

# PRIORITIES

A  
FEMINIST  
SOCIALIST  
PERSPECTIVE

VOL XII No. III

PRICE: 50¢

SUMMER 1984

## Where is the money coming from?



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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

Individual: \$ 5.00 per year  
Institution: \$10.00 per year

PRIORITIES welcomes letters and articles from its readers. All submissions must be signed, although publication of names may be withheld on request. The Editorial Committee reserves the right to edit all copy received in the interest of brevity, clarity, and taste. Submissions should be typed, 39 characters to the line, triple-spaced if at all possible.

Submissions and subscriptions should be mailed to:

PRIORITIES  
517 East Broadway  
Vancouver, B.C.  
V5T 1X4

*"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

Typesetting and layout by  
ALFASET TYPESETTING  
North Vancouver, B.C.

Printed by G.A. ROEDDE LTD.  
3 - 12840 Bathgate Way  
Richmond, B.C.



# CONTENTS

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Editorial: Where is the money coming from? . . . . .                          | 1, 14      |
| Chairwoman's Report . . . . .   | 1          |
| <i>by Cathy Jones</i>   |            |
| Margaret Birrell's address to the B.C. NDP leadership<br>convention . . . . . | 2, 3       |
| Appeal for financial support to the Birrell campaign . . . . .                | 4          |
| Technological Change Committee needs volunteers . . . . .                     | 4          |
| Two women MP's interviewed . . . . .  | 5, 6, 7, 8 |
| <i>by Sharon Shniad</i>   | 9, 10, 11  |
| Life inside the free trade zones . . . . .                                    | 12, 13, 14 |
| <i>by Sharon Shniad</i>   |            |
| The intelligent woman's guide to economic recovery . . . . .                  | 15, 16, 17 |
| <i>by Irene Howard</i>  | 18, 19, 20 |

# Where is the money coming from?

So, we've made it, right? At long last the feminist agenda is front and centre in a federal election. The party leaders are being called on the carpet for past neglect of the needs of women and are promising action. Can there be any doubt that the years of slogging by women in feminist organizations and in the New Democratic Party are now bearing fruit?

What a feast of attention from the media! A national CBC news-program with a large TV audience presents a debate among what it bills as "front-benchers" Judy Erola, Flora McDonald, and NDP candidate in Winnipeg-St. James, Lisa Donner. A debate on Vancouver Cooperative Radio features Liberal star Iona Campagnolo, local Conservative Mary Collins, and our own Margaret Mitchell. (This is reported in the Vancouver *Sun* under the headline "Showing the Boys How").

The commonplace, boorish bum-patting of your average male boss is publicly labelled as outrageous and intolerable. And, finally, the leaders submit to the questioning of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women in a nationally televised debate. The Status of Women, making the case for choice on abortion, pensions, childcare, equal pay for work of equal value, etc. is accepted as the legitimate voice of Canadian women.

We hear no demand from any party that representatives of *Fascinating Womanhood* or *Real Women* or anti-choice organizations be present for "balance." Women across Canada are exposed to the concerns of feminists in no less a forum than the CBC. Our demands can no longer be dismissed as the hysterical rantings of a lunatic fringe.

Given this attention to women's issues, surely any new government will have to take action, won't it? The discouraging answer to this question was evident in the comments of the "political analysts" and assorted spokespersons for business who were interviewed following these debates. Universal childcare, universal pensions, transition houses for battered women, affirmative action in the public and private sectors, equal pay for work of equal value . . . "WHERE WILL THE MONEY COME FROM?" "Implementation of such expensive programs would bankrupt both business and government." "We must be practical." "We must be realistic."

One might answer these criticisms as did NDP candidate Lisa Donner on the *Journal*. Donner made the point that women are already paying for the lack of such programs. The question is not *whether* the society should pay, the question is *who* pays. What a pleasure to hear this fundamental feminist argument articulated to a national audience.

Yet, this is still not an adequate response to the question "Where will the money come from?" And here we return to one of the basic, unresolved issues raised during the provincial leadership race: the fact that current NDP economic policy is inadequate to deal with the radical economic and social changes now upon us as a result of new technology and the spectre of a permanently reduced workforce.

Nova Scotia's provincial NDP leader Alexa McDonough made just this point in a recent speech to election workers in Vancouver East where she had come to encourage the troops and join candidate Margaret Mitchell for an afternoon of mainstreeting.

The Nova Scotia leader cautioned us not to be satisfied with the election hoopla over women's issues nor with short-term make-work proposals. Instead, McDonough called for fundamental economic change in Canada as the only means by which women's needs can be met.

How to bring this about remains the question facing the NDP federally as well as provincially. Clearly, the voters of British Columbia do not yet

Continued on page 14

## CHAIRWOMAN'S REPORT

by  
Cathy Jones



When I sat down to write this report it was after the provincial convention of the B.C. NDP. The party chose a new leader, the Women's Rights Committee chose a new Steering Committee, and I am its new chairwoman. Much in the party has changed; however, we, as feminists, have an obligation to ensure that substance remains behind those surface changes.

The Birrell campaign brought issues into a leadership race that had lacked content. Through our campaign we created excitement and significantly increased the level of debate within the party. We cannot allow that momentum to die simply because the convention is over. We must not disappoint those who supported us. They brought us into fourth place on the first ballot—a mere 30 votes from the man who eventually took the leadership.

An issue which generated considerable excitement in the campaign was the call for a new economic strategy. It is the belief of the Women's Rights Committee that we, as a committee, should turn our attention to the problems of women in the economy. We must ensure that the principles put forth by the Birrell campaign continue to be heard within the party, particularly because the "new economic reality" has had such a devastating effect on women. That is why our next meeting will centre around the discussion of the direction we should take on this crucial issue. I urge all interested women to come to and participate in this meeting to be held on Sunday, September 9, at 11:00 a.m. at the Hospital Employees Union hall, 2286 West 12th Avenue, Vancouver.

In closing, I would like to thank Margaret Birrell for carrying our banner forth in a well fought and highly successful campaign. I would also like to thank all those who donated their time, energy and money. Unfortunately, I must remind you that the campaign still faces a \$10,000 debt. That debt is owed to an individual and must be repaid soon. I ask that you dig into your wallets and make a donation to the Birrell campaign. Remember that it is financial considerations which most often prevent women from seeking elected office. We must not let this debt prevent other women from running! ♀

# Margaret Birrell's address to the B.C. NDP leadership convention

Sisters and brothers, we are here not only to pick a new leader, but to decide the future direction of the New Democratic Party, and indeed to define the nature of politics in British Columbia for the next decade.

We have a new opposition. We have a new Social Credit Party. It is not the old Social Credit Party of W.A.C. Bennett that was conservative populism; we now have an alliance of the radical right, the Fraser Institute and the Social Credit government. Their philosophy, their economic strategy, is based on monetarism, the supply-side economics, monetarism that has been a disastrous failure in Great Britain and the United States, monetarism that says that the corporations can keep taking profits, regardless of the expense back to the community, monetarism that talks about privatization as a political philosophy, regardless of its cost efficiency, monetarism that says that social services will only be for those elites that can pay for them. Monetarism sees human rights as a hindrance to economic growth and monetarism sees economic concerns as a hindrance on its economic and industrial strategy.

The monetarists are very clever. They use propaganda techniques. They use the techniques of repetitiveness to imprint our minds with concepts. They use buzz words like recession, restraint, downsizing, free enterprise, to imprint these false images on our minds when in reality we know that there are contradictions amongst those basic principles.

## B.C. — the land of Newspeak

This is 1984 and we are in Orwell's times with the new propagandists of the radical right. B.C. is now the land of Newspeak. The Social Credit government and the Fraser Institute have a very clear political and economic strategy, and it is unfolding before our eyes. They recognize that we are at the final breaking point of the social contract, the social contract that was put together at the



The Democrat

end of the last war, bringing governments, corporations and labour together. They signalled to us that the social contract was dead when they brought in the 1983 budget. They made a clear and concise statement that social services would no longer be a part of our social fabric.

The people fought back through *Solidarity*, the most historic movement that we have seen in this province in our lifetime. But that movement was defeated by the Kelowna accord. Because we still have political leaders, we still have trade union leaders who are clinging on to the concept that the social contract is still functioning. They think it still works. The Social Credit government—it knows it's not working because they broke it. The powerful corporations, they know the social contract is dead because they planned it's break-up.

## The high tech future

The Social Credit, the radical right, the Fraser Institute, brought in the second part of their strategy to change our province in the budget and throne speech of this year. It is clear when you look at those documents that they are moving our economy away from the resource industries and looking for their salvation in the high tech society. But once again they are taking in the people of this province with their mythology, with their propaganda, and they are telling us that this will be progress, and that this will be jobs for all of us.

The recent changes, the radical changes, to our Labour Code were not an accident. It isn't mismanagement, it is part of their strategy. It is to move our industrial base, our workers, our trade union movement into the arena of right to work and minimum wage.

They gutted our Human Rights Code recently. It is a further attack on the people of this province. They are trying to atomize us; they are trying to depoliticize us; they say to us it is now the survival of the fittest. The Social Credit government, the radical right, have forced this confrontation. They want to see a clash of our political philosophies.

#### NDP at the test site

We New Democrats, sisters and brothers, are at the test site of the radical right for Canada.

Bill Bennett told us recently that we are now living in a new era. "There will be survivors," he said, "there will be casualties, but that's the new reality." What will be our answer, as New Democrats? What can we offer as an alternative to the people of this province? New Democrats, we joined this party because we believe in our positive political philosophy. We believe in democratic socialism, but once again we must stand up and be proud of our political principles. We should be proud of our concept of human nature, that says that people can indeed work co-operatively. We should be proud of our concept of society, where we see it as a whole, where people have rights and responsibilities within that society. We have a vision of society where women are full and economic partners, free from violence, pornography and exploitation. We have a vision of a society where children can play in freedom, in wellness, away from nuclear war, and we have a vision of a society

where minority groups can live in dignity and be full citizens within our society. We have a vision of a society where the economy is planned to produce full and equitable employment. We have a vision of a society where we nurture the environment, not destroy it.

#### What strategy for New Democrats?

But New Democrats, what strategy must we follow to replace Bill Bennett's new reality with our vision for British Columbia? There is only one way for us to follow. It is to economic planning and political power.

But where do we start? We have to start with the one issue that has been labelled against us, the one thing that has been thrown in our face, that we can't deal with economic issues. We must take up that challenge and immediately after this May convention go out and launch a popular enquiry into the economic situation of this province. Let's go out into our communities and talk about how the international corporations are put together, how single industry towns are destroyed by foreign and head-office major decision-making, how the silent bankers plan our destiny. Let us go out and tell the people the real political reality of this province.

And our second step is to form immediately the New Democratic Party economic forum. That forum will be made up of economists who are sympathetic to our philosophy, made up with sociologists, trade unionists and community activists. We will give them

a mandate that is analytical and problem solving. We will give them a mandate to formulate an economic industrial strategy for the New Democratic Party, a blueprint for the future, and that blueprint will come back to the party base, will come back so that we can have discussions, fine tuning and practical application and then be endorsed by the party membership.

