars spent on health programs is a transfer from the federal government in Ottawa.

Hospitals in Canada are not "nationalized" or government-owned, as in Great Britain. More than 95 percent of Canada's hospitals are privately-held corporations, which are funded by government. Admission to a hospital does not depend on ability to pay, but on medical need as determined by a physician. For example, it is a physician who will assess the urgency of an elective procedure and prioritize patient access to surgery. A second opinion is not necessary to determine patient eligibility for surgery, nor is checking with a third party payor. Government pays all of the agreed fee for a

is five minutes closer.

Choices about major programs, such as heart transplant or trauma units, are made by the boards of hospitals in consultation with faculties of medicine in universities, and governments who must pay the bill. These choices attempt to reflect public opinion as well as other potential uses for public resources such as education, industrial development and subsidized day-care. Therefore, the kinds of services and the availability of those services are determined through this explicit priority setting.

Waiting is *not* evidence of the inadequacy of funding, but an example of priorities. For example, in 1991 British Columbia elected to give an annual fee increment to family practitioners that would have paid for the entire cardiac surgery program for the province twice over. As a result, media attention to "waiting lists" for coronary artery bypass in British Columbia has little impact on the health plan.

The choices of how to spend the public's money were made jointly by physicians, hospitals and the government insurance plan in advance of the year's expenditures. Almost without fail, hospitals and physician payment exceed the budget

The U.S. spends over 12% of its national wealth on health care, compared with Canada's 9.5%, but despite spending such vast sums, more than 37 million Americans have no health insurance, and another 50 million have only partial coverage. This is mainly because so much of U.S. health care money is siphoned off in profits for more than 2,000 insurance companies, the top 20 of which shared \$760 million in profits in 1990.

Action Canada Network

Approximately 44% of Ontario's health budget is allocated to hospitals, about 30% goes for physician fees, 6% is directed to emergency services including ambulances, 5% for mental health services, 4% for community-based care, 5% for the drug benefit plan and only 1% for administration.

This low administrative cost occurs because Canadian physicians are trusted by government and bills are generally paid in full within two weeks of submission. It is also due to the global budget system of paying for hospitals. This differs from the United

physicians left Canada for the United States in 1991. With more than 40,000 practising physicians in Canada, this is less than a drop in the bucket.

On a world standard, Canada is only one of the many industrial nations that use public resources to create and support a healthy population. Canada is neither the most efficient producer of health care, nor the healthiest nation.

Jane Fulton, M.Sc., Ph.D. is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Administration at the University of Ottawa, Canada. She is the co-author of *Health Care in Canada, a description and analysis of Canadian health services*.



**Evelyn Gigantes**  
MPP/DÉPUTÉE

Ottawa Centre

(613) 237-0212

# Party positions: Healthcare Healthcare Healthcare

by Dawn Black, M.P.



Shortly after I gave birth to twins, my two-year-old son became critically ill with a retinal tumour. I was shocked and upset at the problems we had with the health care system. It was a politicising experience for me. I wanted to do something to improve the quality and accessibility of health care.

I became politically involved, and found that the NDP had the greatest commitment to health care.

A 1991 study by the National Council on Welfare reported that according to the current federal cutback formula, by the year 2010 *no federal funds at all will be spent on health care*. Because the federal/provincial funds are administered by the provinces, Kim Campbell and

Jean Chrétien are counting on people blaming the provinces for these cutbacks. The real problem is a culmination of 18 years of federal government policies of shortchanging the provinces' health budgets.

The New Democratic Party is firmly opposed to user fees AND the underlying reasons why provinces are even considering user fees: the federal withdrawal of funds from health care.

New Democrats would:

- stabilize federal transfer payments for health care
- promote preventative care
- support health research
- and eliminate federal measures such as excessive patent protection, which increase the cost of prescription drugs.

We are dedicated to upholding the principles of the Canada Health Act: universality, accessibility, portability, comprehensiveness and public administration. But the federal government can only enforce these standards by threatening to withdraw funds from provinces who don't meet them. Without a commitment to stopping the federal cutbacks to health care, any statement in favour of the Canada Health Act is also meaningless.

The New Democratic Party is officially pro-midwifery, and wants to support the proliferation of women's health clinics. I proposed the only motion to increase support for family planning research and education. Both these motions

were defeated by Liberal and Conservative MPs.

My New Democrat colleague Joy Langan has been in the forefront of getting unsafe breast implants off the market. An implantee herself, after beating breast cancer, Joy worked tirelessly and persistently on this issue, raising it in the House of Commons until a moratorium on the use of these breast implants was declared. In 1991, I suggested that the House of Commons Sub-Committee on the Status of Women, of which I am a member, study the issue of the underfunding of breast cancer research and prevention. The report led directly to a \$25 million federal increase in spending on breast cancer research.

There are health consequences to women's inequality and violence against women. Aboriginal men and women have lower life expectancies than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. Poverty is related to illness. We need to take a larger view of health care in general, and women's health in particular. Measures that promote women's equality, economic and social justice are an integral part of controlling health care costs, and of a healthier Canada in all respects.

*Dawn Black is the New Democratic Party status of women critic and incumbent candidate for New Westminster-Burnaby.*

We are strongly committed to Canada's national health care system and will continue to make sure the *Canada Health Act* is respected. We have said that we will work with the provinces to uphold the five basic principles of the Act--universality, equal access, comprehensiveness, portability, and non-profit administration.

We understand that health care is a fundamental part of the Canadian identity. We have no intention of opening up the *Canada Health Act* to user fees. That means no user fees for medically necessary services.

Contrary to what some people are saying, there is no crisis in Canada's health care system, but we do need to re-examine the way health care is delivered so we can maintain it for future generations.

We cannot allow our national health system to be fragmented. Different needs and concerns govern the approaches taken by various provinces and territories. That is to be expected. However, we believe that Canadians across this country should have equal access to quality health care. At the same time, we must get better value for our money from the system.

We must--and want to--work with the provincial governments to ensure that programs are delivered in a cost-effective manner that is in touch with the needs of Canadians.

Through the *Established Programs Financing Act*, we

by the Hon. Mary Collins



provide a block fund contribution for health care which the provinces may allocate according to their own priorities. EPF funds are provided in the form of cash and tax points. Tax transfers are as legitimate a means of support as cash transfers. The *Canada Health Act* allows the federal government to cut EPF transfers dollar for dollar if a province imposes user fees for medicare services. Legislation allows that money to be deducted from other transfers if the cash portion of the EPF transfer is nil. This preserves our ability to enforce medicare standards.

As part of our overall deficit-fighting restraint program, we have reduced the growth of EPF payments. There has, however, been **no cut** in the level of payments, which are continuing to increase. In fact, EPF transfers to the provinces have risen from \$14.6 billion in 1984-85 to an estimated \$21.4 billion in 1993-94.

Canada already has a great health care system, but I believe that we can make it even better.

*Mary Collins is the Minister of Health and Progressive Conservative candidate for Capilano-Howe Sound.*

by Dr. Hedy Fry



Medicare is one of our greatest national projects and a defining element of Canadian society. Medicare is based upon the belief that every Canadian has a right to receive the health care needed regardless of personal circumstance.

A Liberal government is committed to preserving universal health care, knowing full well that the years ahead will offer many challenges to the survival of our health care system.

The Liberal Party is committed to protecting the principles outlined in the *Canada Health Act* (1984).

The federal government cannot withdraw from its fiscal obligation to medicare.

It is clear that a

In the 1970s, 50% of health care costs were paid by the federal government. Today, Ottawa contributes only 24% of these costs; and, if future scheduled cuts are made, federal financial support for Medicare will end completely by the end of this decade.

Action Canada Network

comprehensive re-examination of the financing of Canada's health care program is required. Since 1986, the impact of the Conservative government's successive, unilateral adjustments to the formula used to establish federal health care contributions has been well known. These adjustments have put added financial pressure on provincial governments. While economic conditions may change, the health care requirements of Canadians remain. Our objective is to establish funding arrangements that will provide financial certainty and predictability for both the provinces and the federal government.

The first objective of the federal government should be to help the provinces manage the challenges they face with the funding and effective administration of health care. In a country that is already the highest per capita spender on health care of any country with a national health care system, spending more money is not the answer - spending it more wisely is. That is why a Liberal government will establish The National Forum on Health.

The National Forum on Health will bring together the major partners and parties involved in dealing with the health of Canadians in order to define

the issues, help focus the discussion, and assist in developing solutions and strategies -- always in accordance with the five principles of Canadian medicare.

The Liberal Party rejects user fees as a means of funding health care. In principle, user fees run counter to the Canadian value of sharing certain major risks in order to build a better society for all. In practical terms, user fees do not work. The implementation of user fees in Saskatchewan from 1968 to 1971 did not result in lower health care costs for government. User fees, in theory, merely shift a small fraction of the cost from the public to the private sector. But the overall cost remains. And it is the overall cost which bears upon the productivity and competitiveness of our society relative to others. To grasp at user fees as a "quick fix" is to tinker with the health care system at its margins and to deceive ourselves into believing that we can ignore the real challenge of achieving a better balance between more appropriate care for the sick, and dealing with the every-day experiences that determine of the health of Canadians.

*Dr. Hedy Fry is the Liberal Candidate for Vancouver Centre.*



# Canada in the world: missionary or mercenary?

by Lyse Blanchard

Many of the teachers I had as a child were nuns who had returned to Canada after years spent teaching in Africa. They would often hold assemblies to show us slides of African children in open-air classrooms. One of the Sisters gave us each a photo of an African child around our own age. Even if these children looked different than us, she said, we had a lot in common. Only they were poor. They were so poor, we were told, that they didn't have enough to eat. The Catholic Sisters encouraged each of us to help our African friend by going without lunch for a day a month and donating the 50 cents saved to church school and development projects in Africa.

That experience left an impression on me. I'm sure other Canadians have been touched by similar lessons from their schoolteachers, religious and secular. We have a history of helping others. We saw these Canadian values reflected in the overwhelming response to the famine in the Horn of Africa in 1984-85, when individual Canadians donated some \$50 million to the relief effort. Somewhere between the missionary tradition and the mercenary approach to development, Canada's foreign aid has evolved over the years to create a "good-guy" image. But unless there is a major shift in the present direction, this image will quickly fade.

Canada's foreign aid became more "professional" with the growth of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), a Crown Corporation set up in 1968 and headed by its own cabinet minister until recently. CIDA's budget grew to nearly \$3 billion as Canada sought to be a major player in the UN, the Commonwealth and *la Francophonie*, and as the federal government sought to support the efforts of Canadian voluntary agencies at work in the Third World.

Today, at CIDA headquarters in Hull, a massive downsizing exercise is underway, as officials implement \$4 billion in development aid cuts imposed by the Conservative government since 1989.



Among the hardest-hit by the budget cuts are the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Crossroads, CUSO, Canada World Youth and the Centre canadien d'études et de coopération internationale. These NGOs run community development projects, like water wells, agricultural projects, women's groups, rural schools, literacy training and health clinics.

At External Affairs, meanwhile, a leaked document **Policy Update**, which made

recipients as Indonesia, for example, were spared.

This is in line with the same External Affairs document which recommends that "geographic allocations (of Canadian aid) be targeted on key countries of long-term strategic interest to Canada and on the basis of foreign policy priorities, including development objectives." The document adds – in case we missed the point – that, "in some cases commitments may have to be broken."

CIDA's current direction contradicts the Conservative government's stated aid policy, outlining in the 1987 document **Sharing Our Future**. That policy says, "the primary purpose of Canadian ODA (overseas development assistance) is to help the poorest countries and people of the world."

The contradiction was confirmed when Prime Minister Mulroney announced at the

"More and more CIDA assistance is being made conditional on the recipient countries' adherence to World Bank or International Monetary Fund structural adjustment programs. These programs usually include cutbacks in health and education spending, currency devaluations, export promotion (favouring cash crops over food, for example), and the elimination of food price subsidies."

"In a recent report, UNICEF blamed the deaths of 500,000 people on the suffering caused by the structural adjustment programs imposed on poor countries by the IMF and World Bank on behalf of the northern creditor nations they represent."

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the rounds in the NGO community last winter, argues that Canadian aid should concentrate on those parts of the world that offer "an economic rationale." The logic of that means Canada would pull out of Africa. The withdrawal has already started. Canada pulled out trade offices a couple of years ago. In March, CIDA announced that budget cuts required that bilateral aid be ended to 14 countries, including seven in Africa. Such middle-income

Yeltsin-Clinton Summit in the spring of 1993 that Canada will give \$200 million to Russia. This money came from the financial 'envelope' containing funds for aid to the developing world. We take from Africa and give to Eastern Europe.

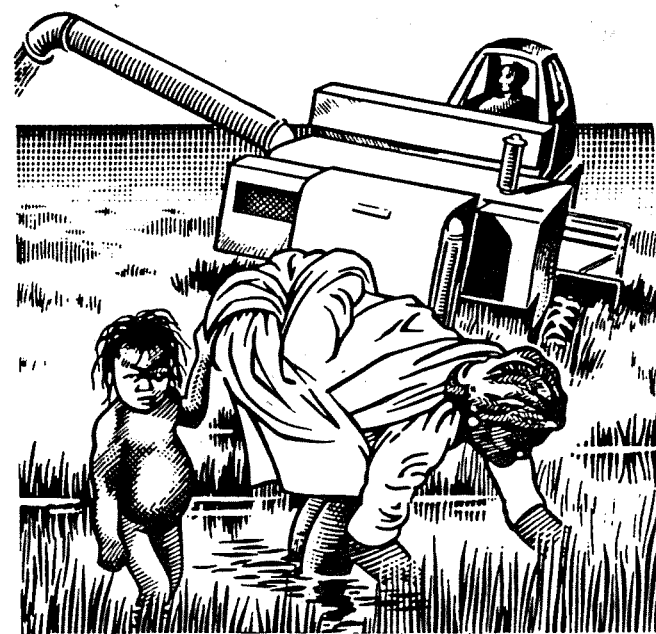
The latest cuts bring total reductions to projected ODA since 1989 to \$4.4 billion. Of aid that remains, now 0.4% of GNP, more of it than ever is driven by export promotion and "market penetration" objectives rather than helping the poorest.

As Canada has followed other recession-battered Northern countries in reducing aid, Canada's important presence in Africa – the only industrial country at once a member of the Commonwealth and *la Francophonie* – has withered. Unfortunately, the trend towards disengagement from Africa by Northern countries coincides with and exacerbates deepening poverty, violence and the dismantling of local economies, with all their consequences.

palliatives, and usually complicate the situation.

Nothing short of a comprehensive review of Canada's foreign policy will help make some sense of our economic, defense, trade, diplomatic and aid positioning in the world. At the moment, all political parties seem to be shying away from such a review, a review which the NGO community is calling for.

Long-term solutions that promote international security lie in human development,



An example is Somalia. Only a few years ago, most Canadians had scarcely heard of it. But since 1990, Canada has resettled some 12,000 refugees in Canada, sent hundreds of food relief flights and peacekeeping troops. However, some analysts predict that Africa currently holds another 20 potential Somalias.

"Migration, drugs, environmental degradation and terrorism will hammer on your doors like you won't believe," Hahub UI Haq, special advisor to the United Nations, told a House of Commons committee recently. With 95 of every 100 children born this decade living in the Third World, he said, the notion of global security has taken on a whole new meaning.

Many wars currently raging in the South, and crises identified by Haq, are rooted in hunger, inequality and exploitation. As is proving the case in Somalia, foreign troops and refugee relief are only short-term

democracy and social change. These solutions cannot be found without the sincere and sustained engagement of both Northern countries and NGOs, nor without the building of alliances between people, communities and organizations who share a common agenda for change.

Increasingly, NGOs in the North – the secularized progeny of the missionary nuns who taught us as children – have adapted their mission statements to strengthen their partners and build alliances: the NGOs, labour and farmers' unions, women's groups and popular organizations of the South. It is these groups that represent and channel the dynamism and discontent of the marginalized. It is they who will create social change, democracy and authentic human development.

Lyse Blanchard is the Executive Director of CUSO.

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# Party positions: Foreign Policy Foreign Policy Foreign

by Suzanne Duplessis



This government is committed to working for stronger international security, respect for democracy and human rights, and prosperity through international trade.

As a responsible member of the world community, we want to maintain a peaceful international order so we may pursue our own interests. We are committed to defence and collective security, arms control and disarmament, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. We strongly support

human rights issues throughout the world.

A UN study found that Canada is one of the best countries in the world to live, based on factors like health, education, life expectancy, employment opportunities and wages. We are taking steps to ensure we continue to prosper.

We are unequivocally committed to the United Nations. It has always been our view that the UN is the best vehicle for international progress toward stability. The

UN has taken on new importance with the end of the Cold War, as many states are more willing to work through the body to address international problems. Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali's *An Agenda for Peace*, spells out the UN's role. We played an important role in the development of the *Agenda*. Much of it also reflects our own philosophy and experience in peacekeeping.

We believe in adapting peacekeeping to meet changing needs and have acted on these beliefs. This

year we have taken part in peacekeeping and peacemaking operations--15 operations around the world. Peacekeeping is expensive work. We believe that the UN must be able to call on more nations to shoulder the burden.

We will work with our allies to reform groups such as the United Nations. This will strengthen the international community's role in peacekeeping and conflict prevention, and help equip it to respond quickly to crises. Prime Minister Kim Campbell has already led discussions on this issue at this year's G-7 Summit in Tokyo.

Canada's defence policy statement of April 1992 helps us protect our vital interests and maintain our peacekeeping efforts. It reflects the spectacular developments that have shaken the world. It also makes sure National Defence does its part to cut the deficit.

Foreign aid leads to improvements on all levels of social, economic and political life. It supports projects that attack the root causes of instability and conflict. The basic framework of Canada's foreign aid was set out in our Foreign Policy Framework (published in 1991). Our goals are to:

Strengthen cooperative security;

Create sustainable prosperity;

Secure democracy and respect for human values;

Continue our policies aimed at humanitarian assistance and alleviating poverty.

We are committed to helping people around the world who need our help. What we spend on foreign aid and where we spend it depends on need and what we can afford.

Suzanne Duplessis is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Louis-Hébert.

## Military Facts

- In 1987, the Canadian government committed itself to a 15 year, \$200 billion spending program. The \$5.8 billion attack helicopters are only part of this outdated Cold War plan.
- The Defense Department has grown by 40% after inflation in 12 years.
- Only eight other countries spend more money on the military than Canada.
- Canada's military budget exceeds the combined military budgets of all South American countries.

Canadian Peace Alliance



by Christine Stewart



Liberals will pursue a more independent foreign policy. We see Canada as having a unique opportunity to play a major role in the creation of a post-Cold War era of international cooperation. Liberals want to pursue policy initiatives that seek to improve global organizations, such as the UN, the NATO in Europe, and the OAS in Latin America, to meet new global peace and security challenges. Liberals see an opportunity to create new regimes for international cooperation in the Arctic and the Pacific, and to focus attention on pressing issues such as world population migration, the global arms trade, environmental degradation, human rights, and chronic poverty in the Third World. Relations with the United States will be friendly but business-like; the emphasis on "special personal relationships" will be eschewed in favour of a substantive partnership between close but independent nations.

The Liberals want to take Canadian defence policy in a different direction. They intend

to make international peacekeeping a priority role for Canada's armed forces and will direct defence dollars that way. The \$5.8 billion helicopter deal will be cancelled because it is unnecessary and unaffordable - more cost-effective options will be considered. Surplus military bases will be converted to alternative uses and defence industries will be encouraged to convert to peacetime and/or peacekeeping equipment production.

Liberals also intend to involve Canadians much more in foreign policy decision-making. Parliament will be consulted before any peacekeeping or other major international commitment is made. A National Forum on Canada's International Relations will be established to seek the views of Canadians as to what should be the key priorities in our foreign policy. A Liberal government will consult widely and regularly with interested and knowledgeable Canadians.

Christine Stewart, MP,  
Northumberland, ON

Addressing global inequality and injustice is among the important responsibilities Canada holds as a world nation. Canada must play a more active role in closing the North-South gap, and in raising standards of living and quality of life for people in the South. We must recognize that women have a key central role in Southern societies and must recognize the need to reinforce the position of women in development.

The New Democratic approach to sustainable development focuses on meeting basic human needs and in this the critical role of women. We want to improve both the quality and quantity of Canada's development assistance. Essential in doing so is supporting women's education, health care and nutrition, family planning, and role in water management.

New Democrats believe Canada should be a world leader in promoting human rights and democracy, sustainable development, peaceful conflict resolution, environment rescue and building a stronger United Nations. Future peace and security depend on progress in these areas.

The end of the Cold War challenges Canada and other nations to better address global issues. One way is to

create and use a real "peace dividend" to improve the social, economic and environmental well-being of all - this should be Canada's only long-term security policy. New Democrats believe that a reformed United Nations could play a central role in promoting global security and sustainable human and economic development.

There is no longer any need for Cold War thinking and the Cold War alliances of NATO and NORAD. We favour "common security" based on reduced armaments, lower military spending and civil confidence building measures in Europe and elsewhere. At home, Canada can reduce the size of our military, cancel unnecessary equipment purchases, and close bases no longer needed in a post-Cold War world. Canada should develop expertise in peacekeeping, search and rescue, environment protection, drug interdiction, surveillance and disaster relief. We propose the creation of a United Nations peacekeeping training centre in Canada, which would encourage women recruits.

New Democrats believe that trade and aid must be linked to the human and labour rights records of our trading partners. Fair trade between Canada and the rest of the world is our goal: we must ensure that Canadian

exports have the same access to the markets of our trading partners that they have to ours, and that developing countries get fair prices for their products. Canada can best promote global equality and security by giving even greater support to the goal of environmentally sustainable development. We should increase the quality of Canadian official development assistance through a greater emphasis on untied aid.

Canada must also push for the removal of protectionist barriers to North-South trade and, just as important, for reforms to regional and international development banks. In place of ruinous debt repayment programs, countries moving towards democracy should be granted debt forgiveness to free up capital for investment at home.

New Democrats are opposed to structural adjustment programs which damage incomes, social welfare and the environment in Southern countries. In place of the use of massive commodity and cash crop exports to pay down foreign debt, we favour an expansion of South-South trade and greater regional self-sufficiency.

Emily Carasco is the New Democratic Party candidate for the riding of Windsor West.



by Emily Carasco



# Our real debt is to the planet

by Elizabeth May

When the politicians say they understand the problems Canada faces and that they will govern so as not to leave our children with an unacceptable burden as the result of our actions, they are, of course, talking about the deficit, debt, unemployment and sometimes, even, social programmes.

What they are not talking about is the one really critical issue of our time - survival. While the severity of the deficit is subject to some debate, there is no question that the ecological deficit, the result of decades of abuse of our natural world in the name of short term profits, threatens not just the fiscal health of future generations, but their chances for a tolerable quality of life, for breathable air, drinkable water, for nourishing food.

At the dawn of the 1990's, the Worldwatch Institute dubbed it the "Turn-Around Decade", signifying that our task in the last ten years of this millennium was to change society's course in order to avoid some of the catastrophic results that threaten the biosphere as a result of our over-consumptive lifestyle. The Earth Summit in Rio was a hopeful sign.

In 1992, nations of the world had a golden opportunity to change course, meeting together at the world's largest-ever summit. But they did not seize that opportunity. They left Rio having accomplished the perceived politically acceptable minimum. And somehow, with Rio out of the way, politicians felt safe in ignoring the environment. The press joined them. But when we are talking about issues like ozone depletion, climate change and the largest mass extinction of species since the dinosaurs, the issue of survival has its own imperatives.

Three years into the Turn-Around Decade and we have only begun to glance over our shoulder. We are still moving

down the wrong road and have not yet begun to turn around. Yet the election rhetoric of 1993 is almost entirely devoid of environmental content. Liberal leader Jean Chrétien actually did a major one-day focus on environmental technologies, but the press ignored him for his troubles, and no other leader, other than the Green Party, has mentioned it since.

In their responses to this paper, the parties put their greenest foot forward. Of the three, clearly Lynn Hunter of the NDP comes closest to espousing the ethic from the Brundtland Report, *The World Commission on Environment and Development*, that the environment cannot be dealt with in isolation. That environmental problems and development issues are inextricably linked, and that the third leg of that stool is militarism.

Still, the NDP has not been raising the environment as an election issue and is sabotaged by its provincial parties' performance - uranium mining in Saskatchewan and logging Clayoquot Sound in British Columbia.

The Liberals have included a chapter on "Sustainable Development" in their policy document, *Creating Opportunities*. (It is interesting that the notion of "sustainable development" which is envisioned as the complete integration of environment into economic decision-making, or a consensus or compromise position, is slowly coming to replace the word "environment" as a point of advocacy. We still need explicitly environmental positions to feed into the transition to sustainability.) The media, predictably, have not mentioned the commitments in the Liberal document.

The Liberals have made some strong promises - to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, the major



greenhouse gas implicated in climate change, by 20% of 1988 levels by the year 2000; to create an office of Environmental Auditor General with independent powers; to review all government subsidies to identify where they undermine long-term sustainability; to strengthen environmental assessment. Beyond the policy document, the Liberals also committed to preserving Clayoquot Sound as a National Park.

However, the Liberal party's record on tough issues is also not reassuring. On the Fixed Link between P.E.I. and New Brunswick where the two provincial premiers promoting the scheme are Liberals, the federal party has been reluctant to criticise the abuse of process around the rushed and inadequate environmental review.

The Progressive Conservative party has quite unexpectedly gotten much worse in its environmental performance since the swearing in of Kim Campbell. As a matter of policy and practice, the government has all but abandoned its much touted Green Plan. Of the \$3 billion originally committed in 1990, only \$496 million has been allocated.

As flawed as the Plan was, it was a reasonable first step in committing the federal government to environmental programmes. But the Green Plan was overwhelmed by its

- In Canada 14,000 lakes are dead and 40,000 more are dying.
- Over 11 billion acres around the world - 35% of the Earth's land surface - are becoming unusable. These areas are home to more than 850 million people.
- More than 11 million hectares of forest are destroyed each year.

hype, and the cynicism it spawned in the public has hurt the prospects for future long-term environmental planning.

Since Kim Campbell became Prime Minister, the environment has taken a beating. First, Parks Canada was moved from the federal environment department to the newly created Department of Heritage. What sense this makes is beyond most conservationists, but it did succeed in removing 40% of Environment Canada's budget and 50% of its staff.

Negotiations for environmental side-deals on NAFTA were further evidence, as if we needed more, that the environment was a non-issue to the new Prime Minister. Canada's positions in negotiations was less environmental than the U.S. government's and their fixation

on trade sanctions weakened the over-all agreement. Of course, the side-deals to protect the environment would have had to be phenomenal to counter-act the environmental damage of NAFTA itself. Then the draft regulations to the *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* were released. The act, which had been a campaign commitment in 1988, has passed the House and Senate, but will not be proclaimed until the regulations are in place. The draft regulations fell so far below what an advisory committee of industry, environmentalists and the provinces had recommended that environmentalists were in shock. Major projects and activities would be able to avoid assessment.

We need a full debate on environmental issues. And, more fundamentally, we need a debate on the direction of our economy in order to ensure that it creates jobs while protecting the environment. An aggressive program in energy efficiency could create thousands of jobs across Canada, and be less expensive, while creating more energy than any one of the gargantuan energy mega-projects currently funded by the federal government. And while creating jobs, energy efficiency would bring us closer to our target of greenhouse gas reductions.

The current economic crisis creates an opportunity to re-think our traditional assumptions about the role of the economy. We need to re-examine the assumption that unlimited economic growth is a requirement and fundamentally a good thing.

We need to ask whether people exist to serve the needs of transnational corporations, or whether in fact, governments exist to provide the greatest number. What if, instead of putting corporate profits first, governments put the needs of people first? A radical reorientation of our economic assumptions will lead us to a different relationship with the natural world.

We can no longer afford to leave the economy to economists and the environment to environmentalists. The two are linked, although you would never know it from this election campaign.

Elizabeth May is an environmental lawyer and Executive Director of the Sierra Club of Canada.

