

PRIORITIES

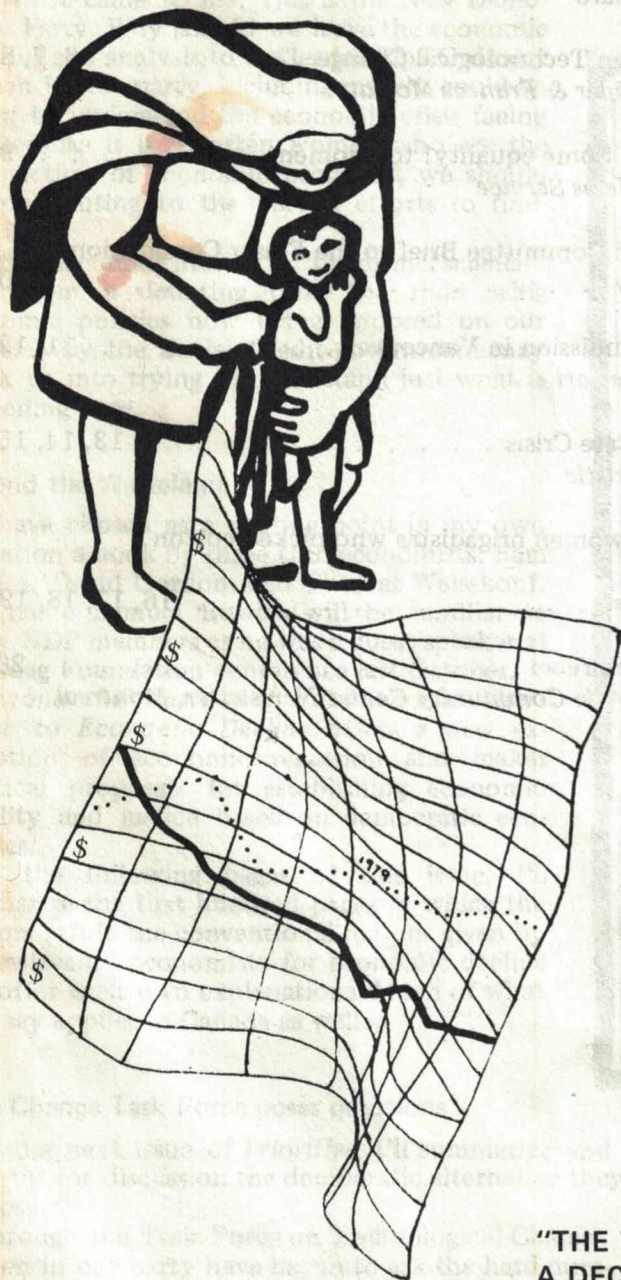


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SOCIALIST
PERSPECTIVE

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Whose New Reality?

Towards a new economic strategy

"THE TRADE-OFF BETWEEN MATERIAL SECURITY AND
A DECENT SOCIETY IS NOT A LAW OF ECONOMICS"

PRIORITIES is published by the Standing Committee on Women's Rights of the British Columbia New Democratic Party.

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"The issues and demands raised by the Women's Liberation Movement are integral to the development of a democratic socialist society. The NDP actively encourages and provides support for women organizing around the demands of the Women's Liberation Movement and commits an NDP government to creating the legislation necessary to realize these demands."

— NDP Policy on Women's Rights

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE is responsible for the content of all unsigned material.

PRIORITIES CO-ORDINATOR:

Sharon Shniad
517 East Broadway
Vancouver, B.C. V5T 1X4 879-4601

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INSTEAD OF AN EDITORIAL

by Irene Howard

It was planned that I would review another novel this issue. But something happened before I got to the typewriter. Like Paul on the way to Damascus, I had a revelation — at the Hellenic Community Centre where I went to hear the NDP leadership candidates. Listening to them talk about the urgency of rethinking our economic policy, I wondered, “Do any of them read books on economics?”

Then it came to me. This is the New Democratic Party. Why should we leave the economic thinking and analysis to the leadership? Ordinary women in this party, including myself, could be trying to understand the economic crisis facing us. Because it is so often women who are the first victims of economic problems, we should be contributing to the party's efforts to find solutions.

While becoming literate in “the dismal science” may seem a daunting task, the right wing economic policies now being imposed on our province by the Social Credit government may shock us into trying to understand just what is happening here.

Beyond the Wasteland

I have chosen as a starting point in my own education a book by three U.S. economists: Sam Bowles, David Gordon, and Thomas Weisskopf. The name Samuel Bowles will be familiar to many NDP members as he was a guest speaker at the Boag Foundation conference last October.

Beyond the Wasteland: a Democratic Alternative to Economic Decline offers a new explanation of economic recession and makes practical proposals for establishing economic stability and justice based on democratic economics.

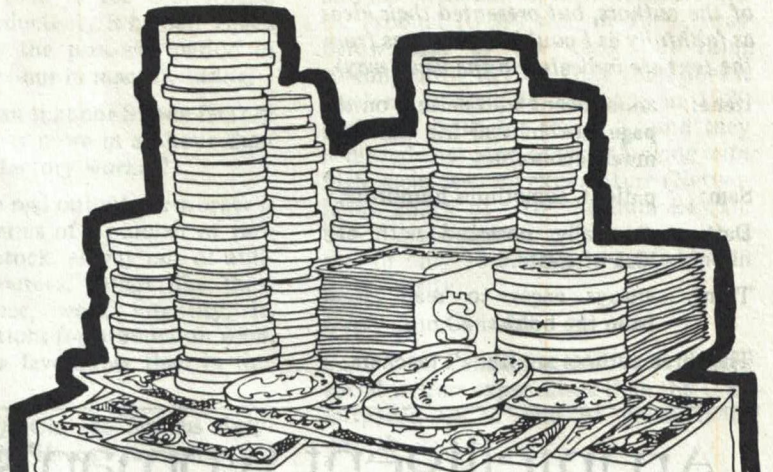
In the following pages of this issue, I'll summarize the first hundred pages in which the authors refute the conventional reasons given by “mainstream” economists for economic decline and offer their own explanations. Much of what they say applies to Canada as well.

Tech Change Task Force poses questions

In the next issue of *Priorities*, I'll summarize and open up for discussion the democratic alternative they propose.

Through the Task Force on Technological Change, women in our party have begun to ask the hard questions about our economic system. We now hope to broaden this undertaking to involve more women in the party.

We hope women will begin to read and think on economic issues, read the documents coming out of



Whose “New Reality”?

Bill Bennett's “New Reality” is based on the belief that “free enterprise” creates jobs if left unrestricted to accumulate as much wealth as possible, by any means possible.

It is not hard to find evidence that this is one of the basic myths of all time. Recently, the Bank of Montreal found itself with over \$500 million (U.S.) on its hands (from your mortgage, car payments etc.). Did it go out and create jobs? No, it bought the fourth biggest bank in Chicago.

Last year, B.C.'s forest industries produced more lumber than ever before in its history. Automation technology played a big role in this. Has anyone noticed any hiring by these gentry lately? 20% of IWA members are out of work.

The pulp and paper companies locked out their workers for weeks on end and ended up with a 10% increase in the price of their product. Where are the extra jobs and why have they offered their workers such a rotten contract?

What kind of economics do we need to create equality for all and how do we achieve it? This issue of “Priorities” begins a discussion which we hope will come up with definitive answers to fundamental questions. Let us co-operate to build our own “New Reality,” not the bosses'.

the work of the Task Force, and participate in the community forums when they come to your area in the course of the coming year.

The women who serve on the Tech Change Subcommittee are ordinary women, with no special expertise in economics. We hope that our readers, who probably see themselves as non-experts too, will feel impelled to share in the responsibility of developing economic policy. Participate! Send your ideas to us — we will publish them. ♀

Characters:

(I've invented personalities for each of the authors, but presented their ideas as faithfully as I could. Quotations from the text are indicated in the usual way).

Irene: an innocent who neither on the page nor in real life has read much economics.

Sam: patient, sometimes humorous.

Dave: comically obsessed with the idea of waste.

Tom: always eager to read aloud from the book.

The three authors are Irene's teachers.

An intelligent woman's guide to what's wrong with the economy

A summary of parts of *Beyond the Wasteland: A Democratic Alternative to Economic Decline* by Samuel Bowles, David Gordon, and Thomas Weisskopf (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1983)

by Irene Howard



The Scene: Irene's living room in the West End. A tall Easter lily flourishes on an inlaid hexagonal table in one corner of the room and perfumes the air. There is absolutely no symbolism attached to the lily. Irene and Sam are deep in conversation.

Irene: Well we all have to do our bit, don't we? I mean about the economy. Tighten our belts, do without. After all, if there isn't enough money, even the best-intentioned government can't wring blood from a stone.

Sam: Now, hold on. You're assuming there's a shortage of investment capital because workers demand higher wages, governments grab corporate profits in taxes and spend prodigally on social services, and so business has nothing left to invest. But even orthodox economists have been unable to blame the economic decline on capital shortage. William D. Nordhaus, the Yale economist, wrote in 1980 that only about 12% of the slowdown could be blamed on a decline in the rate of capital formation.

Irene: Oh, economists, shleconomists!

Sam: William D. Nordhaus doesn't impress you? Well, what do you think are the reasons for the recession? Let's make it easy and leave out Britain, Germany, France, Sweden and Japan for the time being.

Irene: Well, everyone knows that in 1974 OPEC quadrupled their oil prices. And that's when the price of everything, not just gasoline, started to skyrocket.

Sam (gleefully): Gotcha! You think, like everyone, that the decline started in 1974. Actually, in the United States at least, it began in the mid '60s and has been getting worse ever since.

Irene: Probably the same thing been's happening in Canada. Though people are saying now that the recession's over.

Sam (shaking his head sadly): It would be nice to think so, but our economic problems go back a long way. We never did solve the problems of the Depression.

Irene: No you can't call war a solution.

Sam: Then, after World War II, until the mid '60s, we had boom conditions, which we now take for normal when

they were really exceptional. But since then—just look at these graphs on page 22: inflation rising steadily, with peaks and troughs, of course, from around 1966. This jagged mountain peak represents about 13% inflation in 1980. Then in 1982 inflation's down to below 8%. But look what happens in this next graph—unemployment makes a mountain peak, reaching up towards 10%.

Irene: I remember how sorry Trudeau was that the only way to lick inflation required a high level of unemployment. I don't recall the figures for our inflation, but I do remember that prices went sky high in 1974. Surely that's when it all started.

Sam: Yes, but if you look at the larger picture you'll see that from 1966 oil prices had either been declining or had remained constant. Then in 1974 when the oil sheiks lowered the boom, prices did go up, but the economic impact of these increases was minimal. William Nordhaus looked at the oil price increases in all the advanced countries (1973-1979) and found that the OPEC

squeeze accounted for no more than "11% of the increase in the rate of inflation." And listen to this: "Energy prices are unlikely to have played a major direct or indirect role in the 1973-1977 productivity slowdown. . . ." That's Ernst Berndt, an economist with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Irene: Well, alright. But what about government? All those marvellous social welfare programs we have in B.C. (or had before July 7, 1983) cost money. If corporations have to put out so much of their profits in taxes, they won't be able to afford to invest. We can't have economic growth without investment.

