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intervent

Il movimento femminista ha cominciato a porsi in Italia emergendo da gruppi « spontanei » di donne passate attraverso l'esperienza del movimento studentesco, la militanza politica nei partiti o nei gruppi extra-parlamentari, o immuni da qualunque « mili-

tanza politica ».

Finora la letteratura del movimento femminista ha descritto e documentato con profonda penetrazione e tagliente precisione la subordinazione della donna e il processo di « formazione » della sua personalità teso a rendere tale subordinazione pacificamente ac-

cettabile.

Ma la lotta delle donne non ha conosciuto soste fin da quando la costola ha teso spontaneamente a stac-

carsi dal resto.

Quanto ora emerge in modo più scoperto e diffuso nella letteratura del movimento già veniva scritto, anche se meno « pubblicizzato », nei documenti, volantini, cartelli, che accompagnavano le lotte e le rivolte delle donne.

« Il posto della donna » di Selma James, scritto nel 1953, nel fondo della guerra fredda a Los Angeles, da una donna casalinga e operaia allo stesso tempo, viene qui pubblicato per l'attualità del contenuto.

Già da quest'analisi risulta chiaro uno dei temi centrali che viene ripreso e sviluppato da Mariarosa Dalla Costa: il lavoro fuori casa, cioè, non libera le donne dal lavoro di casa né lo trasforma essenzialmente. Un secondo padrone così si sovrappone al primo: il lavoro stesso del marito che comanda e determina la qualità di vita della donna; e la donna si scontra necessariamente con entrambi questi pa-

Da queste premesse si sviluppa un discorso sulla famiglia che nel capitalismo è un centro di consumo e di riserva di forza-lavoro, ma soprattutto è un centro di produzione di forza-lavoro. La merce che le donne producono è l'essere umano: l'operaio.

Attraverso il controllo maschile della riproduzione della forza-lavoro l'eredità patriarcale è entrata nel cuore del sistema capitalistico. Attraverso tale controllo da un lato si è «liberata» forza-lavoro maschile per la destinazione allo sfruttamento « diretto », dall'altro si è asservita forza-lavoro femminile ai fini della «riproduzione» e «liberazione» della forza-lavoro maschile. La costruzione della «libertà salariale » ha così trovato il suo fondamento nella schiavitù domestica. La collettività della fabbrica ha fondato le sue radici nell'isolamento del ghetto della casa e viceversa.

Avendo individuato tutto questo Lotta Femminista assume perciò la donna come protagonista centrale della lotta a livello sociale fondando così una sua esistenza completamente autonoma rispetto alla sinistra extraparlamentare e al movimento studentesco, di contro alla visuale entro cui essi avevano definito la lotta a livello sociale, riaprendo su questo l'intera questione della prospettiva politica e della

lotta rivoluzionaria.

In Italia, in questi ultimi anni, la schiavitù e l'isolamento della donna sono stati rotti solo dalla possibilità di raccogliere la miseria dell'agricoltura che già gli uomini avevano abbandonato, o di entrare nei settori industriali più arretrati, con paghe basse e maggiore insicurezza del posto di lavoro.

Lotta Femminista si è posta come rifiuto delle alternative che sono state sempre offerte sotto banco alle donne e rivendica alle donne il centro decisionale per una strategia di lotta contro lo sfruttamento e la sottomissione delle donne in casa e in fabbrica.

Mariarosa Dalla Costa è nata a Treviso. Laureatasi in giurisprudenza all'Università di Padova nel luglio 1967, ha iniziato subito a lavorare come assistente nell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche e Sociali della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche della stessa Università

« I miei studi e la mia ricerca sono sempre partiti dal rapporto fra sviluppo capitalistico e sviluppo delle istituzioni legali e politiche. La descrizione marxiana dello sviluppo capitalistico ha costituito

la base di ogni fase della mia ricerca.

La svolta decisiva in tale ricerca, ai fini di una comprensione più approfondita del rapporto fra sviluppo capitalistico e lotta anticapitalistica, è stata e continua ad essere l'analisi della collocazione della

donna all'interno e contro tale sviluppo.