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# Party positions: Environment Environment Environment

by Lynn Hunter, MP



In every community across Canada, and indeed through most of the world, we have witnessed mounting tensions stemming from environmental degradation. Polluted water, air and soil, a depleting ozone layer, deforestation, toxic waste and spills, nuclear "accidents". It seems endless.

We also hear about the tensions between reconciling jobs and the environment, making tough choices in resource-based industries such as mining, forestry and fisheries; essentially (so we're told) it comes down to employment versus preservation. We hear a lot from business about the cost of compliance with environmental regulations. They ask: can we afford to

have these standards?

Frankly, there really is no artificial division between economics and the environment. One cannot honestly talk about an economic deficit without addressing the environmental deficit. Our national and global long-term security depends on making smarter choices than we have in the past.

Federal leadership is desperately required on several fronts. When will this government act on the myriad health threats of ozone depletion? Little action has been taken to protect and inform Canadians about the dangers of UV radiation despite the fact that most people receive 80% of their lifetime exposure to UV radiation before the age of 18. Beyond

this direct health threat, the Conservative government has dragged its heels on concrete initiatives that would halt the continuing destruction of the ozone layer. As well, virtually no money has been allocated to researching the impacts and adaptations of UV radiation on crops and forests.

Our kids deserve better.

New Democrats would increase research and development targeted at developing sustainable agricultural methods; provide adequate funding for Fisheries and Oceans to ensure proper enforcement, study and co-management of fish stocks, as well as establishing Canadian jurisdiction over the entire continental shelf off Atlantic Canada, including the nose and

tail of the Grand Banks of Newfoundland.

The world's armed forces are estimated to be the biggest polluter on the planet. Global military spending is estimated to be a trillion dollars.

Overpopulation, poverty and debt in developing countries is perhaps the biggest environmental threat we have yet to face. Without the necessary fundamental changes in living conditions and population size in developing countries, environmental destruction on a massive scale will continue.

One of the root causes of poverty and overpopulation can be traced to the lack of education and emancipation of women. It is clear that when women become educated,

average family size significantly decreases. Better education for women improves the health of their children and leads to improved living conditions overall. Protracted international debt prices, a grave unsustainable financial burden, have become the principle obstacle to development for much of the world's poor majority.

As one visionary said, "poverty is not sustainable". Long-term food security reduces costs of famine to the world. There are common sense solutions that make humanistic, environmental and economic sense.

Lynn Hunter is an NDP MP from Saanich - Gulf Islands in British Columbia.



The PC government recognizes that cleaning up and protecting our environment is the key to long-term economic growth, good health and maintaining our way of life. And it has a solid record when it comes to tackling environmental problems. We have a plan that recognizes the importance of looking after the Earth for ourselves and our children.

The Green Plan, introduced by the PC government, is an important action plan which includes over 80 projects to meet the concerns of Canadians. These key issues include our health, clean air and water, preserving our resources and protecting our special spaces and species.

The Green Plan is our blueprint for action. It sets out how, when, where, and why we will clean up, protect and improve Canada's environment. It includes important targets and deadlines: how much we will clean up and when it will be done. It works in all areas, from forestry and farming to transportation and world affairs.

The Green Plan works with science to find the best ways to solve problems and improve our world. It works with people, with you and me, to encourage everyone to do their part to clean up and protect the Earth.

Some Green Plan projects are national in scope, such as a program to improve water and sewer facilities on Indian

reserves, a plan to promote the sustainable development of our forests and help for industries wanting to develop and market technologies to prevent and clean up pollution.

Other projects focus on a particular region in need of help. British Columbia's mighty Fraser River, upon which hundreds of thousands of people rely for their livelihood, will be restored to its former productive capacity. We also set out a \$110 million St. Lawrence Action Plan to clean up the St. Lawrence River.

For Canadians who like to roll up their sleeves and get involved, we have programs like the Environmental Partners Fund. This imaginative program

helps people at the community level get started with environmental projects in their own neighbourhoods.

The Environmental Choice Program offers consumer products that have passed strict environmental standards.

The Green Plan is just one part of a bigger strategy. We have also introduced new laws and stricter rules. In fact, the *Environmental Protection Act* is one of the toughest environmental laws in the world. We are also proving to be a world leader when it comes to action on the ozone layer and preserving our natural regions and wildlife.

Canada has taken a leading role when it comes to international environmental

protection. The Green Plan is one example--few countries have such a complete action plan.

Canada played a leading role at the Earth Summit. For example, we were the first country to say we would sign the Biodiversity Treaty protecting endangered plants and animals. We are also leading the fight to save the ozone layer. We held an international conference that led to the Montreal Protocol--a pledge to stop the use of CFCs.

Canada, under the PC government, has proven that it is committed to taking positive action on the environment.

Denise Falardeau is Progressive Conservative candidate for Lac-St-Jean.

by Margo Brousseau



A worried public is demanding a healthy environment as the basis for a high quality of life. At the same time, pollution and the wasteful use of energy and raw resources are increasingly being seen by business leaders as symptoms of an inefficient industrial system.

In the past, environmental protection was often seen to conflict with economic goals. The winning industries of the future will be those that are the first to integrate economic and environmental efficiencies.

A Liberal government will establish a framework in which environmental and economic

signals point in the same direction, and we will use strong environmental policies as a means of making our economy more efficient.

We will appoint an Environment Auditor General to report annually to the public on how successful federal programs and spending are in supporting the shift to sustainable development. Our commitment to a cost-shared infrastructure program will finance environmental projects such as new or renewed municipal sewage and water treatment. We will make pollution prevention a national goal and strengthen the

enforcement of federal pollution standards.

Ozone depletion and global warming may be the greatest environmental dangers we face. Liberals will cut down on the release of chemicals that deplete the ozone layer. To combat global warming, we will support a shift to increased energy efficiency, which can offer positive returns on the economic as well as the environmental side. For the longer term, we will support a transition towards a sustainable mix of energy sources.

Public concern and commitment on the

environment are our greatest assets in moving towards sustainability. A Liberal government will create an independent national campaign to communicate the individual and collective actions needed for sustainable development.

Thousands of Canadians have called on their governments to protect increasingly endangered natural habitats and wilderness areas. Liberals will work with the provinces, territories, and Aboriginal Peoples to protect portions of the country's natural regions, and we will complete the National Parks System by 2000.

As the public, governments,

and business respond with tightened environmental practices, a new industry--the environmental industry--has sprung up. A dynamic domestic environmental industry can offer Canada new business opportunities, value-added exports and high-calibre jobs while directly tackling environmental challenges. Building on Canada's global reputation as an environmental leader and policy innovator, Liberals will support the environment industry as a highlight of our economic strategy.

Margo Brousseau, Liberal candidate, Louis-Hébert





# NAFTA:

by Maude Barlow

*"More than 150 years ago, Simon Bolivar, the liberator whose statue stands outside this hall, spoke about a n America united in heart, subject to one law and guided by the torch of liberty. My friends, here in this hemisphere, we are on the way to realizing Simon Bolivar's dream, and today, with the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, we take another giant step toward making the dream a reality."*

George Bush, December 17, 1992, the day he signed the NAFTA agreement.

In September, 1992, the *Globe and Mail*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *El Financiero* collaborated in the production of a special report on NAFTA and each printed several contributions from the other papers. Yet, the difference between the way the Canadian and U.S. papers described the deal was striking. The *Globe and Mail* cover story was called "The Three Amigos", and showed three small people under the covers of a bed with the words NAFTA printed on it. The players certainly looked equal and very cosy. "Canada wakes up and smells the Chile" declared another front page headline.

The cover story of the *Wall Street Journal* on the other hand was called "One America" and showed a map of North America, with one hand erasing the border between the U.S. and Mexico. The picture was almost an exact replica of the Liberal party ad of the 1988 federal election which the Tories and their allies in big business called hysterical and dishonest.

What is striking about this story is the very different ways in which this deal has been sold in Canada and in the United States. American trade negotiators and politicians are quite open about why they want a continental, and eventually, a hemispheric trade agreement. The United States must become competitive again, and needs the resources of Canada and the cheap labour pools of Mexico and other developing countries of the region.

Overwhelmingly, the reaction to NAFTA is that it will be good for American business. When the negotiations were completed in August, 1992, the *Wall Street Journal* was jubilant. "The early betting is that Mexico will end up making much of North America's glass, cement and steel. Canada, it is widely believed, will be the low-cost producer of paper and

forest products. The U.S. is expected to remain the leader in high technology and financial services, and to make a bundle selling everything from sneakers to soda to Mexico's millions."

Like the FTA, NAFTA has become the supreme law of Canada with powers to override not only federal but provincial legislation as well. Like the FTA, NAFTA is designed to transfer power away from democratically elected governments and place it in the hands of transnational corporations. Like the FTA, NAFTA's purpose is to render American and Canadian corporations competitive by

to interpret and apply the agreement and set common rules and procedures of trade and economic development for the continent. It has strong enforcement mechanisms at its disposal, and will operate as a powerful unelected level of government, largely in secret, with no accountability to Canadians.

Panels will be set up under this Commission to arbitrate disputes, and the members of the panels will be chosen from a roster of experts in law and international trade - technocrats who may come to have more power in certain areas than elected politicians.

Without an invitation,

**NAFTA is an issue of democracy. Once we have de-linked the interests of business from the interests of the nation state, we cannot harness any of its profits to the greater good of our citizens. Increasingly, it won't matter what our government does. The new continental economy will be more powerful and will make the decisions for Canada.**

giving them free range in their decisions about the location of production, and much of the text is geared to the removal of regulations governing their behavior or requiring them to be responsible corporate citizens of any country.

Like the FTA, NAFTA helps build a fortress in North America: one in which Canada is the attic, drained of its resources, economic autonomy, manufacturing sector, and political will; the U.S. remains the command centre, although many of its people will suffer; and Mexico will serve as the basement for North America's industries - a place to put the garbage and keep the servants out.

But NAFTA goes a lot further than the first free trade deal. Perhaps the first myth to dispel is that it simply adds Mexico to the existing free trade agreement. In fact, NAFTA contains an Accession Clause opening the door to the other countries of the Americas to join the trade block if they accept its onerous conditions.

The dream is the creation of a U.S.-dominated economic zone that recognizes no borders and contains the fewest regulations possible from the northern tip of Canada's Arctic to the Southern-most tip of South America.

#### **A New Governing Body**

NAFTA establishes for the first time, a new, permanent North American Free Trade Commission with broad powers

environmentalists, labour representatives or other public interest sectors will not be able to participate or intervene, nor will they be able to provide the panels with information on the impact of their decisions. These panels will proceed in secret and only the final reports will be made public - too late for public accountability.

Any new laws we wish to pass as well as many current practices will be open to challenge. This is lethal for Canadian public policy and a clear transfer of authority from Canada to a continental jurisdiction dominated by U.S. interests.

During the FTA negotiations, Canada and the United States were unable to agree on what constitutes unfair trading practices and to come up with a common subsidies code. In the FTA, only two areas of government subsidies were exempt from challenge by the other party - the search for new energy supplies and military production.

Beyond these, no outstanding issues were settled. The two countries agreed in the FTA to continue to negotiate a common code for a period of five to seven years, and if it were not found, either party could abrogate the deal. This process, so crucial to Canada's future, has effectively been dropped from NAFTA. The U.S. continues to assert that U.S. laws must prevail in a conflict with the trade deal. So without the promise of developing a

common code, NAFTA leaves Canada totally vulnerable to U.S. interpretation of its own trade law.

The new Commission is provided with powerful tools to prevent national or provincial governments from implementing measures, laws or practices disapproved of by the new NAFTA "government."

Under NAFTA, corporations have the choice to challenge Canadian laws (federal or provincial) before a new body, the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes, which is not accountable to the public affected by its decisions. If a government does not conform to a ruling of this panel, the complainant can seek trade retaliation under the dispute system established by the Commission.

Existing government activities considered undesirable could be taken directly to the Commission, and if a government continues with a prohibited practice, it can be forced to pay compensation, or trade measures can be taken to punish it. For instance, one country can challenge existing or proposed environment or consumer safety laws of another country that it considers incompatible with NAFTA rules. Even if laws or regulations of one country do not violate NAFTA rules, another country can issue a challenge if these practices cause the latter to miss economic opportunities it "could reasonably have expected to accrue to it."

This gives the U.S. great control over Canada. Why? Because the cost to the United States of Canadian retaliation is low and can be ignored. But the cost to Canada of U.S. retaliation is huge and could wipe out whole sectors of Canadian industry. NAFTA legitimizes retaliation of the strongest, and gives the U.S. continental domination of its trade laws.

#### **Corporate Rights Entrenched**

NAFTA gives many more rights to corporations and further limits demands governments can make on these companies in return. The basic principle is that a corporation should be able to operate in any country of the trade bloc without discrimination from the other two.

This includes freedom from government-imposed performance requirements, freedom to take unlimited profits out of any country, freedom to move top management, and provisions to force the provinces into line.

Foreign companies no longer have to transfer expertise to Canada or make a commitment to benefit Canada by balancing exports with imports when it takes over a Canadian company. Nor can we now insist that, at least, Canadians be appointed to senior positions in foreign owned companies.

NAFTA cuts off any ability by the Canadian government to stop the hemorrhaging of money out of this country from subsidiaries to their parent companies. And it places significant new limits on our ability to control investment through crown corporations. New public enterprises can only be created if they act as if they were commercial. If, for example, Canadian Airlines and Air Canada were merged to save the Canadian airline industry, and the new company

**To understand who will benefit from NAFTA, it is crucial to stop thinking in national terms. It is not a case of Canada vs. the United States or Mexico. This is a lose-lose-lose prospect for working conditions, job security, and wages of the working people of the three nations and a win-win-win for their corporations.**

was made a public enterprise again, it could not deliver to communities that don't pay their way.

Provincial measures are also open to challenge from another country, and from corporations directly, even if they are totally legal in Canada, as long as the other country can prove that the measures have caused it to miss economic opportunities. However, unbelievably, provinces do not have the right to challenge U.S. corporate or government practices, make submissions to dispute settlement panels, go before the Commission whose mandate is to harmonize standards, consult with Mexican or American trade officials, or retaliate.

# It's not just a trade deal

NAFTA opens up the Canadian telecommunications and data processing industries to U.S. competition. It is one more nail in the coffin of a sane, fair telecommunications system developed over years in Canada to provide services equal in all parts of the country. We had established a universal telecom network in which long distance revenues were used to provide affordable local service and averaged the price of service for individuals and businesses whether they are located in urban, rural or remote areas. This arrangement did not prevent the Canadian industry from developing into one of the best in the world.

## Private Property Rights Enshrined

Unlike the FTA, NAFTA contains a comprehensive chapter on intellectual property rights, which is a major victory for the large pharmaceutical, publishing, electronic, computer, agribusiness and other corporations specializing in leading edge technologies in order to advance their goal of world-wide monopoly controls.

The production and ownership of technology and knowledge – from life forms to the application of mathematic equations – has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of transnational corporations which hold the vast majority of the world's patents. These companies are found in a small number of developed countries whose governments seek to extend international patent rights on their behalf through trade actions. They know the unlimited potential for profits that the privatization of knowledge and the exclusive ownership of discoveries bring. They are the winners in a shift of attitude from knowledge as common heritage to knowledge as private property.

For years, a powerful lobby of U.S. corporations has been pushing for intellectual property rights under both GATT and NAFTA.

The Dunkel draft of the GATT contains provisions to enforce corporate patent rights over seeds, drugs, industrial designs, inventions, trademarks, and much more, provisions so tough that they would force many countries to rewrite their laws.

For instance, India would have to overhaul its patent legislation that now requires a foreign patent holder to manufacture the product in India in order to hold patent rights there.

A transnational drug company would now be able to

sell drugs in India, without creating any jobs there and would be able to set the prices it chose. Worse, it would also wipe out the domestic generic drug industry, putting the cost of drugs way out of reach of the majority of the population.

The Indian School for Social Sciences says that transnational drug patent rights would mean an increase in drug prices in India of between 1,000 and 3,000 %.

By the year 2000, it is estimated that five million Indians will be infected with AIDS. If a cure is found, under the new GATT regime, most of those infected could never afford the drug. As it is, a single course of treatment of AZT costs over \$4,000. One third of all AIDS patients are in

There has been a recent spate of patent claims by mathematicians at Stanford and MIT on mathematical procedures, particularly algorithms, which are used in computer programs like the reservation systems of airlines and telecommunications companies. This trend is changing the unwritten rules that guided mathematicians and scientists for centuries – namely that all "discoveries" are based on the shared knowledge of years of prior work. Universities now find themselves tied to the commercial interests of industry and their knowledge is being lost to the public.

Processes extracted from plants and medicines used since the beginning of time are

produce the seed hybrids, they are prevented by the patent holder.

Recognizing the lucrative future of seed patenting, pharmaceutical companies like Pfizer, CIBA-Geigy and Sandoz are buying up seed companies. Companies who made fortunes manufacturing chemicals for agribusiness now control which seed varieties will come on the market, ensuring that the chemical end of their business stays lucrative.

As the report of the International Conference of Civil Associations for Development (Brussels, 1990) stated: "The vast biological diversity of the developing countries is becoming the industrial property of private industry. This is resulting in higher prices for seeds, and increased use of harmful agrochemicals. Genetic uniformity will be exacerbated, posing new threats to global food security."

In Canada, the potential harm of intellectual property rights may not be as sweeping, but will have profound impacts on our country none the less. Unless we abrogate NAFTA, no future government will ever be able to recreate made-in-Canada drug laws that have provided us with cheaper generic drugs.

No one is suggesting that there should be no rights for the companies who do the research on a product. However, as analyst John Dillon points out, corporate rights need to be balanced with social responsibilities. This legislation tips the balance totally to the side of corporate rights.

Ninety-five per cent of all patents are owned outside Canada, and they have succeeded in bringing the Canadian industry to its knees.

The Intellectual Property Committee that advised the U.S. government on this section of NAFTA represented many of the same players pushing for patent protection in the Third World, giants in drugs, chemicals, entertainment, and computers, successfully promoting what the Indian School for Social Sciences calls "intellectual property apartheid."

The U.S. industry stands to make a great deal of money from these provisions of NAFTA. According to the journal *Fortune*, the drugmakers of the Fortune 500 already enjoy the fattest profits in the business.

In Canada, researcher Joel Lexchin reports in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* that generic drugs sell for up to 80%

Like the FTA, NAFTA helps build a fortress in North America: one in which Canada is the attic, drained of its resources, economic autonomy, manufacturing sector, and political will; the U.S. remains the command centre, although many of its people will suffer; and Mexico will serve as the basement for North America's industries - a place to put the garbage and keep the servants out.

less than equivalent brand name drugs and that the transnational drug companies seeking patent protection spend about \$300 million every year in Canada on research and \$700 million on marketing and promotion.

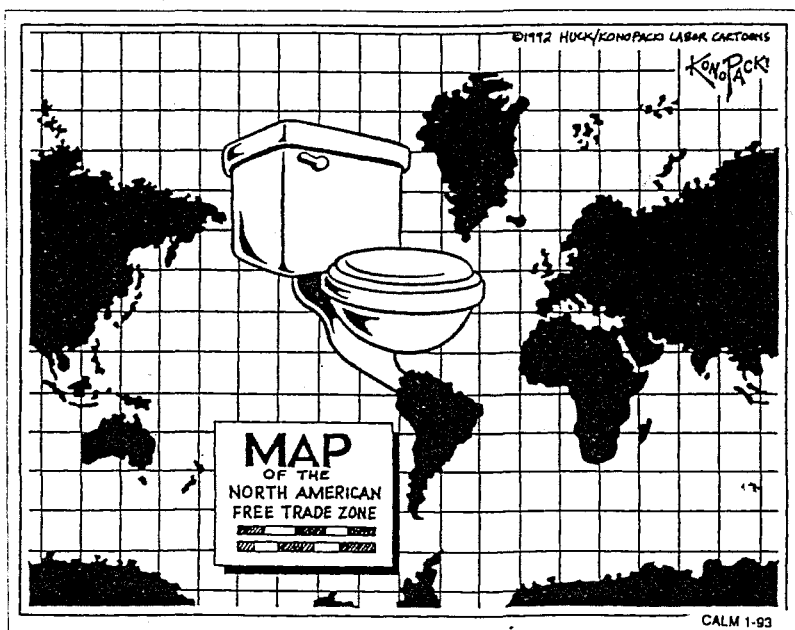
The ending of compulsory licensing, the practice sustaining generic drugs, will cost consumers an estimated \$500 million per year. It will seriously jeopardize the future of universal drug plans for seniors and destroy a pillar of our health care system.

Another provision of the intellectual property section of NAFTA gives corporations additional rights to patent biological material. Patenting life forms increases the tendency to consider animals as consumer products, not as living beings, and greatly increase the danger of their abuse. It is outrageous that scientific discoveries relating to the human body could be controlled by private corporate interests, for their exclusive use and profit.

A summer 1992, edition of *Business Week*, a journal not generally critical of free trade, contained a special report on the Global Economy in which it said that a potent mix of freer trade and technology have been responsible for "an unprecedented surge in income inequality between the most- and least-educated halves of the U.S. work force." It cites a direct link between increase in trade and the decline in worker income: "From 1979 to 1989, as the sum of exported and imported goods rose from 55% of U.S. manufacturing to 82%, the average pay and benefits of U.S. factory workers fell 6% after inflation. Meanwhile, plant productivity rose 42%."

NAFTA will accelerate this trend, says the report, including high levels of

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the Third World, and their numbers are growing. Patent protection for drug manufacturers would mean the deaths of millions of people whose countries are prohibited from manufacturing the drug at competitive prices.

In fact, the entire process of the transfer of technology could come to a halt, effectively cementing the deep divisions between the developed and developing worlds. What would be the impact on agriculture if farmers were denied their traditional rights to conserve seed?

What would be the impact on the Third World of the sharp increases in seeds and food prices once corporations had full patent rights? What would be the effect on countries pre-empted from utilizing certain technologies for 20 years? Or on science and technology, research and development, when mathematicians cannot work on certain formulations because they "belong" to a corporation?

being discovered and patented, forcing Third World countries to pay royalties to use products that have been looted from them in the first place.

Transnationals appropriate the massive genetic wealth of these countries, make some minor modifications, and take out world patents on them.

Plant Patent No. 559, a process developed from a heliotrope plant, was granted to an American who accidentally discovered it in Guatemala, where it has been used for centuries. Guatemalans are now prohibited from commercially utilizing this plant in the U.S.

American companies Pioneer Hi-Bred and Calgene have acquired licenses for incorporating into their crops a gene for insect resistance which is found in a seed used for centuries in Nigeria. If Nigerian farmers want to buy these crops with insect resistance, they will have to pay royalties. If they want to

# The Canadian Advisory Council on

## the Status of Women's

Find out for yourself how the candidates measure up on women's political priorities.

Get commitments from candidates before you elect them. Here are some questions to ask:

Women's votes count. Women are 52% of the population, and just as likely to vote as are men. The 1980s revealed gender differences in party support and on certain political issues.

### Child care

Millions of children across Canada require child care so that their parents can work in the paid labour force, study, or receive training. As well, stay-at-home parents need support from time to time. A wide range of viable, culturally appropriate options is required to meet their needs. The federal government needs to do more to address this issue. In 1992, the promise of a national child-care program was abandoned in favour of programs and policies which will do little to make good quality child care accessible to all families who need it.

- How will your party ensure that viable child-care options are available to all families who need them?

### Violence against women

One in four women will be sexually assaulted at some time in her life; half of these assaults will occur before age 17. One in 10 women is beaten by her husband, ex-husband, or live-in partner. In 1991, 120 women in Canada were killed by current or former partners. Some women are especially vulnerable. For example, two recent studies have found that 80% of Aboriginal women surveyed in Ontario had been assaulted or abused; and that over 80% of federally sentenced women interviewed had been abused. Women with disabilities have been found to be anywhere from 2 to 10 times more vulnerable to sexual abuse than women who are not disabled. Low-income and immigrant women are more vulnerable to abuse. Many women from these various groups say federal initiatives on violence don't address their needs.

- What policies would you advocate to eliminate violence against women and children?
- What support systems will you fund to help all women and children who are the victims of violence?

### Employment and language training

Often, federal training programs and labour market adjustment initiatives either have focused on industries employing mostly men, or channelled women into low-paying jobs. Federal spending on training directed at members of disadvantaged groups who do not qualify for unemployment insurance — many of whom are women — has declined significantly in recent years. Every year, thousands of immigrant women need language training, but many are not eligible for such programs. Culturally appropriate, gender-sensitive components must be included in program design.

- What policies and programs will your party put in place to address women's labour market training needs?
- How will your party reform the eligibility criteria for language training programs so that all immigrant and refugee women can fully integrate into Canadian society?

### Employment equity

Inequities in employment are major obstacles to women's full and equal participation in the paid labour force. Neither education initiatives nor employment equity legislation has had a significant impact on the segregation of women into traditionally low-paying, female-dominated jobs. In 1991, more than 1/2 of all women

in the paid labour force were concentrated in clerical, sales, and service jobs. Aboriginal women, racial minority women, and women with disabilities were still most disadvantaged in terms of representation, job profile, salaries, and hirings and promotions.

- What changes will your party make to the *Employment Equity Act* to make it more effective for women, and particularly for Aboriginal women, racial minority women, and women with disabilities?
- What other initiatives will your party undertake so that all women can participate fully and equally in the paid labour force?

### Pay Equity

Even with pay equity legislation, women with full-time paid jobs still earn only 70% of the average earnings of their male counterparts. Despite the fact that equal pay for work of equal value is called for under the *Canadian Human Rights Act*, enforcement of the law depends on individual complaints and has not yet proved effective. The federal government's 1992 decision to limit retroactive pay equity payments for its own employees will further undermine the impact of pay equity legislation.

- What will your party do to eliminate the wage gap?
- What will you do to ensure that women working under federal jurisdiction receive equal pay for work of equal value?

### Unpaid work

Statistics Canada estimates that unpaid household work — 2/3 of which was done by women — was worth \$198 billion to the economy in 1986; this represents 39% of the value of all goods and

services produced in this country. Many women in the paid labour force must come home to another day's worth of unpaid work. Yet unpaid work is not systematically included in the current calculations of the nation's production. Consequently, much of women's contribution to the economy continues to be ignored. The Canada Census does not yet include questions on unpaid work. Women's unpaid work must be recognized, measured, and valued if women are to receive their fair share of the nation's economic and social resources.

- What does your party intend to do to ensure that unpaid work, in the home and elsewhere, is counted?
- How will your party's economic and social policies reflect this important contribution to the nation's economy?

### Child support

The majority of single mothers in Canada are poor, with incomes that are only 61% of the poverty line. Higher child support awards and automatic collection of both current and overdue support payments can partially offset the poverty of some single mothers and their children. However, the reality is that many families barely get by when they are managing one household and cannot earn enough to afford the increased costs of two separate households. Thus, family law reforms alone will not resolve these situations. Some countries (e.g., Sweden, France) also provide public advance maintenance programs, where the government "advances" a guaranteed amount of child support sufficient for maintaining the children and collects it from the non-custodial parent

when possible.

- What measures will your party take to relieve the poverty of single mothers and their children?

### Pensions

Despite pension reforms, women still rely to a large extent on government benefits in retirement. Government programs such as Old Age Security (OAS) and the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) are particularly important for women who have not been in the paid work force or who have had sporadic paid employment. The maximum amount available from these two programs is considerably below the poverty level for an individual. The earnings-based Canada/Quebec Pension Plans replace only 25% of average annual lifetime earnings; because women generally earn less than men, this poses a serious problem for women.

- What changes will your party make to Canada's pension system to ensure adequate retirement incomes for all women?

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# SHOCKING PINK PAPER

## Promises are not enough...

## Women want action!

### Tax Reform

The government is increasingly relying on consumption taxes such as the GST, which are financially harder on women because they have lower incomes and must spend most of what they earn on necessities. In 1992, the federal government abolished the family allowance, dependent child tax credit, and the refundable child tax credit and used these "savings" to pay for a child tax benefit. The tax system no longer recognizes that families with children do not have the same ability to pay taxes as families without children. The new child tax benefit will give only \$500 annually to working poor families and nothing new to most families on social assistance. The federal government's failure to restore full inflation indexing to the system means that the child tax credit and the GST tax credit will gradually lose their value.