And once we have our economic blueprint in order we must go out into the community and sell and explain and convince people that our economic plans are right. We will have '85 and '86 for that tremendous task; we will be building our credibility as economic planners.

In addition, we must not neglect the social and political issues that are facing this province. We cannot say to the people: "Wait for four years until we are government." We must rebuild our political credibility with the special interest groups, with our natural allies, with the groups that rallied round *Solidarity* in 1983. We must be their political champions, we must be their public lobbyists, and we must, if we are to survive, be their political answer.

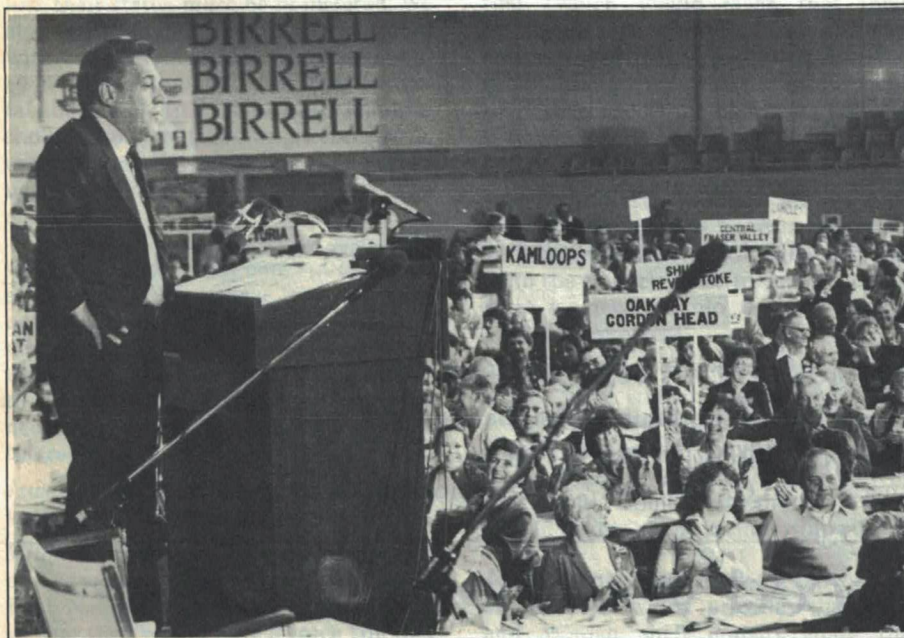
New Democrats, for this strategy to be successful we must all be part of this economic and educational programme. We must all see ourselves as New Democratic political leaders in our community. We can build a solid political base that will take us to power and give us a solid mandate when we are in government.

Sisters and brothers, this strategy can start tomorrow. First, we must make the decision to come out of the political neutral corner. We must make the decision to get off our knees and start fighting back.

#### Vote for a future and NDP government

New Democrats, tomorrow when we go to vote, I want you to cast aside the sexist and negative voices that tell you a woman can't win. I want you to cast aside the timid and negative voices that say this party isn't ready for real change. Go in on Sunday and vote with your own positive political instinct and vote for the future. Vote for a clear analysis. Vote for a concrete strategy. Vote for a winning formula. Vote for a New Democratic government.

Sisters and brothers, the future of this party, the future of working people in this province, is now in your hands. Together we can meet the challenge that is offered to us in 1984. And when we leave here tomorrow, let's give a clear message to Bill Bennett. Let's tell him to get his pension plan in order because the New Democratic Party is moving! ♀



The Democrat

# Urgent appeal for financial support to the Birrell campaign

TO FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS

Our campaign has a \$6,000 debt, owed to a long-time NDP socialist whose nest-egg provided the campaign with its cash flow requirements.

Our campaign was fueled by tremendous amounts of volunteer labour and by as stringent a use of material resources as possible without being shoddy.

We all share in the credit of a job well done. Now, we ask you to consider your personal needs and decide what contribution you can make in sharing the burden of cleaning up this loan.

Donations made to BIRRELL CAMPAIGN go totally towards the debt. Donations made to

NDP-BIRRELL CAMPAIGN are tax-deductible but return only 60% of the donation towards the debt.

All donations can be sent to: Birrell Campaign, 209-1445 Marpole Street, Vancouver, B.C. V6H 1S5.

If you would like a receipt other than your cancelled cheque, please indicate as we are trying to avoid more postage expenditure.

In Solidarity,  
Ruth Houle  
for the Finance Committee  
Birrell Leadership Campaign

## Technological Change Committee

- Committee mandate renewed at May convention.
- Volunteers needed for several working committees to set up and implement province-wide forums.
- Volunteers from ALL regions of the province welcome.
- Women and men volunteers welcome.
- Copies of the Task Force's Interim Report are available.
- Copies of the special supplement of *Priorities* on Technological Change are available.
- All those interested please contact:

FRAN MOFFATT — JUDY SHIPPER

Technological Change Committee Co-Chairpersons

c/o NDP PROVINCIAL OFFICE

517 East Broadway, Vancouver, B.C. V5T 1X4 Telephone: (604) 879-4601

## We need your help!

For the federal election campaign *Priorities* co-ordinator Sharon Shniad spoke with B.C.'s two NDP women members of Parliament, Pauline Jewett and Margaret Mitchell as they undertake a busy schedule of election activities in their home ridings.

1. *Three amendments to the Indian Act have come before the House. One of these, Bill 12-1B, would restore to Indian women who marry whites or non-status Indians their full legal rights as members of their bands. Some male native leaders have opposed this legislation, saying that only natives should decide who is an Indian. What position does the NDP take on this issue?*

*Mitchell:* The position of the New Democratic Party has always been that it was the white man's government that imposed certain membership conditions on native women and 12-1B was one of them.

We feel, first of all, that that section must be rescinded and that women who

ment.

*Jewett:* When it comes to getting money from government to support their causes, it has not been nearly as available to native women's groups as to the native brotherhoods.

As in so many matters relating to the equality of women, we don't get any real support from Liberal women. Among Conservative women, only Flora McDonald has taken a stand. In our caucus, not only the three women members, but the men as well have been very supportive.

*Mitchell:* Yes, Jim Manly, as Indian Affairs critic, has been very supportive.

*Jewett:* Manly has always been a strong supporter of native self-government, but he's always tied it into equality for women and re-instatement as well.

*Mitchell:* As a result of that [Edmonton] meeting, a compromise has been accepted reluctantly by the women that there should be general re-instatement



## Pauline Jewett and Margaret Mitchell discuss the battle for women's rights in the House of Commons

lost their status must be re-instated. We also feel that they should be re-instated with band membership. We passed policy at convention last year that recommended that first generation children should also be eligible for general status, even though it might take longer to negotiate band membership for the children.

In saying that, we have also very strongly supported the concept of Indian self-government. I have worked with native women's groups, and lots of the women say that they want their birth-right back, and they want their children to be proud of being Indian. They don't necessarily intend to go back to live on the reserve.

*Jewett:* You know, some of them just want to be buried on the reserve.

*Mitchell:* Pauline and I sponsored some of the women to go to the Assembly of First Nations Conference in Edmonton so that they would have a voice [on this issue] within their own people's move-

first (which would mean that their children would be entitled to health and education coverage), but that the band should have some say over re-instatement to specific band membership. This involves housing, extra accommodation, and so on.

*Jewett:* They [the women] are still very keen indeed to have band membership and want the federal government to expand the financial base to accommodate what women who do decide to come back [to reserves].

*Mitchell:* There was very strong opposition from status bands, particularly from the prairie provinces. The dispute within the native community is that status groups feel that self-government bills should come first, and then they should decide about membership status.

*Jewett:* But there is clause 28 of our constitution which provides that men and women shall equally share the guarantees of freedom of the Charter.





*The Chinese radio station here made it a major campaign, so we received copies of 1200 certificates from people who had paid the head tax, and their relatives. 30% were from survivors.*

**Mitchell:** The Alberta and Saskatchewan people walked out of the conference when the final compromise decision was made. However, there has been support from other bands for re-instatement right across the board.

**Jewett:** One of the questions I asked some of the Alberta chiefs when they were in Ottawa was, "Would you, after you have self-government—since you are relying so heavily on the various covenants of the United Nations to entitle you to self-government—would you be equally concerned about adhering to other covenants of the U.N.? For example, the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women?" One answered, "Well, I guess it's pretty difficult to adhere to some and not to others."

**Mitchell:** One concern that Shirley Josephson of the Professional Native Women's Association has is that there is no channel of appeal built into the legislation. So that's something they're looking at.

[Ed. note: The bill, passed by the House of Commons, was rejected by the Senate. So, resolution still has to be fought for].

2. **Margaret,** you recently initiated an attempt to redress an injustice done the Chinese-Canadian community by government earlier in our history. This involved the head tax levied on Chinese immigrants. Can you briefly explain what the head tax was, and what steps the NDP took to obtain justice for B.C.'s Chinese community?

**Mitchell:** I raised the question of the head tax on Chinese New Year in the House on behalf of two of my constituents who paid the head tax some 60 years ago. At that time, Chinese had to pay some \$500 in order to immigrate to Canada. \$500, in those days, for people who were starving in China, was quite a payment! The Chinese Immigration Act applied only to Chinese, so it was very

racist.

When they finally did away with the head tax in the 1930's, it was followed by the Chinese Exclusion Act whereby the wives and children of some of these men who were in Canada were unable to join them. This constituent of mine was a very lonely old man who had suffered both these fates.

So, on behalf of these two constituents, we were asking the government to apologize first for the injustice of this racist legislation (which would now not be possible under the new Charter of Rights. We also asked that [the government] recognize the people who are still living who paid this head tax and apologize to them personally. The third thing was financial compensation. The old man I was representing wanted Mr. Trudeau to give him back his \$500 with interest because it was against the Charter of Rights.

It was amazing to me how this issue was picked up very quickly in the Chinese community. The Chinese radio station here made it a major campaign so we received copies of 1200 certificates from people who had paid the head tax and their relatives. 30% were from survivors. It quickly caught on across the country and the Chinese Canadian National Council, with affiliates in about 40 cities, took it on and were very congratulatory that we had initiated this.

We've been trying to work through the CCNC, and we agreed we'd do it in a non-partisan way. When the CCNC has gotten back a response from its members and reached a final consensus, we've agreed to take an all-party resolution to the House. The Justice Minister has also said he'd look into this.

There is no legal requirement, no legal basis for financial compensation. That was the law of Canada at the time. But there is a moral obligation to clear this.

There is a difference of opinion in the

Chinese community, and in fact some of the groups in Vancouver are a little reluctant to push for financial compensation, but they're in favour of an apology and some community form of recognition.

3. **Pauline,** along the same lines, Trudeau recently, in informal comments in the House, rejected NDP proposals for recognition and compensation for the forceable evacuation of Japanese-Canadians from the West Coast during World War II. What will be the next steps taken by the NDP to redress this grievance?

**Jewett:** Japanese-Canadians had all their property and holdings expropriated during the second world war when they were relocated. I have fishermen in my riding—particularly Fraser River gillnet fishermen—whose boats were taken, whose property was expropriated.