Tale nuovo orientamento della ricerca e la mia stessa attività nel movimento femminista sono certamente legati alla presa di contatto col movimento femminista negli Stati Uniti e in Gran Bretagna, ed in particolare al mio collegamento con Selma James la cui esperienza politica, come casalinga e operaia di fabbrica, nelle Antille, negli Stati Uniti e in Europa, mi è stata di fondamentale aiuto per chiarire molte cruciali connessioni nella divisione imperialistica del lavoro a partire dal "terzo mondo" delle cucine della metropoli ».

È attiva nel gruppo di Lotta Femminista, fino a pochi mesi fa conosciuto anche come Movimento di Lotta Femminile (tale denominazione era stata usata

nella prima edizione).

SELMA JAMES è nata negli Stati Uniti a Brooklyn nel 1930 ed è attiva nella sinistra extraparlamentare dal 1945. Ha lasciato gli Stati Uniti nel 1955, è stata cinque anni nelle Antille e da allora vive in Gran Bretagna. Scrive sulle donne e parla alle donne dal 1949.

POTERE FEMMINILE E SOVVERSIONE SOCIALE

con «Il posto della donna» di Selma James

Marsilio Editori

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Potere femminile e sovversione sociale è stato tradotto in francese (Le pouvoir des femmes et la subeversion sociale, Ginevra, Librarie adversaire, 1973); in inglese (The power of women and the sobversion of the communithy, Bristol, The Falling Wall Press, 1972) e in tedesco (Die Macht der Frauen und der Umsturz der Gesellschaft, Berlino, Merve Verlag, 1973). Sono in corso di stampa le edizioni spagnola e giapponese.

Il movimento femminista ha cominciato a porsi in Italia da poco piú di un anno. Emerge da gruppi cosiddetti « spontaneisti » di donne passate genericamente attraverso l'esperienza del movimento studentesco, oltre che attraverso l'esperienza extraparlamentare e di partito, o immuni da qualunque « militanza politica ».

Quello che le accomuna tutte allo stesso modo è il non aver trovato in alcune di queste sedi, dalle assemblee studentesche alle riunioni di gruppo extraparlamentare o di partito, alle quattro mura di cucina, una collocazione per cui la loro lotta o la loro vita fosse altro che « appendi-

colarità ».

Situazione questa con cui anche le operaie, per quanto, proprio come « operaie », inscritte nella definizione di sfruttato storico per eccellenza, la « classe operaia », si erano sempre trovate a che fare, qualunque fosse il soggetto che pretendeva l'organizzazione della lotta di fabbrica.

Finora la letteratura del movimento femminista ha descritto e documentato, con profonda penetrazione e tagliente precisione la degradazione della donna e la formazione della sua personalità tesa a rendere pacificamente accettabile questa degradazione. Quelli che si sono preoccupati che la classe e non la casta fosse fondamentale hanno di solito usato la loro « analisi di classe » per scalzare l'autonomia delle donne. « Le donne "marxiste" — diceva una donna del movimento di New Orleans — sono uomini sotto spoglie femminili ».

E tali appaiono quando parlano da un lato di « lotta

femminile », dall'altro di qualcosa di più grosso, di qualcosa chiamato « lotta politica ». « Lotta politica » noi la interpretiamo come lotta di classe. Il dilemma è:

sono le donne, - apertamente le casalinghe, tacitamente le operaie (come le varie sinistre hanno assunto) ancelle del capitale e perciò ancillari a una lotta piú fondamentale e piú politica contro il capitale?

può alcunché essere « politico » se esclude le donne? Il confronto dell'esperienza femminile con quello che è passato per marxismo ci ha portato a tratteggiare un'analisi della donna che risponde non tanto al problema

di come le donne sono state degradate ma perché.

. La letteratura del movimento femminista, dopo aver specificato come le donne sono condizionate a essere schiavizzate, ha descritto la famiglia come area della società in cui i giovani sono costretti ad accettare la disciplina delle relazioni capitalistiche, che nei termini marxisti comincia con la disciplina del lavoro. Alcune donne hanno identificato la famiglia come centro di consumo e altre ancora hanno identificato le casalinghe come riserva nascosta di torza-lavoro.