- What will your party do to address the negative impact of tax reform on women?
- Will your party restore full inflation indexing to the tax system?

### Unemployment Insurance

Since 1988, the federal government has reduced unemployment insurance benefit payments – including those for maternity and parental benefits – by 3% and reduced the average duration of benefits. Women are concentrated in low-paying jobs; unemployment insurance at 57% of women's average full-time earnings puts them below the poverty line.

Employees who voluntarily quit their jobs "without just cause" are no longer eligible for benefits. However, many women cannot publicly challenge abusive employers. Also, battered women who flee from their jobs as well as their homes to escape violent partners, and women with conflicting work and family responsibilities, will be without benefits; they cannot "justify" the reasonableness of their actions to unemployment insurance officials.

- What will your party do to address the negative impact of unemployment insurance changes on women?

### Housing

The lack of affordable housing for Canadian women and their families remains a growing problem. Women are much more likely than men to be renters, to have difficulty finding affordable housing, and to be in need of social housing. Sole support mothers, elderly women on their own, women with disabilities, women leaving violent family situations, and the homeless are among the most disadvantaged groups whose housing needs are not adequately met. Racism prevents full access to housing for Aboriginal women, immigrant women, and racial minority women. In spite of the obvious need, federal funding of new social housing units has decreased in recent years. The federal co-operative housing program, which benefitted women and other disadvantaged groups, was terminated in 1992.

- How will your party help women obtain access to adequate, affordable, quality housing?

### Health

Many medical treatments currently used on women are based on research conducted entirely on men. Research into women's specific health problems has not been a priority in Canada. The death rate from breast cancer continues to increase. Breast implants, which were insufficiently tested, have been suspected of causing various health problems. Women are the fastest-growing group of those infected with HIV, yet almost no research has been done on women with HIV/AIDS. Millions of research dollars flow into new reproductive technologies, while other important health concerns are ignored.

- What will your party do to ensure that research on health problems specific to women becomes a top priority, and that women's health becomes a major consideration in health policy development?

### Politics

Since 1974, the number of women candidates and of women elected to the House of Commons has increased significantly. Despite these gains, only 13% of federal MPs are women. The success rate of women candidates in federal elections is about half that of men, partly because women are not often nominated in "winnable" ridings. Women candidates in the 1988 federal election said lack of funding was the greatest obstacle to their candidacy. All barriers to women seeking elected office must be examined, including party procedure, election rules, the electoral system, and work and conduct in the House of Commons.

- What measures has your party put in place to support women candidates?
- What limits does your party put on spending for nomination contests?
- What measures has your party put in place to ensure that women's concerns are central in formulating party policy?

Canadian  
Advisory Council  
on the Status of Women



Conseil  
consultatif canadien  
sur la situation de la femme

The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACS) was established in 1973 as an independent organization funded by the federal government. The CACS's mandate is to advise the government and inform the public on matters of concern to women. Related materials on many of the issues identified in this *Shocking Pink Paper* have been published by the CACS. For more information or a copy of our publications list, please contact:

CACS National Office 110 O'Connor Street, 9th floor Box 1541, Station B Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R5  
Telephone: (613) 992-4976 Fax: (613) 992-1715



# Party positions: NAFTA NAFTA NAFTA NAFTA



by Sheila Copps

by Joy Langan, MP



The Canada-U.S. trade deal has been a disaster for Canada, and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) will only make a bad situation worse.

The New Democrats will tear up NAFTA and abrogate the Canada-U.S. trade deal. However, it is not enough just to tear things up — that's why the New Democrats have the "Jobs Plan", which recognizes that Canada is a trading nation.

It is vital to realize that NAFTA simply reinforces and, in some cases, strengthens the arguments against the U.S.-Canada trade deal.

NAFTA will be more binding on the provinces because all new provincial legislation must be consistent with the rules of NAFTA. The deal also weakens Canada's ability to set high standards for health, safety, environmental, and working conditions. Since the U.S.-

Canada trade deal, there have been deep cutbacks in health care and community services tied to the "harmonizing" of Canada's social programs with U.S. counterparts.

New Democrats are committed to broadening Canada's base of trade beyond the United States.

And it is only the New Democrats who are offering an alternative to the devastating impact the U.S.-Canada trade deal has had, and NAFTA will have, on wages, working conditions and social programmes. Canadian women are most vulnerable to the effects of free trade — from the cost of consumer goods, to access to social services, to job selection — in essence, their basic quality of life.

Joy Langan is the NDP MP for Mission-Coquitlam

Throughout its two terms in office, the Conservative government's economic agenda has been dominated by free trade. Liberals recognize that trade policy is no substitute for sound domestic policies. Monetary, fiscal, investment, training education, and research policies go hand-in-hand with trade policy. The Conservatives have failed to recognize this reality.

Free, fair, and open trade is essential to the future of our country. Indeed, one in five Canadian jobs is directly dependent on exports. Therefore, Canada's central objective in its trade policy must be to secure and increase access to world markets.

In the past, the multilateral trading system under GATT has served Canada well. A successful Uruguay Round will provide Canadian firms with the opportunity to invest, create jobs, develop new technologies and products, and of course, to trade. That is why the Liberal Party continues to support the GATT as a cornerstone of Canada's trade policy.

However, we cannot ignore the reality that the United States is our largest trading partner. Consequently, our trading relationship with the United States must be managed in a way that best serves Canadian interests.

In 1988, Liberals opposed the Canada - United States Free Trade Agreement because it was flawed. Prior to and throughout the Canada - US free trade negotiations, Canada's key objectives were to "secure and enhance" access to our largest export market. By extension, a mutually acceptable set of trade rules governing Canada - US trade was essential. Only if the rules of the game were agreed upon could Canada expect to enjoy anything resembling a "level playing field".

If implemented, the NAFTA would completely scrap the working group on subsidies and antidumping and replace it with a Trade and Competition Committee that has a limited mandate.

Without a set of trade rules

to govern the North American market, Canadian exports will continue to face trade harassment. Equally important, one must not lose sight of the fact that both the FTA and the NAFTA are as much about investment as trade. Without common trade rules governing the North American market, Canada risks an investment chill. Large-scale investment such as auto plants will not come to Canada, as long as US trade harassment can deny Canadian producers secure access to the US market.

A Liberal government will seek changes to both the Free Trade Agreement and North American Free Trade Agreement, including a subsidies code and an antidumping code. In addition, a Liberal government will seek a more effective dispute resolution mechanism and the same energy protection as Mexico. A Liberal government will also work to expand trade in the Pacific Basin and with the European Community.

Sheila Copps, MP, Hamilton

by Bobbie Sparrow

Our position on trade is clear. Canadian producers need secure access to major markets. We have taken strong action to achieve that access. The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) give Canada membership in the world's largest trading bloc.

The U.S. continues to be a growing market for higher value-added goods. Over 80 per cent of our exports to the U.S. are manufactured, and a large proportion are higher

value-added final demand products which create high-wage manufacturing jobs.

The Progressive Conservative plan is working. Our merchandise exports to the U.S. surged to an all-time high of \$122.3 billion last year, smashing the previous record of \$110.5 billion set in 1990.

In addition, the FTA's dispute settlement mechanism helps us resolve trade disputes with the U.S. in far less time than the bulky GATT process would take. Without it, we would have to either abide by American

rules, spend years at the GATT, or impose tariffs and trigger a trade war that would harm Canadian consumers and producers.

The NAFTA builds on the FTA and makes sure Canadian interests are met in the world marketplace.

In June 1990, the U.S. and Mexico announced they were working towards a two-way free trade agreement. It would have left Canada in the cold: the U.S. would have been able to trade freely with Canada and Mexico, but Canada and

Mexico would not have been able to trade freely with each other. Foreign investment would have moved to the U.S. instead of its northern and southern neighbours. We acted.

The NAFTA will keep all of the gains we made in the FTA. Like the FTA, it will continue to protect our culture, water and social programs, the Auto Pact, and our supply management system for agriculture.

Since the NAFTA was negotiated, we have successfully reached side



agreements that will mean better protection for the North American environment and help improve working conditions in the North American workplace. They are scheduled to come into force at the same time as the NAFTA, on January 1, 1994.

The Hon. Bobbie Sparrow, Minister of Natural Resources and Progressive Conservative is the candidate for Calgary Southwest.

## NAFTA continued from page 29

poverty, mounting welfare and unemployment costs, class warfare and "resentment of the wealthy that could reach a boiling point" if the potential problems are not dealt with.

Already, many American companies are behaving as Canadian companies did when free trade came to Canada. Smith Corona of Cortland, New York, set off a firestorm of criticism in the fall of 1992, when it closed its last remaining U.S. factory and moved the 875 jobs to Mexico, citing the low wages of the new location as the major factor in the decision. It joins hundreds of American companies that have already relocated to Mexico in anticipation of NAFTA. Says AFL-CIO economist, Mark Anderson, "What jobs aren't at risk from the current structure? I cannot think of any."

But America's loss will not be Mexico's gain, say economists Timothy Koechlin of Skidmore College and Mehrene Larudee of the University of Massachusetts, in a study on NAFTA's effects on wages and working conditions on Mexican workers. Opening up free trade in agriculture will throw millions of Mexican farmers off the land, sending them to the border in search of jobs. Even the most optimistic predictions of job gain for Mexico don't contain numbers that would offset these losses. Farmers and workers displaced from the thousands of domestic Mexican industries expected to be shut down from transnational competition will join the almost one million young Mexicans coming into the job market every year. It will be a long, long time, if ever, before free trade can create so

many jobs that it offsets the damage it is causing, and there will always be the millions of unemployed from countries to the south of Mexico, who will be used to threaten Mexican workers into wage compliance.

To understand who will benefit from NAFTA, it is crucial to stop thinking in national terms. It is not a case of Canada vs. the United States or Mexico. This is a lose-lose-lose prospect for working conditions, job security, and wages of the working people of the three nations and a win-win-win for their corporations. When we speak of American dominance in this trade bloc, it is because of the domination of American corporations, who are in a key position to take advantage of the lowering of barriers.

NAFTA creates one economic region in which the

corporations of the continent, regardless of their country of origin, are free to choose production location. They will do that based on considerations of profit, and gravitate to low-wage sites. They will continue to support the kind of trade regime we are building in North America (as opposed to Europe, where there are standards) precisely because these inequities exist. In the win-or-die reality of a deregulated continental economy, the only companies that survive will be those that stop thinking in national terms and think only of themselves.

This is why NAFTA is an issue of democracy. Once we have de-linked the interests of business from the interests of the nation state, we cannot harness any of its profits to the greater good of our citizens. Increasingly, it won't matter

what our government does. The new continental economy will be more powerful and will make the decisions for Canada.

And it will have a dramatic impact on workers. A deregulated global economy means that workers anywhere are in direct competition against workers everywhere. As MIT economist Lester Thurow points out "Quite simply, supply and demand require it. In a global economy a worker has two things to offer — skills or the willingness to work for low wages." Walter Russell Mead in a highly-praised recent article for **Harper's Magazine** explains what this will mean to international business. We are setting up twenty-first-century technology under an early

continued on page 33

# Party positions: Violence against women



by Mary Clancy

On April 22, 1993, Liberal leader Jean Chrétien announced the Party's comprehensive package on crime and justice. Included in the proposals, which will form part of the Party's election platform, are strong measures to combat violence against women and children.

These include:

- 1) increased funding for services for battered women and their children. Women's shelters are currently turning away two women and their children for every woman they accept.
- 2) measures to make peace bonds effective in keeping women safe from abusive men;
- 3) measures to facilitate the removal of a man from the home in the cases of violence;
- 4) legislation to make stalking illegal. The government subsequently introduced such legislation and it was passed by the House of Commons. Liberal fought hard for amendments which would have strengthened the Bill;
- 5) a national public education campaign to counter violence against women and children;
- 6) mandatory judicial training in gender sensitivity;
- 7) work with the provinces to

implement a national violence prevention programme in school that deals with, among other things, family violence, violence in dating relationships, and non-violent conflict resolution; and

8) amend the Criminal Code, Customs Tariff Act, and the Television Broadcasting Regulations and Broadcasting Act to prohibit violent, dehumanizing and degrading pornography.

In addition, the Liberal Party's crime and justice proposals include measures to combat hate crimes, strengthen gun control, help prostitutes who want to get off the streets, and rehabilitate sex offenders.

We accept the guidelines on women refugee claimant fearing gender-related persecution issued by the Chair of the Immigration and Refugee Board in March, 1993; however, we are disappointed that the Immigration Act was not amended to incorporate these provisions.

Mary Clancy, MP, Halifax

Like many of my fellow candidates in the New Democratic Party, I began my community activism with the women's movement, working to end violence against women. As my personal understanding grew I realized that changes needed to be made in many areas if violence against women was to end: areas such as affirmative action, equal pay for work of equal value and accessible child care. We need to restore the power balance between women and men.

The New Democrats have developed a comprehensive set of policies which will address this power imbalance and truly begin the process of ending violence against women. Government is only one of the major players in this work - men, women and the many other institutions in society also have to work together to bring an end to the tragedies experienced by so many women at the hands of fathers, lovers, friends and spouses.

Below are some of those policies directly related to ending violence against women, which the New



Canada's  
New Democrats

Democratic Party supports:

We support funding of women's centres and tougher sexual assault legislation. Dawn Black, NDP Status of Women critic, succeeded in having a private member's bill passed, establishing December 6 as an annual National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence Against Women.

Working with provincial governments, New Democrats would support increased funding for flexible, community-based programs in shelters and transition houses. Federal-provincial agreements would be developed to support the cost of outreach services and training for public health workers in crisis intervention, and in child abuse.

Aboriginal communities would be supported in finding solutions to the cycle of violence they endure; including programs to deal with the poverty and racism which contribute to the cycle.

Education is a key part of any strategy to end violence. New Democrats support the provision of education about violence prevention and

by Gayle  
Broad



equality for audiences ranging from elementary classrooms to the judiciary. The CRTC would be instructed to intervene more forcefully in the issue of violence on television, especially in the case of violence degrading women and children.

The New Democrats support the recommendations from the Panel on Violence Against Women as a first step in the process of ending violence, but we recognize that as each recommendation goes into effect, changes will need to be assessed and improvements made at the next level.

As our understanding increases, the New Democratic policies have improved. The New Democrats have a depth of understanding which translates into policies which will lead to an end to violence against women.

Gayle Broad is the New Democratic Party candidate in the Northern Ontario riding of Algoma. Most recently, she has been a community legal worker where she has represented sexual assault survivors before the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board.



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nineteenth century economic regime, using high-tech, low regulation electronic sweatshops. "The First and Third worlds will not so much disappear as mingle."

This is a new form of feudalism in which the resources and human productivity of the world are being harnessed in the service of an increasingly small elite. It is the face of the new Cold War, and it represents a watershed transformation in the world economy, as great a turning point in the history of human evolution as the industrial revolution.

It gives fresh meaning to the term being used in Canada, that ours is a "jobless recovery." This is no accident. Having been a leader in this new economic system, the Mulroney government must now put the best face on it for Canadians. The harsh reality remains, however, that the

future economic plans for this country are based on the acceptance of record unemployment, reduced opportunities for the majority, an impoverished social network and deep class disparities.

It is the wrong foundation for Canada, for the continent and for the world.

*Maude Barlow is the voluntary National Chairperson of the Council of Canadians.*



We believe that no woman should have to live in fear of violence.

With that in mind, in August 1991, we established the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women. It examined the issue of violence against women from all aspects, and reported in July 1993.

The Panel also produced a Community Safety Kit to assist communities in assessing themselves and achieving measures toward zero tolerance.

The Panel report addressed violence-specific issues and recommendations, and also cast the issue of women's victimization in a framework of gender equity. Issues of economic, social, legal and religious inequality were discussed and recommendations put forth to address systemic questions.

In response to the report, the government has adopted a policy of zero tolerance of violence against women.

We are reviewing the almost 500 recommendations of the Panel. We will have a comprehensive response to

by Tamra Mann

that report.

In 1988, the Family Violence Initiative was established to support public education, emergency housing, training and research and demonstration. In 1991, we developed a four-year, \$136 million plan to target the serious problem of family violence. Its goals are to: change attitudes that lead to violence; call the abusers to account; and help the victims. In conjunction with the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, almost 500 shelters have been built. We plan to spend more than \$20 million on some 150 self-contained units for victims of family violence after they leave emergency shelters. We will also build another 100 emergency shelter units.

Criminal Code amendments have also been introduced as part of our action to address aspects of family violence or other violence against women issues.

Bill C-126 created the new offence of criminal harassment, or "stalking."

Bill C-49 restricts the use of a rape victim's sexual history in

court.

Bill C-15 redefined child sexual abuse, and makes it easier for children to testify in court.

The Department of National Defence has initiated a Military Family Support Program which provides for a policy office at DND's multi-family resource centres at bases and stations, and an advisory board providing similar services for foreign locations.

We have also announced the establishment of a network of five centres on family violence and violence against women, in Vancouver, Winnipeg, London, Fredericton and Montreal; the launch of a large-scale national public education program through YWCA-Canada; and awareness-building sessions for the National Parole Board.

We will do everything we can to make sure that no woman lives in fear of violence--because a life without fear of violence is every woman's right.

Tamra Mann is Progressive Conservative candidate for Hamilton-Mountain.







# Oh Canada: our home on native land

by Rhonda Johnston

Prior to any European setting foot on these lands, Aboriginal peoples exercised a responsibility placed upon them by the Creator. This responsibility was to care for and protect Mother earth for all generations to come. Aboriginal peoples governed themselves by this overriding responsibility, understood that this was part of their inherent nature and as such had no authority to relinquish this responsibility.

This relationship with the land and the ensuing responsibilities of Aboriginal governance has never been understood by the colonizers and was ignored in the historical rush to "settle" Canada. Indeed, the very right of Aboriginal peoples to exercise governance was ignored and denied.

Prior to the Conservatives forming the federal government in 1984 Aboriginal peoples have faced historical and concentrated efforts by successive Canadian governments to assimilate them into mainstream Canadian society. This process of colonization enabled Canadian society to participate in the arbitrary theft of lands and the consequent violation of the right of Aboriginal peoples to be self-determining and to exercise governance.

Successive federal governments have failed to

keep solemn commitments made in treaties. Aboriginal rights to hunt, fish and be educated, to name only a few, were consistently denied and resulted in the imprisonment of many Aboriginal peoples who sought to exercise their rights. Aboriginal peoples were forced onto tiny tracts of reserve lands to be governed by an Indian Act that is both repressive and immoral.

Governments have consistently ignored the illegality of their actions which



has resulted in the nearly complete destruction of Aboriginal peoples, their lands, their cultures, their languages, their pride and their very essence as human beings.

The Canadian courts have articulated a minimum requirement of the federal government's legal and constitutional responsibility towards Aboriginal peoples.

In 1982, the Canadian Constitution was patriated and included a section recognizing and affirming the existing Aboriginal and Treaty rights of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. As was subsequently articulated by the Supreme Court of Canada, in the Sparrow case, a strict duty was also placed on the Crown to deal honourably with Aboriginal peoples.

Federal policy was and continues to be directed towards colonization (now sometimes referred to as neo-colonization). Instead of scrapping the Indian Act in its entirety and recognizing the inherent right of self-government, the Conservative federal government has been providing huge sums of money for the development of Indian Act alterNative legislation that continues to be premised on a delegation of authority from the federal government. Aboriginal peoples know that their authority to govern comes not from a foreign government but from their own people.

The Conservative federal government refuses to deal with the land issue in an honourable and respectful manner that recognizes the fundamental inability of Aboriginal peoples to give up their responsibility to care for and protect Mother earth. Instead, they continue to demand that extinguishment of

Aboriginal rights on and to land be a requirement for the settlement of land negotiations.

Instead of accepting responsibility for the past wrongs of the Canadian government and spending money to empower and improve Aboriginal peoples lives, the Conservative federal government has funded a Royal Commission on

In Canada, the Indian Act has been used to legally restrict our ability to do many of the things that other Canadians take for granted.

At one time or another, we have been prevented from owning property, travelling freely, using the courts, controlling our own lands and resources, homesteading on "Crown" land, voting, pursuing higher education, enlisting in the military, practicing our religions, raising our children, living where we wanted, or even marrying who we wanted. These legal restraints amounted to a huge affirmative action program for non-Aboriginal people as they encroached on our lands and exploited the resources.

*The Native Council of Canada*

Aboriginal Peoples to document old news which will supposedly give them "better" direction.

Instead of recognizing and respecting Aboriginal peoples' right of self-determination and governance, the Conservative federal government continues to deny that the inherent right of self-government exists in Canada for Aboriginal peoples and blames the Canadian

The Chief Commissioner of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, Max Yalden, has repeatedly warned about the potential for a "permanent underclass" among urban natives unless Ottawa begins to acknowledge its responsibilities. A lack of affordable housing would contribute significantly to this trend.

*The Native Council of Canada*

public who said "no" to the Charlottetown Accord as a whole.

Instead of working with Aboriginal peoples to find creative solutions to enable the exercise of Aboriginal and Treaty rights, the Conservative federal government refuses to break out of archaic and patronising policy and, at great expense to Aboriginal peoples and the taxpayers of Canada, waits for yet another court to tell them they are breaking their own laws.

The list of matters upon which the Conservative federal government refuses to deal with Aboriginal peoples in a respectful manner goes on and on. One only has to recall Oka to be reminded of the overall approach of the Conservative government in dealing with Aboriginal peoples and their rights: allow a golf course to be built over sacred lands that belong to a First Nation, and then send in the army when that First Nation objects.

*Rhonda Johnston is a Métis woman presently articling with the law firm of Mandell Pinder in Vancouver. These views are her own and do not represent the views or position of the law firm or of any Aboriginal government, association or person in Canada.*

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# Party positions: Aboriginal self government Aboriginal



by the Hon. Pauline Browes

We remain firmly committed to the achievement of self-government, and to finding practical ways to implement it within the context of the current Constitution. This is already being achieved through a broad range of approaches including: community-based self-government negotiations, claims settlements, and devolution of program delivery.

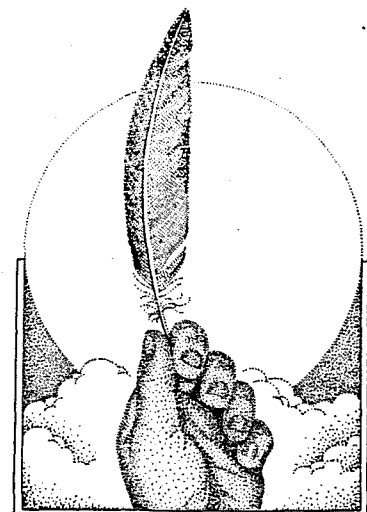
We are presently negotiating with 40 different Indian bands on community self-government issues. We want to help Canada's Aboriginal peoples regain control over the management of matters that directly affect them, and preserve their cultural identity.

Our aim is to develop a new relationship with Aboriginal peoples so that we can respond to their aspirations with initiatives that increase their autonomy and self-reliance. Our first priority will be land claims. We will ensure that legal undertakings regarding land transfers to treaty Indians, given as much as a century ago, will finally be honoured.

In September 1990, we committed to accelerate the settlement of land claims through negotiation. Since then, we have settled six major comprehensive claims in the North, established the B.C. Treaty Commission and reached a cost-sharing agreement with that province.

We also want to work with Aboriginal leaders and provincial governments on a range of improvements to basic community programs and services. These include water, sewage facilities and better housing on some reserves.

*The Hon. Pauline Browes is the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and Progressive Conservative candidate for Scarborough Centre.*



A Liberal government will act on the premise that the inherent right of self-government is an existing aboriginal and treaty right within the meaning of section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982.

A Liberal government will work with the Aboriginal Peoples to define mechanisms for implementing the inherent rights of self-government that are workable and that meet the needs of the many diverse aboriginal communities in Canada. For example, some Aboriginal people have suggested using treaties to set out the basic framework, criteria, and mechanism for implementing self-government.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples stated in its August 1993 interim report on self-government that implementing self-government will mean different things to different aboriginal groups. For some it may mean new

structures or reviving traditional structures; for others the immediate objective may be simply greater control over the provision of governmental services such as education and health care.

The Royal Commission has suggested four basic principles for the successful implementation of self-government: the process should be initiated by the aboriginal group in question; wherever possible, self government should be implemented with federal/provincial/territorial cooperation; the procedure should be flexible; governments have a responsibility to ensure that the land and resource base of Aboriginal Peoples is adequate for self-government; and that long-term fiscal arrangements are in place. A Liberal government will study closely the recommendations of the

Royal Commission.

The Liberal Party recognizes the urgent need to build a relationship based on trust and mutual respect between Aboriginal Peoples and the federal government. The cornerstone of this new relationship will be the recognition of the inherent right of Aboriginal Peoples to govern themselves. We believe, as does the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, that it is necessary to move ahead on aboriginal self-government at this time and that it is possible to do so within the existing constitutional framework.

A Liberal government will be prepared to undertake a program of reform oriented towards the implementation of the inherent right of self government, through negotiated self government agreements.

Aboriginal Peoples have criticized the federal

government for making budgetary and policy decisions directly affecting Aboriginal Peoples without their input. A Liberal government will develop a more comprehensive process for consultation between federal minister and aboriginal representatives with respect to decision-making that directly affects First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. We will work with Aboriginal Peoples to identify where existing federal expenditures, currently in excess of \$5 billion a year, can be redirected into more productive uses. We shall also explore new fiscal arrangements with Aboriginal Peoples.

*Ethel Blondin-Andrew, M.P., Western Arctic*

*Reina Sinclair, Liberal Candidate, Regina-Qu'Appelle, SK*



by Colleen Glenn



There are always contradictions facing Aboriginal activists in partisan politics. After all, we are entering the political process that is responsible for our oppression. But we can also shape the process, and act as decolonising agents.

Canada's New Democrats recognized the inherent right to self-government for Aboriginal peoples years before the Charlottetown Accord. New Democrat governments in the provinces and territories have implemented policies supporting self-government, showing that our commitment to fair treatment for Aboriginal people is not just something we like to talk about at policy conventions.

The Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement negotiated by the Penikett New Democrat government is an example of how a comprehensive agreement on land claims, self-government and interjurisdictional arrangements can be made

through consultation and negotiation.

In contrast, the 1969 White Paper, entitled "Choosing a Path", was proposed by the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau while Jean Chrétien was the Minister of Indian Affairs. That hated document recommended the termination of all Aboriginal and treaty obligations and promoted the idea of assimilation. Aboriginal people recognized that this would mean being "assimilated" into Canada's urban slums.

Although the Liberals backed off on their plan, some parts of the White Paper policies have been implemented by subsequent federal governments.

Then there was the Neilson Task Force Report on Government Expenditures of 1986, which proposed that the Conservative government "reduce expenditures on Aboriginal peoples by as much as 75%". Their own bureaucrats described this as

"Buffalo Jump of the 1980's".

Voting for either of these parties is voting for Aboriginal extinction.

Until the 1982 Constitution, which names Inuit, Indian and Métis as aboriginal peoples, both Liberal and Conservative governments have taken the position that Métis people have no Aboriginal rights.

Within the Aboriginal community, women have been organizing to assure their participation in the process of self-government, not always with success. Aboriginal men have embraced the patriarchy as their own in spite of considerable evidence, both written and oral, that women in Aboriginal societies exercised power and influence in all social institutions.

Aboriginal women today say that the current state of male domination is spiritually wrong, that there is no "balance". Aboriginal men say that this idea is the insidious result of association with "white feminists from Toronto". We

need balance and soon.

Aboriginal women were excluded from the negotiations leading to the Charlottetown Accord. The Native Women's Association of Canada won a Federal Court of Appeal decision that agreed that their exclusion was discriminatory but did not give them a remedy. The demise of the accord allows all political parties, including my own, to make certain that women's rights are protected during further negotiation with respect to self-government for Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal Canadians have much to offer. Our full participation in society will enrich the Canadian experience. And we're certainly colourful.