Sam: True, but you can have steady growth (which implies available investment funds) and appropriate government spending for social welfare programs.

Irene: Bill Bennett says we have to downsize government. Give the private sector a chance. The welfare state has to go.

Sam (sighing): "The welfare state is blamed for everything from the decline of motherhood to suicide." Now let's compare Sweden and the United States. The Swedes have a lot of government. But from 1973 to 1979 their average rate of unemployment was lower than in the U.S.—under 2%. And there was less income inequality.

Irene: But since then unemployment and inflation have increased in Sweden too.

dard of living in 1980 were still significantly higher than in the U.S. What's more, their productivity is higher. That's measured over the post-war period in output/worker-hour in manufacturing.

Irene: You mean that one Swede factory worker produces more in an hour than one American factory worker?

Sam: Well, the real output per worker is measured in terms of a number of variables—capital stock, energy rate of utilization of resources, things like that. And, of course, work intensity. In Sweden, conditions for production were, in 1980, more favourable than in the U.S.

Irene (giggling): Oh, the famous sixty-year old Swede. He can jog faster and longer and do more push-ups per minute than a Canadian half his age. But seriously, we're always hearing how great everything is in Sweden.

Sam (patiently): I wasn't setting up Sweden as a model. I was just making a comparison. And I'm not saying that government spending necessarily produces economic growth. I'm just using Sweden to show that you can't make government the scapegoat for our economic ills. But let's compare the United States to some other advanced countries. For the period 1960-1979, Denmark, Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands all spent twice as much as the U.S. on health, education and in-

Accounts. Look at war-ravaged Belgium and the Netherlands, their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) still, in 1962, away below that of the U.S., but rising steadily until 1979. Only then does it level off a little to converge in 1980 with the GDP for the U.S. And they achieved that kind of growth along with high social welfare expenditure (Netherlands 25.3% of GDP; Belgium 24.4%). The United States, meanwhile, with a rate of only 13.9%, lagged far behind in productivity.

Irene: And Canada?

Sam: Even Canada, with about 4% more social welfare expenditure than the U.S., outpaced us in rate of productivity growth.

Irene: One thing you've got to admit, though. Workers' wages have increased enormously. Unions make unrealistic demands. No wonder the economy's coming apart at the seams.

Sam: It's true that U.S. corporations did feel the pinch of rising labour costs from 1966 to 1973. But after 1973 labour costs went down again. You'd think corporations would have taken advantage of this profit gain to start investing again. But they didn't. Manufacturing capacity was going unused, capital goods weren't being produced.

Irene: I'm beginning to get the picture. Capital shortage, wasteful, indulgent government spending, greedy unions—all those old bromides don't explain the economic decline in the U.S. and probably not in Canada either.

Sam (admiring): Now you're getting the hang of it!

Irene: Oh well, economics. It's not so bad if you put your mind to it (hopefully!). What about excess profits?

Sam (shaking his head): Just another of those simple scapegoating explanations. The post-war rate of profit in the U.S. peaked in 1966 but then dropped substantially.

Irene (crestfallen): OH. A reflective silence. Monopoly! All those huge corporations with their octopus tentacles controlling prices, controlling everything. . .

Sam: Another scapegoat. During the '70s, the decade of inflation, monopoly power actually decreased in the U.S.

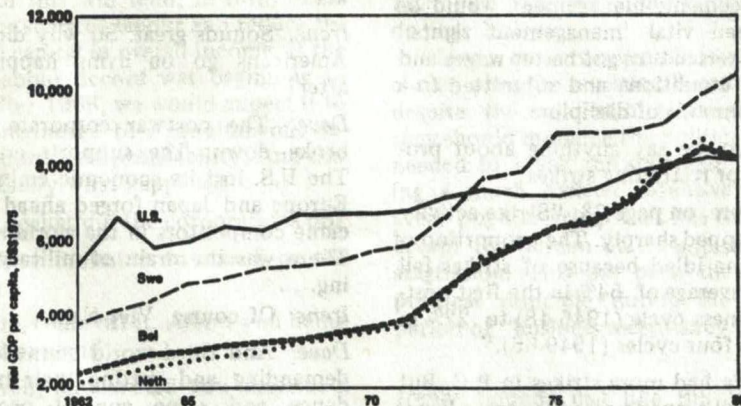
Irene: It did?

Sam: Sorry.

Irene: Sam, you and Dave and Tom have devoted a lot of thought to the question of economic decline. What do you three think is at the bottom of it all?

Is Welfare Spending the Problem?

real GDP per capita in U.S. and 3 most active "welfare states"



Source: OECD National Accounts, Vol. 1, pp. 82, 88. GDP is expressed in current prices and exchange rates deflated by the U.S. implicit price deflator for GDP (1975 prices).

Sam: Granted. But during the '70s they spent over 24.2% of their Gross Domestic Product on social welfare programs. They spent significantly more than we on education. And pollution levels are lower, infant mortality is lower, life expectancy is higher. And wages and stan-

come support payments, yet their economies grew more rapidly than did the economy of the U.S. Once again, that's measured in hourly-output growth in manufacturing. Now look at this graph from the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development National

Enter David, proclaiming with a flourish:

Dave: Waste! He does a little song and dance turn.

It's waste
Not too few goods
By too many dollars
Being chased.
But waste. . .

Sam: Dave, our student is much too earnest for such frivolity.

Irene: Much, much too earnest.

Sam: Dave, why don't you read our program for recovery instead.

Enter Tom, flourishing his copy of the book.

Tom: I'm the one who reads from the book. Here we are, page 4: "Our democratic alternative builds on four major arguments:

"First, the problems facing the U.S. economy may be traced to the costs of maintaining a faltering system of private corporate power, not to a failure of technique or a dearth of productive machinery.

"Second, as a result, the U.S. economy falls far short of its productive potential, squandering time, energy, and natural resources on a monumental scale.

"Third, the key to economic recovery . . ."

Irene: Hold it. Let's go back to the "faltering system of private corporate power." Since when did private corporate power ever falter?

Tom: OK. This is what happened. After World War II, a new kind of capitalism emerged in the United States. We call it the postwar corporate system. It had been developing in earlier decades, but now it was recognized, as economist Robert Heilbroner said, "as the purified descendant of the 'bad' capitalism that had led us into the Great Depression, which would never be allowed to happen again."

Think of the American postwar corporate system as a structure that has to be held up with supports. We use the metaphor of a set of flying buttresses in a Gothic cathedral. But the idea is that the corporate system has certain institutional supports.

Now the first one of these was U.S. dominance of international trade and U.S. military power. In 1944 the U.S. demanded and got control of the new International Monetary Fund and the dollar became the key currency. International investment grew quickly. Raw materials from foreign countries were cheap—American military power saw to that. You remember how in 1953 Iranian Prime Minister Mossadegh, who had

THIS IS A TIME OF DIFFICULT
CHANGES IN OUR ECONOMY...



AND THESE CHANGES CALL FOR A NEW
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANAGEMENT
AND LABOR



I AM THEREFORE PREPARED TO MAKE
YOU THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITION—



YOUR MONEY OR YOUR JOB



nationalized the oil industry, was removed by a CIA coup.

As we say on page 60, "Employing dollar diplomacy, CIA intervention, and occasional Marine landings, the U.S. blocked most challenges to the new order by populist, nationalist, and socialist movements."

Irene: And the second thing supporting the postwar corporate system has to be some kind of agreement between capital and labour. Right?

Tom: Right. The collective agreement between management and labour became accepted as a fact of everyday life. In that agreement, management would be guaranteed vital 'management rights.' The workers in turn got better wages and working conditions and submitted to a certain amount of discipline.

Dave: Do we say anything about prohibiting or restricting strikes?

Tom: Here, on page 73: "Strike activity itself dropped sharply. The proportion of work time idled because of strikes fell from an average of .54% in the first postwar business cycle (1946-48) to .22% in the next four cycles (1949-66)."

Irene: We had more strikes in B.C. But the overall scenario was the same. James Laxer calls it the Great Compromise.

Dave: But here's where waste appears. For in order to maintain control of the workers, corporations installed more and more supervisors.

Tom(reads): "Between 1948 and 1966, the ratio of supervisory to non-supervisory personnel increased by nearly 75%." You see what we mean by the costs of the postwar corporate system.

Irene: My niece works for B.C. Tel. She says that in 1949 there was one manager for every 17 bargaining unit employees. But now there's one manager for every 3½ employees.

Dave: And the third support holding up the postwar corporate system was what we call the Capital-Citizen Accord, which acknowledged that government could play a useful role in making free enterprise work. Direct government financial support for business, unemployment insurance, programs for the aged—government was being used to keep a rein on the workings of the free enterprise market.

Irene: Sounds great. So why didn't the Americans go on living happily ever after?

Dave: The postwar corporate system broke down. The supports crumbled. The U.S. lost its economic eminence as Europe and Japan forged ahead and became competitors in the world market. There was the drain of military spending. . .

Irene: Of course. Viet Nam.

Dave: And third world countries were demanding and getting their independence and some control over their own natural resources.

Then the capital-labour accord deteriorated. Business has always used the threat of unemployment as a 'whip' to keep labour in line. So if you provide some security against unemployment, you take away some of the power of business to dictate to labour. People were taking certain rights for granted—they now had a certain measure of economic security so they were able to turn

their attention to the quality of their lives and began pressing for occupational safety, participation with management in decision-making, and so on. Then, too, a great number of workers were excluded from this capital-labour accord. Women, young people, and certain minorities didn't enjoy the same advantages as mainstream workers. And they began pressing for their rights.

Irene: In the '60s it seemed as though everybody was protesting. Civil rights became a big thing, the women's movement. . .

Dave: That's right. Governments responded to demands of citizens for economic and social equality by instituting things like Medicare, the poverty program.

Tom: And Trudeau promised Canadians the Just Society.

Irene: So all in all the citizens were marching and business began to feel threatened.

Dave: Something like that. Look it's all very complicated and we really are distorting the argument by oversimplifying.

Irene: Well, how about just reading your conclusion to this section on page 91.

Tom (clears his throat): OK.

"This erosion of corporate leverage was bound to reduce employers' ability to push for greater work intensity and to hold down wages. When real output per worker-hour does not grow as rapidly as real compensation per hour, the real cost of labour to capital begins to rise. And this will tend, in turn, to increase the share of labour and reduce the share of capital in overall income. If the capital-labour accord was beginning to erode after 1966, we would expect it to have contributed to a simultaneous decline in corporate profitability. And this . . . is exactly what happened.

Irene: So what did the corporations do?