Tuttavia le donne « disoccupate » lavorano dietro le porte chiuse di casa, prima di essere nuovamente chia-

mate fuori quando il capitale lo richiede.

Tutto questo viene assunto anche da noi, ma su un'altra base: la famiglia nel capitalismo è un centro di consumo e di riserva di forza-lavoro ma è anzitutto un centro di produzione. Quando gli anziddetti « marxisti » dicevano che la famiglia capitalistica non produceva per il capitalismo, non era parte della produzione sociale, conseguentemente ripudiavano il potenziale potere sociale delle donne. O meglio, presupponendo che le donne a casa non potessero avere potere sociale, non potevano concepire che le donne a casa producevano. Se la tua produzione è vitale per il capitalismo, rifiutare di produrre, rifiutare di lavorare, è una leva fondamentale di potere sociale.

La merce che le donne producono, a differenza delle altre merci prodotte sotto il capitalismo, è l'essere umano:

l'operaio.

È una strana merce perché non è una cosa. La capacità di lavorare risiede solo nell'essere umano la cui vita viene consumata nel processo produttivo. Anzitutto gli occorrono nove mesi nel grembo, deve essere nutrito, vestito, allevato; poi quando lavora bisogna fargli il letto, spazzargli il pavimento, preparargli la colazione, e il pranzo deve essere pronto quando torna a casa, anche se sono le otto del mattino e lui torna dal turno di notte. Così la forza-lavoro che si consuma giornalmente nelle fabbriche e negli uffici viene prodotta e riprodotta. Descrivere tale produzione e riproduzione è descrivere il lavoro della donna.

Il contesto sociale perciò non è un territorio libero ancillare della fabbrica, ma è esso stesso integrale al modo di produzione capitalistico, e sempre piú diventa irregimentato a livello di fabbrica, per cui lo definiamo « fabbrica-sociale ».

La reclusione della donna nella casa è stata ed è storicamente piú estesa in Italia che nei paesi industrializzati. Addirittura tale situazione si è deteriorata nonostante i provvedimenti legislativi, scarsi, che tendono a « proteggere » le donne. Il salario in Italia è cosí riuscito a comandare un tasso eccezionalmente alto di « lavoro di casa ». Il capitale in Italia, piú che negli altri paesi industrializzati, ha « liberato » l'uomo dai servizi domestici per renderlo disponibile al massimo allo sfruttamento di fabbrica.

Nella « via italiana al socialismo » del secondo dopoguerra, sembrava che il potere della donna dovesse derivare da una futura alta occupazione femminile la quale a sua volta doveva accompagnarsi al sempre piú ampio esercizio delle libertà democratiche e alla progressiva conquista dell'eguaglianza di fatto da parte della cittadina. Ma la massa delle « cittadine » nel frattempo doveva scegliere tra la alternativa del lavoro senza orario in campagna e l'inurbazione senza la certezza del posto di lavoro.

È poi avvenuto che il posto meno insicuro è stato destinato all'uomo, mentre alla donna sono andati i set-

tori piú colpiti dalle basse congiunture, cioè i settori arretrati.

Quando sono entrate in fabbrica le donne sono state le ultime a essere assunte, le prime a essere licenziate.

La recessione del '63-64 e quella oggi in atto hanno fornito utili insegnamenti in proposito, ma ai padroni più che a tutta la sinistra: a tal punto che i pianificatori di casa nostra pensano di poter tranquillamente tenere rigido il basso rapporto tra occupazione femminile e occupazione globale nei prossimi anni.

Se le donne avessero atteso il posto di lavoro per cominciare a lottare, non ci sarebbe stata né fine del lavoro senza orario in agricoltura né lotte contro l'aumento

dei prezzi né occupazione di case.