*Colleen Glenn is a Métisse feminist activist who lives in Edmonton. She is a candidate for the New Democrats in the federal election.*



# Investing in the future

by Sheryl McInnes

Language has a strange way of telling truths. We talk about the social welfare system in Canada as being dismantled (to undress, or strip) or unravelled (to separate the threads). I hear those words and think about how close they are to women's lived experience, and how apt they may be for women's lives in a Canada where the universality of the social welfare system is further eroded, or lost completely.

Why do we have the Canadian welfare system we have today? The Depression and War years revealed the depth of human misery that

was possible when people's survival depended totally on the wage-labour system in a "free" market.

Prior to the 1940s, social programs, like the Mother's Allowance, were unevenly administered, restrictive, and often used by the government, through its social service agencies, to regulate the way women kept their homes and raised their children. The poverty of the Depression led to a popular demand that Canadians should be universally entitled to a minimum standard of living. This led to the subsequent development of social welfare programs over the next three

decades, where government took on some responsibility for a wage "subsidy" (Unemployment Insurance), and the security of the family unit (the Family Allowance). The provinces were able to extend their role in social welfare through federal-provincial cost sharing deals such as the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). In 1972, with the implementation of Medicare, the Canadian social welfare system, as we know it today, was in place.

Today, all of these programs are being challenged and we are faced with difficult questions. Do Canadians still have a commitment to a

minimum standard of living? And, if we do, are these the right social programs?

When these programs were first introduced, Canada had a booming post-war economy, with near full employment and governments, at all levels, being responsible and generous in meeting the expectations of Canadians. National economic strength and social welfare were seen as connected: if we have a strong economy we can afford social programs. This same idea is now being used as the rationale for dismantling the welfare state. Daily, we are given the message that we cannot afford the universality of social welfare programs. In a clever twist of the facts about the deficit and the cost of welfare programs, the Canadian people are being made to feel responsible for the debts and deficits of government. We are told it is not government mismanagement or regressive tax policies that are at fault, it is the lazy unemployed and welfare moms who are to blame.

Social programs are based on certain assumptions or beliefs. In the post-war economic boom, social programs assumed a nuclear family would be the norm. Dad would be out earning the family income, and mom would be at home raising the children, caring for grandma, and using her spare time for the volunteer activities that back up the monetary aspects of social welfare. The family was seen as self-regulating, with women as the major source of labour in the home; giving birth to children and keeping everyone clean, fed and happy. Social welfare programs were designed to fill the gaps by ensuring that women, children, the elderly, the disabled and any man unfortunate enough to lose a job, could not only maintain a decent standard of living, but also remain within this idealized family home.

By 1956, women, particularly married women, were joining the labour force in steadily increasing numbers. Changes in the divorce laws, in the attitudes toward pregnancy and child rearing outside of two parent families, and in the timing of childbirth and size of families with the legalization of birth control, led to a further increase in the number of women with pre-school children, who were employed. Women were rapidly disappearing out of the home. This opened up new social welfare demands such as universal day-care, maternity leave and the pension supplements that would allow

the elderly and disabled to live outside of the family unit. The nuclear family, which a benevolent government felt responsible for supporting, had, by the early 1970s, had its moment in history. The economic recessions that followed over the next two decades virtually guaranteed the necessity for married women's participation in the labour force.

By the early 1990s, women's incomes were necessary to keep the family out of poverty. Yet there was a strong perception that women were earning "extra" money for the family. Women's incomes could now save government dollars, women could (or should) use their income to support family members who might otherwise be receiving social assistance or old age benefits.

If social welfare is privatized back into the family, many women may have to move out of the labour force into care-taking roles in their homes. However, in the 1990s, few families with a single income could financially take on responsibility for elderly parents, disabled family members, or children who have become single parents. Exactly who would support or care for those who do not have a family is never made clear in all the talk about shifting responsibility back to the family.

As we approach a federal election with a Prime Minister who is already talking about "reform" of welfare systems, we need to pause and think carefully about what life in Canada would be like in the future without Medicare, Unemployment Insurance, a Child Benefit allowance, or Old Age Security benefits. As women, we need to make our potential leaders aware that the majority of the "people" who use, or need, social welfare programs, are women and children.

A deficit-free country may be a worthy goal, but not if the ultimate result is a country of impoverished and unhealthy women, men and children.

*Sheryl McInnes is a fifty-something, women's liberation style feminist, with a BA in Women's Studies. She is about to begin a new adventure, working toward a Master's Degree in Sociology at the University of Alberta.*

Linda McQuaig's recent book *The Wealthy Banker's Wife* (1993, Penguin) debunks the idea that Canada cannot have both an adequate social welfare system and a strong economy.



Because wife assault usually happens at home, people tend to think of it as a family affair. But wife assault is not a private matter. **It is a crime.**

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For emergency assistance or referral, call the Wife Assault Helpline, listed in the white pages of your telephone directory or call the police.

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## WIFE ASSAULT IS AGAINST THE LAW.



# Party positions: Social programs Social programs Social



by Sandra Lawn

Our social programs were set up at a time when unemployment, regardless of skills, was a brief condition between jobs, when most women stayed at home with their children, and when child poverty was not even measured.

That is not today's reality.

Canada and the world have seen great change in the last decade alone.

Throughout these changes, the Progressive Conservative Party has shown vision. We realize that to meet the challenges of the 21st century, we must restructure our traditional roles and relationships.

To make sure Canada and Canadians grow and prosper, we know we need to create economic opportunities and encourage lifelong learning. That is why we have encouraged business, labour and social action groups at every level to join with us in promoting education and training.

At the same time, we want to make our social policy better reflect the reality of our time. We want to help Canada's children lead happy, healthy lives. We want families—indeed all Canadians—to have a better tomorrow. We want all Canadians to be able to reap the benefits of their labour. We want to help those who need it the most.

Our vision is guided by these principles:

Encouraging individuals to break the cycle of dependency and help them to help themselves. Our social programs don't always encourage independence and initiative. For too many on social assistance, work means less income. That cannot continue to happen;

Making social programs as flexible as possible so that they meet individual needs; and

Ensuring our income support programs help prepare people for the future, not just take care of their immediate needs. Those who lose their jobs because of a changing and competitive labour market must be given the opportunity to retrain or start their own businesses. They must be allowed to continue to contribute to the communities they helped build.

We have made it clear that we will not start to unilaterally overhaul our income security programs. We believe that governments, business, labour, non-governmental organizations and individuals must join forces to make sure reform is comprehensive and generous.

We want to modernize our social programs so that they meet the needs of Canadians in the 1990s and into the 21st century.

Sandra Lawn is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Leeds-Grenville.



Canada's  
New Democrats

By Catherine McCreary

*"Finally, the obvious but vital point must be made that social security payments are not money lost. The social insurances, even some straightforward disbursements like children's allowances, are investments in morale and health, in greater family stability, and from both material and psychological viewpoints, in human productive efficiency. It has yet to be proved that any democracy which underwrites the social minimum for its citizens is any weaker or less wealthy for doing so."*

Leonard Marsh, 1943 report, "Social Security for Canada".

Succeeding Canadian governments, most notably the Mulroney/Campbell Tories, reject those words of wisdom. The Tories have seriously eroded Canada's social programs. They have abandoned our most needy citizens.

The government of Brian Mulroney and Kim Campbell has shirked its responsibility for federal funding of social programs by shifting this burden to the provinces. Many of those provinces either cannot or will not pay to maintain social welfare programs.

The Canadian government should oversee a comprehensive social welfare system consisting of universal health care and education as well as enabling all Canadians

to have a decent standard of living.

That comprehensive program should also include the following:

**Fighting unemployment:** People with jobs do not require as much government support. People with jobs will also pay their fair share of taxes.

The federal government should raise the minimum wage in the federal sector and work with the provinces to raise their levels. Nothing ends poverty faster than a job with a living wage.

Job training programs are another integral part of a full employment strategy.

**Establishing a national, universal day care program:** This creates jobs and is essential in any attempt to eliminate poverty among women and children. Unless there is affordable, accessible, quality child care, we are preventing some women from participating in the paid labour force. We are also forcing their children into substandard care. Making gender equality a top priority. Women earn sixty-three cents for every dollar made by men. Until we solve this problem, women will always form a significant proportion of the underclass. This inequity is unacceptable.

**Reforming our tax system to make it fairer:** The Tories have shifted the tax burden to middle-class individuals and away from the wealthy,

especially large corporations. This trend must be reversed. Put an end to the deductibility of the business lunch in favour of programs that help people.

Making our social welfare system universal. There should be income support for people in need. There should also be a return to Family Allowance in an amount large enough to be a significant help to families. It is one of the ways to address the pervasive problem of child poverty.

The federal government should also invest more in housing so all Canadians have a decent and affordable home.

**Reforming our social programs with the goal of making them more effective and cost-efficient:** We cannot proclaim that our social programs are sacrosanct and unalterable. We must constantly review our social programs so they provide the services we need.

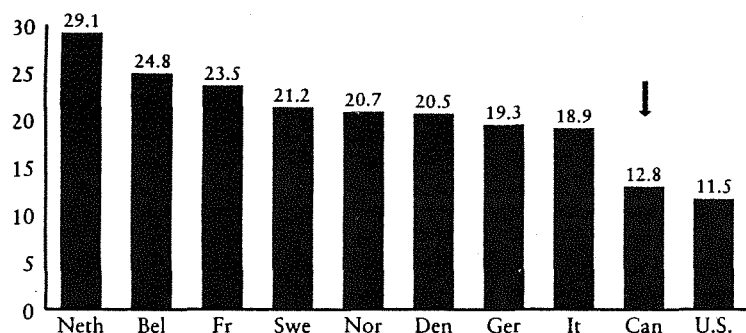
We all have a stake in the type of society in which we live. I want ours to be a fair and just society.

It is going to be much more expensive to Canadian society if we neglect people's basic needs. It will be a case of pay now or pay more later. Just think of the suffering and misery that we can avoid if we pay now.

Catherine McCreary is a New Democratic Party candidate for Calgary Centre.

CHART 1 – Social Spending

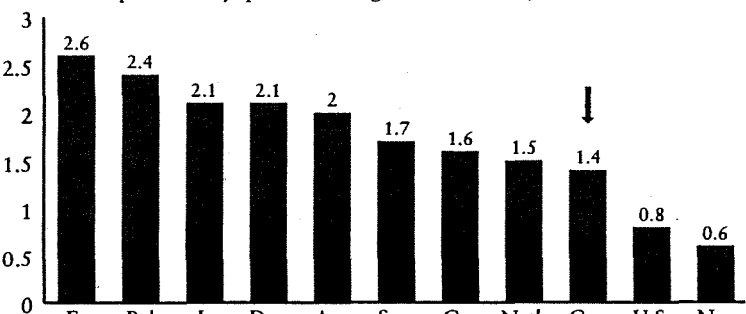
Government spending on social security and other transfers as a per cent of GDP, 1990.



Source: Oxley and Martin, "Controlling Government Spending and Deficits: Trends in the 1980s and Prospects for the 1990s," OECD Economic Studies, No. 17, Table 2, Autumn 1991.

CHART 2 – Economic Growth

Labour productivity: per cent change at annual rate, 1979 – 1989.



Source: OECD Economic Outlook, July 1991, Table 43.

by Lucie Blais



Liberals are firmly committed to maintaining the integrity of Canada's health care system and upholding the five pillars of medicare. We consider such health care a right of citizenship and a competitive advantage over other nations.

With the exception of medicare, universal social programs as we once knew them, no longer exist in Canada because of actions taken by the Conservative government. Family Allowances were abolished as of January 1, 1993 and replaced by another system of benefits. For several years now, Old Age Security (OAS) benefits have been fully taxed or "clawed" back from some Canadians at a rate 100 percent, which

effectively means that OAS is no longer a universal program. Any decision to re-establish universal family allowances or OAS would entail a significant increase in expenditures. Given the country's fiscal situation, alternative approaches to assisting families and seniors may be more effective and feasible. Liberals are committed to working toward a greater equality of social conditions among Canadians.

One of Canada's basic values is that Canadians are entitled to a minimum level of public services regardless of the region or province in which they live.

In the near future, federal-provincial arrangements will

have to be renegotiated. This will be a priority for a Liberal government. In recent years, provincial governments have raised concerns about the difficulties they are having in fiscal planning as a result of the unilateral decisions of the Conservatives to transfer responsibilities for programs and cut financial transfer payments to the provinces. Predictability of financial arrangements is vital to fiscal responsibility. For this reason, one major objective of such negotiations will be to achieve the maximum degree of predictability and stability for each level of government.

Lucie Blais, Liberal Candidate, Abitibi



# Who will look after the children?

by Martha Friendly

Since 1984, childcare has been a federal election issue. Three elections and almost ten years later, Canada is still without a national childcare policy and childcare services are visibly deteriorating in every region of the country. In the 1993 federal election campaign, childcare is once again on the agenda.

The key factor driving demand for childcare is the ever-increasing labour force participation of mothers of young children. Almost 70% of Canadian women with preschool children are now in the paid labour force, most of them full-time. These women, as well as those in training and educational programs, need reliable childcare.

Poverty, to which sole support mothers are especially vulnerable, is now a regular feature of Canadian life. It is impossible for low income parents to move towards self-sufficiency by participating in the labour force, occupational training or education without affordable childcare. Any strategy to reduce child and family poverty must include childcare as a key component.

Good quality childcare is a valuable investment for Canadian society as a whole because it fosters healthy development for all children. The nation's future well-being and economic success depend on a competent workforce. High quality childcare can help determine the adult competencies available in the Canadian workforce because a clear relationship exists between early experience and later competency.

The term "national childcare program" may convey an image of a monolithic system of institutional programs for young children. On the contrary – an effective national childcare policy could ensure that all regions of Canada offer

a range of flexible high quality childcare services under provincial jurisdiction, including centre-based and family day care, nursery schools, family resource centres, and other services tailored to the community, complemented by improved parental leave.

To date, childcare has remained solely a provincial program without a federal policy framework. This has not encouraged adequate progress to meet childcare needs anywhere in Canada. It is hard to imagine that future provincial

access to similar health and social welfare programs across the country.

Much of the public funding for childcare must come from the federal government. Most of the provinces and the territories are unlikely to be able to contribute substantially to childcare spending at this point because their economies are so weak. Unless the federal government makes a commitment to play the major funding role, childcare programs in provinces like Newfoundland, Nova Scotia,

income, region of the country, or work status should be entitled to good childcare.

- Comprehensive service provision. Different families, children and communities have varying childcare needs. To meet these needs, a range of service options should be available.

- High quality. Childcare policy should begin with a basic assumption that programs will incorporate the best available knowledge about child development and childcare, including adequate wages and good working conditions for staff well trained in early childhood education. Contextual characteristics of an environment which best supports high quality childcare include public funding, an effective system of regulation and non-profit auspice.

A comprehensive system of high quality childcare services best meets the needs of families and children if it is complemented by public policy providing expanded paid parental leave, workplace flexibility and other family policies.

What are not solutions or alternatives to a universally accessible, high quality childcare are:

- Targeting childcare to needy families;
- Relying on work-related childcare;
- Tax measures or vouchers;
- Commercial childcare;
- Relying on unregulated childcare;
- Relying on user fees to support childcare services.

It may sound credible in difficult economic times to argue that public spending for childcare must wait until the deficit is under control or the economy grows sufficiently. This argument is not only flawed but deceptive.

Children's needs must wait, we are told, until more resources are available or until

a perfect consensus is reached. Yet other expenditures, with or without consensus – the military, tax breaks for the wealthy and business, and political patronage – continue to be made. In good times and bad, other spending priorities almost always supersede those related to children.

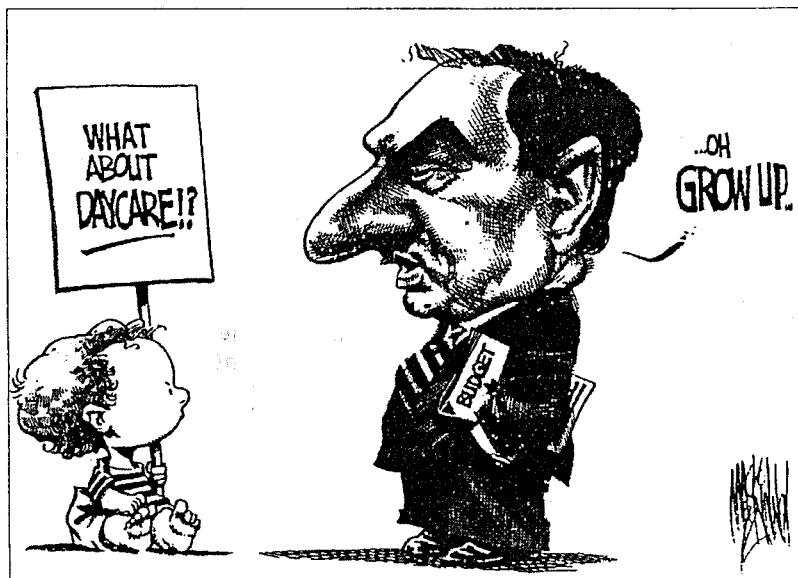
**The Vanier Institute for the Family estimates that 1.3 million Canadian children are in need of child care. Yet there are only 300,000 licensed child care spaces in the entire country.**

A national childcare program is a necessity, not a frill. Many people believe that strengthening Canada's capacity for durable growth by investing in human resources is a key part of effective and dependable management of the economy over the long term. From this point of view, investing in childcare is part of the solution, not part of the problem.

Today, Canada is one of only a few major industrialized nations without a national childcare policy. Other countries recognize that healthy societies are not achieved unless the development of children is safeguarded. These nations spend significantly on high quality childcare or early childhood education.

Public spending on high quality childcare is a prudent investment in the future. It is time for Canada to take the necessary steps to make this investment.

*Martha Friendly is the Chair of the Child Care Committee of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.*



governments will be more willing or better equipped to make substantial improvements, especially in regions with limited financial resources or with conservative constituency bases.

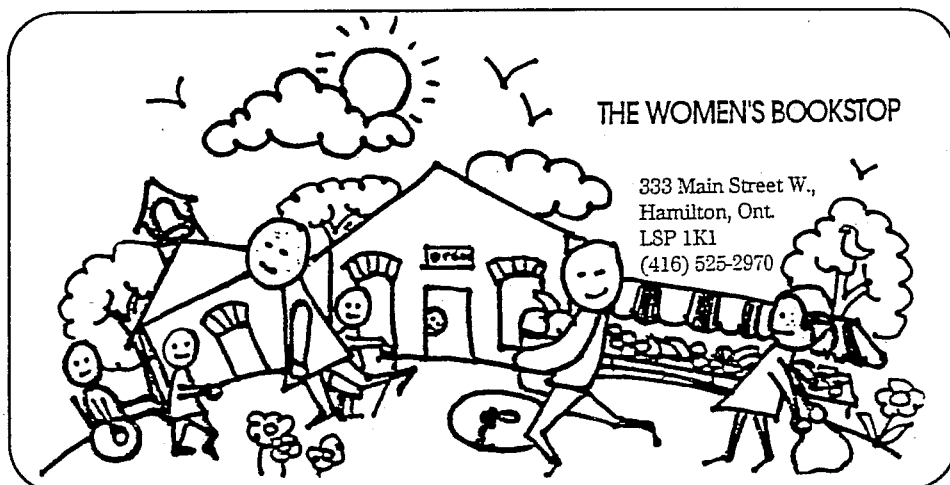
Delivery of childcare, like other Canadian health and social services, is within provincial jurisdiction. However, other national Canadian health and social welfare programs have been developed with a strong measure of federal leadership, policy and funding. These national programs have served Canadians relatively well by providing similar, not identical,

New Brunswick and Saskatchewan will continue to be underdeveloped.

Provision of high quality childcare to families across the economic spectrum is impossible without substantial public funding. The most effective way to deliver public funding to services is by funding programs directly, not offering tax breaks or vouchers to parents or through targeted subsidies.

The following set of principles is proposed for a Canadian childcare system:

- Universal and equitable access. All children and families, regardless of family



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# Party positions: Childcare Childcare Childcare Childcare

by Karen Gainer



Child care touches many issues. The growing overlap between work life and family life means that employers need to understand the stress faced by their employees as they attempt to balance work and family responsibilities. For employers, access to high-quality, affordable child care can improve the productivity of employees who have young children. For women, child care is an issue of economic equality. For lone parents, the majority of whom are women, access to affordable, high-quality child care can provide a way out of the poverty trap. Fundamentally, however, high-quality child care means giving a growing number of Canadian children (who need non-parental care) a good start in life.

It is an accepted feature of modern, industrialized societies that the state has a vested interest in the welfare of children. They are the adults and decision-makers of tomorrow. A society's survival is dependant on its youngest citizens being well fed, housed, nurtured, educated, and cared for.

Most parent who participate in the paid labour force do so out of necessity. The Ontario Women's Directorate estimates that the number of two-parent families below the poverty line would increase by 78 percent if only one person in the household had paid work. The provision of high-quality child care services, at a cost that families can afford, makes the difference between a family living on the edge of poverty on living with a moderate standard of living.

Some child care already exists in Canada. In 1991, there were approximately 333,000 regulated full-time child care spaces. The need exists for more and better child care for Canadian families. The economic and social indicators provide compelling evidence of the need to take action on child care in the 1990's. There are important linkages between quality child care alternatives and a comprehensive economic and labour force strategy.

A Liberal government, in cooperation with the provinces, will expand existing regulated child care in Canada by 50,000 new quality spaces in each year following a year of 3 percent economic growth, up to a total of 150,000 new spaces. This is a realistic and fiscally responsible initiative to increase the number of child care spaces in Canada.

We propose that the federal government assume 40 percent of the cost with matching funding of 40 percent from provincial and territorial

governments. Parental fees, determined by a sliding scale based on income, will provide the remaining 20 percent of the cost. The four-year cost to the federal government of creating 150,000 new licensed child care spaces will be \$720 million. By 1997, when existing stock is included, this plan will result in the existence of almost 500,000 regulated child care spaces, and the creation of 30,000 new child care jobs.

The objective of the Liberal policy on child care is to create real choices for parents by encouraging the development of high-quality, flexible child care alternatives. In addition, the Party supports a system based on payment according to the ability to pay.

Child care that is funded by governments is already funded 50/50 by the federal and provincial governments. Canada needs to do more. It is essential that the federal government work in cooperation with the respective provincial and territorial governments in designing child care alternatives that respond to local need and ensure high standards. It is our expectation that the provinces and territories will design an accountability mechanism to ensure that parents have a say in how the various program operate.

A Liberal government will work with the provinces and the business community to identify appropriate incentives for the creation and funding of child care spaces in the work place.

Karen Gainer, Calgary West

New Democrats are advocating a national day care plan during this federal election. This program will serve Canadians well in three important ways.

Firstly, most Canadian families find it necessary to have both partners working in order to make ends meet. Quality child care is the first priority of these parents - they won't leave home without it!

Secondly, nothing the government can do will create more jobs per dollar invested than child care. According to a 1986 study on the economics



of child care by economist Monica Townson, 75 cents out of every dollar spent on child care goes to salaries. As part of a comprehensive strategy to get Canada back to work, investing in child care makes a great deal of sense.

Thirdly, we, as a nation, will never solve the issue of poverty, and the effect it has on children, until we can provide single-parent families with secure, affordable child care. This is why child care has to be high on the agenda of anyone working to advance the cause of women in poverty.

The National Child Care Program proposed by the NDP will provide care for 600,000 Canadian children, provide worthwhile jobs for some 70,000 child care workers, and open up employment and training opportunities for hundreds of thousands of parents.

In detail, the National Child Care Program will:

- double the number of licensed child care spaces available to parents over the next four or five years, with growth targeted to the non-profit sector;

- offer better opportunities for early childhood development for hundreds of thousands of Canadian children;

- let more parents, particularly women, raise families while still having access to jobs or training opportunities - and a chance for a stable employment future;

- relieve the stress of parents worrying about inadequate care for their children;

- provide real, immediate financial relief for low and middle-income families, by reducing parental fees, and assessing fees on a sliding scale according to income;

- put the child care system on a sound financial footing;

- ensure community control by having parents oversee each centre in partnership with their child care professionals, such as those in Aboriginal communities;

- offer children programs that reflect the values and traditions of their culture; and
- improve the salaries and working conditions for child care workers.

Under our plan, the federal government will assume 40 percent of the cost of this program. This will cost the federal government about \$1.5 billion per year, once the program is fully implemented.

Provincial and territorial governments will be asked to match this sum, injecting another \$1.5 billion into the program. The federal government will negotiate a "top-up" to its contribution in "have-not" provinces.



Parents will assume the final 20 per cent of the cost through parental fees, assessed on a sliding scale according to income. Parental contributions ensure community and parental control of child care.

Under our plan, roles and responsibilities for the program will be carefully allocated to avoid administrative overlap and duplication. We want a decentralized system that is highly responsive to local needs.

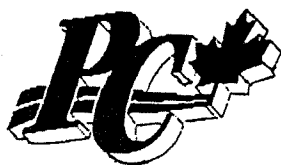
The federal government will set a common framework and ensure all provinces and territories have roughly equal resources. Provincial and territorial governments will administer the system. Parents will oversee each child care centre in partnership with their child care professionals.

The Vanier Institute for the Family estimates that 1.3 million Canadian children are in need of child care. Yet there are only 300,000 licensed child care spaces in the entire country.

In 1990, Canada signed the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. Child care is recognized in that convention as a significant children's rights issue: Every child has the right to adequate care, either by a parent or by another caregiver.

Donna Shire is the New Democratic Party candidate for Regina Wascana.

by Alice Klim



We could not afford to go ahead with our plan to double the number of subsidized child care spaces under the National Child Care Strategy in 1987. But we remain committed to quality care for Canada's children, because we realize how important it is for their well-being and for the future of our country.

We currently spend a total of \$9.73 billion on child care, including some \$6.08 in direct support and \$3.65 billion in indirect support.

We have put in place tax measures and the Child Care Initiatives Fund that supports research, projects and innovative child care. Since 1984, we have more than doubled the Child Care Expense Deduction, from

\$2,000 to \$5,000. Our new Child Tax Benefit provides up to an extra \$213 for children under seven, if child care is not claimed.

Under the Canada Assistance Plan, we share daycare costs with the provinces for low-income families. We also help people in federally sponsored training programs pay for child care.

Further, the federal government is assuming a leadership role with respect to children at risk. The \$500 million Child Development Initiative, part of our **Brighter Futures** initiative, will focus on prevention, promotion, protection, and partnerships through community action.

Alice Klim is Progressive Conservative candidate for Okanagan-Shuswap.



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# Canadian Culture: 'The price is right'

... the Mulroney government's assault on the institutions and traditions of Canadian civil life have been monumental and profound. Via Rail, Air Canada, the CBC, Family Allowance, universality, the Science Council; the only national symbol without a bounty on its head may be the beaver. (Susan Crean, *Canadian Forum*, July / August 1993).

Although Canadian culture is key to defining our country's values and distinct characteristics, the federal Tory government has undermined and underfunded all areas of culture over the past nine years. And despite claims to the contrary, the Tories' free trade deals – the FTA and NAFTA – do not exempt culture. Rather, they expose our cultural industries to challenges and retaliatory actions by the United States.

The notorious "notwithstanding" clause in the FTA's cultural exemption provision means that, if a Canadian cultural measure denies benefits to a U.S. cultural producer, the U.S. government can take

retaliatory action of an equivalent commercial effect against any other sector. This "notwithstanding" clause – which actually creates a new right for the U.S. entertainment industry – has been incorporated into NAFTA and extended to apply to the provinces.

In a country as big and diverse and sparsely populated as Canada, national culture cannot survive without government support. That support under the Tories has steadily been reduced, with whole sectors of our cultural life being starved financially or completely shut down.