Many of them, although they feel that there should be some financial compensation even more strongly that there should be public recognition for a wrong that was done, and a public apology. I found it incredible that Trudeau, who is a person with a reputation for some concern about injustices, responded in such a negative fashion.

**Mitchell:** And yet, he was the one who went to Japan and apologized to the Japanese government (which had nothing to do with this), but wouldn't apologize to Canadian citizens.

**Jewett:** He didn't even seem to realize that they were Canadian citizens . . .

**Mitchell:** Some of them second-generation Canadians—and that some of them were still alive. He spoke as if these Japanese and Chinese were back in pre-historic times. "Let bygones be bygones"—as if they were no longer living. He's quite wrong, of course, they are living. They want their children to be proud of their heritage and are anxious to have this wiped off the slate. An apology is very important.

**Jewett:** I can't quite understand why we should find it so difficult to apologize and say it should never have happened. The Japanese-Canadians remember quite vividly that it was the CCF that protested most vigorously their internment.

**Mitchell:** Yes, they're strong supporters of the NDP for that reason.

4. **One of the two issues,** along with peace, which is shown by the polls to be of greatest concern to Canadian women is pornography. What role should the NDP play in halting the proliferation of violent pornography in our society?



*Jewett:* We have argued that the freedom to publish or write as one thinks is a very important one in Canadian society. We were very supportive, for example, of Margaret Laurence when the Peterborough [Ont.] School Board, among others, would not allow *The Diviners* to be read in school. This seemed to us absurd. We feel very strongly that there is always a danger to literature from groups that don't like what one particular writer is saying. And for that reason we have not found erotica (nor sexual manifestations based on mutual relationship) something that should be banned or burned.

But we find that the violent pornography that we see today is an enormous commercial enterprise that has nothing to do with literature, erotica, or even love or passion. What it *does* have to do with is the absolute degradation and debasement of one sex by another, and the violence that frequently accompanies it. In fact, it is this combination of degradation, debasement and violence which we have to have some control over.

One of the steps we think could and should have been taken is, whereas the Broadcasting Act now forbids that kind of degradation and debasement on the grounds of creed or colour, it doesn't on the grounds of sex. So our colleague Lynn McDonald has introduced a bill to include "sex" in the Broadcasting Act. If that were effectively enforced, that would get at quite a bit [of the pornography].

It's possible, also, to strengthen the obscenity provisions of the Criminal Code in such a way that, if the Code were enforced by the Attorneys-General, it would get at the most violent and degrading pornography that is now spread all over the country.

But we do, as I say, want to take care that we don't fall into the trap of banning or burning literature which may be explicit sexually, but is, however, not pornographic.

The section in the Criminal Code against disseminating hatred against a group has not many teeth in it. If the Keegstra case [in Alberta] is successful, that will be the first time that the section on the dissemination of hate will have been used effectively. That section is not the best as far as [controlling] pornography is concerned. Some people would like to see it strengthened.

#### Rely heavily on public outcry

I think we have to be very careful in the law we write. And, quite frankly, I think we still have to rely quite heavily on public outcry against really violent hate, and on the judicial process, par-

ticularly on the courts, which basically have set the guidelines on literature within the definition of obscenity.

You can't pin your law down in absolute detail. That was one of the things the National Action Committee (on the Status of Women) tried to do: to make the laws and definitions so tight and rigid that civil liberties groups really did get a bit concerned. It cast too broad a net.

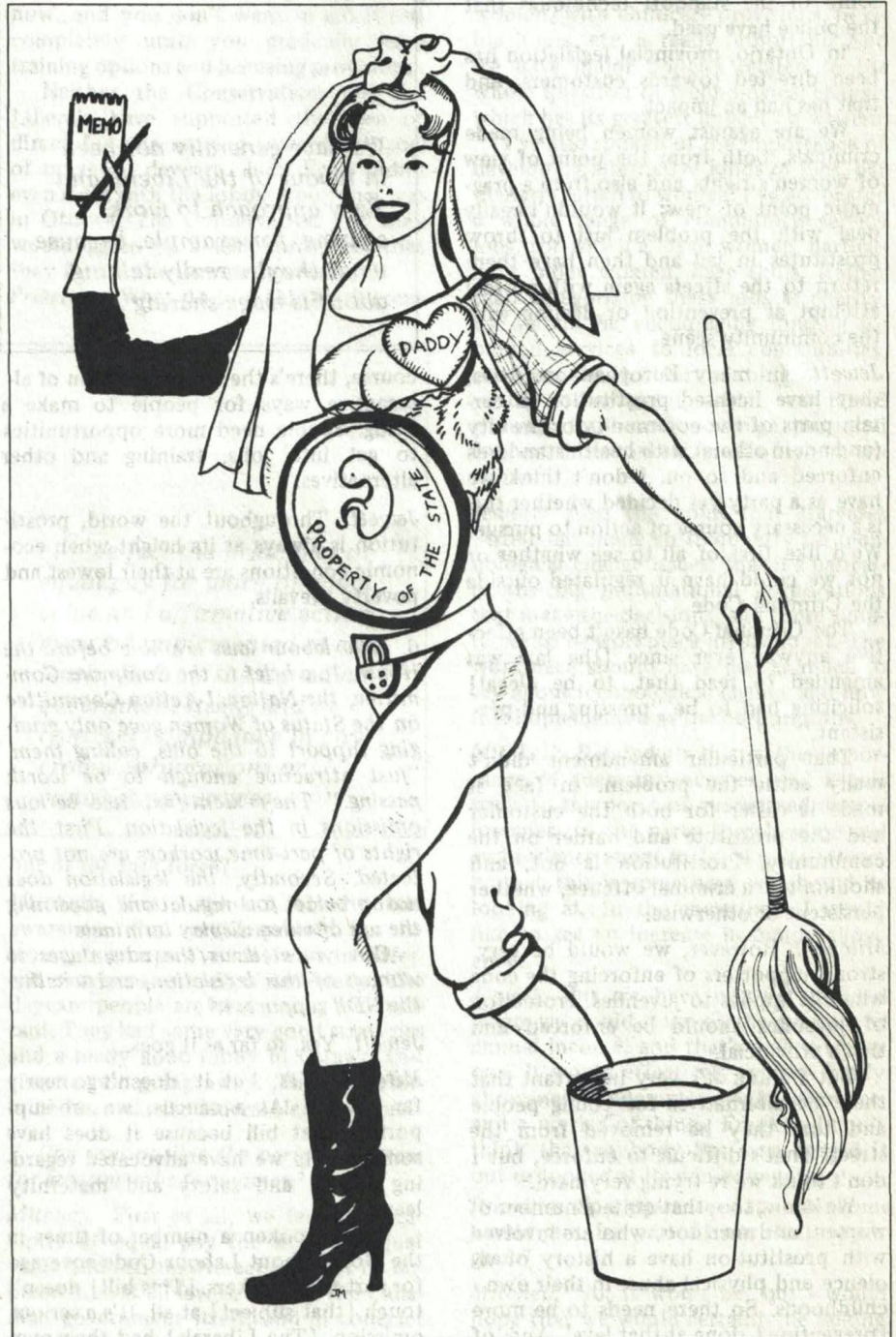
*Mitchell:* Pornography is certainly a major concern of women's groups right

across the country. I would say it rates above even the economic concerns of women's groups.

*Jewett:* . . . along with wife-beating.

*Mitchell:* Yes, it ties in with violence against women and children generally.

5. Prostitution is also likely to be an issue raised during the federal campaign in the city of Vancouver. This is a contentious issue about which our party has not yet reached consensus. What



position will our caucus take on prostitution during the election?

**Mitchell:** Our position is that it should be decriminalized, and the whole question of street prostitution—which is a legitimate concern of communities, certainly in the West End and other parts of Vancouver East—should be dealt with.

But it shouldn't be dealt with in a manner which discriminates primarily against women. Nuisance by-laws, noise by-laws should perhaps be enforced more strongly. I think some street policing would be more effective than some of the standoff techniques that the police have used.

In Ontario, provincial legislation has been directed towards customers, and that has had an impact.

We are against women being made criminals, both from the point of view of women's rights and also from a pragmatic point of view: it wouldn't really deal with the problem just to throw prostitutes in jail and then have them return to the streets again with no real attempt at prevention or dealing with the community scene.

**Jewett:** In many European countries, they have licensed prostitution in certain parts of the community or the city (and not in others) with health standards enforced and so on. I don't think we have as a party yet decided whether that is a necessary course of action to pursue. We'd like first of all to see whether or not we could have it regulated outside the Criminal Code.

The Criminal Code hasn't been effective anyway ever since [the law was amended to read that, to be illegal] soliciting had to be "pressing and persistent."

That particular amendment didn't really settle the problem. In fact, it made it easier for both the customer and the prostitute and harder on the community. Prostitution is not, and shouldn't be a criminal offence, whether persistent or otherwise.

**Mitchell:** However, we would be very strong supporters of enforcing the code where it applies to juveniles. Protection of juveniles should be enforced—and that's provincial.

But I think it's very important that there be alternatives for young people and that they be removed from the street. That's difficult to enforce, but I don't think we're trying very hard.

We know, too, that quite a number of women, and men too, who are involved with prostitution have a history of violence and physical abuse in their own childhoods. So there needs to be more [prevention] done at that level. And, of

*We have generally not been in favour of the Liberal and Tory approach to work-sharing, for example, because what they're really talking about is wage-sharing . . .*

course, there's the whole question of alternative ways for people to make a living. People need more opportunities to get into jobs, training and other alternatives.

**Jewett:** Throughout the world, prostitution is always at its height when economic conditions are at their lowest and poverty prevails.

*6. New labour laws are now before the House. In a brief to the Commons Committee, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women gave only grudging support to the bills, calling them "just attractive enough to be worth passing." They identified two serious omissions in the legislation. First, the rights of part-time workers are not protected. Secondly, the legislation does not provide for regulations governing the use of video display terminals.*

*Can you tell us the advantages to women of this legislation, and whether the NDP supports it?*

**Jewett:** Yes, so far as it goes.

**Mitchell:** Yes, but it doesn't go nearly far enough. As a caucus, we are supporting that bill because it does have some points we have advocated regarding health and safety and maternity leave.

I have spoken a number of times in the House about Labour Code coverage for part-time workers. [This bill] doesn't touch [that subject] at all. It's a serious omission. [The Liberals] had their own

Royal Commission into part-time work, which they ignored.

The bill doesn't really cover not only video display terminals, but also other issues related to technological change, such as the right of workers to advance information, the right to be involved in advance consultation and training.

**Jewett:** About people who study part-time and/or work part-time. Liberals and Tories are always talking about how important it is to share work. Yet, when you look either at the Labour Code amendments or what is done under the Canada Student Loan Act or training and retraining programs—frankly, they pay no attention to people who are either working or studying part-time. That is a perfect example of giving lip service to something when they aren't prepared to really give legislative assistance. And yet, women [constitute] a very high proportion of the increased number of part-time students at the post-secondary level. Women have had to do it under very tough financial circumstances. Now that it is becoming even tougher, I don't think you are going to see women able to continue.

We have generally not been in favour of the Liberal and Tory approach to work-sharing, for example, because what they're really talking about is wage-sharing and once again considering anyone in either the labour force or in education who is not there full-time as a second-class citizen.