E d'altra parte lo scarso potere delle donne di fronte all'attuale aumento dei prezzi non fa che scoprire la vulnerabilità generale di classe di fronte all'inflazione. Solo così si spiega perché la classe operaia in Italia è inerme a livello sociale di fronte alla violenza della recessione.

In Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti — come certamente in altri paesi dell'Occidente — il movimento di liberazione femminista doveva ripudiare il rifiuto della sinistra di considerare qualsiasi area di lotta che non fosse la fab-

brica della metropoli.

In Italia, il movimento di liberazione, mentre forgia il proprio modo autonomo di esistenza contro la sinistra e il movimento studentesco, si scontra su un terreno che, apparentemente questi propongono: come organizzare la lotta a livello sociale. La proposta della sinistra per la lotta a livello sociale era semplicemente l'estensione meccanica e la proiezione della lotta di fabbrica: l'operaio maschio continuava a esserne la figura centrale. Il movimento di liberazione femminista considera come livello sociale anzitutto la casa, e considera perciò la donna figura centrale della sovversione sociale. In tal modo la donna si pone come contraddizione del loro quadro politico e riapre l'intera questione della prospettiva della lotta politica e della organizzazione rivoluzionaria.

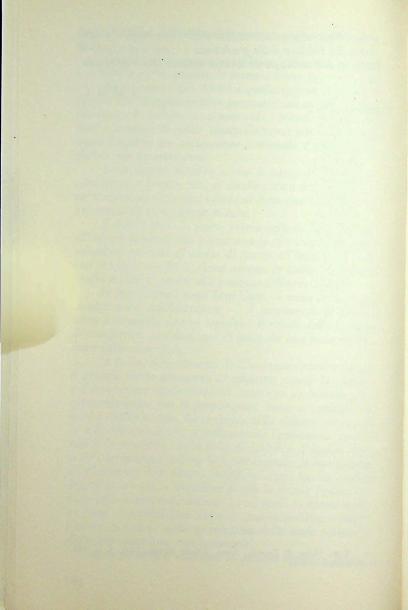
Questa volta a « tornare in qualche modo in se stes-

sa », è l'intera popolazione femminile, non tanto « soverchiata dal fracasso della produzione » ¹, ma nonostante il fracasso dell'ideologia di sinistra attorno alla « produzione ».

M. D. C.

gennaio 1972

¹ KARL MARX, Il Capitale, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1967, I, p. 314 (sottolineatura nostra).



I due articoli che seguono sono stati scritti ad una distanza di 19 anni e di 10.000 Km.

Il primo. « Potere femminile e sovversione sociale », è il prodotto del nuovo movimento femminista in Italia. Si tratta di un contributo fondamentale alla questione posta dalla esistenza di un crescente movimento internazionale di donne: qual'è il rapporto tra donne e capitale e quale tipo di lotta possiamo efficacemente portare avanti per distruggerlo? Dobbiamo subito aggiungere che questo non equivale alla domanda: quali concessioni possiamo strappare al nemico? Anche se tra le due cose c'è una relazione. Porre la prima domanda significa presupporre che vinceremo; porre la seconda significa calcolare che cosa si può recuperare dai rottami della sconfitta. Ma si può ottenere molto attraverso una lotta che si propone la vittoria.

Sinora, il movimento femminista ha dovuto determinarsi senza l'aiuto di nessuna seria tradizione di critica marxista del rapporto tra donne e piano capitalistico dello sviluppo e del sottosviluppo. Al contrario. Dalla tradizione ci viene un concetto distorto e riformista dello stesso capitale quasi fosse una serie di *cose* che lottiamo per pianificare e controllare o gestire e non invece *rapporto sociale* che combattiamo per distruggere ¹. Superando

¹ « La prima scoperta che Wakefield ha fatto nelle colonie è che la proprietà di denaro, mezzi di sussistenza, macchine ed altri mezzi di produzione non imprime ancora all'uomo il marchio del capitalista, quando manchi il complemento, cioè l'operaio salariato, l'altro uomo che è costretto a vendersi volontariamente.

tale tradizione o la sua mancanza, il nostro movimento ha indagato l'esperienza femminile, a cominciare da quella di cui abbiamo avuto una conoscenza personale. Siamo così state capaci, per la prima volta, in una dimensione di massa, di descrivere con profonda penetrazione e con tagliente precisione la degradazione della donna e la formazione della sua personalità da parte di forze tese a rendere accettabile alla donna tale degradazione e lo stato di vittima tranquilla e senza potere. Sulla base di queste scoperte sono emerse due distinte tendenze politiche che nitidamente si situano agli estremi opposti dell'arco della politica rivoluzionaria all'interno del movimento femminista.