Tom: They mounted an attack on the workers.

Irene: Oh, come off it. Aren't you being a bit extravagant?

Tom: Well, how would you describe a policy of deliberately creating unemployment? Business is convinced that recessions are salutary. They lower wages and, theoretically, prices. The "cold-bath" treatment we call it.

Irene: Isn't that pretty bloody-minded? Besides, recession hurts the corporations too. And in this one prices spiralled: stagflation.

Dave: Of course it hurts the corporations. Productivity falls off because companies

The authors:

Samuel Bowles

Professor of Economics at the University of Massachusetts

David M. Gordon

Chairperson of the Department of Economics at the New School for Social Research in New York

Thomas E. Weisskopf

Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan



PHOTO BY AYLLETTE JENNESS

aren't operating at capacity. Workers who should be producing are idle. More waste. It costs money to keep people out of work.

Sam (all tired out from teaching economics, switches on the radio. The Voice of the Worrld at Six fills the room. Sam falls asleep, overcome by the scent of the Easter Lily).

"The B.C. Legislature meets today to begin a new session with labour at the top of the agenda. Bill Bennett said labour must co-operate with government to achieve democratic solutions to labour problems.

"The Canadian Bishops today issued their new report entitled *Ethical Choices and Political Challenges*. They said they were concerned that in the developing political swing to the right, workers would be the ones to suffer."

Tom: Just as we say in our book. Here, on page 120. . .

"Many conservatives obviously concluded when the recession became worse despite the cold-bath treatment that they should mobilize the political power needed to break the stalemate, mounting a much harsher offensive against every popular group that has refused to accept the burden of. . . adjustment to stagflation. This has been the abiding political principle during the current period of "business ascendancy."

Irene: Sounds just like Bill Bennett's New Reality. I'm beginning to think that before we get steam-rolled by the Socreds and by the Liberals and Conservatives we've got to produce a democratic New Reality of our own. In your book you put forward an Economic Bill of Rights and practical proposals for how it can be achieved. Why don't we discuss that next?

Dave: Sure. And we'll explain why we call the book *Beyond the Wasteland*.

Tom: And tell you about Milton Friedman and monetarism, the economic theory your Premier is putting into practice. I really like the way we begin this section: "Monetarism is a doctrine favoured by the rich for at least two centuries. Nor is. . ."

Dave (taking the book from him): Time to go. Wake up, Sam. See you all in the next issue of *Priorities*.

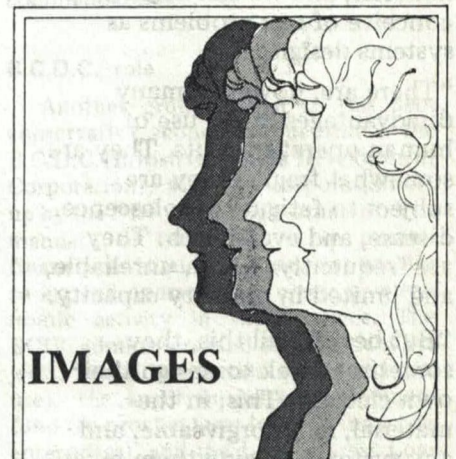
Irene: You bet. Thanks for coming.

Tom: Don't forget. You can have your cake and eat it too. (*Dave hustles him out*).

Tom (calling over his shoulder): Read what we say on page 15.

Irene (turning to page 15, reads aloud): "The 'trade-off' between material security and a decent society is not a law of economics. It is a veil of privilege." ♀

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Interim report on technological change

JUDY SHIPPER and FRAN MOFFATT are the co-chairwomen of the Technological Change Sub-Committee of the NDP Women's Rights Committee.

In the March issue of "priorities" they reported on the Committee's plans:

1. To present an Interim Report to the NDP convention in May, and
2. To undertake a series of community forums around the province over the next year.

The March report also noted the increasing awareness and concern of NDP members as well as the general public about what direction technological change will take and who will control it.

What follows is a summary of the interim report/discussion paper the committee will be submitting to convention after more than a year of educational presentations in constituencies and communities across the province.

"What we need is an inventory of the manner in which human behaviour can be controlled, and a description of some of the instruments which will help us to achieve that control.

"If this provides us with sufficient handles on human material so that we can think of them as metal parts, electrical power or chemical reactions, then we have succeeded in placing human material on the same footing as any other material, and we can begin to conceive of our problems as systems design.

"There are, however, many disadvantages in the use of human operating units. They are somewhat fragile; they are subject to fatigue, obsolescence, disease, and even death. They are frequently stupid, unreliable, and limited in memory capacity.

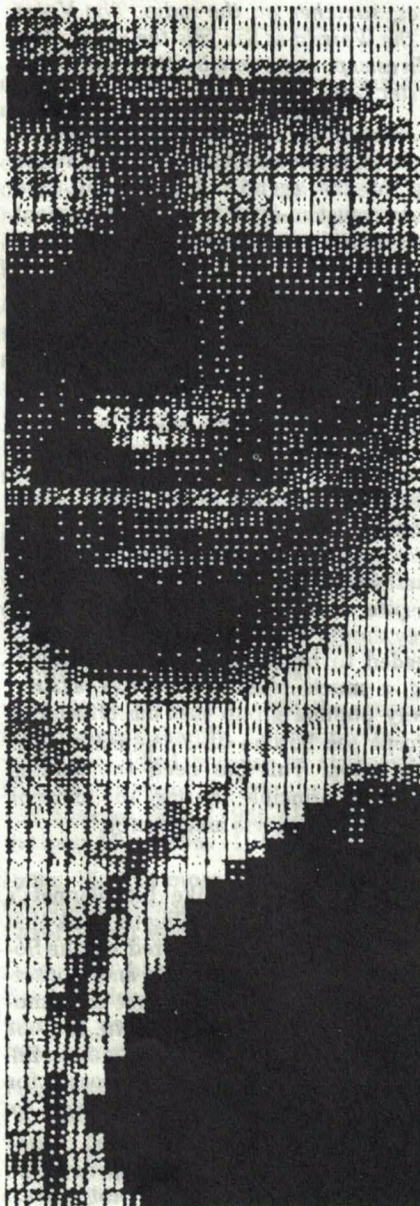
"But beyond all this, they sometimes seek to design their own circuitry. This, in the material, is unforgivable, and any system utilizing them must devise appropriate safeguards."

Robert Boguslaw

an American computer consultant

From the 1980 British film:

New Technology: Whose Progress?



The technological revolution will have as profound an impact on the way we live and work as the Industrial Revolution did 200 years ago. With hindsight it is clear that while the Industrial Revolution laid the foundation for our modern society, it did so at tremendous human cost. With foresight we can prevent history from repeating itself.

The questions and concerns raised by those who attended our Task Force educationals around the province centered on a few key issues including the following:

- Women are on the firing line of technological change, facing the imminent threat of 40% unemployment. How can women benefit from and win greater control over technological change?
- Technological change is not motivated by people's needs, nor is it being employed to meet those needs. Rather, it is driven by a desire to maximize profit.
- Already technological change has had a significant impact on workplaces in B.C. Large numbers of jobs have been lost to automated green chains in the wood industry, to automated warehouses, to computerized switching equipment at B.C. Telephone Company, to automatic card-operated machines in banks (to name only a few examples provided by participants).
- New technological developments are providing corporations and organizations with an increasing ability to centralize control and remove decision-making and discretionary powers from employees.

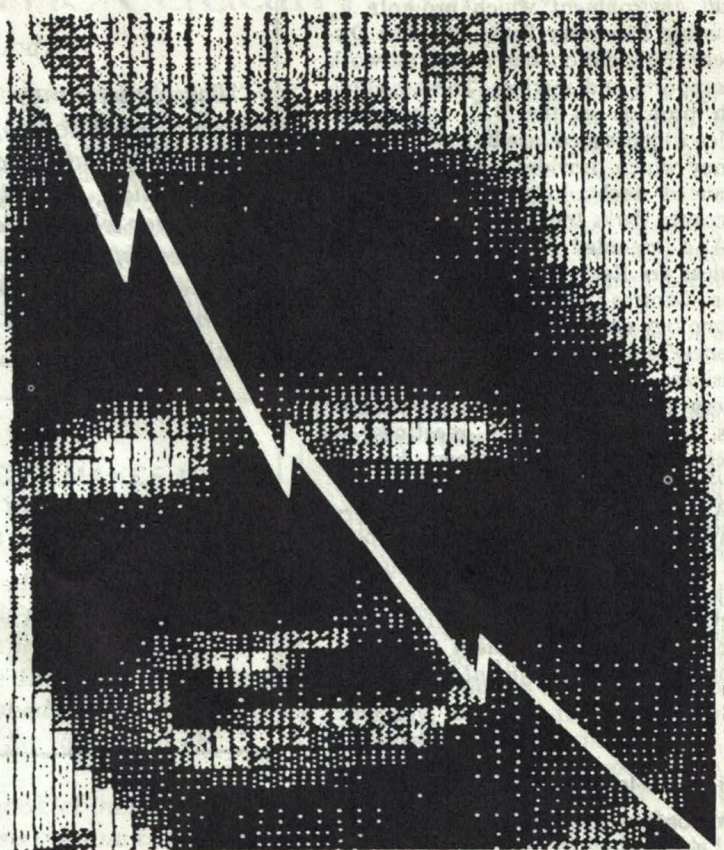
Context of discussion

To address fully the questions, fears, and proposals raised by participants in the Task Force educationals, we must first place them in the context of the political and social climate created by the present government. The Social Credit government has a well-developed

UN CHRONICLE

A variety of institutions have been created to serve government needs . . .

- *Science Council of British Columbia*
- *Discovery Foundation*
- *B.C. Innovation Office*
- *Discovery Parks Inc.*
- *Regional Technical Enterprise Centres*
- *Discovery Club*
- *Low-Interest Loan Assistance Program; Land Development; Rental Properties; Small Business Development Fund — administered by the British Columbia Development Corporation*



blueprint for the kind of economic future it envisions. It has put in place the structures needed to realize its goals. Socred industrial strategy is based on the development of manufacturing in B.C., focusing on high tech industries as a way out of B.C.'s economic difficulties. They have carefully built up an elaborate infrastructure of supports and services to implement this industrial strategy and thus realize their economic vision.

A variety of institutions have been created to serve these government aims. One of these is the Science Council of B.C., created by the government in 1978 to advise on science policy, award grants to researchers in B.C. industries, universities and other institutions; encourage and participate in exhibits and programs to help explain science and scientific research to the general public, and keep in touch with other scientific organizations in the rest of Canada. Its task is to make recommendations to the government on matters relating to the provincial economy. Many of the recommendations of the Science Council have been reflected in provisions of the government's last several budgets.

In November 1982, the Science Council set forth its ideas and recommendations for economic growth in a paper

entitled *A Research and Development Policy for B.C. in the 1980's*.