**Mitchell:** 73% of part-time workers are women. It just shows that they want women to go back into their corners, work part-time, and not be heard.

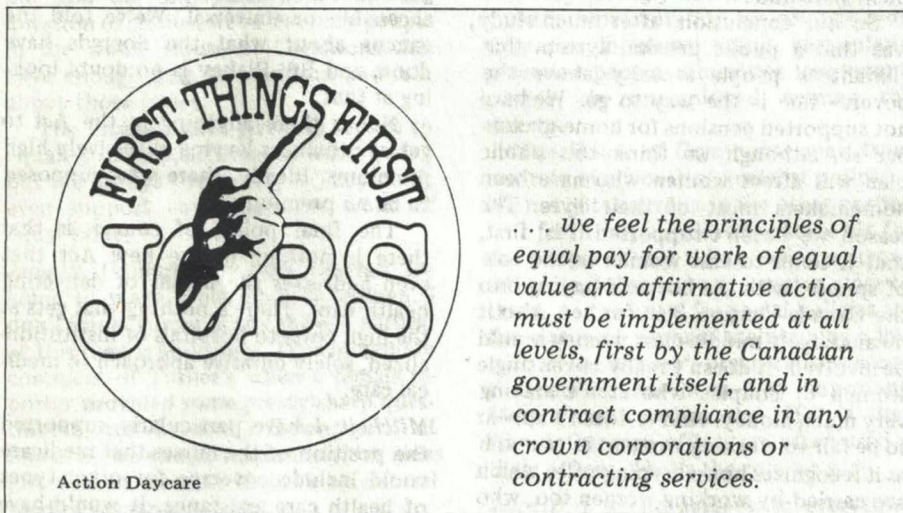
**Jewett:** Such a contrast to some of the Scandinavian countries. It's Denmark, I think, that has one of the best arrangements about treating part-time workers as equals with other members of the labour force in terms of the legal protections and kinds of educational assistance they have.

*7. In a brief submitted to the Abella Commission of Inquiry on Equality of Employment, The Canadian Daycare Advocacy Association called for a Parliamentary Task Force on Child Care. Such a task force has now been set up by Judy Erola. What can we expect from this task force? A second recommendation of the Association was for immediate government action on a Canadian Childcare Financing Act as a short-term measure to put money into existing daycare programs and expand on the current service. What are your views of this proposal?*

*Mitchell:* We have strongly supported the recommendations of the National Coalition on Daycare, and these were passed at convention last year. We have spoken out very strongly in the House, and Ed Broadbent has raised questions on two separate occasions.

What the coalition is proposing is that the government take a leadership role, even though childcare is provincial jurisdiction, to ensure that we're moving toward a universal system of childcare. They recommend that a task force be set up immediately to look at this, but that it not be just a task force that does nothing.

They also recommend that the federal government allocate \$5 per daycare space for all licensed daycare centres and that this be shared with the provinces, but that it not be under the Canada Assistance Plan. Their argument is that daycare now is either for the poor, who get it under welfare funding arrangements, or the rich, who get tax deductions. The people in-between get no subsidies at all.



... we feel the principles of equal pay for work of equal value and affirmative action must be implemented at all levels, first by the Canadian government itself, and in contract compliance in any crown corporations or contracting services.

The Coalition's, and our, position has been that this should be a universal system that has direct grant coverage as well as funds for development and improvement of daycare centres.

*Jewett:* When the government responded that this was a provincial matter, Ed [Broadbent] was very good. He said, "Well, do you think medicare is solely a provincial matter?"

*Mitchell:* Incidentally, the proposal is that it be treated in the same manner as health services and post-secondary education, and that it be taken out of the Canada Assistance plan type funding.

*Jewett:* Except the daycare proposal is to go back to earmarked funding.

*Mitchell:* Directly to the daycare cent-

res, rather than letting it go into provincial coffers and stay there.

*Jewett:* Which is what happened to post-secondary education.

*Mitchell:* There is also a concern, which we share, about a move towards profit-making daycare and chain daycare like they have in the States, which is not based on child-development principles. We feel there should be no funding going to that kind of centre. Even small, private centres, after three years, should not get funding unless they become registered. Some are doing baby-sitting now, and you don't want to cut it out completely until you gradually have training options and licensing provisions.

Neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals have supported the idea of direct funding moving toward the goal of universal daycare. Judy Erola didn't even meet with the lobby group that was in Ottawa. The Conservatives said they would agree to a task force, but that they favour the income tax route.

*Priorities:* What do you think will come

out of the task force?

*Mitchell:* Well, I think a lot of public awareness. I'm very impressed by the women's groups I've met with in different provinces as well as nationally. The daycare people are very strong and militant. They had some very good strategies and a really good lobby in Ottawa, and they're not going away. They're determined to make it a federal election issue.

*7. Can you outline the party's program for creating jobs for women?*

*Mitchell:* First of all, we feel the principles of equal pay for work of equal value and affirmative action must be implemented at all levels, first by the Canadian government itself, and in contract compliance in any crown corporation or

contracting services. This should be the example to the public sector, rather than the reverse, which is what the Liberals say. "Wait for the private sector to do it, and then we'll do it within government."

We also feel that there should be affirmative action in job creation programs, training programs for women, federal government programs, which there have not been. Many more of the federal funds have gone to male-dominated jobs. We feel the National Training Act is really not working effectively and that training targeted to the needs of women, with childcare provisions, flexible hours, etc. is really important. And we have major policies related to the whole question of technological change, which has its greatest impact on women.

I've also spoken of the importance of developing alternative kinds of jobs, particularly suited to women. I've advocated a whole range of community service jobs, for which a lot of women, particularly older women, have skills. Rather than categorizing these jobs as charity, we should be encouraging funding for human services to local communities, cooperatives, that sort of thing.

The other point, which we raised earlier, is full-benefit coverage, pro-rated for part-time workers, most of whom are women.

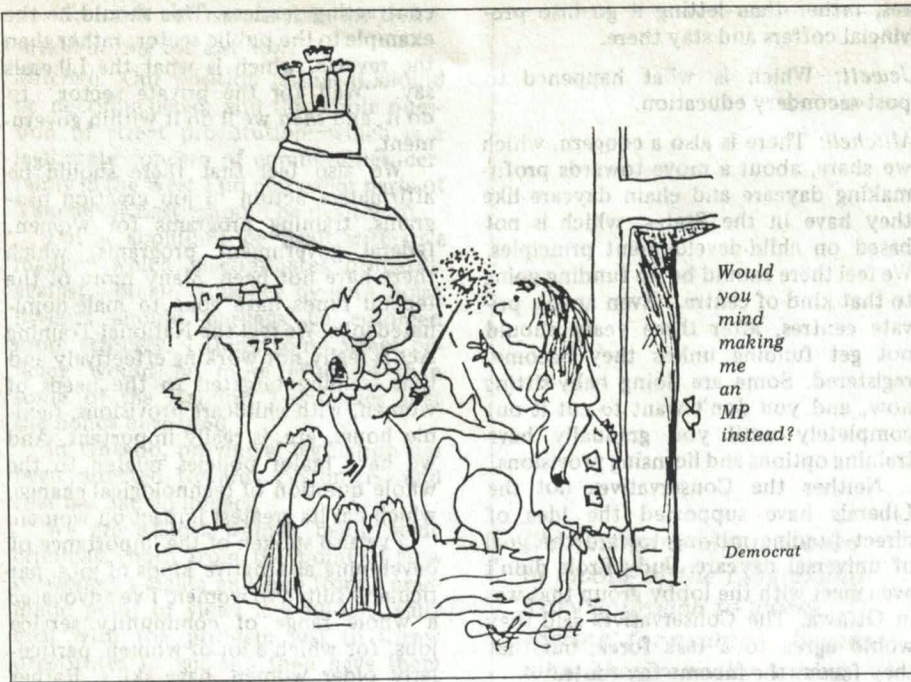
*Jewett:* Also the point that Margaret Birrell has made so frequently on technological change issues: that it's basically the big multinational corporations that make the decisions, and there simply has to be workplace involvement. The workplace should have just as much to say about technological change and how it is implemented as the corporations.

*Mitchell:* Related to this is the importance of adequate incomes, and it gets back to the point of guaranteed annual incomes. In the party there's some real ambivalence about it. I feel quite strongly that this is something we should be looking at. In the meantime, I would like to see an increase in family allowances.

*Jewett:* But we have not yet decided where we would stand on the guaranteed annual income, and that's a very tricky one. It would effectively replace family allowances, unemployment insurance, and a myriad of things. Frankly, I don't think that anybody has even costed it out or looked at its consequences.

*Priorities:* So a guaranteed annual income would not be part of our election program?

*Mitchell:* No, it won't be, but I would hope that we would certainly be talking about poverty, and unemployment, and



the importance of people having the right to a liveable income. I'm very strongly opposed, as the social policy critic, to advocating and strongly supporting food banks, for example. I think there should be a decent level of social assistance coverage and decent family allowances. There should be no referrals to food banks from agencies that have a legal legislative requirement to provide income assistance.

8. *Ted Miller, the NDP representative on the Federal Task Force on Pensions, submitted a minority report pointing up the inadequacies of the majority report recommendations. What position will be put forward by caucus on the pension question during an election?*

*Mitchell:* We feel very strongly that the solutions to pensions with regard to older women is an adequate public pension system that will guarantee incomes above the poverty line for all Canadians, but particularly for the group which is hardest hit now, which is poorer women. This means increases in the old age pension generally, but it also means making changes in private pension plans that affect women.

We favour the dropout clause (that would help parents maintain their CPP coverage when they have families) and we favour pension splitting. We are in favour of some of the policies related to private pensions, but basically we think that private pensions will never meet the need. The emphasis of both the Liberals and Conservatives is "leave it to employers to do what they should be doing." But, of course, many women are unem-

ployed, and a lot of employers just use them part-time.

So our conclusion, after much study, was that a public pension system that guarantees people security above the poverty line is the way to go. We have not supported pensions for home-makers per se, although we think this public plan will affect women who have been homemakers most of their lives. The reason we haven't supported it is, first, that it tends to cast women in the role of spouse, with the husband paying into the Canada Pension Plan for her. Also it means largely middle-class women would be involved. It doesn't really cover single women or couples who aren't making very much money. And it doesn't appear to be fair to working women in as much as it recognizes housekeeping roles which are carried by working women too, who do double duty. We agree with the CLC position regarding pensions for homemakers.

9. *The Liberal Party has made a great show of defending health care by criticizing provincial cuts in funding, extra billing, and the institution of user fees. However, it is our understanding that the Liberal government has also cut back on their contributions to the health care system. What is the truth of this allegation and could you comment on how the NDP will demonstrate during the election that it is the only party with an unequivocal commitment to medicare?*

*Jewett:* There have been cutbacks in federal funding. However, they didn't cap it at 6 and 5 the way they did post-secondary education funding for the last

two years. The NDP has been critical of the government on the general funding score. But we have been particularly critical of the federal government for allowing for so long a time extra billing, user fees and, in a few cases, very high premiums to be levied, which really do fundamentally attack the principles of accessibility and universality of medical care. We have, however, generally supported the new Canada Health Act. The federal government finally did start realizing that medicare was being undermined and did introduce the Canada Health Act. We did support the clauses penalizing provincial governments which allowed, encouraged or instituted extra billing and user fees (although we would have increased the dollar penalty). I think at the time the Act went through the one thing we hadn't foreseen was an action such as the Socreds have taken, basically levying a surtax to cover health costs. I would think that might well prove to be an indirect violation of the Canada Health Act. One might argue that by levying that kind of surtax a government was making medicare less accessible or universal. We've told the caucus about what the Socreds have done, and Bill Blakey is no doubt looking at that.