Tra coloro che hanno sottolineato che la casta e non la classe fosse fondamentale, alcune hanno sostenuto che l'oppressione fisica e psicologica della donna sfugge a quello che esse chiamano l'analisi economica e che non può essere eliminata con la lotta politica. Esse respingono la lotla politica rivoluzionaria. Il capitale è immorale, ha bisogno di riforme e dovrebbe essere superato — affermano — sottintendendo cosí che le riforme sono un obbligo di carattere morale e che di per sé costituiscono la transizione negoziata e soprattutto non violenta al « socialismo ». Ma non è il solo nemico: dobbiamo cambiare prima gli uomini e/o noi stesse. Cosicché non solo viene rifiutata la lotta politica, ma anche la liberazione di quella massa di donne troppo occupate dal lavoro o dalla cura degli altri per poter cercare una soluzione personale.

Ha scoperto che il capitale non è una cosa, ma un rapporto sociale fra persone mediato da cose. Egli ci viene a fare le sue lamentele perché il signor Peel si è portato dall'Inghilterra allo Swan River nella Nuova Olanda mezzi di sussistenza e di produzione per un ammontare di cinquantamila sterline. Il signor Peel era stato tanto previdente da portare con sè, oltre al resto, tremila persone della classe lavoratrice, uomini, donne e bambini: ma arrivati a destinazione, il "signor Peel rimase senza un servo per fargli il letto e per attingere acqua al fiume". Povero signor Peel, che aveva preveduto tutto fuorché l'esportazione allo Swan River dei rapporti di produzione inglesi! » (K. MARX, Il capitale, Roma, Editori Riuniti 1967, I, p. 828-829) (corsivo nostro).

Varie sono le direzioni che si potranno prendere partendo da queste posizioni politiche, soprattutto perché questo punto di vista assume piú forme in relazione allo stato sociale delle donne che lo sostengono. Un'associazione elitaria di questo tipo può rimanere isolata e chiusa in se stessa e non provocare altri danni se non, in genere, di screditare il movimento. Oppure essere un vivaio di questi tipi manageriali in ogni campo di attività, che ora la classe al potere ricerca per demandare loro funzioni di controllo su donne ribelli e, benedetta l'eguaglianza, anche su uomini ribelli ². Bisogna aggiungere che, legate a questa partecipazione agli aspetti marginali del potere, vi sono un'ambizione ed una competitività che sinora si erano essenzialmente riscontrate negli uomini.

Ma la storia, passata e futura, non è semplice. Dobbiamo notare che alcune delle più incisive scoperte del movimento, ed in effetti la sua autonomia, vengono da donne che cominciarono ripudiando la classe e la lotta di classe. Il compito del movimento, ora, è di sviluppare una strategia politica sulla base di queste scoperte e sulla base

di questa autonomia.

Molte di quelle che hanno sostenuto sin dall'inizio che la *classe* e non la casta fosse fondamentale sono state meno capaci di tradurre le nostre intuizioni psicologiche in azione politica autonoma e rivoluzionaria. Invece partendo da una definizione maschile della classe, la liberazione della donna viene ridotta alla parità salariale e ad uno Stato assistenziale ³ piú equo ed efficiente. Per que-

² Il Financial Times del 9 marzo 1972 insinua che molti capitalisti stanno perdendo l'occasione di « usare » le donne nei posti intermedi di direzione; essendo delle « emarginate piene di gratitudine », le donne, non solo abbasserebbero il livello salariale, « almeno in un primo momento », ma sarebbero una « sorgente di rinnovata energia e vitalità » con cui dirigere noi altre.