"A key factor in efforts to increase industrial growth and efficiency in the province is the degree to which technology can be applied." This sums up the main thrust of the paper.

Pro-business philosophy of Council

It goes on to outline specific recommendations on how science and technology can stimulate the economy by improving the competitive position and profitability of existing industries and by encouraging the expansion of industry into new areas.

Some such recommendations involve improving the environment for business activity and investment, the setting up of a negative income tax for research and development expenditures, a total abolition of the sales tax for research and development materials, a review of restrictive legislation governing mergers, investment, competition and market share, and the implementation of appropriate modifications if these regulations inhibit business.

The council also recommends setting up provisions for suitable locations for technology-based industry. It was upon

the recommendations of the Science Council that Discovery Parks were set up around B.C. to serve as sites for research development linked with educational institutions. Many of the provisions of the last two provincial budgets show a definite relationship to the above recommendations.

B.C.D.C. role

Another group linked to this neo-conservative economic blueprint is the B.C.D.C. (British Columbia Development Corporation), a crown corporation set up by the NDP when in government. The mandate of the BCDC is to provide financial assistance to businesses wishing to expand operations or create new economic activity in the province. The BCDC administers land development projects, rental properties (for industrial use), the small business development fund (to provide term loans to industrial enterprises), and the Low-Interest Loan Assistance Program (with deferred interest and principal repayments).

Another group that is influential in the Socred blueprint is Discovery Foundation. It is a non-profit society mandated by the Province of B.C. to encourage research and development by

creating the physical infrastructure and social environment which promote it, including Discovery Parks Inc. The Discovery Foundation has a vast network of supports and services. These include such projects as the B.C. Innovation Office which is a counselling and referral agency which provides seed funding for advanced technology enterprises and Discovery Parks Inc.

Also included in this network of services are Regional Technology Enterprise Centres which provide regional technology development facilities, and a Science/Technology/Education/Industry/Business network in the form of Discovery Club. This group sponsors seminars, conferences and meetings in specific areas of technology for the purpose of exchanging ideas.

Another area in which the Discovery Foundation operates is in Technology and Commercial Development. Current projects in this area include micro-electronics, genetic engineering, telecommunications, investment capital development, and *government policies*.

Anti-labour legislation

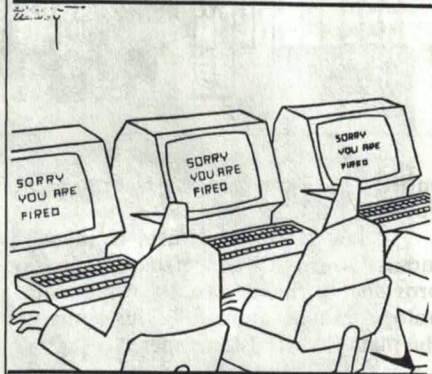
A confidential proposed revision to the Labour Code in B.C., contained in a draft bill on technology assistance, was leaked to the B.C. Federation of Labour. One of its provisions stated, "The Minister may, on recommendation of the trustees of the [Discovery] foundation, order that any employer who carries on a business of a type described in the Schedule is exempt from the provisions of the Labour Code. . . and the Labour Code does not apply to that employer or any of his employees."

Consider this in conjunction with the government's most recent attack (with its threat of imposed legislation) on organized labour, coupled with the July 1983 budget's attack on collective bargaining. The intentions of the Socred government become fearfully transparent.

If the provincial government wants to attract high tech industry, it must provide a very attractive climate. Labour code revisions, legislative action against unions, export-free zones—to say nothing of the Socred/Fraser Institute's propaganda campaign of doublespeak, entitled "restraint"—substitute for the government's inability directly to control the wages of B.C. workers. It is through these measures that the government hopes to provide a favourable and attractive climate for industrial development.

It is important to see the intercon-

"The Minister may, on recommendations of the trustees of the [Discovery] Foundation, order that any employer who carries on business of a type described in the Schedule is exempt from the provisions of the Labour Code. . . ."



nections between all these government operations (Science Council, Discovery Foundation, BCDC, and research work done by the Ministry of Science and Technology) and to recognize that this infrastructure is not assembled in a vacuum but is itself a manifestation of government policy—policy that impacts daily on the lives of people in the province. The last two B.C. budgets have been designed specifically to meet the needs of the corporate beneficiaries of this government-created infrastructure.

Far-reaching implications for workers

Current strategies for technological industrial development have far-reaching implications for all working people. Many people have believed, and indeed still do believe that the new technology will create more jobs and so solve the

unemployment problem. But, as Shaiken in the film *New Technology: Whose Progress?* states, "In the past we've seen slumps but the danger today is not cyclical unemployment as a result of a slump (recession) but built-in, structural unemployment as a result of a radical change in the industry in terms of the technology used."

Another important consideration for workers is the effect of structural unemployment on union membership. As workers are squeezed out of the job market, what happens to union membership and the strength of numbers and the collective voice afforded working people by those numbers?

Policy development in the area of high technology cannot be a piecemeal effort simply involving retraining programs or greater severance pay. It must be part of a broad economic vision of the kind of future society in which we wish to live.

That vision must involve a comprehensive plan to bring it to fruition. The Socreds definitely have the structures in place that are necessary to achieve their economic goals. These structures are centralized and epitomize all the priorities of their economic vision of the future.

For the NDP, policy development in the area of technological change must first address *our* economic vision and the structures necessary to achieve that vision must then be defined and developed.

High technology is obviously going to play a very important role in the economy of the future. It must be considered in this context. It is worth repeating that we can only develop valid policy in the area of high tech within the broader policy area of economic planning which, in turn, is centred around our concept of the society of the future. Accordingly, the Task Force recognizes the need to promote discussion in this broader area as well.

Approach to policy development

Several alternative approaches to policy development have been suggested and are being considered by the Task Force at the Forums to be held after the convention. We firmly believe that policy development should be based on input from as many and as diverse groups as possible. This, we feel, is true political representation and involvement by the people. Policy resulting from such input would then be comprehensive, pragmatic, and sound. We want nothing less for the people of B.C. when we form the next government. ♀

Some recovery! Some equality! for women

says Lynn McDonald MP (Broadview-Greenwood)

First to be let go, last back in. That's how Canadian women were treated by the recent recession. Now that a recovery is underway, women remain unemployed — or else their new jobs are even more vulnerable to economic ups and downs than before. NDP Justice spokesperson Lynn McDonald says women cannot afford to breathe a sigh of relief when they are told that better economic times are here,

So the recession had an added twist for women, says McDonald. They were the first to be let go when things got bad, but they are the last to get back in — that is, if they ever get back at all.

Despite the evidence that the recovery is not doing well by Canadian women, "the Liberals continue to ignore the job and income inequalities facing fully 50% of the population."

Government job creation programs

"Our commitment to social and economic equality for women is not manufactured on the eve of every election."

Now, more than ever, there is a need for a strong voice to make sure economic equality for women becomes a reality, says McDonald.

"The NDP has proven that it is that voice."

Other highlights from NDP critique of the budget

"What Lalonde's last budget did for the profits of banks and big corporations, the 1984 budget does for the incomes of the wealthy." — Ed Broadbent.

Broadbent said the budget only paid lip service to the poor. In particular, the Guaranteed Income Supplement for needy pensioners adds up to only \$1.66 per day, while the rich get \$20 per day through the RRSP savings.

"Why is it that the poor get so little and the rich get so much?" asked the NDP leader. "Is it that, to the Liberals, a rich vote is worth 12 times that of a poor vote?"

Finance critic Nelson Riis condemned the budget decision to undercut the collective bargaining process in the public service.

"Lalonde is going to the bargaining table with a pistol to the head of labour," he said and described the combination of labour-bashing provisions and the total absence of any programs for the unemployed or disadvantaged as making this one of the worst anti-people budgets in recent memory.

Tax breaks for the rich

The federal taxman will be digging an extra \$1 billion from the pockets of average Canadians this year while the corporate share of tax revenue continues to drop according to MP Ian Deans.

"Corporate contributions to our general revenue has now dropped from 21.4% of the total to 6.4% of the total," said the MP for Hamilton-Mountain.

"Our government isn't even performing up to the level of the Reagan government when it comes to taxing the profits of major corporations," said Deans. "Corporations in Canada pay 33% of profit in taxes, while in the U.S. the self-same corporations pay 40% of profit."

Deans called for the plugging of tax loopholes for the rich, not increased taxes on consumer good and wages. Q

Recovery - for whom?



BUDGET MAKES 1984 THE YEAR OF THE RICH

Lynn McDonald's comments on this page is part of a comprehensive critique of the 1984 Federal budget published by the NDP News Service in March.

The booklet includes analysis on how the budget affects the young, working people, and the poor.

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New Democratic Party
House of Commons, Ottawa

because they have yet to see any evidence that there is a recovery.

"This so-called recovery has an added twist for women," says McDonald. "Those who do manage to find employment will quickly discover that their new jobs are even more likely to be part-time or under-valued because they are vulnerable to technological change."

"It goes without saying they will be poorly paid."

And, as McDonald points out, it wasn't a bed of roses for working women before the recession hit.

Then, as now, women were entering the workforce in increasing numbers. Many of their jobs are part-time — three times as many women as men work part-time. In addition, three in four women are in clerical-type jobs.

Whether part-time or clerical or both, these jobs are low-paying and under-valued, with little hope of further training and job advancement.

actually give proportionately less to women and the recent budget did not contain a single employment initiative for them.

"The Liberals do not seem to understand that women are integral, not incidental to the labour force," says McDonald.

The NDP Justice spokesperson says the Conservatives cannot be counted on either. They have already indicated that they have tough plans that could mean inhuman cutbacks like the ones being imposed in B.C. rights now.

These laws could erode the milestones on the road to equality for women, such as universal programs—medicare, the old age pensions, the family allowance."

They are anti-women, anti-family, and anti-people.

On the other hand, McDonald says, the NDP has shown its commitment to women in deed and not only in words.

Women's Rights Committee brief to the Fraser Commission on Pornography

We want to open our presentation by stating emphatically that our opposition to pornography is not because it is about sex. Explicit depictions of consensual sexual activity between two people with equal knowledge and power are healthy and positive. Respectful and loving erotica is enriching. We are opposed to pornography because it is about violence toward women and children.

Pornography overtly and consistently advocates and legitimizes violent, humili-

ating and painful acts under the guise of sexual activity. It presents pain and coercion, not only as a viable form of sexual interaction, but a form of pleasure that women actually crave.

Pornography must be defined for what it really is: the cultural expression of violence toward women and children; the visual representation of the crimes of sexual assault, wife battering and child sexual abuse.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE FRASER COMMISSION ON PORNOGRAPHY

That federal legislation be amended to include pornography as a form of hate propaganda, and that the test of the acceptability of pornography not be "community standards" but a truly objective test that incorporates degradation and violation of human rights.

That provincial legislation be enacted to regulate the sale and/or rental of video tapes for private viewing.