Nor is there anything in the Act to get at provinces levying excessively high premiums. Ideally, there were supposed to be no premiums.

The final point, of course, is that there is nothing in the new Act that even addresses the means of delivering health care. There's nothing that gets at the high costs to hospitals of institutionalized, solely curative approach to medical care.

*Mitchell:* I have particularly supported the position of the nurses that medicare could include coverage for other types of health care assistance. It would have to be implemented by the provinces, of course, but I think it is really important that nurses, midwives and other kinds of health assistance be included.

The Canada Health Act does not do anything to really change the medicare system. To me, it was extremely limited. It does not get at a trend, which I think we'd support strongly, towards having community clinics with a multi-service approach. It doesn't get at preventive services that have nothing to do with doctors. It is still a very patriarchal system where everything comes under the control of physicians. It is extremely expensive and not really targeted to a modern type of preventive medicare service. Nor does it look at the whole question of quality of service. The nurses have a lot of figures that would show

that there are types of delivery service which are much more effective, both economically and in terms of health, if use is made of para-professionals and health care practitioners rather than having everything controlled by the medical profession.

10. The political "gender gap" has recently become a hot topic in the press. (This term refers to the fact that women are beginning to vote differently than men on a whole host of social issues). The Liberals and the Conservatives appear to have recognized this new fact of political life. Both Turner and Mulroney have been quite aggressive in their attempts to appeal directly to women voters. How can we reclaim our ground in the election and re-establish ourselves as the one party really concerned with meeting the pressing needs of women in our country?

Mitchell: With our record. The gender gap is just a recent interest of the other two parties. I think if you look back at our record on women's issues generally, but also the unpopular issues like the question of choice, we're the only people in the whole House of Commons that have enough guts to stand up and talk about those issues.

The Liberals have given lip service to equality of jobs, affirmative action, etc., but it's always "voluntary." They don't even support equal pay for work of equal value.

Jewett: Undoubtedly, the Liberals are going to make a big pitch to women. I don't think Turner is any more a natural at this than is Mulroney. That incredible comment of Turner's when a female reporter provided some pretty sharp questioning, and he said, "Down, girl!" at one of his meetings. Apparently, his aides just winced, because if that's his natural kind of response . . .

Mulroney is a bit the same way. "Let's go have a drink" and be buddy-buddy and the issue will go away. A real downgrading of women's intelligence. They're going to have to work very hard on both of them to pay attention to women's issues, including nuclear disarmament, in a serious fashion.

Nevertheless, they're going to have to listen to women more. However, I find it difficult to believe that people whose boardroom ties are so deep are going to any time to listen.

Mitchell: The Liberals mainly relate to middle-class women. They don't represent or speak for working women or women in lower income groups at all.

11. Finally, to end on a more personal

note, could each of you tell us what accomplishments during your past term in office have given you the most personal satisfaction, and what goals you have for your next term?

Mitchell: From my point of view, it's really a very exciting and challenging time for the New Democratic Party. We're in a process of change, a move to a whole new generation. We're kind of between two eras now. There's no question that social democratic principles and policies are as valid as they ever were. That's why I resent it when people say that we're the old party that's looking backwards. The policies are the same, but we have to adjust them to a whole new society. And we've probably got to get a new language and a new image in doing it.

I think federally we've got to make sure that we have women there to speak out for women, but also to speak out for New Democratic policies.

I, personally, am running, not because it's easy. It's a very heavy load. You have no social life, and so on. But I feel very strongly about Vancouver East and the representation we provide ordinary people in my riding, particularly powerless people: minorities, low-income people, the unemployed, women, the elderly.

The House of Commons—apart from our role in advocating socialist policies—has not got that voice in the other parties.

I feel I have achieved quite a bit for the people of my riding, being a strong advocate, lobbying and keeping close to them. As the critic for social policies and the status of women, maintaining a link with all the women's organizations across the country has been very important. Most groups realize the NDP is their friend. Our own offices are often used as their offices. That's the role we play.

Jewett: I would agree with everything Margaret said about the desirability of pursuing and implementing NDP policies. The most satisfying things about the last 5-plus years has been the two extremes. On the one hand, being the voice in parliament—the whole party being the voice—on the nuclear arms issue. If it hadn't been for us, the whole issue of what Canada was doing secretly would never have been raised and pushed. At least we postponed decisions by government and even caused one of the Liberal candidates to say he wouldn't renew the agreement to test the Cruise missile. No other party has so consistently raised questions as we have about Central America. As external affairs critic, that's been a very large part of my role.

The other extreme, when I look back

over the last five years, is the tremendous exhilaration you get after you've been dealing with a problem, or a group's problem, and you finally see daylight. You're able to accomplish something. Sometimes, it's for an individual, somebody whose disability pension has been stopped, and you sometimes have to fight and write really nasty letters. You go see the minister personally when you know you have a good case.

Then it's not only that particular individual you've been able to help, but it also gives you some insight into what kinds of changes in the regulations should be made that would affect a much broader group of people in your riding, or indeed, the whole country. That is one of the creative aspects of the job.

I've also done a lot on post-secondary education. And when I was women's critic before Margaret, I was very involved in the constitution. I'm very proud that I was the person who asked Trudeau, the day after the famous Federal-Provincial Accord, "What happened to clause 28?" He said he didn't know what had happened to clause 28! That's what alerted all the women's groups out there.

But as I've said, politics is basically people—people's concerns and hopes and dreams. That's what one wants to share and foster. It's not being Pollyannish. It's a very, very important part of the job. I think of all the other things I've done in my life: being a university professor, a university president. And Margaret being a social worker and community worker. There is still an avenue for you to realize some of your own hopes for the betterment of society in the political process and in the NDP.

I think we're both feeling pretty good about the party because it comes out (especially after the election of Turner) as the choice for women.

To ensure that women continue to have a voice in caucus and in Parliament and to ensure that social programs will not be undermined by a new Liberal or Tory government, offer your services as an election worker to either the Pauline Jewett or Margaret Mitchell election campaigns. Consider making a donation to these campaigns. Your help will be welcomed.

Pauline Jewett (New Westminster): 521-0929.

Margaret Mitchell (Vancouver East): 253-2646



## Life in the free trade zones

by Sharon Shniad

*One of the central ideas in the Social Credit government's economic blueprint for British Columbia is the establishment of "free trade" or "duty free" zones. Premier Bill Bennett referred to these zones in the speech from the throne earlier this spring, and again at a western premiers' economic summit meeting. The best thing the federal government could do to help B.C. out of its recession, he claimed, would be to declare Vancouver a free trade zone.*

*In the minds of many people, the term "free trade" zone may conjure up images of clean, modern high technology industries staffed by teams of highly paid and highly trained scientists, engineers, and technicians busily devising new and better ideas for the progress of humankind on their banks of shiny computers.*

*Workers laid off from our depressed primary industries can be forgiven for being lured by this "Pat McGeer" dream. The real world of free trade zones, however, presents a very different picture.*

*What follows are excerpts from an information bulletin published by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions based in Brussels entitled "Trade Unions and the Transnationals," (Special Issue No. 3: Export Processing Zones).*

The picture that emerges from the dry facts about free trade zones around the world is of modern day sweat shops employing mostly young women in low-level assembly line jobs in textile, garment, and electronics industries. Hardly the kind of economic future desired by working women in British Columbia.

"Export Processing Zones," "Free Zones," "Free Production Zones" are some of the labels applied to a rapidly growing phenomenon in international production and trade. International development agencies have promoted Export Processing Zones (EPZs) as one answer to the industrialization efforts of developing countries. The proponents of EPZs argue that employment opportunities are created and that the social conditions inside the zones are better than those outside.

### The social impact of EPZs

The reality, however, is that the benefits to host governments are few, while there are good grounds for trade union concern about the social impact. The concept is based on offering cost advantages in the form of low wages. The zones, therefore, represent havens to "run-away" or "footloose" transnational corporations trying to avoid social responsibilities, such as the observance of health and safety regulations, the payment of taxes, and the recognition of unions.

### Structure of employment

Jobs created in the EPZs tend to be unskilled or semi-skilled, repetitive and monotonous. Firms in EPZs predominantly draw their workers from a particular, low-cost segment of the labour force: young women workers who are mostly new entrants to the labour force and who are often secondary earners in a household.

In such countries as Sri Lanka, Malaysia, the Philippines, Mexico, and Mauri-

tius, women comprise between 70 and 90 percent of the workforce in EPZs. The women workers are young, between the ages of 17 and 25, although some start work as young as 14. They are mainly single and new to the workforce. Although the work they carry out is mainly unskilled or semi-skilled, these young women have a relatively high educational level.

### Wages and working conditions

A major selling point to attract foreign investment in the EPZs is the existence of this cheap, literate, productive and docile labour force. Selections from advertisements and brochures for EPZs are given on the next page.

Two factors seem to be important in determining wage levels: the supply of workers and the existence of alternative sources of employment outside the zones. In addition, total earnings are significantly higher than minimum wage rates, which implies a high intensity of work based on incentives and overtime.

For example, in the EPZ in Bataan, the Philippines, 36% of the unskilled workers were paid below the minimum wage. However, overtime and incentive payments brought total earnings above the minimum wage.

There is also a substantial income differential between male and female workers. The major female-dominated industries pay lower wages than are normally paid outside the zone for the same type of work.

For example, in the Masan zone in Korea, textile and government workers' wages in the zones were as much as 30% lower in 1979 than in other factories in the country. In the Malaysian zones, the earnings of women workers in the zones were found to be low in comparison with the average earnings of women workers in other sectors of the economy.

There is legislation in most countries regulating minimum wages, but these

laws are often stripped of any meaning through management practices. Wages earned by women workers are usually lower than those of equivalent male workers.

Wages are also kept down by the use of trainee systems or "trial" employment. In most countries, minimum wages are not applicable to trainees, which leads to excessive use of so-called trainee labour. Trainees are often paid 60% or less of the legal minimum wage. Companies are said to constantly hire, fire and rehire people as trainees, thus creating a permanent wage reduction of 40% and constant insecurity for workers.

*From advertising material promoting free trade zones:*

"Labour rates in Malaysia are among the lowest in the region, and female workers can be hired for approximately US \$1.50 per day. The labour force is generally English-speaking and the literacy rate is extremely high."

"Low-cost labour: this is without a doubt the chief incentive offered by the ZFIC (Colombia) as the salaries are more or less the same as those that prevail in the industrial zones in the Far East (US \$2.10 per day, including social security). Local people are easily trained by experts. Male and female workers are easily obtained due to the high rate of unemployment, rapid increase of population, and the emigration from rural zones to the cities."