*Culture is now in the hands of the Minister of Finance who takes no prisoners, and whose ideology won't allow him to believe that public spending in the cultural sphere is cost and job effective. His preferred instrument of cultural development is the axe; to wit, the 24% drop in federal contributions between 1984 and 1990 – a figure which by now may be closer to 30%. (Susan Crean, *Canadian Forum*, July/August 1993).*

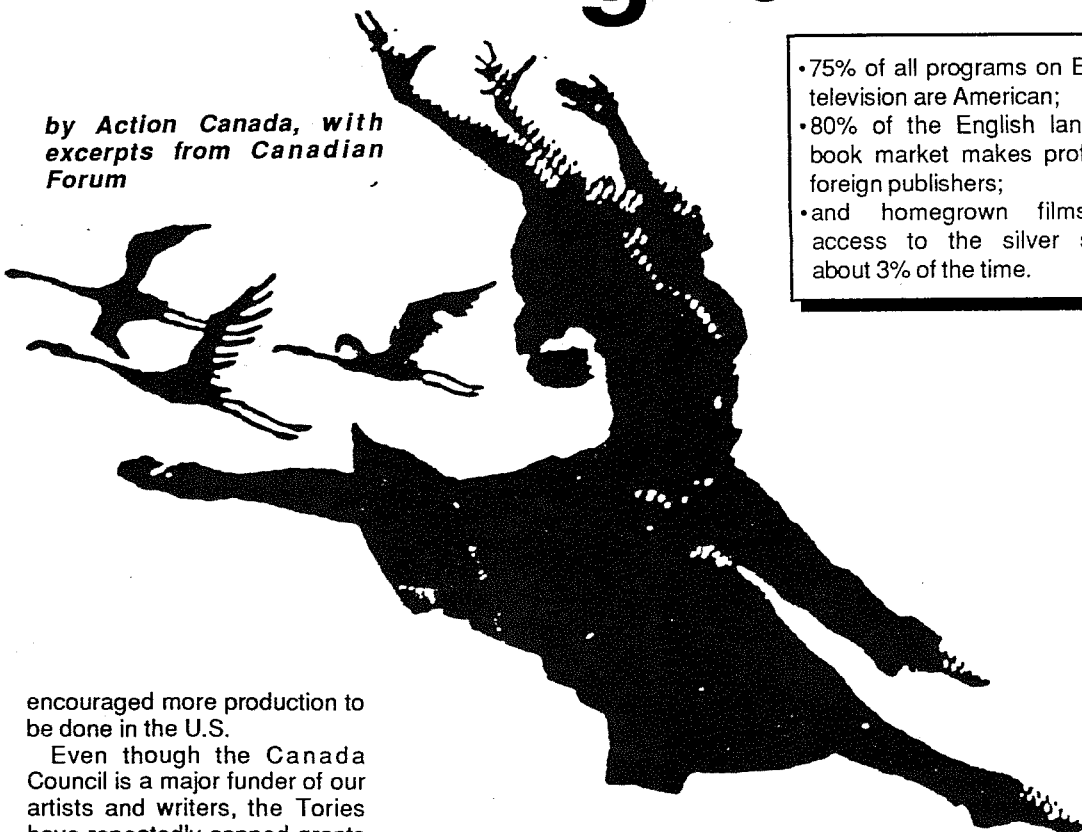
The CBC has been a prime target for Tory cutbacks. The hundreds of millions of dollars chopped from the CBC's budget have forced the shutdown of 11 production centres and dozens of local stations, and the cancellation of much local programming. Over 1,400 CBC employees have been laid off.

The severity of these cutbacks has resulted in the intimidation of CBC senior managers, prompting them to reduce or soften programs critical of the Tories in a vain attempt to ward off further budget cuts.

In tandem with the FTA, the Tories reduced the capital cost allowance to investors in Canadian films from 100% to 30%, sending a clear signal that the production of independent Canadian feature films no longer had government backing. In the wake of this cutback, the number of Canadian film productions outside Québec has fallen by 43%.

The inclusion of advertising in the FTA has facilitated the rapid takeover of Canadian ad agencies by large U.S.-based multinationals. The result has been a 25% decline in commercials produced in Canada and a 22% drop in performers' earnings from commercials since 1988. The imposition of the GST, which forces Canadian performers to add 7% to their fees, has also

by Action Canada, with excerpts from *Canadian Forum*



encouraged more production to be done in the U.S.

Even though the Canada Council is a major funder of our artists and writers, the Tories have repeatedly capped grants to the Council, reducing them in real dollar terms by more than 20%. As many as 197 theatres, 31 orchestras, 164 publishers, 35 dance companies, 65 film and video producers, 50 artists' centres, 80 public galleries and 100 cultural publications depend to a greater or lesser extent on Canada Council support.

*The Canada Council's recent 10% cuts in its performing arts grants will create a net increase in the public debt, according to a study released yesterday in Toronto (Globe and Mail, March 31, 1993)*

Many in the arts and culture community now doubt if the Council will be able to survive if the Tories are re-elected and continue to cut back on Council grants. Indeed, the Tories have asked a federal committee of deputies to designate which cultural support measures they can turn over to the provinces and abandon. The Canada Council tops the list. Without such a funding body for the arts at the national level, few writers, filmmakers or artists will be able to survive in the small Canadian market.

Canadian-owned book publishers, hard hit by the GST and foreign competition, are also struggling to keep afloat. Many have failed and gone under. Most others are carrying heavy deficits. Publishers' sales have dropped by 30-to-40%, forcing them to reduce the number of Canadian books they publish and printing fewer copies of those they are able to publish. With the FTA and NAFTA preventing any

- 75% of all programs on English television are American;
- 80% of the English language book market makes profits for foreign publishers;
- and homegrown films get access to the silver screen about 3% of the time.

government aid to domestic publishers, many more are facing bankruptcy, and with them will go the opportunity for Canadian writers, novelists and poets to be published.

Canadian magazines are also in deep trouble. More than half of them – 150 in all – are either losing money or barely breaking even. Instead of intervening to help them, the Tory government ended postal subsidies and then hit them with the GST. No wonder their ad revenues have dropped by 22%. Already nine out of ten magazines sold in Canada are foreign-owned, most of them American.

Canadians will have to turn increasingly to U.S. films, books and TV for their information and entertainment.

Tory neglect and abuse of our cultural industries will have serious economic consequences. As many as 350,000 Canadians are employed in the various cultural sectors, including telecommunications, broadcasting, publishing, films and recording, making culture the fourth largest employer in Canada with annual revenues of \$12 billion.

As we move into the "information age," our cultural industries and artists could become the fastest-growing and most strategic part of our economy. But under the Tories, our chances of developing the kind of high-tech information-based economy that Canada needs will be remote indeed.

Action Canada Network;  
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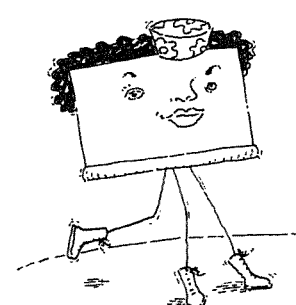
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# Party positions: Culture Culture Culture Culture Culture



by Sheila Finestone

Canadian culture embraces our shared perceptions and beliefs, common experiences and values, and diverse linguistic and cultural identities: everything that makes us uniquely Canadian. Culture is the very essence of national identity, the bedrock of national sovereignty and national pride. It gives meaning to the lives of every Canadian and enriches the country socially, politically, and economically.

Culture is a matter for both federal and provincial governments. It is an area where federal-provincial

cooperation is essential. At the federal level, nation-building has included promoting public broadcasting and creating the Canada Council, the National Film Board, and Telefilm Canada, among other national cultural institutions.

At a time when globalization and the information and communications revolution are erasing national borders, Canada needs more than ever to commit itself to cultural development. Instead, the Conservative regime has deliberately undermined our national cultural institutions.

Funding cuts to the Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation, the Canada Council, the National Film Board, Telefilm Canada, and other institutions illustrate the Tories' failure to appreciate the importance of cultural and industrial development. The recent attempt to consolidate the Canada Council and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council is but one more example of this disregard for the promotion of artistic endeavours.

In Canada, over 400,000 people are employed in all aspects of the cultural economy. Arts and cultural activities have become the

ninth-largest industry in the country, with direct revenues of \$11.5 billion. Liberals recognize not only that the promotion of cultural industries contributes to enhancing Canadian identity, but also that cultural products create jobs at home and bring in revenues from abroad.

A Liberal government will help Canadian books, films, and sound recordings to increase their share of the domestic market through the establishment of policies and legislation with respect to marketing, distribution, and exhibition. We will explore the

use of investment tax credits for the production of Canadian films, sound recordings, and books. We will also take measures to enable Canadian producers of cultural products to export their work to international markets. We will explore the provision of income-averaging mechanisms in the Income Tax Act for Canadian artists.

Finally, a Liberal government will be committed to stable multi-year financing for national cultural institutions such as the Canada Council and the CBC. This will allow national cultural institutions to plan effectively.

Sheila Finestone, Liberal Candidate, Mount Royal, QC



The 1993 Federal election is fundamentally about Canada's future and, by implication, our cultural future. Canada is under attack and the very existence of our unique cultural identity is at stake.

We believe that government has a major role to play in cultural policy and that government support is necessary for maintaining our cultural identity. That means reforming tax policies which hurt our artistic community beginning with the elimination of the GST on reading material.

It also means rescinding the cuts to cultural agencies contained in the April 1993 budget, retaining the Canada Council as a separate agency, introducing film distribution legislation, protecting Canadian magazines, and appointing only well-qualified and representative Canadians to cultural boards.

The Conservative government has systematically undermined cultural

endeavours. Cutbacks to agencies, like the CBC and the Canada Council, and political interference with cultural boards have been destructive and damaging. But nothing compares to the devastation being heaped upon Canadian culture by Conservative trade deals.

Although the NAFTA includes an exemption for Canada that allows the government to take measures to promote cultural industries that would not normally conform with other NAFTA provisions, it also allows the United States to retaliate with "measures of equivalent commercial effect".

Both deals adopt a definition of culture that reduces it to just another business sector which only serves to devalue the whole idea of culture as an expression of national identity.

There is abundant evidence that the FTA clause supposedly protecting cultural industries has not functioned

to protect Canadian culture, even within the parameters of this very narrow definition. Faced with American opposition, the Conservatives refused to bring in legislation opening Canadian theatres to Canadian movies. Postal rates for U.S. magazines were effectively equalized and a promised \$220 million in direct subsidy to Canadian publishers was whittled down to \$45 million.

Throughout the debate on free trade, we have been told these deals will give us access to the huge American market. Unfortunately, this is not the issue for our artistic and cultural communities. The issue, in fact, is access to our own domestic market. 75% of all programs on English television are American; 80% of the English language book market makes profits for foreign publishers; and, homegrown films get access to the silver screen about 3% of the time.

by Judy Wasylycia-Leis

For the NDP, it is absolutely imperative that the federal government withdraw from the US-Canada Free Trade Agreement and stop the proposed NAFTA agreement.

The challenges facing Canadian culture go beyond erosion of public funding and American domination. To be truly a mirror of our society and a tool for social change, Canadian culture must above all rid itself of any hint of racial bias, patriarchy, and contempt for alternative art forms.

It means recognizing the basic right to freedom of expression for artists and equality of opportunity for all people regardless of sex, colour and race. It means access to cultural activities regardless of income and geography. It means the development of creative talent in all individuals from the role of professional artists to the expansion of amateur activity.

It is our view that cultural policy is an important vehicle



for groups and empowering otherwise powerless members in our society. It can and ought to be a powerful force in the development of Canada as both a just and productive nation, and in the struggle for a social existence in this country based on humanizing relations.

Judy Wasylycia-Leis is the NDP candidate for Winnipeg North.

by the Hon. Monique Landry

Our culture is what we have in common. We believe culture is intrinsic to our sense of nation, to our shared identity, to our human spirit and to our economic prosperity. Our imagination and scholarship in the art forms and disciplines of cultural heritage, and our entrepreneurship and investments in cultural content and its communications, must continue to flourish in Canada and throughout the world.

Cultural vitality within economic reality is essential for the existence of Canada. In all of its efforts related to culture, the Progressive Conservative government has respected and will respect two important priorities: to allocate Canadian public funds with wisdom and care, and to continue close co-

operation with all stakeholders in the process of determining what that allocation should be.

The government must both provide leadership and build partnerships in every part of Canada. This is even more important now with our economic resources under such great pressure.

The challenge to all partners in the fields of culture is to work together so that these important sectors continue to grow into healthy enterprises, contributing to both Canadian unity and self-knowledge.

The Information Age of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be driven by individual creativity. This gives the government a vital role to play, ensuring that Canada's legislative, regulatory and

policy infrastructure gives Canadians the room and support to dream, think and act creatively in every artistic pursuit, through every cultural industry. Since 1984, we have adopted a number of measures to help make this happen.

Broadcasting is a major determinant of our culture as Canadians. It plays a major role in defining our national, regional, local and even our individual identities. It is, therefore, much more than just another industry.

In 1988, we developed a new broadcasting policy and legislation to provide more and better Canadian programming. We passed the new *Broadcasting Act*. It affirms that the Canadian broadcasting

system shall be owned and controlled by Canadians and should safeguard, enrich and strengthen our cultural, political, social and economic fabric.

We fight hard to protect Canada's national interests. In Tokyo, Prime Minister Kim Campbell said: "In Canada, our national security is very much a question of our own ability to preserve our culture." In July 1993, we closed a loophole in our foreign investment laws that would have allowed so-called Canadian versions of foreign publications.

We are making sure our cultural industries are protected in international trade agreements. After five years of implementation of the Free



Trade Agreement, it is obvious that the Canadian cultural sovereignty is intact.

Our principles and initiatives demonstrate that it is a priority for our party to support Canadian culture. We will continue to protect and encourage a strong sense of cultural identity in Canada in a way that corresponds to the economic, fiscal and international contexts.

The Hon. Monique Landry is the Minister of Canadian Heritage and Progressive Conservative candidate for Blainville-Deux Montagnes.



# Canada's secrets: Human rights at home

by Patricia Seeley

As Canadians, we like to think that we live in a fair and just society which respects everyone's rights and provides adequate recourse to those whose rights are violated, either accidentally or deliberately. At the very least, we want to feel that we are working towards that kind of country.

When we think of "Human Rights", many of us think of major violations such as torture, "disappearances", incarceration for long periods of time without trial and other forms of bullying and terrorization up to and including outright murder of politically dissident citizens by state agents.

In Canada, we tend to feel relatively safe from such overt abuses (unless, of course, we are Aboriginal people). Here, human rights law is about discrimination and discriminatory practices: racial slurs, sexual harassment on the job, or refusal to hire on the basis of disability. Many of us are actually quite foggy about what connection there is between employment, housing or service discrimination and those headline-grabbing acts of violent injustice.

No law can actually protect anyone's rights — only vigilance can ensure that our own and others' rights are respected, and that violations don't go unnoticed. However, laws can and do define rights, spell out the mechanisms in place to defend them and provide avenues of recourse to follow should they be violated.

In Canada we have a *Charter of Rights Act*, in addition to each province's codes of civil and human rights law. All these laws are designed to provide justice, but it is a system that can only be as good as the people who are administering and interpreting the law.

There are pressing questions that must be addressed related to human rights in Canada in this upcoming election.

Ask the candidates if their party is committed to eliminating sexism, racism and ableism within the federally regulated justice systems.

The recent report, **Touchstones for Change**, prepared by a task force headed by former Supreme Court Judge, Bertha Wilson, for the Canadian Bar Association, confirmed the need for diversification, education and scrutiny of the behaviour of judges and adjudicators throughout the justice system. Presently, only 12% of federally appointed judges and 13% of provincially appointed

judges are women. An immediate step might be to raise the consciousness of judges and adjudicators to their own personal biases and biases within the laws themselves against women, people belonging to racial and ethnic minorities, aboriginal people and people with disabilities.

Find out which parties will make a commitment to deal honestly and honourably with Canada's First Nations.

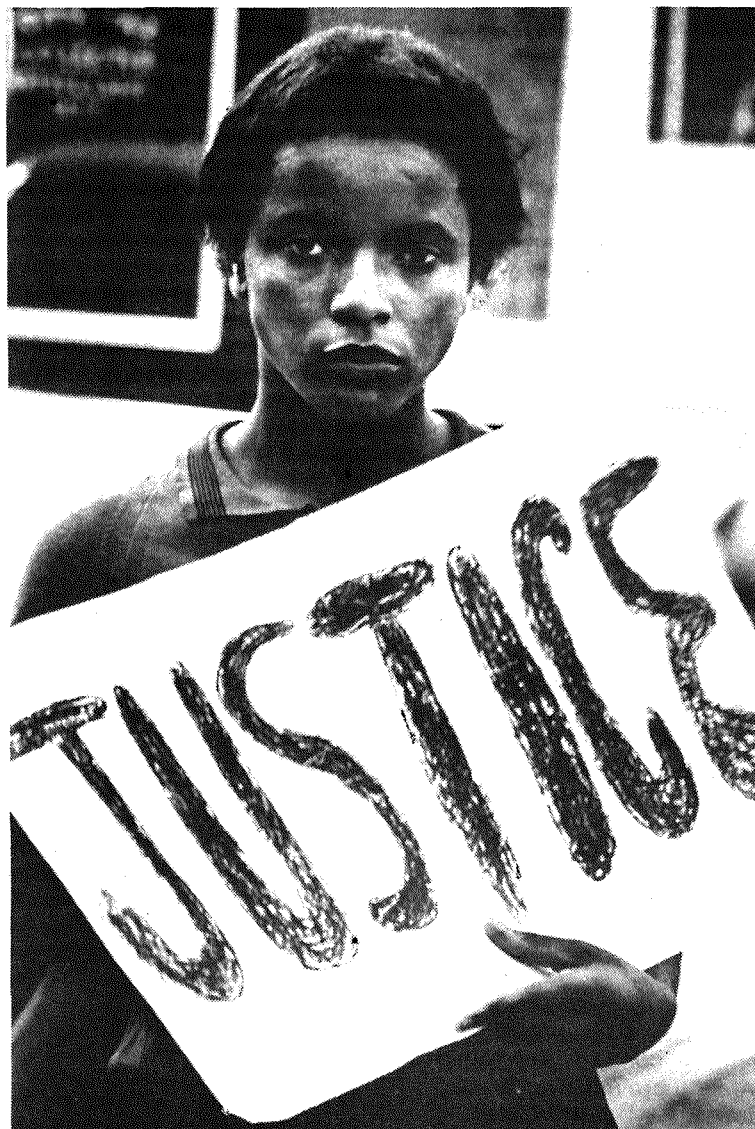
The federal government has three major identities domestically: legislator, service provider and employer. Internationally, it is responsible for Canada's reputation and we, as Canadians, depend upon it to conduct itself in a way which makes us proud. Recently, I attended the premiere showing of Alanis Obomsawin's new film **Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance** at the Toronto Film Festival, and was horrified to discover how quickly I had "forgotten" the feeling of shame I had so keenly felt during the weeks of the Oka stand-off such a short time ago.

Someone in the audience asked if the film would be distributed internationally. It will be, and I am re-filled with shame when I think of others in the world seeing the idiotic, dishonest, mindless behaviour of government officials at all levels of Canadian government when dealing with Aboriginal people.

Find out which parties are committed to the establishment of a funded charter challenge system such as the Court Challenges or Charter Law Development system.

When the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was instituted, so was a Court Challenges programme, whereby laws which unjustly impacted on particular individuals or groups could be challenged in court. In other words, one did not have to be wealthy or privileged to apply to have an equality issue heard. The Conservative government, in what it claimed was a cost-cutting measure, eliminated funding for the Court Challenges programme. Given the relatively low budget of the programme in the first place (about \$2.5M), equality-seeking groups saw the move as a slap in the face of justice.

In a recent speech in Edmonton, Kim Campbell announced the establishment of a new Charter Law Development Fund, with operating funds at about the same level as the Court Challenges Programme.



Although this is very positive news, there was no commitment made as to the start-up date of the new programme, and no real assurance that this would be considered a permanent and integral part of the legal mechanisms for achievement of an equitable society.

Find out which parties plan to amend existing legislation which does not conform to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in its treatment of people with disabilities. Find out which parties will prioritize a coordinated and cooperative approach to the full social and economic integration of people with disabilities.

Disability rights groups have lobbied for change in many areas which fall under federal jurisdiction directly, such as immigration, inter-provincial transportation, unemployment insurance and job training, federal employment equity and universal health care. Although the feds have a 5-year National Strategy for the Integration of Persons with Disabilities, critics charge that activity has been more apparent than real.

Find out which parties will begin to address the reality of institutionalized racism in this

country.

Racial prejudices are viruses which we all carry within us, whether in active or dormant form. Racism, on the other hand, is a function of power relations. People who are more empowered within a political system are automatically "racist" simply by their immersion, however "innocent", within that system. Becoming a non-racist requires an active, conscious effort on everyone's part, and anyone who is not actively making those efforts is, by definition, part of the problem.

The government of our country must actively make real efforts to free itself from the viral infection of racism, whether its efforts begin at the legislative level, with the *Indian Act*, the *Immigration Act*, or the *Employment Equity Act*, or at the policy level, for example, within the military, prohibiting membership in racist groups such as the Heritage Front. Immediate amendments to the Criminal Code to toughen and make enforceable the laws against hate propaganda is a direct challenge to racism.

Finally, find out which parties will amend the Canadian Human Rights Code to protect lesbians and gays, and which parties

are committed to immediately expanding the definition of spouse in the Canadian Human Rights Code, to include same sex couple.

The Canadian Human Rights Code still does not protect gays and lesbians against discrimination in federally regulated employment or services. Most of the provincial codes have already been amended, and the federal Commission is squirming with the embarrassment of being so far behind.

A separate but related issue is official recognition of spousal relationships between partners of the same sex. Recent attempts to amend the Code failed because the government wanted to protect individual gays and lesbians, but didn't want to alter the definition of family or marital status to allow for same-sex relationship recognition.

The 1992 Michael Leshner decision in Ontario struck down the sections of the Ontario Human Rights Code which required a spouse to be "of the opposite sex". Two of the three-member panel justified their decision using Charter of Rights reasoning, while the third argued that even without the Charter argument, the opposite-sex wording should be struck from the Code! Federal opposition to spousal recognition is outmoded and unjust.

Find out what your candidate represents. Make sure you will be voting for a champion of human rights — someone who will say things you can be proud of not only when they speak publicly in the House of Commons, but also when they speak privately, in the back rooms, in the hallways of Parliament, over lunch and at cocktail parties.

*Patricia Seeley is an artist and writer living in Toronto. She gained knowledge and insight into Human Rights issues during a three-year assignment with the Ontario Human Rights Commission. Thanks to Reva Devins, former OHRC Commissioner, for her advice and input.*







We did not receive an article on human rights from the Liberal Party.

Our government is a leader in promoting human rights at home and around the world. We believe that each and every individual has a right to be treated fairly, justly and humanely.

For example, we have tabled a bill to bring the *Canadian Human Rights Act* (CHRA) into line with the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. We are leading the way by promoting employment equity within federal departments. We passed a law to help give many Aboriginal women back their status and right to band membership. We are working to ensure gender equality in the justice system. We ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. We have stopped direct aid to countries that blatantly violate human rights, and are directing it to those that foster human rights.

In Canada, protection of the individual's rights and freedoms is a subject of both federal and provincial jurisdiction. The territorial governments also may legislate to protect human

## Party positions: Human rights Human rights

by Leena Evic-Twerdin



rights, since the federal government has delegated those powers to them.

The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* constitutionally protects certain fundamental freedoms that custom and law over the years had made almost universal in our country. It would be wrong to think that the Charter embodies all our rights as Canadians; rather, the Charter only guarantees a basic minimum set of rights. We all have other rights that derive from federal, provincial, international and common law. And, of course, Parliament or a provincial legislature can always add to our rights.

The Constitution affirms that we are a multicultural country and that Charter rights must be affirmed consistently with this ideal.

Recently, we announced the reinstatement and improvement of a program to fund test cases dealing with certain Charter provisions. The new program will be called the Charter Law Development Program. It will have the same funding as the

previous program and it will be run by a non-profit, arm's length agency. It will fund test cases of federal laws involving not only language and equality rights, but cases based on fundamental freedoms in the Charter, such as freedom of conscience and religion.

When it comes to gay and lesbian rights, we introduced a bill to amend the *Canadian Human Rights Act* to add sexual orientation as a prohibited ground of discrimination. The Department of Justice has already begun a review of federal legislation and policies that make distinctions on the basis of marriage and family relationships. The issue of benefits for gay and lesbian partners will be considered as part of this review.

We are dealing with race relations issues in a progressive way. We are focusing on the day-to-day problems faced by people of diverse origins. We are leading the fight against racism so all Canadians can equally enjoy the benefits of Canadian

citizenship.

The Progressive Conservative government launched the National Action Plan for Police-Minority Relations and worked closely with the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police and Police Services. We also helped establish the Canadian Centre for Police-Race Relations.

We have worked closely with schools and universities to develop culturally sensitive programs and practices. We continue to work with municipalities and provinces on sensitization programs.

We helped the Western Judicial Education Centre develop sensitivity training programs in sentencing for judges.

We help organizations and institutions be more accessible and sensitive to members of minority groups. We help action and research groups across the country fight racism. We launched a "racism in the workplace" education program for the unions that belong to the Canadian Labour

Congress.

Since 1989, our national education campaign to combat racism has centered around March 21, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It is based on a partnership among hundreds of thousands of individual Canadians, as well as business, labour, the media, other levels of government and educators.

These initiatives demonstrate that anti-racism is a priority for us. We will continue to fight racism and promote multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canada through all our institutions, government and otherwise.

We have a strong and active commitment to the advancement of human rights. We have demonstrated that commitment. We will continue to work to ensure the fair, just and humane treatment of every individual.

Leena Evic-Twerdin is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Nunatsiag.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Section 2 of the *Canadian Human Rights Act* states: "every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make for himself or herself the life that he or she is able and wishes to have, consistent with his or her duties and obligations as a member of society, without being hindered in or prevented from doing so by discriminatory practices based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital

status, family status, disability or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted."

Today these rights are being constantly violated or ignored by Canadian governments. New Democrats believe some of the key human rights issues in Canada include the establishment of a long term job strategy program. Essentials include such basics as skills up-grading and creating job apprenticeships to replace needed skills, mandatory employment equity laws, anti-racist laws with protection from harassment, the right to live and work without fear of attack because of one's sexual orientation, equal access to education in either official language especially for newcomers, basic right to food and shelter regardless of income level, and the right to health care.

Poverty in Canada is unacceptable. This is a nation that prides itself on having one of the highest standards of living in the world. It is a national disgrace that 4 million people are poor. According to the Economic Council of Canada's 1992 report, *The New Face of Poverty*, "Based on market income, the proportion of Canadians in poverty (incidence of poverty) has changed little in the past two decades." The report also

by Margaret Mitchell, MP

points out that "Poor families have disposable incomes that are an average of one third below the poverty line."

Even though Canada played a prominent role at the World Summit for Children in September 1990, and signed and ratified the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, one in six children go hungry every day in Canada. At the same time, Canada contributes significantly to global spending of over \$900 billion for weapons of destruction. Poverty increases the loss of human potential, reduces dignity and inevitably Canada's future competitiveness abroad.

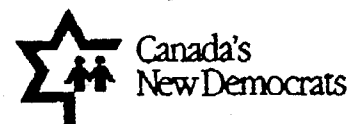
The indignities perpetrated on Aboriginal people is another example of government inaction and easily rank among some of the global human tragedies. The Davis Inlet incident, where several children died before the Canadian government did anything, is a further example of the lack of commitment to upholding basic human rights. The shooting and killing of Blacks in our urban cities, by the very police who are paid to protect them, also highlights this.

New Democrats will continue to demand amendments to the *Canadian Human Rights Act* to protect gays and lesbians and persons with disabilities against discrimination, similar

to the Ontario N D P Governments's amendments to the *Ontario Human Rights Act*. We will continue to work for the right of individuals to equal justice under the law, the right to be free from hunger, violence and poverty, the right to equal access to jobs, language training, retraining regardless of race or sexual orientation, and a strong policy of anti-racist education throughout the school system and in the workplace.