That municipal governments be urged to investigate the licenses of businesses dealing in pornographic materials, and powers of revocation be enacted where a criminal conviction has occurred.

That there be equal prosecutions and penalties imposed on those who make and distribute pornography, whether that be an underground organization or a corner grocery store.

That legislation should clearly define pornography as violent actions that coerce, threaten and harm its victims into performing sexual activity.

That all pornographic materials be eliminated from Pay TV, regardless of the time of day that they are shown.

That the Broadcast Act human rights clause include the concept of gender.

Pornography is far more insidious than other forms of violence toward women and children. It doesn't just affect 10% of women in relationships with men, or 15% of the women walking on the street alone, or 25% of the children: it affects us all, all of the time. Unlike other attacks on women and children, prevention isn't an option; safe shelters and transition houses can't respond to the problem. Pornography pervades our lives, influencing and promoting institutionalized violence.

Pornography's impact on children is extensive. It sexualizes them and imposes upon them a seductive and provocative aura far beyond their sexual development. Agencies working with disturbed children frequently report the presence and influence of pornography in the homes of children who are being sexually assaulted. Pornographic films and magazines can be shown to young children without restriction. Taking pictures of them in infantile but clearly pornographic poses can often be the first step toward sexual assault.

Initiation rites into "adult sexuality" for young boys can now be done in the comfort of their own homes with the growing availability of pornographic videos.

Just as the criminal justice system has finally recognized that rape of women is not about sex but about power and domination, that wife battering is not simply a domestic dispute but a crime of assault, that sexual abuse is not about seductive children but misuse of adult power, the criminal justice system must begin to see pornography not as titillating media but as hate propaganda.

Availability of pornography is repressive

Civil libertarians and "free speakers" have defended the right of producers of pornography to distribute their product, arguing that to restrict this right would amount to suppression of their freedom. Yet it is the availability of pornography that is repressive. Women and children have become the victims of this packaged message of hatred and coercion, just as Blacks and Jews became victims of the packaged hate message of the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis.

The solutions are limited and not particularly effective. While we are proposing legislative restrictions, we know that will not affect the worst abusers because violence is a fundamental concept in our society. The long-term solution, of course, is to remove the economic benefits from the sale of pornography. This is a much more complex strategy.

The Fraser Commission in Vancouver

Pornography is still a women's issue in B.C. Only two prominent men, New Westminster Archbishop Doug Hambidge and Vancouver Mayor Mike Harcourt opposed the free flow of hate messages against women in their presentations to the Fraser Commission on Pornography held in Vancouver April 3. The other men, Mark Dwor, lawyer for Red Hot Video, and two civil libertarians, spoke for men's freedom to make, sell, and buy pornography.

The men came, said their pieces, and left. Women came. . . and listened all day. From City Councillor Libby Davies to private citizen Jancis Andrews, from women's centres to the University Women's Club, women said the same thing: pornography must be controlled.

Women had done their homework. Many groups offered powerful documentation of the pervasive nature of pornography in our society. The B.C. Teachers Federation demonstrated the connection between advertising and pornography, with pornography being the logical extreme of attitudes towards women promoted through advertising.

The University Women's Club examined the content of rock TV, pay TV and videotapes to demonstrate the sudden capacity for proliferation of porn provided by these media.

The Vancouver Status of Women and the Working Group on Violence Against Women made the point that pornography was the offspring of both capitalism and patriarchy.

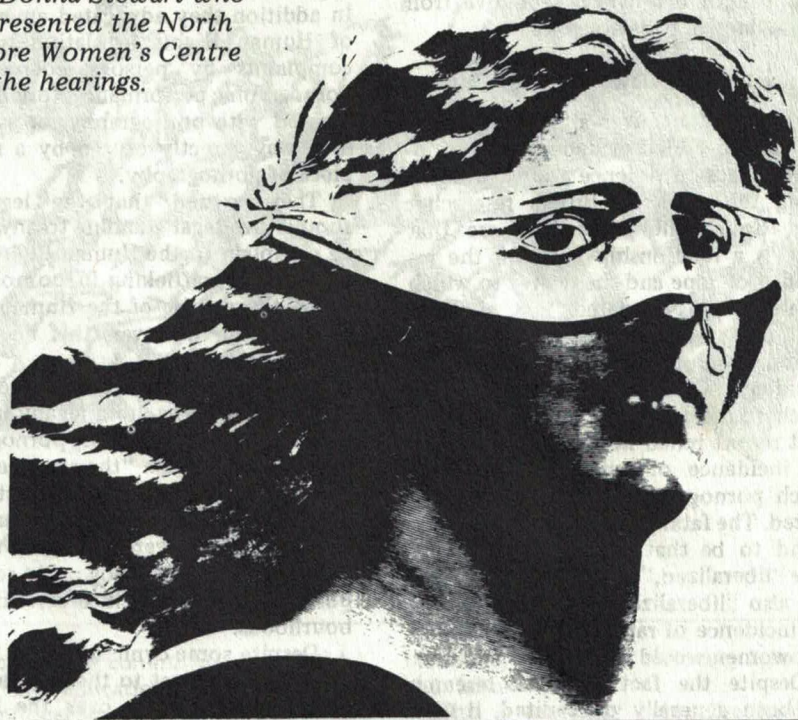
North Shore Women's Centre survey

The North Shore Women's Centre reported on the results of a survey conducted with the help of students in summer employment, into the availability of pornographic magazines in Vancouver. Of 36 corner grocery stores surveyed, all carried pornography. 20 carried between 30 and 68 different titles. Only in 6 stores were the magazines out of reach of children. In 13 the magazines were visible from the street.

The survey revealed also that one company, Mainland Magazines, was alone responsible for distributing over 200 titles, and that this company was owned by Jim Pattison, president of Expo '86. The survey served to demonstrate how aggressively this view of sexuality is being marketed.

Women were also able to document the total lack of community acceptance of pornography. The B.C. Public Interest

by Donna Stewart who represented the North Shore Women's Centre at the hearings.



Research Group, who did not make an oral presentation, cited a survey they conducted which found that there is virtually no tolerance of pornography among Vancouver women, regardless of age, education, or other variables. The highest level of acceptance, 21%, was for material more accurately described as erotica.

Karen Phillips reported on a referendum held in her municipality, Port Coquitlam, which recorded the largest voter turnout in the community's history. Eight to one, citizens voted to have the existing obscenity laws enforced.

Women were also armed with evidence from the world of academic research, linking male violence with pornographic material. Most frequently cited was the recent work of two University of New Hampshire psychologists, Drs. Neil Malamuth and Ed Donnerstein. They reported extensively on their work to a Justice Institute hearing on pornography (attended by many women) the day prior to the Fraser Committee Hearings.

The two doctors also spoke privately with the committee. Their research centred on the prevalence of the "rape myth" which says that all women secretly desire to be raped. This is a favourite theme in pornography.

Porn increases aggressive behaviour

In experiments on normal male subjects, such scenes were shown to increase aggressive behaviour. This evidence provides a clear contradiction to the common argument that pornography provides a "safety valve" for people with violent urges. On the contrary, violence and sexuality, both disinhibitors, combine to increase rape fantasies, the acceptance of rape myths, and the willingness to inflict pain on women.

Viewing violent pornography, these researchers found, changes men's attitudes towards real rape, and makes it more acceptable. Pornography users are more likely to believe that the victims enjoyed rape, were responsible for it, and in any case did not suffer.

Porn users desensitized

As women have suspected all along, aggressive personalities are attracted to pornography and are more sexually aroused by it. Even normal males apparently become sexually aroused by the combination of sex and violence. Continued exposure serves to desensitize the viewer, so that after a two-week exposure, men saw it as less degrading, funnier, possibly enjoyable to women, certainly less upsetting and violent, and as actually having some social meaning.

His research found that some men are particularly vulnerable: those with low self-esteem who accept violence generally, those who believe in male dominance and stereotyped female roles, and those who cannot distinguish seductive from non-seductive behaviour.

Bernice Girard's views

Former Vancouver alderwoman Bernice Girard added evidence that pornography leads to violence against women. Citing the work of British researcher John Court, she made the case that there is a relationship between the incidence of rape and the degree to which pornography is regulated.

Court's research lays to rest forever the long-discredited 1970 "Report of the President's Commission on Obscenity" which found no harm in pornography. That report relied heavily on studies of the incidence of rape in countries in which pornography laws had been liberalized. The fatal flaw in his research was found to be that when anti-porn laws were "liberalized," the definition of rape was also "liberalized" thereby reducing the incidence of rape and the likelihood that women would report it.

Despite the fact that this research has been generally discredited, it continues to be submitted as evidence by crown counsel, Barry Sullivan, in charge of pornography trials in this province.

Solutions proposed

The solutions suggested to the Fraser Committee were various. Jancis Andrews pleaded for enforcement and improvement of the laws. Four women lawyers, representing the Vancouver Association of Women and the Law, analyzed and refuted the legal arguments against censorship, defined the problems presented by existing legislation, and proposed that the existing obscenity sections of the Criminal Code be replaced with a pornography section, which would include in its definition of porn the concepts of degradation and imbalance of power.

These lawyers argued that the emphasis should be less on sex alone than on the depiction of violence in relation to sex, and that simple "possession" of pornographic materials be considered an offence, with the defence of ignorance of the nature or presence of pornographic material allowed.

Further, they proposed that the definition of "identifiable group" in the hate literature section of the Criminal Code be amended to include gender. They also recommended several changes to the Broadcasting Act.

Provincial legislation

Turning to provincial legislation, they recommended the development of clearly defined legislative standards to be applied by the Film Classification Board. In addition they advocated amendment of Human Rights legislation to allow complaints by persons coerced into pornographic performance, forcibly confronted with pornography, or assaulted in a way directly caused by a specific piece of pornography.

They argued that the legislation should give legal standing to any person to complain to the Human Rights Commission on trafficking in pornography. (With the demise of the Human Rights Commission, however, this becomes a moot point).

While the lawyers acknowledge that municipal by-laws are a legally inappropriate means of controlling pornography, they also recognize "the absence of any other effective means of restricting the availability of pornographic materials. Therefore, they were willing to tolerate the use of municipal powers to segregate pornographic matter into certain neighbourhoods.

Despite some cynicism about government commitment to the issue and despite discouragement over the lack of action in B.C., women ended the day empowered by a sense of common purpose. As one woman joked, "This may be the first time in history that women know more about pornography than men."

Inadequate media coverage

The aftermath of the hearings was less encouraging, however. Media coverage did not reflect the real reactions of women. For example, asked for TV comment on the presentation of Red Hot Video's Mark Dwor, a member of the audience said, "I was surprised that he admitted that the majority of the population wouldn't accept his client's material. After all, they are marketing voyeurism, rape, and sexual immaturity. But the man has a financial interest. He said what you'd expect him to say." The media used only the last two sentences.