³ Se questa sembra una affermazione troppo severa, si guardi alle richieste nelle dimostrazioni a cui partecipammo in Inghilterra nel 1971: parità salariale, asili ed asili-nido gratuiti e aperti 24 ore su 24, « eguaglianza di opportunità » per l'istruzione gratuita,

ste donne il capitale è il nemico principale, ma perché è arretrato, non perché esiste. Esse non mirano a distruggere il rapporto sociale capitalistico, ma solo ad organizzarlo piú razionalmente. (La sinistra extraparlamentare italiana chiamerebbe questa posizione « socialista » per distinguerla dalla posizione rivoluzionaria). Esse chiamano oppressione tutto ciò che non si è potuto organizzare con una razionalizzazione capitalistica - parità salariale, piú numerosi e migliori asili nido, piú numerosi e migliori impieghi — oppressione che, come Topsy, la piccola schiava orfana che non conobbe mai i propri genitori, era « semplicemente cresciuta da sé ». L'oppressione, quando non è vista nell'ambito dei rapporti materiali diventa un problema di « coscienza », e, in questo caso, di psicologia mascherata da gergo politico. E cosí anche l'« analisi di classe » è stata usata per minare l'autonomia del movimento e limitarne la portata d'attacco.

La natura progressista sostanzialmente analoga di queste due tendenze, tesa ad una gestione razionale della « società », per eliminare l'« oppressione », non è generalmente evidente sinché non vediamo le donne « politiche » e queste « non politiche » unirsi su richieste concrete, o, piú spesso, contro azioni rivoluzionarie. La maggior parte di noi del movimento non appartiene a nessuna di queste tendenze e ci è stato difficile passare indenni tra

il controllo delle nascite e l'aborto legalizzato e gratuito.

Incorporate in una lotta piú ampia, alcune di queste richieste sono di vitale importanza. Prese a sé, implicano l'accettazione del fatto di non avere i bambini che non possiamo permetterci sul piano economico; la richiesta allo Stato di servizi perché ci tengano i bambini che possiamo permetterci, fino a 24 ore al giorno; la richiesta che questi bambini abbiano una eguale possibilità di essere condizionati ed addestrati a vendersi in reciproca concorrenza sul mercato del lavoro per una paga uguale: qui non si tratta solo di richieste cooptabili, ma di pianificazione capitalistica. La maggior parte di noi del movimento non ha mai pensato che queste richieste esprimessero il senso in cui volevamo che il movimento andasse, ma, in assenza di una struttura politica femminista indipendente, abbiamo perso per difetto. Le principali artefici di queste richieste sono state le donne con la « analisi » di classe.

di esse. Da ambo le parti ci viene la domanda: sei femmi-

nista o politica?

È facile identificare le donne « politiche » che parlano di classe. Sono le donne del movimento di liberazione femminista che rispondono in primo luogo non al movimento femminista, ma alle organizzazioni della sinistra dominate dai maschi. Una volta che il centro della strategia e dell'azione venga posto all'esterno delle donne, la lotta delle donne si commisurerà alle ripercussioni che potrà avere sugli uomini, altrimenti conosciuti come « gli operai », e la coscienza politica delle donne alla maggiore o minore conformità delle loro forme di lotta con quelle tradizionalmente usate dagli uomini.

Le « politiche » considerano noi, le altre, « non politiche », e questo ha contribuito a stringerci assieme in una posizione di autodifesa che lasciava in ombra o sorvolava le nostre reali divergenze politiche interne. Queste cominciano ora a farsi sentire. I gruppi che si autodefiniscono Gruppi di Psicologia (non mi riferisco qui ai gruppi di presa di coscienza) tendono ad esprimere questa politic piú coerentemente ⁴. Nel periodo di intensa attività dell

« La liberazione delle donne richiede:

— la distruzione della sociologia quale ideologia dei servizi sociali che si fonda sul presupposto che questa società è la norma;

chi si ribella è deviante;

— la distruzione della psicologia e psichiatria impiegate senza risparmio a convincerci che i nostri « problemi » derivano da nostre turbe personali e che dobbiamo adattarci ad un pazzo mondo.