Job security is tenuous in many branches of export manufacturing industries. The major attraction of the zones for multi-national corporations is the ability to hire and fire workers at will. During the 1974-75 recession, for example, half of the 40,000 workers in Mexico's border regions were laid off and 17,000 workers in Singapore lost their jobs.

For the worker who is laid off, re-hiring when production picks up is by no means assured. New, younger workers are preferred and, even if re-hired, the experienced worker is often paid only a beginner's wage. There is also the tendency for "footloose" companies to close down and shift to newer, cheaper locations, either in response to rising wages or when a tax holiday comes to an end.

In most countries where EPZs are in operation, the standard working week is 48 hours. But, in practice, companies employ many techniques to prolong the working day, including enforced overtime, quota systems, refusal to allow holidays, etc.

In the Philippines, 2 - 4 hours daily overtime is the norm (on top of an 8-hour shift). Double (16-hour) and triple

(24-hour) shifts are demanded at times, and "stay-ins" for 24 - 36 hours. Some workers are not permitted to have a day off for more than a month.

#### **Worker training**

It is often assumed that EPZs would offer spin-offs to the host country in terms of technological education for workers and scientific and technological advancement for the society as a whole. Most workers in EPZs, however, are unskilled and are not trained in the higher levels of production technology. Most workers are trained to perform specific elementary functions which correspond

to specific phases of the production process.

Skilled workers are predominantly employed in subsidiary operations such as tool-making or maintenance. Training is restricted to the needs of the partial processes performed. Technology remains the property of the company, not a reflection of the country's manpower skills, and EPZs do nothing to change this fact.

#### **Control and manipulation**

There is a universal preference among EPZ employers for hiring young women because they are considered to be more docile, easier to control and dismiss, and more cooperative and obedient than men. In the electronics industry, a whole range of methods is used to manipulate and control the women who work there and to ensure that they are as productive as possible.

Personnel policies combine authoritarian discipline with human relations techniques, including company slogans, publications extolling traditional feminine attributes and recreational activities such as beauty competitions.

There is usually also a quota system which sets working standards. In one

zone, the daily quota set for micro-chips was 3,500. It was estimated that if the workers took their 30-minute break, they would only finish 3,000 chips during working time. The quotas are continually being raised as the workers become more proficient, and competitions are held between workers who receive a small bonus for producing the highest number of units. Work norms are also enforced by disciplinary sanctions and fines.

#### **Social security**

Although many developing countries have some legal provision for social security, factories in EPZs are able to dispense with such schemes. As far as pensions are concerned, frequently the duration of employment is not long enough for workers to qualify and for employers to have to contribute.

#### **Living conditions**

Living conditions for workers in EPZs are usually very poor. Some employers provide dormitories which are usually overcrowded with single beds being shared by two people. Housing near to the zones is either very expensive (as land rents and utility costs are usually higher than normal), or consists of make-shift squatter dwellings. There has often been forced relocation of local residents to make way for the development of EPZs.

*There is a high turnover rate for women workers in EPZs and in the Malaysian electronics industry. It has been estimated that the working life of such workers is only four years. Either they are worn out physically or their eyesight has deteriorated so much that they cannot continue working.*

In some countries, women workers continue to live in the family home. This often means long and tiring travel by public transport to and from work. Transportation to and from urban areas is usually infrequent and/or expensive. As punctual and regular attendance at work is essential, some workers get up as early as 3 a.m. to set out for work.

#### **Health and safety**

In the electronics industry there is usually a three-shift system. Several countries have dispensed with the prohibition on night work for women so that these factories can maximize their

production. There are indications that in some cases married women are permanently hired on night shift so they can do housework and care for families during the day.

The fast pace and intensity of monotonous and repetitive assembly work in the tense and rigidly-disciplined environment of export-oriented factories aggravate nervousness and stomach complaints, while forced overtime and production step-ups increase fatigue and the likelihood of accidents.

Health and safety precautions are often overlooked, in spite of the fact that there are serious physical problems associated with work in electronics factories. The Occupational Health and Safety Administration in the U.S. has placed electronics on its list of high health risk industries using the greatest number of hazardous substances. The workers are continually exposed to carcinogenic substances such as acids, solvents and gases. Frequent complaints are acid burns, skin rashes, nausea, dizziness, lung trouble, swollen eyes, urinary tract and other problems.

### Conclusions

There are good grounds for considerable concern about the social and economic impacts of EPZs. The concept is based on the exploitation of workers who are often desperate for a job. Although a large number of workers are now employed in EPZs around the world, it is not clear to what extent these represent "new jobs" or are a transfer of employment from outside the zones.

In addition, sacrifices on hard-won basic social standards have been made for dubious economic benefits. The large profits made by transnational companies are not matched by equivalent gains for the long-term development of the economies of host countries. The existence of the zones may also undermine policies of countries which are trying to promote a more equitable process of industrialization. The zones represent havens to "runaway" multinationals trying to avoid social responsibilities. There is evidence that transnational corporations are putting pressure on governments for "no union" guarantees as a pre-requisite for investment and that the prevailing law and practice within some EPZs is contrary to basic International Labour Organization (ILO) standards and also to the ILO Tripartite Declaration of Principles on Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy. ♀

### AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS IN ELECTRONICS AND GARMENT MANUFACTURING

| Country     |          | Electronics | Garments |
|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| Hong Kong   | 1980 (1) | 0.97        | 1.03     |
| Korea       | 1980 (1) | 0.91        | 0.59     |
| Malaysia    | 1980 (2) | 0.42        | —        |
| Philippines | 1978 (2) | 0.30        | 0.17     |
| Singapore   | 1980 (1) | 0.90        | 0.80     |
| Sri Lanka   | 1981 (2) | —           | 0.12     |
| Japan       | 1980 (1) | 5.97        | 3.56     |
| U.S.A.      | 1980 (1) | 6.96        | 4.57     |

Sources: (1) ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1981  
(2) ARTEP Case Studies

Quoted from G. Edgren *Spearheads of Industrialization or Sweatshops in the Sun* (ILO-ARTEP, 1982)



### EDITORIAL

Continued from page 1

have confidence in our party as economic managers, despite the disastrous results of Socred fiscal policy.

Dr David Suzuki, UBC geneticist, has said that scientific decisions have too great an impact on society to be left to scientists. Advocating the democratization of science, he calls on the public to begin to examine the social questions raised by scientific enterprise.

It is now time that we democratize the dubious "science" of economics as well. At a time when the experts are predicting unrelieved misery for a major portion of the population, and when our party's answers have been unsuccessful in gaining the confidence of the public, it is time for ordinary members to grapple with the economic dilemmas that face us. One place to start might be a popular enquiry into the economy, as proposed by Margaret Birrell's leadership campaign. Such an enquiry would help raise the awareness of the general public about who is benefitting from the increased impoverishment of one-fifth of the B.C. population. It might also be a means of finding socialist solutions.

Alexa McDonough reports that the Nova Scotia party has undertaken a similar project with much success. She notes that this grass-roots enquiry into economic development alternatives was modeled after the Task Forces on Older Women and on Technological Change developed by NDP women in British Columbia.

Bishop Remi de Roo appeared to be proposing a similar popular enquiry when interviewed by the CBC in June. With his early roots in prairie populism and the co-operative movement and his current ministry to the unemployed in company towns on Vancouver Island, he expressed outrage at talk of a "recovery" with no accompanying decline in the rate of unemployment. He, too, is seeking solutions which are generated by the daily experience of ordinary people.

*Solidarity Coalition*, through its Economic and Social Alternatives Committee, is scheduled to launch an enquiry into the economy which will tour the province this fall.

At a meeting earlier this summer, the table officers of the NDP Women's Rights Committee agreed that a priority for the committee this fall will be to create forums (educational, debates, conferences) for discussions of economic alternatives.

Through whatever vehicle, it is vital that women take part in this re-thinking of economic policy and strategy. ♀



**Characters:**

(Once again, I've invented personalities for each of the authors, but have presented their ideas as faithfully as I could. Quotations from the text are indicated in the usual way. The full text of the cream separator anecdote is on a Tommy Douglas anthology recorded for McClelland & Stewart [RCA T-56967]).

**Irene:** who still doesn't know much about economics.

**Sam:** who has just discovered the pleasure of drinking tea made in a teapot.

**Dave:** who prefers coffee.

**Tom:** who is fascinated by the cream separator.

Two mystery guests.

# The intelligent woman's guide to economic recovery

*A summary of the second half 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:** As before, in Irene's living room in the West End of Vancouver. The three authors and Irene are seated around an oblong table set for six. Occupying the centre of the table is an old-fashioned cream separator with two spouts and a panel of switches and buttons and switches. There is a very large, brown crockery teapot holding at least three or four quarts at one end of the table where Sam is sitting pouring tea. Tom is choosing passages from the text to read aloud.

**Dave:** Now, isn't this cozy? Just like Alice's tea party? Anyone got a riddle?\*

**Irene:** Now, Dave, be serious. Last time you said you were going to explain monetarism and laissez faire and all that.

\* In *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, the Hatter's riddle is "Why is a raven like a writing desk?"

**Dave:** I am serious. Why is monetarism like a basketball? (They all studiously ignore him).

**Tom:** "Monetarism is a doctrine favoured by the rich for at least two centuries."

**Sam:** A Chicago economist called Milton Friedman recently revived an archaic economic theory going back to the eighteenth century and Adam Smith's doctrine of laissez-faire.\*\* Reagan's economic advisers eventually adopted it, and what followed was a policy of tight money, slashing of production costs and a slowdown in the whole economy. . .

**Irene:** . . . with governments cutting spending, business and industry cutting production, fewer jobs, fewer social services. Trim off all the fat. Live within

\*\* Non-interference of the state in trade, labour and industry, especially as regards restrictions on individual competition.

our means. So that's where the Socreds got the inspiration for their new reality.

**Sam:** That's right. That's monetarism. But the monetarists also say that you have to let the free market work. No interference. Survival of the meanest and greediest. Hardball economics, we call it.

**Dave:** You win, Sam. You answered the riddle. There is no difference between monetarism and hardball.

**Irene (indignantly):** You said basketball.

**Dave:** That was just to make it hard.

**Tom (examining the cream separator):** I wonder if this thing works without milk. (He presses one of the buttons).

**Voice from cream spout:** "That which governs least, governs best."

**Tom:** Who is this? The Mad Hatter maybe?

*Irene:* Oh, that's Walter Block,\* senior economist with the Fraser Institute.

*Cream Spout:* "Private initiative unleashed will give us the greatest degree of freedom and liberty."

*Tom:* Do they train guard dogs there? I mean — "unleashed" — that's scary language.

*Cream Spout:* "The only legitimate role of government is as whistle-blower, to prevent rapes and murders and other acts of violence."

*Irene:* The Fraser Institute was founded by MacMillan Bloedel and the C.P.R. to spread the good word about the free market. It's funded by a lot of major companies—Bell Canada, Imperial Oil, Eatons, Domtar, to name a few.