At a north shore community meeting the following evening, Dr. John Dixon of Capilano College, who had written the Civil Liberties Association brief, faced two of the women who had also presented briefs: Kit Stevenson of the University Women's Club and myself representing the North Shore Women's Centre. Throughout the meeting, the professor systematically discounted our presentations and evidence. Refusing even to look at the important New

Hampshire research, Dixon stated that he knew what kind of research it would be.

His mask of academic objectivity slipped particularly badly when he commented, referring to the previous day's hearings, "Looked like a lot of lesbians in that room to me."

"Men," he declared, "are afraid that women are going to take away from them the pleasure of looking."

It was particularly frustrating to discover that Dixon was making little effort to grasp the substance of our arguments. He claimed to be familiar with the literature against pornography. And in my opening remarks I had made it very clear that the main concern of women is violence, not sex. Yet he subsequently remarked, "Well, if women are talking about violence, they had better make that clear."

Vancouver City Council action

A more promising sequel to the hearings developed when the North Shore Women's Centre and the Congress of Canadian Women asked Vancouver City Council's Community Services Committee to question magazine distributors about their operations.

As a result of this request, the manager of Mainland Magazines—a major porn distributor—was instructed to review their stock and respond to the Committee's request for information. The Community Services Committee meeting may prepare the way for a Vancouver bylaw regulating pronography.

Further political pressure was applied to Mainland Magazines when a counsellor of sexual abuse victims picked up an incest manual in a Burnaby 7-Eleven store. This resulted in a group of ministers personally protesting to Jim Pattison.

In the face of these protests and his public exposure during the Fraser hearings, Jim Pattison has now announced that he will sell Mainland Magazines.

Further, he has called for the establishment of a Community Advisory Board to which magazines could be submitted for acceptance or rejection on the basis of community standards. (In Ontario a similar independent board was set up by the magazine industry itself so as to have some guidelines).

Now that Mr. Pattison has found it wise to dissociate himself from the trade in pornography, now that ministers of religion have joined Coquitlam voters in protesting social pollution by pornography, we may finally see a recognition that pornography is not "just a women's issue," but is in fact a community issue in British Columbia. ♀



Canada's Day Care crisis

by Susan Christie, B.C. representative, Canadian Daycare Action Coalition

The need for improved day care has already been voiced by many organizations in Canada for some time. During the last decade or so there has been a groundswell of support for good day care. Women's organizations, labour unions, federal commissions and provincial advocacy groups have all voiced support for quality services for families. But for all the time and energy expended, day care in Canada remains hobbled by antiquated philosophical assertions, poor government planning, and grossly insufficient government funding.

The Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association

The Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association (CDCAA) is an incorporated, non-profit, voluntary organization. CDCAA grew out of the 2nd Canadian Day Care Conference held September 1982 in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Over 700 delegates from all provinces and territories attended.

Following two days of discussion and workshops, the delegates used the opportunity to begin the process of building a Canada-wide organization. For too long, local day care advocates had remained isolated from their counterparts across the country. For too long government underfunding and political intransigence had gone uncontested by a strong Canada-wide organization solidly rooted in the day care community.

With the election of a 37-member

interim steering committee, the CDCAA began the educational, organizational and political process of resolving the country's day care crisis.

Agreement on program

CCDAA believes that the major barriers to bringing Canada's day care policy into the 20th century has been government inaction and procrastination. At the same time, however, the variety of positions and views expressed by day care advocates has not helped. The lack of consensus has detracted from our capacity to win substantial gains. We view consensus-building as an important part of our development. Through consultation with our 37-member Interim Steering Committee (a group predictably diverse in geography and association with day care), we have arrived at a strong consensus around the following points as an initial basis of agreement for our association:

- We believe that high quality, accessible, affordable day care services should be available to every Canadian child in need.
- We view day care as a *societal issue*. All Canadians should be concerned with how we as a society provide support care for our children.
- We see it as essential that the CDCAA be a broadly-based, popular, representative, and bilingual organization and specifically include linkages with change-oriented groups such as women's orga-

nizations, provincial advocacy groups, and labour groups.

This is presently being practised in two ways:

1. Our election of steering committee members involves a deliberate process of including these groups in the definition of the "day care constituency."

2. Our membership drive includes a process of active solicitation of these groups as supporting or sustaining members.

- We recognize, first and foremost, that the major question with respect to day care utilization is parental choice. We do not, for example, feel that by definition all mothers of young children should be in the official labour force. Nor do we believe that women should be denied access to the official job market or obstructed from equality of opportunity within it. Our view is that an enlightened modern society provides a range of service options which permit parents to make intelligent decisions about child care. Canadian parents are now denied this choice.

- We recognize that the pressing need for a comprehensive day care system represents a significant cultural change in Canada. The Association wants to assist the public in discussing the range of assumptions and values residing behind the issue of child care. We have requested a Parliamentary Task Force to, in part, facilitate this dialogue.

- We are extremely critical of the fact that present federal legislation (enshrined within the Canada Assistance Plan) re-

stricts and defines public funding for day care as a form of welfare. The problems of insufficient government funding, the entrenchment of user fees and the application of stringent needs tests have become the norm because of this.

Public funding for select users of day care reinforces and strengthens the user fee model of day care. According to this view, day care is purchased on the open market, and the role of the government is merely to assist specific low-income parents who cannot compete effectively as consumers in the day care marketplace.

In general, this means that licensed day care is more readily available to single parents, low income parents, and considerably high income parents (who can pay the user fee without subsidy assistance). The vast majority of working Canadians do not have financial access to licensed day care.

Approach rooted in 19th century ideas

This approach finds its roots in the 19th century thinking which viewed day care as a form of charitable relief for poor, destitute working mothers. We believe we must come to terms with current realities. The history of other universal services (education, health care) and our present experience with day care leads us to believe that high quality, stable, equally accessible day care cannot operate as a user-fee service.

- We are opposed to lobbying for the reform of the Canada Assistance Plan as a mechanism for improving day care. However, because provinces have failed to utilize federal funding under CAP fully, we support groups who are pressing their provincial governments to utilize CAP more effectively now.

- We consider it grossly unfair that day care employees, mainly women, are now expected to subsidize good day care through low wages and inferior working conditions. Day care employees should receive salaries and benefits commensurate with the value of their work.

- Although we acknowledge and respect day care as a matter of provincial jurisdiction (and oppose attempts to impose national regulations), we believe the dismal state of day care in Canada represents a national crisis for which the federal government has the responsibility to assume leadership.

We commend NDP MP Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East) for questioning the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Hon. Monique Bégin, in the House of Commons on March 20, 1984 on the issue of federal leadership regarding day care. CDCAA will be actively

lobbying all three political parties on federal day care policy in Ottawa on May 29, 1984.

- We see it as vitally important that the federal government adopts policies which recognize day care as an essential community service, one which receives direct funding that supports all users, regardless of income. Most parents now find day care costs prohibitive. Like health care or universities, child care should not be treated as a welfare service.

- We believe the federal government has a clear constitutional basis for expanding its "spending power" in respect to day care. The federal government has already taken a position of leadership by defining day care as "welfare" within CAP. We are looking for enlightened leadership.

Immediate proposals for government action

These include:

1. The immediate appointment of a *Parliamentary Task Force* to develop a comprehensive plan for the implementation of universally accessible, high quality, affordable day care services, with substantial direct government funding, for every child in need.

2. The immediate introduction of a *Child Care Financing Program* to put money into existing day care programs and expand upon the current service.

The *Parliamentary Task Force* we are calling for should be broad in scope. It should address the multi-faceted issue that a majority (the new majority) of Canadians now face daily—that is the matter of how should a modern society

This approach finds its roots in the 19th century thinking which viewed day care as a form of charitable relief for poor, destitute working mothers. We believe we must come to terms with current realities. The history of other universal services (education, health care) and our present experience with day care leads us to believe that high quality, stable, equally accessible day care cannot operate as a user-fee service.



This is a stop-gap, transitional program which supplements CAP. It creates a precedent for funding day care on a non-restrictive, universal basis. It will help those now associated with day care services, and begin the process of creating new child care spaces and programs.

would include nursery school spaces, (providing they are licensed) which are eligible for government subsidy and function as a child care option for employed or student parents.

The Child Care Resources Fund is based on a formula of \$25 for every child 12 years or younger in each province or territory. Since this is based on a per capita formula, it begins to build equity into an evolving child care system. It is a mechanism for putting money into the hands of provincial and territorial governments, so long as it is expended on the creation of new child care programs and facilities. Local and regional groups would apply for the use of this fund, bringing the question of "what do we need" to the grassroots level. We are thus calling for new spending powers by the federal government while respecting the regulatory role of the provinces.

At the same time, the following conditions shall be affixed to the *Child Care Financing Program*:

1. The \$5 per day direct grant shall initially be given to all licensed spaces, except corporate-chain centres and large commercial centres.
2. Small licensed commercial centres shall only be eligible to apply for the direct grant for a transitional period up to 3 years, after which time they will no longer be eligible for the grant unless they have become non-profit centres with a representative board structure.
3. Regarding new centres and programs, only non-profit spaces will be eligible for the \$5 per day direct grant.
4. The Child Care Resources Fund will only be used for non-profit centres and programs.
5. All recipients of the Direct Funding Program must meet the licensing regulations of their respective jurisdictions. ♀

such as ours support (in policy and program) a commitment to sexual equality, economic well-being, and the raising of healthy, happy children.

Our call for a *Child Care Financing Program* reflects the need to come immediately to terms with the magnitude of the current day care crisis. This is a stopgap, transitional program which supplements CAP. It creates a precedent for funding day care on a non-restrictive, universal basis. It will help those now associated with day care services, and begin the process of creating new child care spaces and programs.

To components of financing

There are two component parts of the Child Care Financing Program:

1. a *Direct Grant* to existing licensed spaces, and
2. a *Child Care Resources Fund* for each province and territory.

Our proposed Child Care Financing Program will put \$300 million new federal dollars into the system in the first year.

The Direct Grant is based on a formula of \$5 per day to every licensed or supervised centre/caregiver for every approved child care place. In B.C. this

THE CHILD CARE CRISIS: WHAT CAN YOU DO?

1. Join the Canadian Day Care Association! B.C.'s membership list grows longer and stronger each day. There is a united voice for immediate changes to Canada's day care policy.

Annual individual membership	\$ 3
Annual day care membership	\$12
Supporting group memberships	\$20
Foundation or sustaining membership	\$100

Please mail membership to:

Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association
Box 2064, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7K 3S7

2. On May 28, 1984 the cross-Canada Steering Committee (24 elected representatives) will lobby all three political parties on federal day care policy. This will take place in Ottawa, on Parliament Hill. *Please* contact your local MP's and tell them why they should attend the lobby. Tell them day care will be an election issue.