The New Democrats Federal Action Plan to combat racism includes:

- Proclaiming Bill C-63 to establish a Canadian Race Relations Foundation, with funds;
- Acknowledging past injustices against Ukrainian, German and Italian Canadians interned in war time;
- Amending the Criminal Code to make racism a criminal offence and strengthening sections dealing with hatred and propaganda;
- Reinstating the Court Challenges Program, to establish a foundation so that disadvantaged groups can clarify their Charter rights;
- Providing adequate funding to community based advocacy and human rights groups;
- Increasing cross-cultural training, enforcing mandatory employment equity in all federal departments and agencies;



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Margaret Mitchell is New Democratic Party MP for Vancouver East.

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# Empty nets: The future of the fishery

by Barbara Neis

The Atlantic fishery is mired in the deepest and most profound crisis it has ever known. The futures of the fishery resources and of the communities dependent on them are shrouded in uncertainty.

In rural Atlantic Canada an estimated 50,000 fishers and 19,000 fish processing workers depend directly on the fishing industry for employment. An additional 47,000 other workers are indirectly dependent on it, a figure that does not include the invisible, unpaid workers such as wives and mothers in the estimated 1,300 fishing communities for which the industry is the lifeblood. In the last decade we have witnessed policies that have helped bring the industry to the point of collapse.

The latest crisis in the Atlantic fisheries forced itself onto the national consciousness with the announcement of a two year moratorium on the northern cod stocks in July 1992. The symptoms of crisis were there long before the northern cod moratorium was announced. Conflicts, protests and deepening resentments within and between communities were powerful symptoms of accelerating resource decline. They also reflected growing inequities in access to remaining fish. Federal policy initiatives in the 1980s have contributed to these inequities and to resource decline.

When the federal government extended the 200 mile limit in 1977, this was supposed to provide the basis for resource conservation and enhancement of stocks depleted by foreign and local overfishing since the 1950s. It was also supposed to provide the basis for limiting access to fishery resources by ensuring that those closest to the resources, those with the strongest historical claim, would have first access.

In the case of the northern cod stocks, inshore communities had the strongest historical claim but their capacity to survive depended on cod stocks recovering, access to alternative sources of employment, different species and/or the incomes of other household members during periods of low prices, poor landings and increasing costs.

After 1977, investment in the Atlantic fishery expanded rapidly as companies struggled to position themselves so as to gain access to the anticipated fishery bonanza. Fishing households took advantage of

a relatively open access inshore fishery and government subsidies to move into the industry.

By 1981, many of the big companies were on the verge of bankruptcy as they got caught between high debt loads incurred during the expansion, high interest rates, high costs of production, and low prices in the foreign markets. The federal government set up the Kirby Task Force with a mandate to

offshore groundfish stocks. The general allocation to the inshore sector was set at a level lower than its historical landings.

For the first time, the offshore companies' share of the resources took the form of Enterprise Allocations (EAs), private shares to be fished and distributed between their plants according to their corporate goals. As the decade unfolded, further pieces of the fishery resource were parcelled

smaller and landings declined, these draggers lined their nets with other nets to keep their catches up.

Within fishing communities, fishery-related incomes got narrower. Fishing and fish processing families became differentiated. In search of alternative incomes, a few women successfully challenged discriminatory legislation that had helped keep women out of the boats by denying them the right to collect unemployment insurance if they fished with their husbands.

As fishery resources began to decline, household and corporate investments in fishing technology were forced up. It took more gear to catch fewer fish, and more of the resources of fishing households flowed off the land, out of the community and into the boats. In some cases, women followed these resources and began working with their husbands as crewmembers in order to keep more of the fishery-generated wealth in their households.

As some skippers no longer had to be concerned about providing employment for their wives and families in the local plant, their commitment to selling their catches in the community declined. Communities fragmented and internal conflicts and divisions deepened. Plantworkers found themselves fighting with vessel-owners and workers in other communities in an effort to hold on to a share of the declining resource.

Whether they were working in the plants or in the boats, women's jobs paid less than men's and this was reflected in lower unemployment insurance premiums and, as seasonality increased, greater difficulty getting enough work to qualify. Fishers were allowed to use their ten best weeks as a basis for unemployment insurance but the same privilege was not extended to plantworkers, most of who are women.

Until recently, nothing was done to stop the downward economic, social and ecological spiral within which many fishing communities found themselves. The recently announced moratoria on northern cod and other equally endangered groundfish stocks were long overdue. For those eligible, the government compensation package has provided some security until next July. Beyond this, however, the future is uncertain.

The current compensation package is sustaining and perhaps deepening divisions within communities and between regions. Those who earned more before the

closure, earn more on the package. This means women's incomes on the package are consistently lower than men's. Many groups, such as young people who worked seasonally in plants and went to university, do not qualify. Without summer employment, their educational future may be jeopardized.

More recent compensation packages have been less generous and more difficult to qualify. This bodes ill for the future.

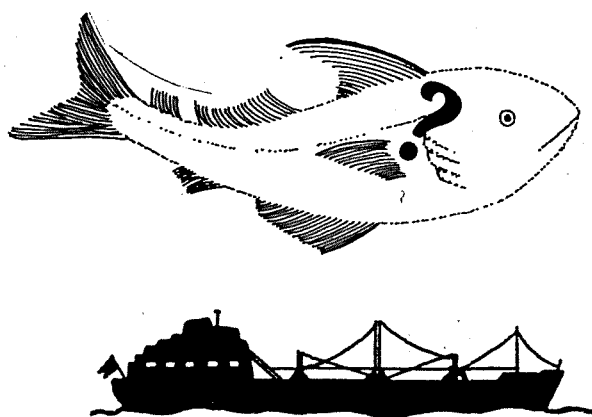
Retraining is allowing some to tackle long standing illiteracy and others to pursue courses of interest to them outside of the fishery. However, there are significant questions about the quality of the training that is being delivered and the extent to which it will provide adequate support to those who may want to leave the industry. For those who want to stay, particularly plantworkers, little is being offered.

This summer, fishers who would normally be up and out on the water by 4:00 or 5:00 in the morning were still in their beds at 11:00 a.m. Some are doing occasional training programmes, primarily fishery-related. They've recently heard that the fishery on which they depended may not reopen for several years. Women in their forties who worked for a decade or more in the local fishplant find themselves with no work, low incomes, and most of their wealth tied up in homes, communities and fishing gear that might have no future value.

A young woman I talked with feels glad to get away from her community so she doesn't have to watch her father struggle with empty days and a bleak and uncertain future. Her friends are all leaving, she tells me; that is, those that can.

Because loss of work can mean loss of their homes and communities, because the fishery is what they know but something they are no longer able to do, and because unemployment is high elsewhere, welfare may be the only meaningful option for many if current policies continue.

*Barbara Neis is a sociology professor at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland and is currently working on a book on the postwar Newfoundland fishery.*



recommend ways to "achieve and maintain a viable Atlantic fishing industry." Most of its recommendations were accepted and the resultant policies, together with the flawed assumptions on which they were based, contain important clues to the origins of the current crisis.

The authors of the Kirby Task Force report set two policy objectives: a) creating an economically viable industry no longer in need of government subsidy and, b) only secondarily, maximization of employment from the industry.

Starting from the premise that although the industry has many problems, "a shortage of fish is not one of them," the report and the politicians who accepted its recommendations confidently advocated policies that were supposed to produce a leaner, more efficient, year-round industry with fewer participants, higher incomes, less UI dependence and better quality products marketed more effectively.

The premise that fish shortages would not be a problem was based on optimistic projections about the recovery of the northern cod stocks.

The result of the Kirby Task Force was the creation of two supercompanies, National Sea Products and Fishery Products International (FPI). A large share of the northern cod stocks, traditionally fished by inshore fishers, was allocated to these firms, in addition to some of the valuable shellfishery resources and the

out in the form of Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs) to many of the larger dragger owner-operators in southwest Nova Scotia and west coast Newfoundland who had used lucrative licenses in crab and other species to finance large, costly fishing vessels.

As early as 1984, some inshore fishers were challenging claims that stocks were recovering. Their landings were going down, their seasons were getting shorter, the fish was smaller and they were having to use more gear to get the same amount of fish. They also challenged the failure of the federal government to place observers on offshore boats in order to reduce waste and ensure more accurate estimates of total fish landings.

Political pressure from the powerful offshore companies and federal commitment to "rationalize" the fishery to create a context in which the concerns of inshore fishing communities were largely ignored. Requirements for a "healthy" stock were downgraded, and overfishing and wastage were allowed to persist much longer than they should have.

Throughout the 1980s, landings in the small boat, inshore fisheries without ITQs declined. Fishery resources that in many communities had been communally managed in the past became the private property of mobile draggers by virtue of their possession of superior, mobile fishing technology and excessively high quotas. As fish got



# Party positions: Fisheries Fisheries Fisheries Fisheries

by Jean Payne and  
Bonnie Hickey



The fishing industry is Canada's oldest. Yet, in less than a decade, the fisheries policy of the Conservative government threatens the survival of hundreds of communities throughout Atlantic Canada and an historic legacy dating 500 years. Conservative policy has created an employment crisis unseen in Canada since the Great Depression.

Recent scientific information reveals that the stock levels of Atlantic groundfish such as cod, haddock, and pollock have never been so low. While salmon runs on the West Coast are strong this year, concerns

exist about the threats to salmon habitat and spawning streams. Conservation and rebuilding of the stocks will be the top priority of Liberal fisheries policy.

We recognize that groundfish stocks are in serious trouble and that fishing efforts must be ended or severely curtailed in many areas. But Liberals also know that this crisis is not simply a "fisheries" problem; it is an issue with massive economic and social implications. The government must respond to this national crisis and on an international level as well. A Liberal government will deal

with foreign fishing outside the 200-mile limit and scrutinize foreign quotas within 200 miles.

We believe that fish harvesters and processors are an integral part of the small and medium-sized business community in Atlantic Canada. By its inaction with respect to marketing, market access, and export market development, the Conservative government obviously believes otherwise. Liberals believe that the crucial role of government in innovation is to work in partnership with the private sector to identify strategic opportunities for the future. A Liberal government will link

federal efforts to increase seafood exports with priority objectives identified by the industry.

The quality of infrastructure in the fishing industry is a primary determinant of the industry's overall success. A Liberal government will implement measures to ensure that adequate fisheries infrastructure is provided and maintained.

None of the measures outlined above will succeed in revitalizing the Atlantic fishing industry or ensuring the renewal of commercial stocks, if participants in the industry -- fishermen, plant workers, and

processors -- are not actively involved in the decision-making process. In considering issues and policy which have a dramatic and immediate impact on the lives of individuals, sincere efforts must be made to solicit input and participation. A Liberal government will ensure that those who earn their living in the fishery will have meaningful involvement in the decision-making process.

Jean Payne, Liberal Candidate,  
St. John's West  
Bonnie Hickey, Liberal  
Candidate, St. John's East



The fishery is a valuable resource and important to the way of life in Atlantic Canada. This is why it is so important to help it overcome the crisis in the fishery. To rebuild and prepare for a better tomorrow.

In Halifax, on September 18, Prime Minister Kim Campbell outlined her plan to help get the fishery back on a surer footing and support Atlantic Canadians through hard times. It reflects the beliefs that: there must be an end to foreign-overfishing outside the 200-mile limit; harvesting and processing should match the fish available, the industry should become more self-sufficient and self-reliant; efforts should be made to add value to fish products

processed in the Atlantic; new markets should be sought for Atlantic Canadian fish; fishing communities should be helped to diversify their economies; and those who work in the fishery should be involved in the decisions that affect their livelihood.

We are helping the industry change with the times and are working to preserve our precious fish stocks. We have made long-term management of the fishery a priority, have taken steps to preserve the stocks, and are working to reduce the impact on people, families, and communities.

Each year, we have done our best to determine the amount of fish in the waters off Atlantic

Canada. Then we set quotas or the Total Allowable Catch (TAC) for different types of fish in different areas. Since 1989, scientists have found fewer and fewer fish. Each year, we have responded by cutting the TAC to protect fish stocks.

We also set up a catch monitoring program--an enforcement measure to make sure quotas are met. We set out the requirement that all fleets prepare conservation harvesting plans.

We have worked hard to solve the serious problem of foreign overfishing by raising awareness and improving cooperation. We have been making the European Community aware of the

by Margaret-Ann  
O'Rourke

serious effects overfishing has for our fishery. Our efforts are paying off. At a September 1992 meeting of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization, all members agreed to quotas for 1993, including a ban on fishing for northern cod outside the Canadian zone. This was the first time the EC had agreed that no fishing for northern cod would take place.

Prime Minister Kim Campbell's plan to help Atlantic Canada reach its potential and promise is based on new economic partnerships--between governments, business, labour and people and communities. It includes creating an environment where small business can thrive and



creating a strong export-led private sector to help create wealth. We will also create Innovations Atlantic to help the development of ideas and get them into the marketplace.

Our new approach will use the modern tools of economic growth and apply them to Atlantic Canada's home-grown strengths.

Margaret-Ann O'Rourke is the  
Progressive Conservative  
candidate for Humber-St.  
Barbe-Baie Verte.

The first signs of collapse of the Atlantic fishery were evident to the coastal fishers a number of years ago. The reasons for the collapse of the groundfish stocks, the backbone of the Atlantic coast fishery, vary from foreign over-fishing and the misuse of technology, to changes in water temperature and government mismanagement.

Since the federal government has complete jurisdiction over the fishery off the Atlantic coast, the responsibility for its collapse must be laid at the feet of the federal governments, past and present. We should have been moving toward closure years ago.

What brought us to this unfortunate crossroad? The answer is obvious. The fishery as it was conducted for the last decade, has proved to have been environmentally unsustainable. Destroyed is

the economic stability of thousands of Atlantic Canadians. Destroyed too, is what has been in the past, one of the world's most abundant renewable food stocks.

What should be done in the future?

The first principle must be a dedication to the growth and development of the fish stock. The days of harvesting fish without regard for tomorrow are over. The sea's abundance can return only with careful midwifery.

Secondly, once the stocks are replenished, the federal government must be responsible for the conservation of this public resource ahead of all other concerns or corporate interests. This means that new harvesting methods which ensure conservation must be developed in co-operation with both the provinces and the

representatives of the fishing industry and community.

In the future it should be a condition for obtaining a licence that the vessels used in the Canadian fishery are Canadian made and maintained. Canadians should be manufacturing the engines, the boats, the nets and the other essential gear of the fishing industry. The fish caught in Canadian waters should be landed and processed in Canada.

New Democrats have not wavered in their position since 1975 that unless the international community assumes fisheries management beyond our 200 mile zone, Canada should.

The federal government must be prepared to continue to compensate fishing families while a moratorium is in effect and until viable employment options are found by those left without a livelihood.

Finally we must acknowledge that the fishing industry will not return to its former size - that fewer people will be required to harvest the resource.

With fewer people harvesting fish, how do we ensure that the benefits derived are returned to the fishing community, that fishing families rather than fishing corporations are the beneficiaries of an ecologically and economically well managed resource?

The collapse of our off-shore

fishery has sent shock waves across Atlantic Canada. An earlier effort at introducing responsible management of the resource would have demanded sacrifices on the part of a number of people involved in the industry. However, it might have prevented the ecological disaster all Atlantic Canadians must deal with today.

Pauline MacKenzie is the New  
Democratic Party Candidate for  
Fredericton York Sunbury

by Pauline MacKenzie



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# No farms, no food, no future

by Sally Rutherford

A farm woman's typical day is, in some ways, not much different from her day 10 years ago.

She is likely to be, quite literally, "chief cook and bottle washer". She is also probably chief bookkeeper, tractor driver, herds "person", machinery parts courier, and co-manager of a small to medium sized business operation (all of this often without child care). These tasks are in addition to her roles as wife, mother and, increasingly, breadwinner from an off-farm job as well.

However, the agriculture industry in which she plays a major role has changed in the past 10 years.

While the number of farms has remained fairly stable, about 300,000 across Canada, the relative size of farms has changed. Ten years ago, the majority of farms were small to medium sized, full-time operations. Today, the number of larger farms has increased significantly. These large farms are still the primary source of employment. They make use of all available farm family labour and still provide most, if not all, of family income. On the smaller and medium sized operations, many of the owners are now working on the farm and holding off-farm jobs as well.

Economics have caused some of these changes. "Commercial" farms, which provide the bulk of the agricultural production in Canada, have become larger in order to realize economies of scale in production. The state of world markets and, yes, even the weather, have had an impact. Poor commodity prices and/or poor crops have forced many farm families to seek an additional source of income to provide day-to-day living expenses. In 1990, total family income averaged \$47,426 with only \$15,212 coming from the farm.

The changing pattern and structure of international trade

is another factor that has had a major impact on Canadian farms. During the past five years, trade agreements have changed the way that producers of specific commodities, and whole sectors, have had to deal in the marketplace.

If a farmer is involved in an export commodity, such as beef, pork or grains, the Canada-U.S. Trade Agreement (CUSTA) and NAFTA have been useful in opening up markets or providing recourse on U.S. trade actions. If, on the other hand, she runs a horticulture operation, the effect of CUSTA has been damaging.

balanced position of significant reductions of export subsidies and the maintenance of the provisions to protect the marketing systems for dairy, poultry and egg producers (as a minimum) is crucial to the healthy functioning of agriculture in Canada for the next 10 to 20 years.

Despite all of these pressures, one aspect of the primary agriculture industry which has not changed is the family nature of farming. According to the 1991 census, over 98% of Canadian farms were still classified by their operators as family farms.



Horticulture producers have been put under great strain by the increased access into the Canadian market for U.S. fruits and vegetables.

The biggest question for most farm families is the GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which sets out the parameters for trade throughout the world. The lack of enforceable trade rules for agriculture in the GATT over the past ten years has created serious problems for Canadian grain producers who have been forced to compete against the very large subsidies paid by U.S. and European Community treasuries to their farmers.

The "subsidy wars" have taken their toll on the Prairie grain industry and on the health of farm families and communities. The development of a new GATT which supports the Canadian

This statistic is illustrative of one of the most positive changes over the past ten years: the increased recognition of women in agriculture. More and more women are farming as sole operators, more and more farm families are recognizing women as full and legal partners in the family business. There are still hurdles to be overcome, for example, provincial legislation and program design which discourages participation of married partners. Efforts are ongoing to remove not only these barriers, but also the "glass ceiling" barriers which discourage the participation of women in agriculture per se and in the development of policy for the industry.

One of the major issues facing agriculture and the people who are involved in it, is the future of rural areas.

In almost all rural areas farmers are no longer the most numerous residents. Indeed, farming is most often not the major source of economic activity. As farm numbers drop and other resource based activity declines, the population base required to maintain services such as stores, schools, churches, and recreational facilities in rural areas also decline. This in turn reduces the opportunities for employment which further erodes the population base — and the possibilities for off-farm income.

Given all of the uncertainties and challenges that face farm families and farm women in particular, it might be surprising that they do remain on the farm. The truth is that farmers do not take their vocation or their lifestyle lightly. They will continue to work hard for a strong agriculture industry in Canada and strong rural communities.

Sally Rutherford is the Executive Director of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture.

Canada needs to promote locally-grown food, thus supporting family-run farms, regional food self-sufficiency, and alternatives to chemical-intensive farming techniques. A country, like an army, will survive only if it can feed itself.

Locally-grown foods are better for consumers because they are fresher, and they exert less of a detrimental impact on the environment because they require less transportation. Foodstuffs in the U.S. now travel an average of 2,000 miles. NAFTA promises to increase that to 5,000 miles.

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# Party positions: Agriculture Agriculture Agriculture

by Lois Ross



Since 1971 this country has lost half of its family farmers. Between 1986 and 1991 Canada lost more than 26% of its individual and family farms.

Canada's family farmers have now entered into the 11th hour. So too have the communities which are dependant on the survival of the family farm.

Canada's New Democrats know that there are alternatives which can be implemented to begin working immediately toward the maintenance of family farms. Preserving Canada's family farms is the only way to maintain rural communities dependent on agriculture. It is also the only way to ensure that Canada has a secure food system and an environmentally sound agricultural base.

Instead of allowing land concentration to proceed unchallenged, our plan is designed to encourage family

farms by ensuring that all programs have ceilings which meet the needs of family farmers.

Canada's New Democrats recently released an 8-point plan which will work toward these goals. Here are a few of the key points in that plan:

- A Family Farm Stabilization Program would provide a fair minimum price based on costs of production for a portion of the crop. The stabilization program would include a wide-range of crops including cereal grains, farm feed grains, forage, potatoes and other field crops not covered by marketing boards.

- The Farm Credit Corporation would be turned into a farmer's bank. The FCC would be given the mandate to suspend farm foreclosures and offer a new farm debt relief plan which would provide family farmers with the opportunity to stay on the land. In addition, lands foreclosed by the FCC would be

returned to family-owned operations or used to help younger generation start-up family farms.

- Supply management and orderly marketing systems would be maintained. The international food market is controlled by a handful of multi-nationals. Canadian farmers have gained more control over their products through orderly marketing systems such as the Canadian Wheat Board where individual farmers are not isolated and weakened by the multi-nationals operating in the international marketplace. Our plan also includes cancelling the Free Trade agreements. These do not provide fair rules for international trade and do not allow Canadian governments to establish or change programs to benefit family farmers and rural communities.

- A planned approach to land transfer and pensions. We will

work with the provinces to implement community land trusts to manage land which comes into control of the Crown, instead of selling land to the highest bidder. These trusts could ensure that land remains in the hands of family farmers. In addition, we would implement a farmers' pension. This retirement plan would lessen the need for farmers to accumulate land and lessen the need for each generation of new farmers to pay speculative prices for land.

- In order to meet environmental and community development needs, Canada's New Democrats would encourage crop and agricultural diversity. Our plan also includes the need to encourage small and medium sized businesses which add value to our agricultural products, and which create employment in rural communities. We know that rural communities need access

to postal services, transportation, telecommunications, and government and financial services. The development of Canada's rural communities includes enhanced support for co-operatives and community enterprises.

The question of who grows the food in this country and who has access to the land is crucial to all Canadians. History tells us that countries which neglect family farmers eventually pay the price. It is high time we had a federal government which paid attention. If this country continues to lose farms at the same rate that it has during the past decade, it will take far less time to lose another 50% of farmers - less than five years!

*Lois Ross is the New Democratic Party candidate for Swift Current-Maple Creek-Assiniboia*

by Jane Stewart



Farming and the agrifood industry are vital common elements in the economies and social structures of every province. A large percentage of the food requirements of Canada's population comes from Canadian farms; most of the food we import is not climatically adapted to Canada.

The agrifood industry in Canada provides Canadians with the safest and most secure food source at the second-lowest cost of any country in the western world. In addition, agriculture, including the processing, wholesale, and retail sectors, accounts for approximately 10 percent of Canada's economic activity. Annual sales from the agrifood industry exceed \$60 billion and account for one-third of our trade surplus; primary agricultural products account for about 30 percent of this total contribution.

For every job created in

agriculture, 1.55 jobs are created elsewhere in the economy. For every one-dollar increase in agricultural farm income, there is a two-dollar increase in income for the Canadian economy.

As Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien stated at the May 10 announcement of the Liberal agriculture policy, "Farm families need long-term programs to assist them in securing their future, so that they can continue to provide Canadians with the best quality food in the world."

Liberals are committed to the establishment of a national agriculture and food security policy for Canada. Currently there are several programs available to Canadian farmers, providing different forms and levels of support and stability. Liberals will maintain those policies and programs that have been developed over the years, including support for

supply management programs, support for the Canadian Wheat Board, retention of our crop insurance programs, and a commitment, in cooperation with the provinces, to soil and water conservation and management and agricultural research, to name just a few. But more is needed than just retaining many of the policies that we already have. The Liberal approach to agriculture will provide programs to develop new domestic and international markets for food products, reduce input costs to make farming more viable, and introduce a plan for a new "whole farm" income stabilization program.

Canada's agrifood industry must have an adequate level of income, reduced input costs, and access to capital, to remain economically viable. One of the most economic and efficient ways to reduce input costs is through farm credit.

Liberals will enhance the role of the Farm Credit Corporation by introducing three new farm credit programs to provide long-term stability to Canadian farmers.

We recognize the deficiencies in the current safety net programs, and will introduce an improved program based on "whole farm support". This program will be self-sustaining and able to provide secure stabilization of farm incomes. It will be environmentally sustainable, commodity neutral, sensitive to regional differences, and designed to eliminate long delays before payment. As well, the program will be as market and production neutral as possible and in harmony with the GATT and international obligations.

For the past 15 years, farm exports have made up between 40 and 50 percent of farm cash receipts, representing 7.5

percent of Canada's total exports (1991), and have generated an agricultural trade surplus of \$2.5 billion. Liberals recognize the importance of agricultural trade and will work to build upon our natural agricultural advantages, moving towards crop diversification and product development to meet the export demands of the international marketplace. Strengthening the trade interests of Canadian agriculture must be given a high priority.

In keeping with the Liberal Party's commitment to fiscal responsibility, the agriculture programs would be funded out of existing departmental budgets, and would be implemented within our first mandate as the new federal government.

*Jane Stewart, Liberal Candidate, Brant*

by Sue Irvine



It is important to preserve the farming way of life. It is just as important to build a winning farm and food industry. Success for this industry will help build a strong and prosperous Canada.

The PC government is working with the provinces to help farmers through hard times and to promote long-term success. To encourage this, we have modernized support programs and opened up new

opportunities, and are helping the industry become environmentally friendly. Income and trade and building a modern successful farm and food industry are the important issues for farmers and the important issues for us.

We have given farmers more income support than ever before. In total, we have spent record levels, an average of \$3.8 billion a year, to support Canadian agriculture.

More important, we undertook an extensive review of farm and food policy which

resulted in *Growing Together*—to guide the industry into the future and promote success.

In 1991, we brought in a new generation of farm safety net programs. The Gross Revenue Insurance Program (GRIP) and the Net Income Stabilization Account (NISA) replaced *ad hoc* programs and put in place help for farmers in all regions. They protect farmers while encouraging good management and long-term success.

Over the 1991-92 crop year, GRIP and NISA delivered about \$2 billion to farmers. Payments

in the 1992-93 crop year are approximately \$1.6 billion.

Farming is a business and we are helping farmers improve the way they manage their business. This includes better production, marketing and financial management. For example, we set up the National Farm Business Management Program to give farmers access to more and better training and business services. For farm families with below average income, we set up a \$25 million program called the Canadian Rural Opportunities

Initiative. It helps farm families start up small businesses or pursue new job opportunities off their farms.

We made a number of improvements to the Farm Credit Corporation, including allowing farmers to extend their leases and buy back land once their finances improve. We also passed a bill to expand the role to the FCC allowing it to make loans to farmers who want to diversify their operations.

Continued on page 48



# Whose choice is it?

by Kit Holmwood

January 28, 1988. The Supreme Court of Canada strikes the restrictions on abortions out of the Criminal Code. No more hospital committees making decisions for women without even talking to these same women. A woman will decide, in consultation with her doctor, whether or not to carry a pregnancy to term. If an abortion is necessary, a woman will obtain this legal, medical service at her local hospital or clinic.

That was the legal decision, but reality has been somewhat different. For the majority of Canadian women, access to safe, legal abortion is a major problem due to economics, anti-choice groups, hospital boards, governments and doctors.

On Prince Edward Island, there are no abortion services.

One hospital in Whitehorse serves all of the Yukon Territory and only recently has there been a move to expand services beyond Yellowknife for the North West Territories.

Women in Newfoundland and Manitoba have access in their capital cities at a hospital and a Morgentaler clinic. Though some of the small town hospitals will do abortions, Alberta and Nova Scotia women have to go mainly to the large cities. Halifax, Edmonton and Calgary each have a hospital and a private clinic.

Women from New Brunswick and Saskatchewan have very limited access, the former in three cities and the latter in only two. Women in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec have better access but it is still limited to the larger cities. The Quebec government has been paying for abortions done in

hospitals and clinics since the late seventies.

Harassment of women by doctors continues. In the North West Territories, doctors were performing abortions without anaesthetics and some doctors were being verbally abusive to women. There are doctors throughout Canada who delay women by not confirming their pregnancies; by telling women they need to wait longer before they can get an abortion; or by not referring women to other doctors or agencies who would provide information on how to get abortion services.

In Dauphin, Manitoba, the hospital board has established a committee to help the doctor ascertain if an abortion is necessary. Elected hospital boards are being taken over by anti-choice groups, thus ensuring that abortion services are not provided at these hospitals.