*Cream Spout:* "People are saying the Fraser Institute set the government up, that we advised them to do certain things and now we're walking away from it. . . The fact of the matter is that we are in the business of advising governments. . . But it's not true that we're a day-to-day ongoing adviser to the government of British Columbia."

*Irene:* That was Michael Walker, director of the Institute. Listen to what he says next. (*She presses the cream spout button*).

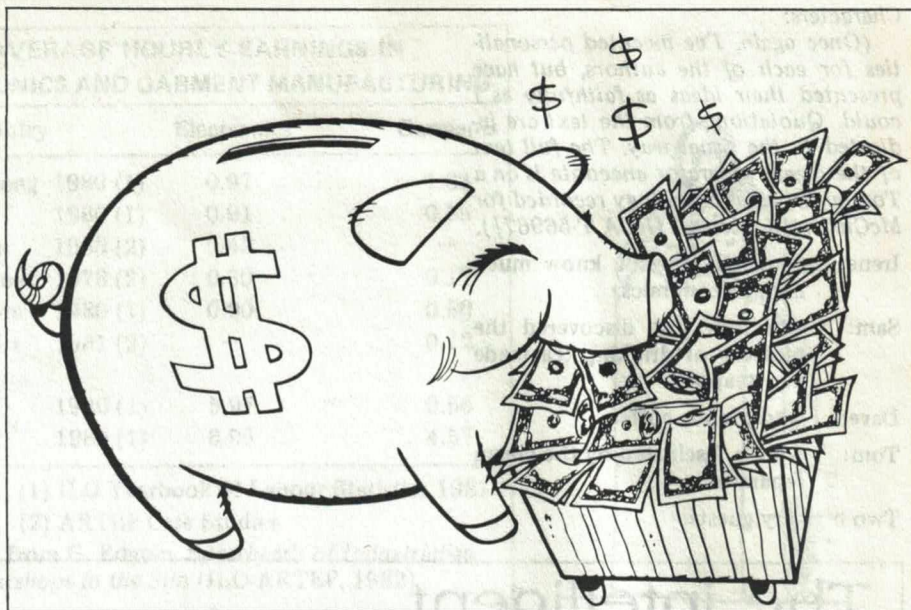
*Cream Spout:* "I think I succeeded in convincing the group that the way was not to get into the political business, or the personality business, but to get into the idea business. The people creating the public policies were, and are very well-meaning. But the problem is that they've got the wrong ideas. It's something you have to work on for maybe two generations."

*Irene:* (*switches off cream spout*): Enough of that. Let's hear about your democratic program for a new economic system.

*Sam:* How about some more tea? (*They pass him their cups. He pours.*) Tea in a pot! You Canadians really know where it's at. Is it always tea-time here? Is that why you've put out extra cups?

*Irene:* (*mysteriously*): Two important guests have yet to arrive.

*Dave:* If you keep on about tea, I swear



I'll cram one of you into the teapot. Let's get back to the democratic alternative to waste. We say that the U.S. economy fails to achieve its economic potential because so much time, energy, and human and natural resources are wasted. The same may very well hold true for Canada. I don't know for sure, though.

*Tom:* So, as we say on page 4, "The key to economic recovery is lifting this colossal waste burden."

*Irene:* But who's going to lift it?

*Tom:* "We [the U.S.] will require sustained popular mobilization for a democratic alternative."

*Sam:* We can't depend on government policy. So here's an Economic Bill of Rights that we've drawn up. Now if you'll just look at the first point: "Right to Economic Security and Equity."

*Irene:* (*disappointed*): Sam, I've heard all this before. Every election pamphlet I've ever handed out has put forward these planks. "Right to Chart Our Economic Futures." "Right to a Better Way of Life."

*Dave:* Ah, but in our program those rights address the main source of waste: unutilized labour, unproductive allocation of labour, wasted labour, inefficient production, useless output. We base our program on making better use of our resources so that consumption and investment can grow at the same time.

*Irene:* Well, just as an example of consumption, take point 3: "Public Childcare and Community Service Centers." This is just the sort of thing our Premier says the government has to cut back on. Only this morning I heard on the news

that the government has decided to discontinue funding for Vancouver's East Side Family Place.

*Sam:* That's monetarism. Ostensibly cutting back on people-support programs to save money; in fact depriving workers of anything that contributes to economic security and well-being so that they'll be out there in the labour market competing with one another for whatever handouts they can beg.

*Irene:* Well, I'm no monetarist, but just the same I'd like to know where the money's going to come from for public childcare.

*Tom:* "We estimate that the U.S. economy could have produced an additional \$1.2 trillion of useful output in 1980. Or that the entire population could have worked one-third fewer hours and still enjoyed the same standard of living. It is the huge size of this unutilized potential—and the opportunity to use it—that makes it possible for us to move beyond the wasteland."

*Irene:* I do see that an enormous amount of woman power would be made available by an extended program of public childcare. Mothers cannot combine twenty-four-hour-a-day childcare with paid employment. But you say that local governments, aided by federal subsidy, should foot the bill. And I still want to know where the money's to come from.

*Sam:* Let's go back to the first point: the right to a decent job. One of the main union demands has always been job security, the right to hold on to one particular job. Change that to *employment* security, the right to a job of some

\* The statements of Walter Block and Michael Walker, spokespersons for the Fraser Institute, are excerpted from *At the Premier's Right Hand* and *The Free World Dreams of Walter Block*, articles by Sid Tafler published in *Monday Magazine*, November 25 - December 1, 1983.

kind, not necessarily the same job—at a decent wage, of course. Then both employer and worker have more room to operate in the event of technological change or of other shifts in operation or management.

*Irene:* But if there are no jobs in the first place? And don't give me some tired old proposal about putting people to work planting trees.

*Sam:* I think you need another cup of tea. Carry on, Dave, while I pour. One lump or two?

*Dave (plaintively):* Couldn't you make mine coffee? Oh, very well. We think governments should make a commitment to full employment, establishing it at a rate of, say 2% unemployment.

*Irene:* With 2% of the workforce unemployed, you'd consider full employment existed in the country?

provided fairly regularly. . . others could be provided periodically, absorbing extra workers during periods of private sector recession.

*Dave:* It's true there's bound to be some bureaucratic red tape, as in any enterprise, public or private. But people would be put to work, which is the main thing.

*Irene:* Actually, publicly-owned enterprises in Canada are, for the most part, quite efficient. Take the Toronto Transportation Commission. It operates a really great transportation system, and hitches up to the equally efficient Government of Ontario intercity trains—the GO trains.

*Dave:* There you are. Now these public service jobs would pay a wage adequate to support a person or family in a modest way. If the job were covered by a

high-productivity jobs. This can be done by eliminating the availability of low-wage labor."

*Irene (indignant):* Hold on now, I hope you're not thinking of putting the young people and women and racial minorities out of work.

*Dave:* Don't get excited. The first thing would be to provide investment funds to low-productivity firms to modernize plant and equipment. Or to high-productivity firms to expand and employ more workers. And second . . .

*Irene (leans over and reads aloud over his shoulder in her best professorial voice):* "Second, one must intervene in the labor market in order to raise the floor on workers' wages." (She accidentally pushes one of the cream separator buttons. A voice from the skim milk spout is heard).

*Skim Milk Spout:* Whaddya mean? (He mimics Irene's professorial tone). One must intervene. (Belligerently.) Ever hear of Kerkhoff Construction? (Confidentially). I went to work this morning at the Expo 86 site, down on the shore-front. Our outfit's driving piles there. A few hundred metres from us a couple of other guys are working—on a Kerkhoff job. We're union. They're non-union, and we're making twice their money. Bill Bennett's responsible for this. Now are we going to give up all we've won through years and years of struggle? Not on your life! (Mimicking again). One must intervene. (Contemptuously). You

*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 AYLETTE JENNESS

*Dave:* Right. When the unemployment rate goes above that, the government should act at once to provide public employment.

*Irene:* But that's just the old public works scheme. They tried that in the depression—maintaining roads and building highways.

*Dave:* Now just hold on a second. Highways are out. They're not a local responsibility usually, and we propose that local governments organize and administer public employment.

*Tom:* "Childcare services, neighbourhood street security, paramedical help in community health centers, park maintenance support, shelters for battered women, or household help for the elderly."

*Irene:* We had some of those before Premier Bennett shifted into high monetarist gear.

*Tom:* ". . . teachers' aides in schools, apprentices on infrastructural projects improving roads, sewers, or public buildings. Some of these services would be

union agreement, of course the worker would get the union wage. Sweden adopted a public employment program of this kind in 1974 when this recession began. Unemployment actually decreased, from 2.5% before the recession in 1975 to 1.6% in 1975 and 1976. In the United States, however, unemployment jumped from 4.9% in 1973 to 8.5% in 1975.

*Irene:* But supposing you're a middle-aged woman, or a native Indian, or a teenager, or a Jamaican. You might under your new dispensation be employed—but at some menial, low-paying job.

*Dave:* On the contrary. Let's go back to one of the sources of waste—inefficiency in production.

*Tom:* "The problem in the U.S. economy today is not low-productivity workers but low-productivity jobs. Low productivity jobs exist (and proliferate) because low-wage workers are abundant and make low-productivity jobs profitable for employers. The solution is to shift workers from low-productivity to

*Politics is the science which teaches the people of a country to care for each other.*

William Lyon Mackenzie  
Rebel patriot of 1837

make it sound like a little argument at recess on the school grounds. (Mimicking). Now boys! (Grimly). One must fight back. That's what one must do!

*Tom:* Sheesh! Where'd you get this cream separator?

*Irene:* At the NDP Summer Faire last week. You've never heard Tommy Douglas' anecdote about the cream separator? The primary producer puts in the milk, the workers turn the handle. But the machine itself belongs to Mr. Corporate Elite who sits on a little stool with the cream spout in his mouth. And who gets the skim milk? The primary producers—the farmers and fishermen and loggers—and the workers, the people who work with hand or brain. They all have to share the skim milk.

Whatever kind of country and world people decide they want, the next question is, How can they get it? Probably by gaining a new understanding of politics. Politics is democracy's way of handling public business. There is no other. We won't get the kind of country in the kind of world we want unless people take part in the public's business. Unless they embrace politics and people in politics.

From *Progress: As if Survival Mattered* by Friends of the Earth, San Francisco.

*Skim Milk Spout:* Ya know what my dad was getting paid in the thirties? \$1.50 a day. He was a logger—till a tree fell on him. Damn near killed him. And one pay day he even ended up paying the company money. Yeah. Ripped his pants on a limb and had to buy a new pair at the company store. Had no minimum wage till they went on strike in 1934. And still them buggers refused to recognize the union. Blacklisted you if you belonged to it. You think the companies are gonna give up their power that easy? Ever heard of Estevan? Ever heard of Duplessis and Asbestos, 1949? And look what's happening to the coal miners in Britain. (*Irene turns him off, regretfully.*)

*Dave:* O.K., O.K. We're ready to admit that capital may, if it feels threatened enough, adopt the Chilean solution—ban unions, muzzle the press, forbid demonstrations. But please let us be optimistic and let us pursue the argument by saying "one must intervene" in favour of higher wages. Now, would you work for a company that pays you a pittance if you could work for one that paid you a decent wage?