3. Also on May 28, 1984 Judy Erola, federal minister responsible for the Status of Women, is meeting with all provincial ministers responsible for the status of women. Day care is on this agenda. The CDCAA wants to ensure this agenda item is taken very seriously and that this is not a one-time effort. Follow-up discussions are necessary. Please write B.C. Minister of Labour Bob McLelland, Legislature, Victoria, B.C. and Isobel Kelly, Deputy Minister of Labour, 880 Douglas Street, Victoria, B.C. V8W 2B7 to tell them (a) how vital this agenda item is and (b) request a follow-up structure for federal-provincial discussions on day care.

For further information on CDCAA, its policies and directions, please contact B.C. Steering Committee representatives:

Susan Christie, 12785 Crescent Rd., Surrey B.C. V4A 2V6 536-2009
Lucille McKay, University of Victoria Box 1700, Victoria V8W 2Y2
Work telephone: 721-8500

or Suzanne Helleen, Training Manager, Women's Programs
65 Leg-in-Boot Square, Vancouver B.C. V5Z 4B2

"It's not romantic. It's not a game. It's a real serious thing that people are trying to do in Nicaragua, and it's really important. The experience makes me step back and think about what exactly I'm doing with my life."

Morgan McGuigan has been involved in Central America solidarity work in Vancouver for a long time. She jumped at the opportunity to be one of the 25-person brigade that went to Nicaragua from February 6 to March 8 to participate in the cotton harvest.

The foreign exchange brought in by the export of cotton and coffee is vital for the economic progress of the revolution in Nicaragua. But according to *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Nicaragua was short 11,000 workers for the cotton harvest and 12,000 for the coffee.

In response to this situation, brigades of over 2,000 volunteers were organized from the United States, Canada and countries in Europe and Latin America. The B.C. brigade of trade unionists and solidarity activists, organized by the B.C.-Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, was joined by a brigade from the Toronto area.

Purpose of the brigades

Morgan explained that the purpose of the brigades was three-fold: "The first was just to help with production. Due to the war that's happening there, many of the regular production workers are not able to do agricultural production. They're on the front, they're fighting. Also, because of the agrarian reform program, many of the workers now have their own farms, so they want to stay home and work on their own farm. Another reason is that traditionally migrant workers have come in from El Salvador and Honduras, but they are no longer coming into Nicaragua because of the political situation (their own governments won't allow it).

Another purpose was the solidarity work. By having us go there and live with the peasants and students, we would be able to get an idea of what it was like in Nicaragua, and would be able to come back and tell people, which would give Nicaragua a lot of solidarity support.

"I think the third reason was to show the Nicaraguan people that people around the world support what is being done in Nicaragua."

Work at Hugo Paiz

The Canadian *brigadistas*, as they are called in Spanish, were assigned to harvest cotton at a huge state farm in the

Two Canadian women brigadistas who picked cotton in Nicaragua

by Barb Horst to whom women members of the Canadian work brigade, Morgan McGuigan and Sue Mitchell related their experiences.



International Viewpoint

area northwest of Managua.

Before the 1979 revolution that toppled the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship, the farm was owned by an American, John Spencer, who was a confidant of Somoza. Spencer also held substantial shares in a Nicaraguan gold mine owned by Noranda.

Today the farm is named after Hugo Paiz, a student who was killed in the final hours of the 1979 revolution that brought the Sandinista government to power. About 100 families live and work at Hugo Paiz.

The work, Morgan said, "was not really hard — I had expected it to be much harder. Basically, there were rows of cotton plants. You had one person on either side and you went along picking them. The cotton is like cotton batting except it's got seeds in it. You just shake it off the plant and stick it in the bag at your side. The main problem is to pick it fast enough to make it worthwhile. The Canadians were not excellent cotton pickers."

While at the farm, the brigade worked in the medical clinic, and dug wells to improve the drainage system.

Impact of the war against Nicaragua

Counter-revolutionary forces, or "contras," based in Honduras and Costa Rica and supported by the United States have launched attacks on Nicaragua that have led to over 1,000 deaths in the last year, and have severely aggravated an already difficult situation.

The Toronto brigade, originally scheduled for work on a construction project in Rio San Juan on the southern border, joined the B.C. brigade at Hugo Paiz because the government was concerned for their safety, due to border attacks by Eden Pastora's contra group.

Another brigade member, Sue Mitchell, who was in Grenada for 21 months working as a communications officer for the Grenada Food and Nutrition Council before the U.S. invasion last October, talked about the impact of this war on the Nicaraguan people.

"We were told that in October, after the Grenada invasion, there was quite a preoccupation with invasion, because they felt it was imminent at that point. People were building bomb shelters and trenches. The trenches that had been

dug were very visible. Everybody's probably got somebody in the family that's doing some kind of military service in terms of defence, so they're acutely aware of it. But there was also the sense that people have to get on with their daily lives—you're working every day, you've got to get up in the morning, you've got to go out and pick cotton or whatever. You can't always be thinking about attacks—there are still all the normal kinds of everyday worries that people everywhere have."

Economic embargo hurts

The economic embargo on credits by the United States has also created big difficulties. Morgan reported: "One thing we did notice was several projects that had been started and never finished, which we think are because of the war—running out of materials or labour. For example, they had built tons of little shower booths at Hugo Paiz but the water had never been connected, so we had (only) one shower that worked. . . It was like they had this plan, and they had this work all set out to do, and then they ran out of resources."

Women in Nicaragua

Women played a crucial role in the

revolution. Three women commanders helped lead the Sandinista army to victory. Ever since then, women have been organizing in large numbers, in co-operatives, in unions, and in their own organization—Luisa Amanda Espinosa Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE). The brigadistas at Hugo Paiz received a letter of greetings from AMNLAE to the women of Canada, which was read at the International Women's Day rally at Robson Square on the day of their return.

Unfortunately, the brigade members were unable to meet with AMNLAE because of the heavy schedule of the women's organization. However, through informal discussions and their own observations, they were able to learn a few things.

Sue talked about the lives of women in Nicaragua and the impact the revolution has had.

"The struggle in terms of women's issues in Latin America is much more basic (than in North America): having a roof over their head, enough to eat and enough for their children to eat, a day care centre, nutrition—the issues are somewhat different than they are in North America. . . It's not uncommon for women, especially in the rural areas, to start having children at about sixteen, maybe younger—fourteen. If you're 22

years old and don't have three or four children, there's something wrong with you—that is a common attitude.

"But that attitude is beginning to change. Many people, including women, have access to education, which they've never had before. One young woman who was seventeen didn't even start primary school until she was twelve, because there wasn't a school where she lived until the revolution happened. Now she is about to go into high school. She was very definite that she was going to go to university. When we asked her about having a family, she said she was going to have to put that off until she had finished her education. This is a very different approach for rural women to take and that was really encouraging."

Despite the poverty and lack of resources, Sue continued, "there's definitely a very major move to provide daycare throughout the country. It's a very important step, and it should be, because they need the productive forces of the population, and that includes women. They also recognize very strongly that the children of a country are the greatest resource. So it's very important that children have proper care.

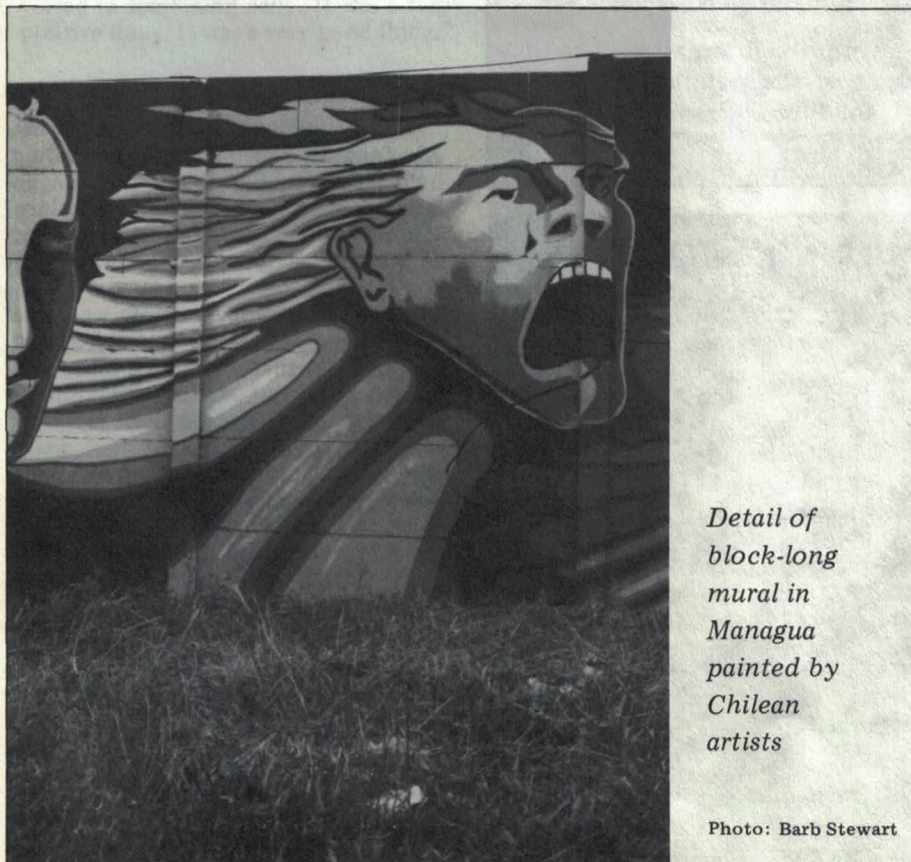
"I was particularly impressed with the daycare they had at Hugo Paiz. They didn't have a lot of things, but I was impressed with the fact that the children are given three good meals there. These children come from very poor families—their mothers are field workers, probably some of the lowest paid workers in the country, so in some ways it's a subsidy to the wage, if your children are getting fed good meals that you couldn't normally feed them."

A committed woman

In Managua, Morgan met a woman who had two friends who had been killed in the fighting at Puerto Corinto. "She was telling us that everything in her house, she had gotten because of the revolution—so they had a television, and table and chairs. It was just a small house—but she really was committed to the revolution. She and her children had gone out picking cotton at other times in brigades. They have these things called "Red and Black Sundays," where people from the cities would go out to the fields and pick cotton to help production. There was a determination that you could sense from her."

The role of youth

Working with the Canadian brigadistas at Hugo Paiz was a Nicaraguan student brigade. Sue explained that these were high school and university



*Detail of
block-long
mural in
Managua
painted by
Chilean
artists*

Photo: Barb Stewart

students—17, 18, 19 years old. Students all do five weeks work during their vacation. We asked one student if this was voluntary, because we had heard that if you wanted to continue your education you had to put in five weeks of work. He said, 'well, we get our educa-

tion virtually free now, and we really feel that it's just a part of something we owe to the people of our country in exchange for this education. Besides, it gives us an opportunity to really know and understand the rural people, how they live and how they work—because

we need to know that in order to better appreciate our country and to solve the problems of our country.' ”

The Sandinista Youth Organization had organized a massive letter-writing and petition campaign, seeking a reduction in the voting age from eighteen to sixteen, and the Canadian brigade participated by sending a letter to the Council of State supporting them.