Anti-choice groups continue to verbally, psychologically and physically harass women trying to obtain abortion services. Doctors, their families and staff have experienced the harassment of anti-choice groups at hospitals, clinics, their offices, homes and their children's schools.

This harassment has escalated to the violent stage. In the case of the fire-bombing of Dr. Morgentaler's Toronto clinic a year and a half ago. After much lobbying, the Ontario government is now going to court to obtain a public injunction for specific sites where anti-choice people are harassing women, doctors and staff.

Throughout Canada the anti-choice fanatics engage in their harassment techniques, openly and covertly, through medical personnel in hospitals. Their aim is to stop all abortion by either preventing women from entering the medical facilities or by pressuring doctors to quietly stop doing abortions.

Harassment of women is practiced by provincial governments. PEI women who have an off-island abortion must apply to a committee of 5 doctors to have their government reimburse them for this legal, medical service. The allowable "reasons" to obtain reimbursement are extremely limited.

All other provincial governments pay for hospital abortions done in their jurisdiction. In addition, B.C., Ontario and Quebec will pay for abortions performed in clinics.

In Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Alberta, the doctor's fee for clinic abortions is covered.

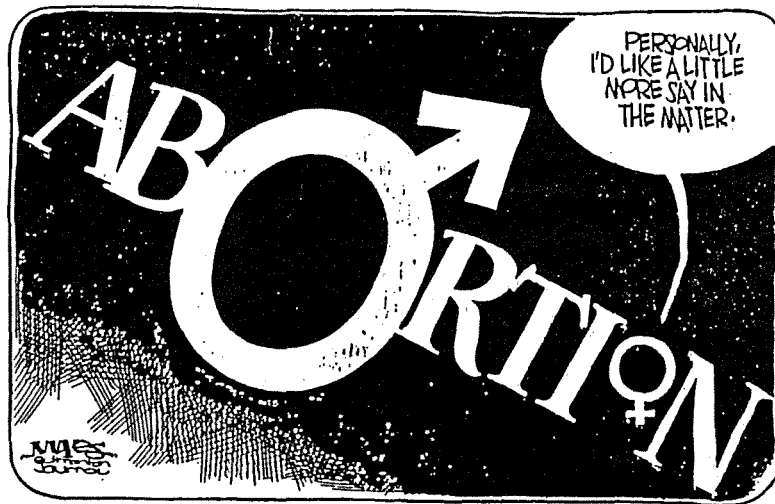
In Manitoba, although the courts decreed that the doctors' fees must be covered in clinics as well as in hospitals, the conservative government has re-written its health regulations specifically to exclude clinic abortions from any payment. After winning two court battles, Dr. Morgentaler must once again take this government to court.

For many women, private clinics are their only source of abortion services. Having to pay travel and sometimes accommodation, and then

For almost six years Canadians have not had Criminal Code restrictions on abortion services. Women are leaving not only their own communities, but their provinces and even their country to get a legal, medical service.

The new government must reflect the view of 79% of Canadians. A woman must be free to decide whether or not to carry her pregnancy to term. This must not be the decision of politicians. Who decides? You do with your vote!

Kit Holmwood is President of the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League.



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having to cover the cost of an abortion can mean not being able to obtain this legal, medical service.

Without financial resources, contraception is becoming unaffordable. For the first time since 1955 there is an overall increase in teenage pregnancies. Without total medical insurance funding for abortions, how will these teenagers obtain abortions?

A new abortion law is not out of the question. Although the 1992 CARAL poll showed that 79% of Canadians are pro-choice, we have never had a parliament which reflects that reality. Both Kim Campbell and Jean Chrétien have said that back benchers will have an easier time of bringing forward private member's bills. Neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals have a pro-choice policy. Only the NDP and the National Party have pro-choice policies.

Many of the Bloc Québécois, as Conservatives, voted with the government on Bill C-43. Their position now is not known. The only sitting Reform party member, Deborah Grey, was elected on an anti-choice platform. With no policy, the Reform Party talks about a referendum.

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# Party positions: Abortion Abortion Abortion Abortion

by Jean Chrétien

by Cindy Moriarty

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It is clear that cuts to family planning groups such as Planned Parenthood will do nothing to decrease abortion, which is what many Conservatives and Liberals claim to want. Increasing women's reproductive choices means increasing access to family planning information. The NDP would restore funding to Planned Parenthood and other organizations working to similar ends.

Finally, the NDP would work to focus increased attention within the Medical Research Council to issues of concern to women such as fertility and contraception.

Women's reproductive rights are still very much under fire, and will remain so until a federal government is elected which is committed to women. The NDP's stance is clear.

*Cindy Moriarty is the New Democratic Party candidate for Carleton-Gloucester.*

by Denise Cole

Abortion has been treated by our government as a matter on which Members of Parliament should be able to vote according to their conscience.

The Progressive Conservative government introduced Bill C-43 to fill the void created when, in its ruling in the Morgentaler case, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down the sections of the *Criminal Code* that dealt with abortion. The bill provided for abortion by a medical practitioner if, in his or her opinion, the woman's life or physical, mental or psychological health was threatened. It reflected the various views and interests of Canadian society on the issue of abortion.

MPs were free to vote as

they saw fit. Bill C-43 was passed by the House of Commons, but was defeated in the Senate on January 31, 1991. There are no further plans to bring in legislation dealing with abortion.

On the issue of access, the *Canada Health Act* requires that in order to receive federal funding, the provinces and territories must operate their health insurance plans in a way that provides reasonable access to medically necessary hospital and physician services. How the province or territory operates its health insurance plan and delivers services is within the purview of that government.

*Denise Cole is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Beaches-Woodbine.*



When Bill C-43 was voted on in the House of Commons, the policy of the Liberal Caucus was to have a free vote on the legislation, allowing Liberal MPs to follow their own personal beliefs of the wishes of their constituents. I personally am pro-choice, however I believe that abortion is a matter of individual conscience, not of Party policy. A Liberal government will not introduce legislation on abortion.

A woman's right to control her own body is an issue that will receive little attention in the popular media this election. The still male-dominated political world is not interested in debating what it feels to be a non-issue, ranking far below the deficit and the economy. Unfortunately, even many who support a woman's right to reproductive choice feel that the issue has gone away since Bill C-43 (the attempt to recriminalize) was defeated in 1988.

In fact, even though a woman's right to choose presently exists in the eyes of the law, this right is precarious. While there is no law prohibiting a woman from having an abortion, little has been done to entrench these rights.

The New Democratic Party is the only party which unequivocally supports a woman's right to reproductive choice. Just as women's reproductive choices are being attacked on a number of fronts, the NDP would make changes



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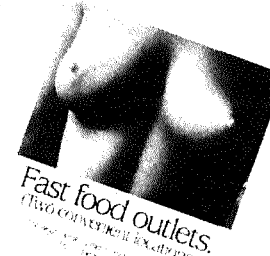
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## Party positions: New reproductive technologies

by Betty Baxter



New reproductive technology (NRT) may be the most emotionally and ethically-charged scientific field of the century. Scientific advances are occurring at a breathtaking rate, making it difficult to understand all of the social implications of this new technology. Perhaps if there was as much effort and talent put into the work of drafting policy guidelines to deal with the ethical questions NRT raises, as there is in the development of that technology, we would be further ahead.

But the troubling truth is that the Conservative government has failed to respond to the social questions of standards, informed consent, costs or eugenics raised by existing and emerging NRTs.

The Royal Commission struck to investigate and report on NRTs has suffered from internal problems that seriously compromised its ability to issue a report. And yet the Conservatives insist that they need that report before drafting policies and guidelines.

Many women are turning to IVF without being fully informed about the shortcomings of the process. While patients do sign an "informed consent", the information they receive is scant. Most women are never told that the success rate is poor, that there are significant side effects from the medications, and that they may go through years of physical and psychological pain without bearing a child.

To address the issue of uninformed consent as well as the lack of standards, the NDP would insist that IVF success rates be clearly defined and the party would implement measures to ensure that clinics adhere to that definition in reporting. In addition, the party would make counselling mandatory in every IVF program.

Besides being unaware of IVF's dismal results, infertile women are doubly disadvantaged by not having treatment covered under their provincial medical plans. Since the cost to individuals is

prohibitive, the technology is accessible only to those who can afford it.

This discriminatory use of NRTs extends to eugenics, or non-medical applications. Procedures that were developed to diagnose potential hereditary illnesses have been subverted to identify characteristics that may be unacceptable to parents. The most common of these is gender selection, which has the alarming possibility of changing Canadian demographics as the majority of these abortions are carried out because the foetus is female.

The New Democratic Party critic for the status of women, Dawn Black, presented a brief to the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies which had the following recommendations:

1. Factual, unbiased information about the risks and actual success rates of NRTs be made available to the public by a permanent agency.
2. Information about each NRT clinic in Canada be kept,

including a record of its standardized success rate in accordance with a clear definition of success.

3. A confidential register be maintained of all children born from invasive NRTs.

4. A limit be placed on the number of times an individual may donate sperm, and the donor's identity and medical history be retained.

5. Clinics be monitored to ensure that they are operating ethically.

6. Consideration be given to funding experimental techniques through federal and provincial research grants rather than through health care budgets.

7. Non-experimental NRT treatment be funded through health care while weighing their priority against other medical necessities.

8. No one be permitted to perform NRTs for non-medical purposes.

The party is concerned that NRT's are being driven by profit-seeking multinationals.

The scientists in their laboratories are not limited in any way and are at liberty to make their own decisions about which technologies are developed. This scientific freedom does not bode well for Canadians in light of NAFTA. Under NAFTA, Canadian women will have no say at all in the development of new technologies, or in the way that existing technologies are used.

Canadian women need to be part of the decision-making process on regulating new reproductive technology because they are so intimately affected by its use. The entire issue needs further examination and more debate.

A New Democratic government would work hard to try to implement regulations and standards that minimize suffering and that maximize the ethical use of NRT's.

*Betty Baxter is the New Democratic Party candidate for Vancouver Centre.*



There are many difficult issues connected to reproductive technologies that must be faced and in some cases regulated. We cannot blindly state positions and set up policies without first understanding the issues surrounding the technologies.

That's why we set up the Royal Commission on Reproductive Technologies in October 1989. The commission is to enquire and report on current and potential medical and scientific developments in

the field. It will consider the social, ethical, health, research, legal and economic implications of these technologies. Once the commission has tabled its report in November 1993, we will be better able to determine policy in specific areas of reproductive technologies.

The commission is examining some of the key issues that we will consider when making decisions about these technologies. These include:

Implications of new

by Francie Sommers

reproductive technologies for women's reproductive health and well-being;

Social and legal arrangements, such as surrogate childbearing, judicial interventions during gestation and birth, and ownership of ova, sperm, embryos and fetal tissue transplants;

The status and rights of people using or contributing to reproductive services such as access to procedures, "rights" to parenthood, informed consent, status of gamete

donors confidentiality, and the impact of these services on all concerned parties, particularly the children; and

The economic ramifications of these technologies, such as the commercial marketing of ova, sperm and embryos, the application of patent law, and the funding of research and procedures including infertility treatment.

*Francie Sommers is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Glengarry-Prescott-Russell.*



The new reproductive technologies raise a multitude of legal, practical, moral and health issues. The Final report of Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies, scheduled for release in November 1993, will provide Canadians with the most comprehensive review of this subject yet to be undertaken in Canada. The Liberal Party will draw on the Commission's work, along with the work of other individuals and groups involved in this debate, to help guide its response to these important issues.

## Agriculture Continued from page 47

Since 1971 this country has lost half of its family farmers. Between 1986 and 1991 Canada lost more than 26% of its individual and family farms.

We have been opening up markets for farmers and have set up programs to help them compete. We helped the provinces reach a deal to eliminate the barriers to agricultural trade and have opened up the huge U.S. market with the Free Trade Agreement (FTA).

Since the signing of the FTA our farm exports to the U.S. have grown by about 9.6 per cent a year. The FTA includes a panel to settle disputes quickly and we have won

disputes on durham wheat, swine and raspberries.

Most farmers are concerned about the GATT negotiations. We are leading the charge in farm trade at GATT--not following it. Our position at the GATT is firm. We want to get rid of subsidies that distort trade and put in place fair rules for all.

To help farmers compete, we are getting rid of unnecessary rules that make trade more difficult. We have set up the Trade Opportunities Strategy to help the farm and food industry

boost exports. We also introduced the Agri-Food Industry Market Strategies to encourage farm and food groups to develop new ways to respond to market opportunities.

In recognition of the need to build a strong farm and food industry that is successful at home and around the world, Prime Minister Kim Campbell expanded the role of Agriculture Canada to include agri-food. This brings all government services under one

roof so we can better serve this important, growing industry. And Rural Canada now has a stronger voice at the Cabinet table, because we made the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-food responsible for rural areas and small towns.

We believe that Canada can have successful family farms, a strong agri-food industry and prosperous rural communities. Our actions reflect this commitment.

*Sue Irvine is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Okanagan-Similkameen-Merritt*

# Party positions: Immigration and refugees



Canada's  
New Democrats

by Winnie Ng



As a nation of immigrants, Canada has thrived both culturally and economically. New Canadians help establish small businesses, increase demand for consumer goods, and create jobs. The self-employed rate for immigrants is well above the Canadian average.

Canada's immigration policy has an outstanding world-wide reputation. To maintain this success, the federal government will need to play a greater role in assisting integration. Today, 93% of births take place in lower income countries. More and more, new Canadians will be visible minorities who need assistance with language and job training. Fair immigration and refugee policy will be critical in fighting racism.

Instead of helping to educate Canadians on the importance of immigration, the Conservatives have used regressive legislation to make it more difficult for newcomers to settle in. New laws actively discriminate against visible minorities and refugees. As part of the Tory free trade agenda, negotiations are underway to harmonize Canada's refugee policy with less humane standards in the United States and Europe.

The Conservatives have made family reunification more difficult and have arbitrarily limited access to legitimate Geneva Convention refugees. Meanwhile, wealthy individuals,

under the Investment Program, can literally buy Canadian passports. Influential figures, like the high ranking Iraqi official, Al Mashat, have also been given special fast-track privileges.

The erosion of Canada's immigration policy has continued under Kim Campbell. In her cabinet reshuffle, immigration has been made part of a new super ministry called Public Security. This implies that immigrants should normally be treated as potential criminals and security risks.

The Reform Party has been competing with the Conservatives to use new immigrants as the scapegoat for high unemployment and crime.

It was the Liberals who first put a freeze on immigration levels in the 1980s and who cut back on admissible categories such as the "assisted relatives program". It was the Liberals who initiated the entrepreneurial program, at the expense of families, which has since been expanded by the Conservatives. In 1992, when Tom Wappell was Liberal immigration critic, he advocated detaining refugee claimants in abandoned military bases until their claims could be ruled on.

New Democrats do not believe that Canada's immigration policy needs to be based on fear. Canada has two broad reasons for welcoming immigrants to Canada:

economic and humanitarian.

We support hearings for all refugee claimants and a one-step, flexible, and non-adversarial system for processing refugee claims.

We support clearer application of humanitarian and compassionate grounds for refugee claimants not recognized as Convention refugees. We oppose deportation to countries recognized as systemic and gross abusers of human rights.

We support the use of deportation as a means of enforcing Canadian immigration law. Deportation procedure should be visible to allow public scrutiny, and include safeguards such as appeal on merit and access to legal counsel.

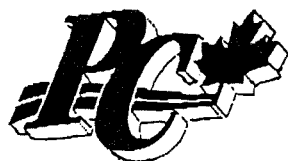
We support present planned immigration levels up to 1% of the Canadian population.

Families are the basis of human community. Forced separation of families is inhumane. We support the right of all landed immigrants to sponsor relatives without delay.

We support increased protection for foreign domestic workers.

We support official language training for all immigrants including women, children and seniors.

Winnie Ng is the New Democratic Party candidate for the riding of Trinity-Spadina.



by Bernadette Leblanc

Immigration is vital to Canada. This great nation was built, in large part, by people who came from somewhere else. We welcome more immigrants and accept more refugees, *per capita*, than any other nation in the world—up to 250,000 in 1993 alone. Under the Progressive Conservative government, annual immigration levels have increased from 84,000 in 1984 to 250,000 this year.

The international community agrees that Canada's refugee determination system is a model refugee determination system. We have put in place a system that is fair and independent.

Recent changes to our laws help us manage the number and categories of immigrants. They will enable us to better meet our economic, social and humanitarian goals. The changes protect Canadians from those who abuse our laws. They strengthen the refugee determination system. They help reunite immediate families more quickly, protect refugees and promote economic development. These changes make our immigration program more fair, balanced and effective.

Canada has been and will continue to be a world leader in gender-related persecution issues. We were the first country to design a program with the necessary support structure to respond to the needs of refugee women. The Women At Risk Program was established in 1988 to deal specifically with the needs of refugee women.

This government put in place the Immigration and Refugee Board, which this year put in place guidelines on gender-related persecution. They help women who are being

persecuted, or who fear persecution because of their gender, get refugee status in Canada.

Members of the board will now assess the particular circumstances which have given rise to the claimant's fear of persecution. They will also assess the conditions in the country of origin before entering their decision.

Refugee status may be granted to women who:

Fear acts of violence where the state will not or cannot provide protection;

Are persecuted because they will not submit to a state religion; or

Oppose male dominance and oppose being discriminated against by their country because they are women.

The Live-in Caregiver Program allows qualified caregivers from abroad to come to Canada and work as caregivers when there are no Canadians to fill the available positions. After two years of work, they may apply for landed immigrant status. The requirement for a grade 12 education recognizes the skills required to do the job, and the level of responsibility involved. The majority of jobs that will be created in the future will require a grade 12 education. By raising the educational requirement, we help meet our need for better educated workers.

Under a re-elected Progressive Conservative government, immigration will continue to play an important role in Canada's economic and social development, and ensure that its humanitarian tradition remains strong.

Bernadette Leblanc is the Progressive Conservative candidate for Moncton.

by Maria Minna



Liberals believe that Canada should continue to support an immigration policy which balances humanitarian considerations with our demographic and economic needs. Immigration plays an important role in enriching the cultural and social fabric of Canada. Immigrants also contribute to the development of a strong economy in all regions of the country. There is a need to encourage and facilitate the adaptation of persons who have been granted admission as residents to Canada and to encourage family reunification. Immigration and refugee policy must maintain and protect the health, safety and good order of Canadian society and promote international order and justice.

Refugees must be distinguished from immigrants. While the government selects immigrants in accordance with

our economic and demographic needs, refugees come to Canada fleeing persecution in their countries of origin. As a signatory of the Geneva Convention on Refugees, Canada has made a commitment to accepting legitimate refugees as defined in the Convention and Canadian law. Consequently, the Liberal Party supports a humanitarian policy of accepting a fair share of the world's refugees.

The Liberal party accepts the guidelines on women refugee claimants fearing gender-related persecution issued by the Chair of the Immigration and Refugee Board in March 1993. However, Liberals believe that the Immigration Act should be amended to incorporate these provisions.

The Liberal Party opposed the discriminatory policies concerning foreign domestic

workers introduced by the Conservative government in 1992. The Party endorsed the recommendations of the parliamentary committee that studied the changes. These recommendations included: broadening the eligibility criteria, relaxing the requirement for six months of training in a caregiving field, further study of the requirement that caregivers live in the homes of their employers, and expansion of the government's efforts in monitoring the program in order to minimize the incidence of abuse and exploitation. The government's recent decision to allow the substitution of job experience for the six-month training requirement only partially addresses the Party's concerns with the Live-in Caregiver Program.

Maria Minna, Beaches-Woodbine



## International



## News

On behalf of Somali women in my country, I would like to stress that the tragedy of the current destruction and violence in our country has been levelled disproportionately against the Somali women. It is not surprising that this is so, given that women have, for a long time, occupied a marginalized and powerless position in our society. To help understand our victimization and powerlessness, a historical background on the status of Somali women is important.

If we look back over the 30 years of Somali independence, we realize that Somali women have been denied their rightful place in society with respect to leadership and participation in the decision making process. However, in the face of such discrimination and exclusion, Somali women did not give up in serving their country.

Women became teachers in all levels of the school system, contributing to the education of our youth; they enrolled in higher education and became an important segment of the intellectual cadre of our society.

When the slow disintegration of our society and institutions as well as the destruction and violence started in our country, the rights of Somali women became eroded, and they became a voiceless group. On the other hand the male segment of the population began one of the ugliest civil wars in the history of Somalia. Somali women were deeply affected by the ravages of war, because of the powerful link that they had created between families and clans through intermarriage. Many women had brothers and fathers in conflict with husbands and sons.

The male-centred madness has culminated in the destruction of a whole country and a society that, for all intents and purposes, has been reduced to a state of nightmare. In December 1992, the international community was no longer able to remain indifferent, and the US military intervened with Operation Restore Hope, occupying large parts of Somalia.

Although there was no clear objective except the humanitarian delivery of food, women in Somalia welcomed the intervention as a rescue plan. They felt that this plan would give their warring men a "respite period" which would enable inter-tribe passions to cool off and inter-clan wounds



Photo: Werner Cartung

to heal. As well, the Somali women believed that the military intervention presented an opportunity for disarmament, the prerequisite for peace and reconstruction of civil society. They also hoped that the United Nations Operations for Somalia (UNOSOM), which replaced the United Nations International Task Force, would contribute to the rehabilitation of Somali society by creating jobs, reopening schools, launching development projects and by undertaking a broader process of social and economic transformation.

UNOSOM missed these opportunities and has failed to contribute to the reconciliation and reconstruction of Somali society. Somali women are extremely bitter about the betrayal of their high hopes for the intervention.

They are also bitter about the contemptuous attitude with which UNOSOM regards them. The best example of this is the massacre of the Somali demonstrators in June. UNOSOM justified that massacre by claiming that women and children had been used as human shields to protect gunmen in demonstration. This statement by UNOSOM is sexist; suggesting that women would be used as pawns by men, rather than being concerned citizens in their own right, protesting against the ravages of war.

Many of the victims of the massacre of Mogadishu, undertaken by UNOSOM, were women and children. Of the 82 people killed on July 12th, 25 were women. A few of these women were participating in the peace conference held at the bombed house. The rest were killed by the bombing while continuing their daily chores in their respective

homes. As hurtful as this tragedy is, the denial by the UNOSOM of the number of people killed in this attack is even more hurtful.

The American military personnel representing the UN in Somalia are culturally very insensitive and they act like an occupation force. Their attitude towards Somalis is one of disrespect and contempt. Instead of listening to the voice of the majority willing to negotiate with UNOSOM, the military are running after General Aidid.

One senses a racist attitude, as evidenced in one of the interviews that Paul Watson of the *Toronto Star* had with Edward Morris, the pilot of a Cobra attack helicopter. Watson asked why there were discrepancies between the number of killed and wounded Somalis recognized by the International Red Cross and Somali doctors, and the number claimed by UNOSOM. Morris replied, by way of explanation, "They're Muslims. They have a tendency to exaggerate a lot."

In order to fully understand the situation, we need to go back to Mogadishu in May, 1993, where four of the major groups agreed to overcome their differences by means of negotiation. The SNA (headed by General Aidid), as the hosting faction, asked the US-led UNOSOM for logistical support in accordance with the spirit of the Addis-Ababa agreement. Unfortunately UNOSOM refused to contribute any help, logistical or otherwise. Therefore, the SNA approached the Canadian Army Command in Somalia who readily accepted the task of transporting delegates from various regions to the meeting in Mogadishu. The U.S.-led UNOSOM prevented Canadians from giving that

help. It is believed that this action compelled the Canadian army to withdraw their troops from Somalia.

Despite the opposition of U.S.-led UNOSOM 227, delegates composed of community leaders, religious leaders, elders, politicians, military officers, and social organizations participated in the conference of Mogadishu, signing the Addis-Ababa peace agreement on June 4, 1993. This agreement was the first real step toward reconciliation, without external pressure being applied by the UN or anyone else. Over 90% of Somali territory, except the north-west (which separated as Somaliland), belongs to the signers of the June 4th agreement.

The following day, a radio station was attacked by UN forces. This station was the only channel through which Somalis could air their grievances and their opinions about the UN operation in Somalia. Even after the UN took control of the radio station, was it appropriate to destroy such a vital form of communication? Was the objective the prevention of free speech in Somalia, so that all other freedoms would soon vanish?

The UNOSOM action deliberately violated basic human rights because Radio Mogadishu, the only channel for free speech in Somalia, was destroyed. Now, street demonstrations are being prevented, with UNOSOM forces shooting at demonstrators.

On June 5, 1993, 38 Somalis were killed. Among them were women and children, and over 200 were injured. Is the blood of UN soldiers more valuable than that of innocent, unarmed Somali women and children?

All Somalis regret the death

of the 24 Pakistani peacekeepers, but we should ask ourselves: What went wrong the 5th of June? How did it happen? And what caused it? The Pakistanis were the first peacekeepers to come to Somalia. At that time, every Somali in Mogadishu had a gun, and yet, no one was ever harmed. We Somalis question the circumstances leading to these deaths.

Since then, the United Nations has passed a UN Security Council resolution based on the facts and reports of the U.S.-led UNOSOM without taking into account the views of the Somalis. That resolution has given the US led UNOSOM a free hand to imprison, kill and use force against anyone they wanted to.

Despite all these facts, the UN, once one of the most respected institutions, could still have an effective role in Somalia, but only if it distanced itself from the inhumane actions of those who participated in the slaughter of Somalis.



If UNOSOM is to succeed, it must restore hope among Somalis by listening to their voices and concerns; by encouraging dialogue between all Somalis; by empowering them to rebuild their country; by respecting whatever little remains of their dignity and institutions; and, more importantly, by showing respect for human life, especially the lives of all unarmed civilians, so that normal life can return to this embattled country.

Perhaps the place to start is to restore credibility to the leadership of the whole UN operation in Somalia by relieving the U.S. military of the responsibility that they are currently abusing.

*Safia Shire is a Somali Community activist. She is presently working as a Program Worker for CultureLink, a settlement agency that links newcomers with Canadian hosts in a relationship of emotional support and mutual learning.*

# Global feminism: Who defines the terms?

by Roberta Clarke

In June, the Vienna Conference on Human Rights was held. At that time, women from around the world held workshops, had discussions and presented to the official UN conference a working document on women and human rights.

Over the last two years, the road to the Vienna United Nations (UN) Conference on Human Rights was paved with a series of conferences, referred to in UN jargon as "PrepComs". All over the world, NGO's (non-government organizations) and governments engaged in parallel meetings preparing position papers, defining the issues and lobbying for this conference.

Women were very much part of this process, a fact which was reflected most noticeably in the high level of organization and networking of the women present in Vienna. But more importantly, this involvement bore fruit in the inclusion of a substantive section on women's rights in the Vienna working document under consideration at the official UN conference.

While many provisions in this document were not agreed to (most notably, individual countries' obligations to ensure economic rights), the entire section on the Equal Status and Human Rights of Women went unbracketed. In essence, at least at a formal level, governments had accepted the need to define women's rights as human rights even before the Conference began. From all reports, it would appear that this unusually high degree of consensus was the result of sustained and collective organisation by women from all over the globe to challenge a rethinking on the compartmentalisation and therefore marginalisation of women's issues.

On the face of it at least, a substantial consensus was reached on the need to integrate women's rights into the mainstream of the human rights discourse.

That women came to Vienna organised and therefore with some degree of resolution, cannot be gainsaid. This organisation was strategic and administrative. Set up underground of the Vienna International Centre, we had available to us "the Rights Place for Women", a space where women could meet, eat, exchange information and generally organise. We also had access to the Women's Press Room staffed by women media specialists who worked to ensure that women's rights issues got attention in Vienna

and around the world. Workshops and panels abounded (over 70) focussing on every conceivable facet of gender and human rights sponsored by women's organizations from both South and North countries.