*Irene:* Obviously not. But the low-wage company wouldn't be able to stay in business.

*Dave:* Not unless it modernized so it could compete. The idea is for industry to work at capacity, eliminating wasted potential.

*Irene:* And anyway, I wouldn't be trained for the high-wage job.

*Dave:* Remember the aircraft factories during the Second World War?

*Irene:* And the shipyards. My roommate in North Vancouver worked at Burrard Drydocks. Left for work every morning wearing overalls, hair tied up in a white bandanna. Thousands of women took jobs in shipyards or munitions factories. You'd wonder how they could go from housework to war work so easily.

*Dave:* Most jobs require only a few days' training, not months and years. And if you're wondering about high-tech displacing ordinary workers, don't forget that the proposal for eliminating low-productivity jobs is made in the context of a comprehensive Economic Bill of Rights. Look at point 20: "Lifetime Learning and Cultural Opportunities."

*Tom:* Unions and workers should demand paid release time through union contracts, allowing for up to two hundred hours per year of fully compensated time off from work for attendance at degree-granting courses. . . And we have other proposals too. Mind you, we're not making a pitch for an increased GNP no matter what the cost in quality of life, as you'll see when you read chapter fifteen, "The Right to a Better Way of Life."

*Irene:* But when you talk about demanding high wages I'm tempted to sing:

"If you want a raise in pay,  
All you have to do,  
Go and ask the boss for it  
And he will give it to you."

The chorus is rather rude: "Put it on the ground/Spread it all around/Dig it with a hoe/It will make your flowers grow."

*Sam:* More tea! I can see you need tea.

*Dave:* Not for me thanks. I'll just go down to the corner and have a coffee while you deal with this latest insubordination.

*Sam:* Imagine not wanting a nice cup of tea! Well, to answer your rude objection: when we recommend direct intervention in the labour market, we make three proposals: a solidarity wage policy, equal pay for comparable worth, and equal employment opportunity.

*Tom:* " 'Solidarity wage' policies aim to raise the wages of low-wage workers more rapidly than those of higher-wage workers."

*Irene:* But will the higher-wage workers like that?



In These Times  
Nov. 1983



**Tom:** Yes, because they soon see that when the wage-gap is narrowed, they're more unified than when they're divided into the poor and well-to-do. The more solidarity, the more bargaining power. Best of all, solidarity wages create high-wage pressure, which stimulates productivity growth.

**Irene:** And, of course, the Swedes. . .

**Sam:** . . . have been practising this policy for the last twenty years or so. And productivity growth between 1960 and 1979 was twice that of the U.S. The solidarity wage policy was pursued in conjunction with a policy of full employment. Sweden is having economic problems too, just now. We'll have to

leave them for another tea-party.

**Irene:** But with everyone working and producing, we'd get rocketing inflation.

**Sam:** At first, perhaps, until the measures begin to take effect. Don't forget that the cause of inflation is slow growth in productivity, along with economic conflict. And since confrontation between business and labour isn't going to disappear overnight, we propose a system of flexible price controls.

**Irene:** Not wage controls too?

**Sam (despairing):** Irene, how many generations have they been working on you? You try, Tom.

**Tom (patiently):** Now Irene, stop worry-

ing about the poor capitalist going bankrupt from paying high wages. Because high wages fuel the economy. Like a rocket. 5, 4, 3, 2, 1—Blast off! Also they give workers incentive to be more productive. Firms feeling the pressure of high wages have to eliminate waste: reduce packaging, advertising and transportation expense; employ new technology; get rid of useless supervisory staff. And if energy prices are controlled by a national public energy corporation, there'd be a saving there too.

**Irene:** So tell me about flexible price controls.

**Sam:** They'd apply to corporations only, not to partnerships and proprietorships. The government would collect data on unit prices and levy a tax on unit-price increases above a certain level. I know what you're going to say: "Red tape." But this is a tax-disincentive. The government just lays down the ground rules. The workers and managers and owners decide whether or not they want to raise prices and incur a tax penalty, or whether they'll try to work profitably under the price ceiling.

**Irene:** What do you mean, the workers are going to help decide prices?

**Sam:** Sure. Worker participation is a very important part of our program. Workers should have a say in such decisions, and we've outlined the legislation that would be necessary for them to do so.

**Irene:** I'm a little dubious about profit-sharing schemes though.

**Sam:** I think collective profit-sharing agreements work. A certain percentage of net corporate earnings for a firm are earmarked for the employees' investment fund. In Sweden, for example, workers use this money for "education in economics, safety at work, further investment in firm shares, and support for weaker and more backward firms."

**Irene:** Swedish capitalists must be a docile bunch. B.C. capitalists would just say, "Workers have no place in the boardrooms of the nation." And up and move their operations to Malaysia or Korea. . .

**Sam and Tom exchange pleased looks.**

**Irene:** What are you two looking so smug about?

**Sam:** We have two paragraphs in our book on the defence against capital strike (non-investment) and capital flight.

**Tom:** "Our program would greatly facilitate workers assuming ownership and democratic control of plants threatened by closedowns. . . a massive refusal to

invest would most likely promote a serious economic and political crisis, the resolution of which might require a considerable expansion of the public sector of the economy."

*Irene:* There's so much more. Democratizing investment, for example. You want all banks and insurance companies to be publicly controlled. And you say local governments should establish democratically elected community investment boards. "Each community investment board would be able to decide about the allocation of savings from households in their respective geographic jurisdictions." This is beginning to sound like socialism, though you never breathe the word.

*Dave (returns from his coffee break):* There's a little Scotsman outside—says he's Tommy and you'll know who he is.

*Enter Tommy Douglas. Irene introduces him.*

*Tommy:* You're democratic economists; I'm a democratic socialist myself. But one thing we agree on: the accumulation of profits shouldn't be the driving economic force in society, or its goal. We must plan how to meet human needs.

*Sam:* We agree. "The economics of greed has reigned long enough."

*Tom:* That's why we've written this book—to get people talking about a democratic alternative, to educate and mobilize "those who have not had a hand in formulating economic policy and who more often than not have been the losers, the targets, and the victims of the economic policy-making establishment."

*Tommy Douglas:* Speaking of education, have you heard my little parable about the cream separator?

*Irene:* I've told them that it was built to give skim milk to the worker and primary producer and cream to the corporate elite.

*Tommy Douglas:* As a matter of fact, it doesn't always do that. Because every once in a while this little fellow sitting on the stool with the cream spout in his mouth gets indigestion. And he says, "Boys, stop the machine. We've got a recession. And he says to the worker, "You can go on unemployment insurance and after that on welfare." And then he sits for a while, his indigestion gets better. He burps a couple of times. He says, "Alright, boys. Start the machine. Happy days are here again. Cream for me and skim milk for you."

Now what the democratic socialist party has been saying for a long time is this: "The time has come in this land of ours for the worker and primary pro-

ducer to get their hands on the regulator of the machine so that it begins to produce homogenized milk so that every-body will get a little cream.

*General applause around the table.*

*Irene (whispers to Tommy):* Where is he?

*Tommy (whispers back):* He said he wanted to bring all the others.

*Enter J.S. Woodsworth followed by a crowd of CCF'ers from the thirties: ANGUS and GRACE MACINNIS, MILDRED FAHRNI, DOROTHY STEEVES, ERNEST WINCH, HAROLD WINCH, DR. TELFORD, AND ANONYMOUS WORKERS AND FARMERS LONG SINCE FORGOTTEN.*

*Tommy Douglas:* You see? Popular mobilization. All these people worked for a democratic alternative in B.C., in Canada. They worked for a Co-operative Commonwealth.

*J.S. Woodsworth goes to the head of the table and addresses the crowd with these lines from the Regina Manifesto of 1933:* "We aim to replace the present

capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality will be possible.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen."

*The lights fade and when they come up again all the tea-party guests are gone and so is the teapot. The table is cluttered with papers and books, and seated around it are a number of women in animated discussion. They are drawing up their proposals for an Economic Bill of Rights for Canada.* ♀

## BEYOND THE WASTELAND: AN ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS

### 1. Right to Economic Security and Equity

1. Right to a Decent Job
2. Solidarity Wages, Comparable Pay, and Equal Employment Opportunity
3. Public Childcare and Community Service Centres
4. A Shorter Standard Work Week and Flexible Work Hours
5. Flexible Price Controls

### 2. Right to a Democratic Workplace

6. Public Commitment to Democratic Trade Unions
7. Workers' Right to Know and Decide
8. Democratic Production Incentives
9. Promoting Community Enterprises

### 3. Right to Chart our Economic Futures

10. Planning to Meet Human Needs
11. Democratizing Investment
12. Democratic Control of Money
13. Promoting Community Life
14. Environmental Democracy
15. Democratizing Foreign Trade

### 4. Right to a Better Way of Life

16. Reduced Military Spending
17. Conservation and Safe Energy
18. Good Food
19. A National Health Policy
20. Lifetime Learning and Cultural Opportunities
21. Payment for Home Child Care in Single-Parent Households
22. Community Corrections and Reduced Crime Control Spending
23. Community Needs Information and Reducing Advertising Expenditures
24. Equitable Taxation and Public Allocation of Resources



AHA!! HOLDING HANDS! THAT'S THE BEGINNING OF LIFE — NEXT THING WE KNOW SHE'LL WANT AN ABORTION!

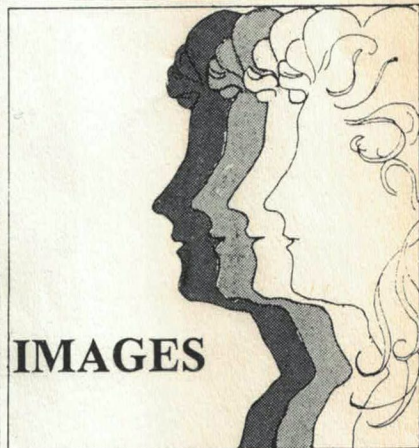
Universal Press Syndicate

## Priorities thanks

Caroline Johnson  
Phyllis Taylor  
E.W. Maitland  
Angela Page  
Barbara McGrath  
Vida B. Noble  
Barbara Laird  
Cheryl Hewitt

who have given us donations

## Subscribe



### KOOTENAY WOMEN'S PAPER

6 Issues for \$4.00  
\$12.00 Institutional  
BOX 736, NELSON, B.C.  
V1L 5R4

## COMMUNIQUE'ELLES

BIMONTHLY FEMINIST MAGAZINE

INDIVIDUALS: free in Québec  
\$12 in Canada  
\$18 elsewhere  
INSTITUTIONS: \$18 everywhere

3585 RUE ST-URBAIN, MONTREAL, P.Q. H2X 2N6  
(514) 844-1761

Do you get your  
**PRIORITIES**  
straight?

Or do you borrow it from a friend?

RATES: \$5.00 per year — \$10.00 commercial. Send to PRIORITIES  
517 East Broadway, Vancouver, B.C. V5T 1X4



NAME .....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... POSTAL  
CODE .....

CITY ..... POSTAL  
CODE .....

CONSTITUENCY .....

CONSTITUENCY .....

TRADE UNION .....

TRADE UNION .....

Renewal  New  Gift

Renewal  New  Gift