Morgan explained the reasons behind this campaign. "It seemed to be really important because vast numbers of Nicaraguans are between the ages of 16 and 18. The young people seemed to be more strongly in support of the FSLN—the whole revolution was fought with young people aged 12, 13, 14. The students were the people who fought in the revolution, supported it, were in the literacy brigades, the health brigades, who put a lot of work into rebuilding the country. So they have a right to say what the country should become."

At a rally of 100,000 in Managua on February 21, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Augusto Sandino, founder of the liberation movement in Nicaragua, the Canadian brigadistas heard the announcement by the government that the anticipated elections would be held on November 4 of this year, and that the age for voter eligibility would be lowered to sixteen.

Salute to Canadian women

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY GREETINGS
FROM THE ASSOCIATION OF NICARAGUAN WOMEN
"LUISA AMANDA ESPINOSA"

"I neither sell out nor surrender, I want a free country or death."
— Augusto Cesar Sandino

TO THE WOMEN OF CANADA:

On behalf of the Luisa Amanda Espinosa Association of Nicaraguan Women, we send you a sisterly greeting as we joyfully prepare to celebrate International Women's Day and as our entire people daily struggles with firmness to build a new society.

One hundred and twenty-nine years after the death in New York of a group of women textile workers, the initiators of the first organized strike, a strike for the reduction of the working day, and seventy-four years after the declaration of March 8 as International Women's Day, the women of Nicaragua, with the firm conviction that only with clenched fists will we triumph over the enemies of our peoples, reaffirm our solidarity with the women and people of Canada, with the women of the world, and with the just struggles of all its peoples.

On International Women's Day, we reaffirm the internationalism of our General of Free People and parent of the popular and anti-imperialist revolution, Augusto Cesar Sandino.

In 1984, after 50 years, Sandino lives.

Democracy in Nicaragua

Sue pointed out that the FSLN has said from the beginning that they would hold elections. But there has been no lack of democracy in Nicaragua since the revolution: "Certainly we saw a lot of evidence of people having a lot of control over their lives. One example was one of the women whom we spoke to, a mother who was only sixteen, who had been in the militia. We asked her what was best about the revolution — what has the revolution done for you? She said, 'the big thing is that we're allowed to participate in organizations now. We now have a union, a farm-workers' union, the ATC (Association of Rural Workers), and it allows us to have a say—gives us some protection as workers. At the state farm, of the eight administrators, three are chosen from the field workers—so that they have some say in the decision-making process. So within the workplace, people have some control over their work situation, that they didn't have before the revolution.' ”

Morgan, as well, noted that all the different organizations such as the Sandinista Youth, AMNLAE, the unions, and neighbourhood organizations all



Mione Gomez — mother of 5; staff organizer for AMNLAE, responsible for Managua textile and garment plants. Photo Barb Stewart

have representatives on the Council of State.

The Brigade experience

One of the biggest gains for the brigade members was their own personal growth. Sue described the impact of working with so many different Canadians: "We learned a lot from each other and the experience was a very positive one. By the end everybody was remarking at how good it was that we were working together. I think it will do a lot to build unity in terms of the solidarity movement across the country. We now have really concrete links with each other, all the way from Halifax to Vancouver.

"Also, the brigade was made up of people from all kinds of different backgrounds, people with trade union backgrounds, people with no affiliations — all kinds of people. People who at home here might be fighting against each other over small differences.

"In the brigade, all of that disappeared, and there was this incredible unity between people. That to me was very exciting, and I hope that that can be brought back here. I think we recognized that we were all working for the same thing. We weren't sitting around theorizing about anything, we were involved in something daily. It was a very positive thing. It was a very good thing."

Building solidarity with Nicaragua

Building solidarity with the Nicaraguans is the most important task for the brigadistas now that they have returned. Public education with slide shows and media presentations are already under way.

Most of the brigade members will continue to help build ongoing projects such as the annual boat project, which last year sent \$1 million worth of materials to Nicaragua. Morgan commented that "a lot of Nicaraguans knew Canadians because they knew about the boat, so it was really nice to be a Canadian in that situation. I never really understood quite why it was so important—but now that I've been there, I can see that they just don't have anything, and they need everything. Little things that you never even think about—they don't have clothes pegs; needles for sewing are impossible to get. So I'm excited about working with that project now, because I see concretely how it's needed."

A newsletter produced by the trade union group, entitled *Labour Solidarity with Central America Support* can be

obtained by writing to 1540A Salsbury Street, Vancouver B.C. V5L 4B6.

Much can be done by and in the NDP to help build the solidarity so necessary to the survival of the Nicaraguan revolution. Brigade members would be happy to be invited to show their slides in riding meetings and talk about the im-

portant gains that have been made in Nicaragua.

As well, NDP members should visit Nicaragua. As the experience of the brigade shows, seeing for yourself is the best way to fully understand the importance of building solidarity with Nicaragua in order to defend the gains of their revolution. ♀



Three health brigadistas from Managua who worked on the polio vaccination campaign.

Photo Barb Stewart

JOIN THE NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

THE BOAT PROJECT:

NDP members can participate in this project by urging their ridings to endorse the project, donate money, and collect goods to send to Nicaragua with the next shipment this fall. For information contact Canadian Aid to Nicaragua, Ph. 733-1021 (1 - 4 p.m.).

TRADE UNION SUPPORT:

Has your trade union been involved in solidarity efforts? Raise the matter in your local. Endorsements for the brigade came from the Vancouver, New Westminster, Powell River and Toronto Labour Councils, and from many unions including IWA Local 1-217 and the UFAWU in B.C., auto and steel locals in Ontario.

Kathy Schultz, the coordinator of the B.C. brigade and a member of the trade union group in B.C.-Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, outlines some ongoing solidarity activities.

From May 19-24 The Committee will be hosting the Vancouver part of a cross-country tour by Nicaragua's Federation of Health Workers (FETSALUD). Contact Shirley Ross, 253-8332.

On July 20, an anniversary celebration will be held to raise funds for a joint project of the Carpenters' Union and the trade union group to build a training centre for carpenters in Nicaragua.

SHAHNAZ recently returned from Pakistan. She is a keen observer of the recent civil disobedience campaigns in Pakistan, especially the women's movement which is today sweeping the country with its intensity. SACC had the opportunity to meet with her and ask her about these events. Reproduced below is the text of this interview with her.

SACC: Why have the rights of women in Pakistan become an issue, at a time when the democratic rights of the entire populace have been suppressed by Zia-ul-Haq's military regime?

SHAHNAZ: There are two reasons. First, Zia's regime is supported by conservative religious groups who claim that women are inferior to men and that women should stay home and serve their lord and master, the male. And the second reason is that for the first time in Pakistan's history, women have organized to fight not just for the rights currently under attack but are striving towards rights recognized in the *Human Rights Charter of the U.N.*

SACC: What sort of measures against women has Zia's regime adopted?

SHAHNAZ: Zia's regime has degraded woman's status to that of 'half' a being or even a non-being!

In March 1983, a "Law of Evidence" was passed which reduced the status of woman to that of half a man, in terms of her ability to bear witness in court. In case of rape, her testimony is inadmissible. The murder of a woman does not warrant the same penalty (death sentence) as the murder of a man.

The government has also banned the participation of women athletes in mixed sports events, even international events like the recent Asiad in New Delhi. They would like to eliminate co-education. These are some of the many attacks on what constitutes half of Pakistan's population.

SACC: What role do the mosques and mullahs play in this?

SHAHNAZ: The mullahs are preaching "chador aur char darvari" (veil and four walls, i.e. women's place is in the home). If she goes out she should be veiled.

Religious spokespersons are giving vulgar and obscene sermons in the mosques and on government-sponsored TV programs, saying a woman is designed to be an object of pleasure for her spouse, as well as a beast of burden, entirely dependent on him.

SACC: In what ways have Pakistani women responded to this repression and degradation?

Pakistani women rebel

From South Asia Community Centre Newsletter Vol. 2 No. 2, Montreal



India Mahalia Association

Readers who enjoyed Irene Howard's review of Salman Rushdie's book "Shame" in the last issue of "Priorities" will find this report most interesting.

SHAHNAZ: They are angry and horrified. In September 1981, many existing women's groups and individuals across the country joined to form the Women's Action Forum (WAF), in Urdu—Khawateen-Mahaz-E-Awaz. Their main goal is women's development through the achievement of basic human rights for all Pakistani women. These rights include education, employment, physical security, choice of marital status, planned parenthood, and non-discrimination.

SACC: What specific tasks has WAF taken up?

SHAHNAZ: The Specific issue that saw the birth of WAF was when a 15-year old girl was sentenced to flogging by the regime's courts because she married a man against her parents' wishes. Women recognized then they would have to stand up and fight for their rights against the inequalities inflicted upon them.

The first task undertaken was a national signature campaign where more than 7000 signatures were collected between October-December 1981, and were presented to Zia. In October 1981, a Lahore chapter of WAF was formed and soon after was succeeded by others in Islamabad, Peshawar, Bahawalpur, Lyallpur, Quetta and other cities. They held workshops and talked about inflation, consumer issues, national unity, the current regime's oppression of Pakistanis, especially women.

SACC: What is WAF doing today?

SHAHNAZ: Earlier this year, 200 women demonstrated in Lahore against the proposed changes in the "Laws of Evidence." 20 women were injured in their clash with the police and 30 were arrested. In spite of this demonstration and other protests the changes in the laws were passed.

SACC: How much (if any) support do the efforts of WAF and women fighting to change their lives receive from political groups and Pakistani men in general?

SHAHNAZ: The women's movement in Pakistan, like elsewhere, especially in the third world, does not designate man as the enemy, but rather the social-structural formations within which women are the most oppressed, but by no means the only victims of their society.

Presently, all groups not supporting the present regime are fighting for their survival, and the women's movement is seen as an ally in this. In fact WAF classifies itself not as a 'political' group, but one concerned with 'social' issues, and has till now managed to evade the fate of other groups in Pakistan—i.e. being banned.

SACC: Is the women's movement in Pakistan an urban movement or has it reached the rural women?

SHAHNAZ: The rural women are the most oppressed segments of Pakistani society. But the movement, unfortunately, till now has not been able to spread to the countryside. However, as the membership is growing, a deliberate attempt is being made in this direction. In urban areas, the movement, especially in Karachi, incorporates women from all classes of society. You find the wife of the governor of the province marching with working-class women in demonstrations.

SACC: What do you foresee happening in the future?

SHAHNAZ: The struggle for women's rights in Pakistan will not be won overnight. Regardless of whether this regime stays or goes, it is a struggle that will continue on in the future. Presently the question of women's rights is being integrated within the broader political question of domination and suppression of the oppressed classes as a whole in Pakistan. ♀

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