Women's Caucus members worked to ensure that all human rights issues would be discussed from a gender perspective and that these discussions would be reflected in their fullness in all the Working Group reports. The fact that every working group came up with substantive recommendations related to human rights abuses to women was testimony to the commitment to move women's rights to the mainstream of the dialogue. Also important was the acceptance of the principle that non-discrimination is a



core value within human rights discourse and therefore non-negotiable. Women's voices resounded loudly in their rejection of cultural relativism, a notion which has been and still is being employed to oppress and subjugate women in the interest of the (men's) "greater right" to cultural expression.

By the final session of the NGO Forum, the air was thick with a strong sense of woman power and achievement. Women took some control over what one may flippantly, but accurately, describe as the "manstream" and made it mainstream, by the full integration of gender in the conceptualization of human rights and in the plan of actions and recommendations.

The existence of the Women's Caucus was largely responsible for these achievements. By maintaining the Caucus meeting every day and sometimes twice a day, women ensured a high level of communication and strategizing.

I outline all of the above because it is very important to understand and appreciate the gains made by concerted and

sustained struggle. What woman at the final session of the NGO Forum would not have thought (in her own cultural equivalent), of the Jamaican song "Women time ah come, oh yes!" We know women's capacity to organise, survive, make ends meet, and support each other in our private lives. To see the translation of this capacity into the public arena once again was heady and exhilarating.

Notwithstanding these achievements one must wonder at the conflict and disillusionment which came to riddle the interaction of Southern women with the Women's Caucus. The Vienna meetings underscore that we women ignore at our own peril issues of regional inequality and organizational democracy. Women from the South have fewer resources, less access to information, less access to continual attendance at international meetings where issues are thrashed out and agreed upon in the name of women of the world. Many women from the South are challenged every day to survive, and survive in the most existential sense: to stay alive.

Through the vastly different realities of real women present in Vienna we can begin to understand that we cannot take for granted consensus on priorities for action and that, in disregarding difference, we weaken that which has been the greatest achievement of the women's movement, international coalition-building.

If one were to try to trace the origins of the conflict which came to plague the Women's Caucus in Vienna, one would be forced to reflect on that windy day when the women from North Africa walked out of a Women's Caucus meeting because of the rejection of their proposal for a Special Rapporteur on Violence against women and illiteracy. The majority of women present at that meeting rejected the inclusion of illiteracy under the mandate of the proposed Special Rapporteur. They did so because they were reluctant to jeopardise the opportunity for violence against women in the adoption of a resolution for a special rapporteur by the UN.

Without entering into a discussion of this event, what was most apparent was the chasm in the understanding of women's global problems between women from the North and South, and indeed between women from the more and less developed South. Through what process has violence against women, narrowly defined in the physical sense,

**Through what process has violence against women, narrowly defined in the physical sense, emerged as the point of global collaboration for action?**

emerged as the point of global collaboration for action? This, in fact, was the question asked by one woman from Morocco.

The fact is that while women all over the world suffer from violence as one manifestation of unequal power relationships between men and women, women from the South suffer additionally from a set of economic and social violations which, ironically enough, render them even more vulnerable to the violence of men.

And therein lies the source of the conflict which emerged between women of North America and Europe on one hand and women from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa,



Asia and the Pacific on the other. Who defines the priorities for advocacy and action and on what basis?

For women from the South, developmental issues loom large. For those of us living under the pressure of structural adjustment programmes, the violations of women's rights to shelter, food,

International



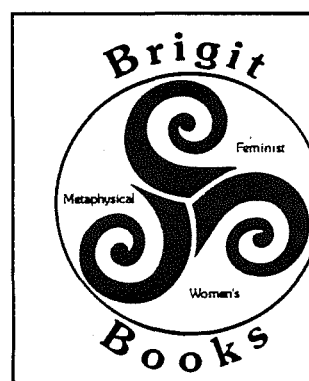
News

health care and education are as alarming as violence. The fact that conditionalities imposed by multilateral financial institutions controlled by Northern governments cause these violations, suggest to us women of the South, that women in the North, with their access to resources and information, have a responsibility to take on these issues as their issues too.

Women from the South don't have the luxury to compartmentalize women's rights. At every moment, we are confronted with the reality that women's rights to personal safety and integrity are violated daily, as are our rights to food, health and jobs. When, despite our rhetoric, we fail to recognise the interrelation of the economic, social and cultural, we risk getting into an either/or situation in defining the issues upon which we fight. In not taking time to listen to our sisters from North Africa in Vienna, in alienating them with the "we don't have time for this discussion right now" (sub-text: your issue is not all that urgent), we weakened the coalition.

The next time we meet as women from around the world, women from the North must recognise and be sensitive to the global inequalities from which they benefit. Resources must be put aside for the small things like translation of documents, for interpreters to facilitate full participation of the world's women. Women from the South, on the other hand, must engage in the process of consensus building, fully aware that those with power never give it up without a fight.

*Roberta Clarke is a member of the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action, and is based in Trinidad and Tobago. She facilitated some of the sessions at the Vienna Conference on Human Rights.*

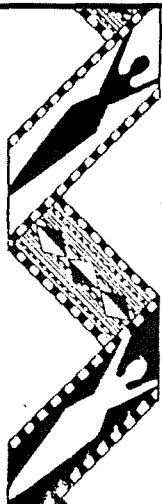


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# Review: Thinking Positive

by Amy Zierler

At 23, Trudy Parsons is working hard to help save lives. As a youth liaison with the Newfoundland and Labrador AIDS Committee and "star" of **Thinking Positive** – a new National Film Board film about youth and HIV/AIDS – she is turning her personal tragedy into a gift.

Three years ago, Trudy was contacted by the Newfoundland Department of Health and told that a former

nearby rural communities on the Newfoundland coast. They speak frankly and articulately about the cultural and social barriers which may prevent young people from acting responsibly to protect themselves from AIDS. Along with issues such as communicating with your partner, peer pressure, and the influence of alcohol and drugs in sexual activity, they also talk about problems of special

someone else, then you are not ready to have sex and you should not be having it."

Adolescent HIV has been called "the next wave" in the AIDS epidemic, and it is a wave which is already building. What happened in Trudy's small town (another young woman there has already died of AIDS-related disease) is happening in rural areas across the country. She quotes a Newfoundland study which claims a high percentage of teens in a grades 10-12 are sexually active. About half of them use condoms, but infrequently; the other half don't use them at all. Such statistics may vary from province to province, but not by much.

There is an urgent need for teens and their educators, parents and community leaders to have the kind of discussion which **Thinking Positive** is designed to stimulate. Having the facts about AIDS is not enough. Educators know from years of trying to prevent adolescent pregnancy that knowing about birth control does not ensure that teens will use it, or that fear of pregnancy guarantees abstinence. What young people need – in order to act responsibly around the intimate and complicated business of sex – is the opportunity to understand and feel good about themselves.

The filmmakers capture the essence of this issue in their ironic use of the word "positive" in the work's title. When it comes to HIV, "positive" is what you don't want to be, but positive thinking – a supportive, open approach to the reality of AIDS – is essential to give young people the strength to change their behaviour, to communicate well, and to act responsibly for themselves and for others.

*Amy Zierler is a freelance writer and volunteer with Planned Parenthood Manitoba.*



boyfriend from her small, rural hometown had tested positive for HIV. Trudy was tested too. The hardest part, she says was telling her mother the bad news.

"I'm so glad I'm not a mother with a child who is HIV positive," she says in the film. The empathy in that wrenching comment exemplifies Trudy's approach to living with HIV. She has sacrificed her privacy to convince other young people of the real and present danger of AIDS. Her striking presence and powerful words give this 24-minute documentary the potential to make teenagers stop and think how close they might be to reliving her story.

It is, in fact, the ordinariness of Trudy's story which makes it so chilling. She could hardly be less typical of the high risk behaviours we have come to associate with HIV/AIDS. She's not a drug addict or a prostitute or a gay man. In her late teens, she went steady with a young man from her community who was much more sexually active than she had been. They had sex; they didn't use condoms. If it could happen to her, you can really believe it could happen to anyone.

Filmmakers Debbie McGee and Jennica Ripley interweave Trudy's story with a discussion among six teenagers from

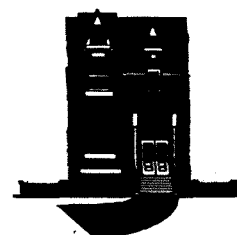
interest to rural youth: How do you buy condoms when the only pharmacist in your community knows your parents? How do you get tested for HIV without everyone finding out?

Not surprisingly, Trudy Parsons has no patience with flimsy excuses. About buying condoms she says, "I know it's embarrassing, but how embarrassing do you think it is to tell your family you've tested positive for HIV." Because she speaks from experience, her words ignite comprehension in her listeners.

"There is no excuse (for risky behaviour)," she says to a rapt young audience during one of her outreach workshops. "If you can't find ways to protect yourself or find alternative ways to show affection for

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# Review: *The Joy Luck Club*

by Karlyn Koh

Is it possible to bridge the gaps between mother and daughter which are not only generational but cultural, and in some cases economic, and if so, how? These are the questions which are explored in the film adaptation of Amy Tan's best-selling novel, *The Joy Luck Club*, directed by Wayne Wang (*Eat a Bowl of Tea, Dim Sum*) and produced by Oliver Stone.

The film opens with a voice-over relating a tale of a woman in Shanghai who bought a duck that became a swan. In America, this "creature that became more than what was hoped for," was snatched away from the woman, leaving her with "a single swan feather for memory." It is this feather that the mother holds on to in the hope of passing it on to her daughter, saying: "This feather may look worthless, but it comes from afar and carries with it all my good intentions."

It is this feather which the mothers in the film – Ying Ying (played by France Nuyen), An Mei (Lisa Lu), Lindo (Tsai Chin) and Suyen (Kieu Chinh) – want to pass on to their daughters – Lena (Lauren Tom), Rose (Rosalind Chao), Waverly (Tamlyn Tomita) and June (Ming-na Wen). This tale encapsulates and directs the tone of the filmic narratives of memories, silences, sorrows and hope which articulate the histories of Chinese-American women lacking in mainstream American cinema up until now.

Both the director and the screenwriters (Tan and Ronald Bass) succeed in retaining the main spirit of the novel, and handle the chronologically non-linear and multiple, often intertwined, stories with much competence. Rather than being tiresome or confusing, the many flash-backs and voice-overs create a sense of the multiplicity of female voices which can be seen as counter to the stereotypical images of

Asian women in the dominant culture. All this is further enhanced by a strong cast of actors, particularly those portraying the mothers and the daughters. It is a production in which I was thoroughly immersed from the very beginning, and which is laudable in that it projects onto the mainstream American screen stories which have for so long been untold.

It is precisely because the film plays up a theme which explores a part of my own life that has been much

creation of a work geared to a mainstream market, are compromises being made?

For time and again, what one encounters in *The Joy Luck Club* is a screening of the lives of a group of Asian-American women through the sanitized projector lens of Hollywood onto the big screen of middle-class white America. This is not to say that the film is not relevant to its subjects.

In a film which focuses on the dynamics of the relationships between American-born daughters and

Waverly's and Rose's handsome white partners, who are understanding and amenable. Indeed, in one scene, it is Rose's future husband who comes to "rescue" her when she is rendered almost speechless by his upper-class, wealthy mother's blatantly racist comments. Hence, the one white woman that figures in the film is a character representing an elitist and prejudiced monied group, which is hardly indicative of the potentially empowering alliances of women

empowering and they speak of the enabling exchanges between two generations of women. The actors playing these roles are exceptional, particularly Tsai Chin and France Nuyen, whose respective performances grow from strength to strength in the film. The daughters may never know (or even understand) the often tragic histories of their mothers, but somehow, by the end of the film, it is the swan's feather – a gift from the mothers – that teaches and gives new hope to the younger women.

Wisdom and strength are imparted from grandmother to mother to daughter through stories, acts of sacrifice and simple words of advice. That these women do manage to speak to each other across the divides of generation and culture (and the physical world, in one case), is indeed positive, for very often, this gap is never bridged.

The advent and commercial success of this very rich and beautifully shot film about the experiences of Chinese-American women is certainly cause for much rejoicing, despite its serious problems. However, even as its importance and relevance cannot be denied, one has to realize that it is hardly definitive, and that the cycle of Chinese-American experiences is hardly completed. Instead, the success of *The Joy Luck Club* will hopefully encourage the production of more works (by Asian filmmakers) about the lives Asian-American people, particularly the women, so that "representation" never becomes static, identities do not become fixed, and stories do not get commodified, but grow in diversity and difference.

Karlyn Koh is a graduate student at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, who yearns for endless beaches)



suppressed (that of the bond, or lack of, between mother and daughter), that I was very much taken in and struck by it. It was after I had disentangled myself from the film's emotional intensity that I was able to see the underlying aspects that are troubling and problematic.

Many of my worries stem from one of the many issues that many artists of colour have to grapple with – that is, how to celebrate one's cultural differences without having one's works commodified and/or tokenized. And, in the

their Chinese-born mothers, it will not be surprising if the men (fathers, brothers, lovers) are noticeably cast in the background or are absent. However, in this film, it is not only that the Chinese men are absent, ridiculed or misogynist, but that the white men are, in contrast, held up as sympathetic, lovable and desirable. This move can be seen as buying into the dangerous myths of Asian men as ineffectual and passive, or sexist and uncouth.

While one cannot deny the realities of the patriarchal Chinese society, what the film perpetuates is the insidious pitting of "East" against "West," where the former is always seen as backward and oppressive in relation to the more enlightened and attractive "other."

Furthermore, these Chinese men are contrasted with

across cultures.

Even the estrangement of Rose and her American husband is blamed on her internalization of the submissive and self-sacrificing "Oriental" wife role, whereas his complicity in her subjection to this role is never brought up. In both Waverly's and Rose's situations, the onus of making an inter-racial union work is placed on the women. Indeed, it is the traditional Chinese patriarchy, not the colonizing white male gaze which exoticizes Asian women, that is specifically noted in the film. The women are strong, assertive and mesmerizing, but they are hardly subversive, and instead reflect the desires of the white liberal male.

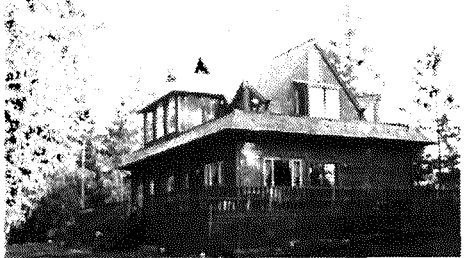
Worrying discrepancies like these litter this otherwise compelling film. The scenes of reconciliation between the mother-daughter pairs are most

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# Women's History Quiz: Women and Work

1. This woman was a novelist, journalist, suffragist and temperance worker. She was a member of the Alberta Legislative Assembly, the only woman on the Dominion War Council and the first woman on the CBC Board of Governors. Who is she?

- a) Dorothy Livesay c) Nellie McClung  
b) Elizabeth Short d) Velma Sprinthead

2. What woman disguised herself as a man in order to train and practise as a physician, headed the British Army's medical service, and in 1857, became Inspector-General of Hospitals in Upper and Lower Canada?

- a) Miranda Barry c) Kate Aitken  
b) Irene Parlbay d) Alice Chown

3. Who said "I submit to the House, that no one has ever objected to women working. The only thing they have ever objected to, is paying women for working".

- a) Agnes Macphail c) Ellen Fairclough  
b) Violet McNaughton d) Gladys Strum

4. Who was the first person to teach bush pilots in Canada, instructing over 100 pilots and flying more than 50 types of aircraft?

- a) Amelia Earhart c) Ethel Wilson  
b) Violet Milstead d) Alys McKey Bryant

5. Who was the first Aboriginal woman in Canada to be appointed Justice of the Peace?

- a) Agnes Sempler- c) Sheila Firth  
b) Jean Folster d) Sharon Firth

6. In what year was women's equality first guaranteed under the Canadian Constitution?

- a) 1954 c) 1985  
b) 1975 d) 1991

7. In 1983, it was estimated that three-quarters of the women in the Canadian labour force earned less than \$12,000 per year.

True False

8. Born in 1920, this woman began teaching music at the age of nine. She worked as a domestic in Montréal for \$4.50 a week in order to pay for music lessons. Later, while raising a family of six, she attended night school, and eventually obtained an Associated Degree in Music from McGill University. Among her pupils were the great jazz musicians Oliver Jones, Oscar Peterson and Reggie Wilson.

- a) Marie Rollet  
b) Daisy Peterson Sweeney  
c) Eliza Mary Balme  
d) Florence Randal

9. In what year did Madeleine Parent win the Idola-Saint Jean award?

- a) 1967 c) 1986  
b) 1979 d) 1993

10. What Canadian woman artist won a Grammy Award for producer of the year, album of the year and songwriter of the year in 1993? In 1991, she was named Female Artist of the Decade in Canada.

- a) Buffy Saint Marie c) Anne Murray  
b) Sass Jordan d) k.d. lang

11. She is an artist, a 1982 Order of Canada recipient, and a tireless volunteer worker for the rights of persons with disabilities. Who is she?

- a) Pat Israel c) Elizabeth Semkiw  
b) Jean Ethel MacLachlan d) Georgiana Bélanger

12. Women currently make up what percentage of the Canadian workforce?

- a) 25 % c) 45 %  
b) 36 % d) 57 %

13. In the Huron culture, women were responsible for electing men to their governing councils.

True False

14. Who was the first woman in Canada to run for the leadership of a federal political party?

- a) Audrey McLaughlin  
b) Rosemary Brown  
c) Flora MacDonald  
d) Sheila Copps

## Answers on page 58

*This Quiz appeared in the October issue of Women's History Month, published by the Canadian Committee on Women's History.*

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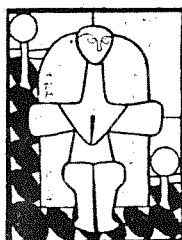
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"You don't look a day over 95"

# Happy birthday to the YWCA!

by Judith Wiley

"the greatest and strongest group of young women ever formed ... of women, by women and for women." (Adelaide Hoodless describing her vision for the YWCA)

Adelaide Hoodless, a co-founder of the YWCA, was an ordinary young woman whose work in the women's movement came out of the tragic experience of her young son's death from the drinking of impure milk. She began to lobby for home economics training. She was an ordinary woman who accomplished extraordinary things - as all women do.

The YWCA was first introduced in Canada in 1870 in Saint John, New Brunswick. By the time our national office was formed in 1893, there were eight local YWCAs.

The roots of the YWCA were, in many ways, the same as they are today - ordinary

women in a world of inequality, a world where violence against women was condoned and where women's opportunities were determined by men. We have, however, challenged those barriers.

Our history has some memorable moments:

- Lending libraries were offered by YWCAs before public libraries were opened (Montréal and Québec, 1874);
- Training in non-traditional trades - phonography, stenography and typing (Toronto, Montréal and Hamilton, 1884);
- Girls' camp (YWCA of Canada, 1910); introduction of Girl Guides to Canada;
- Big Sister movement introduced by Toronto YWCA, 1912;
- Women's counselling services introduced by YWCA (1933);
- International training institute for women - 35



countries participating (1965);

- YWCA one of 41 organizations that established the National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women (1973);
- YWCA resolution calling for

a comprehensive child care program that would make day care a social service offered to every family in Canada (1973);

- YWCA joins historic struggle for the inclusion of a women's equality provision of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1981);

- YWCA reaffirms its pro-choice stand (1981);

- Peterborough YWCA **Fresh Start**, for women in abusive relationships (1982). This booklet has since been translated into several languages and is used as a resource around the world;

- The YWCA's long record of work with survivors of violence is recognized by a three-year initiative with Health and Welfare Canada and many other organizations - Community Action on Violence Against Women (1991);

We are proud to be part of a dynamic tradition with a history of strong leadership by women,

and a commitment to helping shape a better future for women and their families in Canada.

As in 1893, we try to comprehend a world where it is increasingly unsafe for its people, where a harsh economic reality impacts most on women and their children, where too many people are excluded from power, where too few voices are being heard.

In over 200 communities, our advocacy is informed by our programs in child care, housing, wellness and fitness, training, and international cooperation, to name a few. Our challenge continues to be to provide advocacy and service with and for all women, from a perspective that respects and celebrates our differences and our common bonds.

Judith Wiley is the Chief Executive Officer of the YWCA of/du Canada, Toronto.

## Review: *OUT: Stories of Lesbian and Gay Youth*

by Melanie Porter

As an open lesbian in my mid-20s, coming out as a teenager is still fresh in my mind, so it was very satisfying to sit down to watch David Adkin's *OUT*, a new NFB film about growing up gay/lesbian.

Adkin's 79-minute documentary covers a vast array of topics dealing not only with coming out issues, but issues that most youth experience: peer pressure, lack of acceptance, the lure of alcohol, drugs and prostitution, family acceptance, and the issue of honesty.

Honesty is what stands out in this movie - being honest about who you are and hoping people will accept you. The message throughout the film is "be honest with yourself."

In the film, a female minister suggests that young gays/lesbians were "sent here" on purpose and should be listened to. Parents interviewed in the film send us a message that says, "I'm scared for you - but I love you just the same; I'm proud of your honesty." Wow!

Having been the coordinator of Ottawa's Lesbian/Gay Youth group for a few years, I was in a position to see a lot of youth coming out. Coming out to yourself is one thing, but to a family member is quite another. When I witness parents going through a process to accept



rather than reject, it gives me goosebumps!

The film shows many parents as it documents the lives of a handful of youth during their coming out process. You can observe the varied responses to hearing "Mom, Dad... I'm gay." Some parents become hostile, while others jump on the political bandwagon to fight homophobia.

The film highlights an organization called P-FLAG (Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays), a support group. This organization is promoted in the film, as well as criticized.

That is the strength of this

film. It shows every side, the positives and negatives, and lets the viewer make their own decisions.

*OUT* would have been satisfying if it only let us in on the lives of the people interviewed. Yet it went one step further to show us the gay/lesbian culture, the bars, support groups, Pride Day rallies and homes of couples.

Seeing those images of culture reminded me that we need to be thankful for the accomplishments of the past, celebrate the present, and keep up the pace for the future.

And what a fulfilling future there is for someone who can be honest with themselves, their peers and family! As one youth said in the film: "Things will get better - in time."

Scott Thompson of the television show *Kids in the Hall* suggests that, in time, "it's going to be as uncool to hate homosexuals as it is to be a racist." This time of peace will come - so long as we don't stop coming out, so long as parents continue to be open-minded and listen to their children, and so long as friends remain friends when we say, "I've got something to tell you...I'm gay!"

Melanie Porter is a lesbian activist who supports world peace.

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# Women's History Quiz: Answers

1. **C** - Nellie McClung (1873-1951) also helped to found the Winnipeg Equality League, a group dedicated to winning the provincial vote for women in Manitoba. As well, she played a key role in the famous Persons Case.

2. **A** - Miranda Barry graduated from the Edinburgh College of Medicine at 15. Among her many accomplishments was her discovery of a South African plant which was widely used to treat gonorrhoea.

3. **D** - Gladys Strum was the first woman to head a provincial party in 1944, leading the Saskatchewan Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The following year, she was the first woman elected to the federal CCF. She made the above comment during a debate in the House of Commons in 1945.

4. **B** - During the 1950's, Canada's first bush pilot instructor, Violet Milstead, was dubbed the "Bush Angel". She is quoted as saying, "I'd rather

be 2000 feet upstairs than eat, sleep, or be married."

5. **A** - Agnes Sempler of Inuvik, North West Territories also worked to establish the Committee for Original People's Entitlement, a northern native land claims group. She is a pioneer in achieving recognition for the involvement of Aboriginal people in community, regional and national affairs. She became Canada's first woman Aboriginal Justice of the Peace in 1975.

6. **C** - 1985. Section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* protects women's right to equality. It came into effect three years after the other provisions of the Charter.

7. **True**. Labour Canada estimated in 1991 that the percentage had decreased to 19.7%, one-fourth of employed women.

8. **B** - Daisy Peterson Sweeney is the elder sister of jazz musician Oscar Peterson. Not only has she taught music throughout her lifetime, but she began the youth choir that later developed into the Montréal Jubilation Gospel Choir.

9. **D** - Madeleine Parent. She was one of the first union organizers for women. Since 1991, the Idola Saint-Jean Award has been given by the Québec Federation of Women to a woman or group for their exceptional contribution toward improving the status of women.

10. **D** - k.d. lang has been a major contributor and innovator in the Canadian music scene for many years. As well as being the recipient of numerous awards, her 1992 *Ingenue* album sold over a million copies in the United States alone.

11. **C** - Elizabeth Semkiw received the Order of Canada in 1982 for advocating for the rights of persons with disabilities.

12. **C** - 45%. According to 1991 statistics from Labour Canada, the six most frequent jobs for women are: secretaries; sales clerks; bookkeepers; cashiers and tellers; registered nurses; and food service workers.



13. **True**. The work of Huron women was generally centred around the production and preparation of food. This fundamental contribution to the maintenance of the community was given full recognition through the delegation of significant political and social powers to women in the community, such as electing the members of the governing councils.

14. **B** - In 1975, Rosemary Brown (born 1930), who was then a British Columbia member of the provincial legislature and the first Black woman elected to a provincial legislature in Canada, lost her bid for the national leadership of the New Democratic Party.

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STUDIES

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When a victim chooses to complain she/he becomes the immediate adversary of a powerful system which will quickly organize to humiliate and punish her/him further. If word gets out, further mean-spirited behaviour from subordinates, co-workers and supervisors will take place.

If a summary investigation takes place, it is a practice to ask medical personnel to review the member's medical documents and write a report to assess the victim as a "head case" and a liar. Any previous personal problems revealed in confidence will be disclosed.

Victims will have to work to sell their story to the federal Human Rights Commission, but the accused harasser - innocent until proven guilty - can ignore the complaint and choose not to respond.

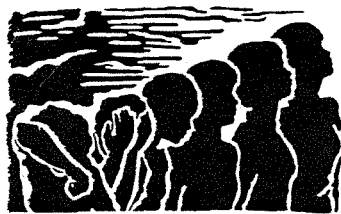
It is common practice to have co-workers write requested statements on the victim's poor performance, and

inability to be a team player. The victim will not see the statements unless a request is made to the Privacy Coordinator. If the victim is moved to a new place of work, the harasser is free to label the victim as a problem and a troublemaker.

The grievance process can be delayed to drag on for four or five years; many victims give up and go away, which is exactly what is desired. After waiting a year or more for a reply, the victim will receive a we-do-not-agree letter and must relive the victimization again as they prepare to go on to the next higher level of complaint. Every level of grievance means another lawyer bill, which some victims cannot afford.

All members of the Canadian Armed Forces want respect and dignity in the workplace.

Yours truly,  
D. Elisabeth Lafay

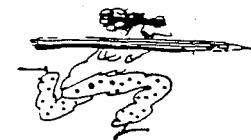


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# The Almost Back Page



If you want to do something good for yourself, go and see **The Joy Luck Club**. It is a movie about mothers and daughters, love and self-worth. Having lost my mother ten years ago, I found it such an affirmation of my own feelings of missing her, of realizing that it is only as we get older, that we can begin to recognize our mothers as more than parents, but as women also. This is a movie that reaches into you and pulls at your longing to be loved and worthy and asks you to love yourself. • I received some interesting responses to the article written by **Carolann Wright** in the last issue of the paper. Clearly, we as women and as a movement have work to do. I have concluded that women of colour and white women are functioning from completely different realities. If we assume that we all want to dialogue then the question becomes "who sets the parameters for that discussion?" It is similar to what happened at the **Vienna conference** where women from northern countries did not feel literacy should be included in the definition of Violence Against Women, although women from Africa felt it was essential. Who defines what violence is? What are "women's issues"? We are stuck in who sets the parameters. White women don't recognize that as having power. Women of color, as some get angrier because they are not being listened to, lose the ability to stay in the conversation. We all need to give. Because we are all losing. • We have been working with women's organizations who are using the power and control model. Next issue of the paper, we are going to explore the assumptions underlying that model and whether it serves women. • **Abby Hoffman** has recently moved to head the new Women's Bureau at the new Ministry of Health, with Mary Collins as Minister. Abby, was previously the Executive Director of the Canadian Panel on Violence. • Rumour has it that **Kay Stanley**, long time Coordinator on the Status of Women Canada, has also gone over to the Health Ministry - it seems to be the place to work! • As you know finances are tight, so support **The Womanist**!



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