Queste cosiddette "discipline-scienze" tenderanno sempre piú ad assorbire le nostre richieste allo scopo di incanalare le nostre

⁴ Selma James, « The American Family: Decay and Rebirth », in Edith Hoshino Altbach (a cura di), From Feminism to Liberation, Cambridge, Mass., Schenkmann 1971, pp. 197-198: « La psicologia stessa è per sua natura uno strumento importantissimo di manipolazione, cioè di controllo sociale, di uomini, donne e bambini. Non acquista una natura diversa quando è nelle mani di donne di un movimento di liberazione. Al contrario. Nella misura in cui lo permettiamo, sarà il movimento ad essere manipolato e stravolto per assecondare le esigenze della psicologia. E non solo della psicologia.

classe operaia che si è aperto, nella misura in cui siamo costrette a crearci la nostra struttura politica sbarazzandoci delle teorie di riporto proprie dei movimenti « socialisti » dominati dai maschi, la preminenza della casta sarà posta come alternativa e dovrà essere al tempo stesso affrontata e respinta. Solo su questa base la nuova politica che si fonda sull'autonomia potrà trovare la propria espressione e forza.

Ouesto processo di sviluppo non è soltanto proprio del movimento femminista. Anche il movimento Nero negli Stati Uniti (e altrove) si mosse adottando quella che parve una posizione di casta in opposizione al razzismo dei gruppi a dominazione bianca e maschile. Gli intellettuali di Harlem e Malcolm X, quel grande rivoluzionario, furono tutti dei « nazionalisti », tutti parvero porre il colore al di sopra della classe, mentre la sinistra bianca stava ancora scandendo variazioni sul tema del « Neri e bianchi unitevi e lottate » o del « Negri e lavoratori debbono unirsi ». La classe operaia nera attraverso questo « nazionalismo » fu in grado di ridefinire la classe. Ma Nero e Operaio erano sinonimi in modo schiacciante (e nessun altro gruppo lo era altrettanto con l'eccezione forse delle donne), le richieste dei « Neri » erano le più ampie richieste di classe operaia, e le forme di lotta create dai « Neri » costituivano le più incisive forme di lotta di classe operaia. Essi furono in grado di attrarre a sé i migliori elementi degli intellettuali; erano quelli che consideravano fondata sullo sfruttamento degli operai neri la loro persecuzione come Neri — in quanto casta. Gli intellettuali che restavano vincolati al momento del nazionalismo dopo che

energie in modo piú efficace e di renderle innocue sotto il loro controllo.

Se non prenderemo provvedimenti nei loro confronti, esse li

prenderanno nei nostri.

— il discredito una volta per tutte degli assistenti sociali, degli educatori progressisti, dei consulenti matrimoniali e di tutta quella genía di esperti il cui compito è di far funzionare all'interno del quadro sociale uomini, donne e bambini, ognuno con il suo tipo particolare di lobotomia frontale ».

la classe lo aveva già superato videro la razza in termini sempre più individualistici e finirono col formare la riserva nella quale il dipartimento di Stato riusciva a prendere all'amo quattro Neri di rappresentanza — nominando un Nero consigliere speciale del presidente per la « bonifica » dei bassifondi — e costituendo cosí il personale di una nuova e piú integrata tecnocrazia.

Nello stesso modo le donne che fanno della casta la questione fondamentale, o faranno il passaggio al femminismo rivoluzionario fondato su di una nuova definizione di classe o saranno integrate nella struttura di potere ma-

schile e bianca.

Ma le donne « marxiste », come diceva una donna del movimento di New Orleans, non sono che dei « marxisti » sotto spoglie femminili. La lotta come esse la concepiscono non è qualitativamente diversa da quella che il Movimento Operaio a *gestione maschile* ha sempre affidato alle donne, con la differenza che ora, aggiunto alla « lotta politica », vi è un qualcosa chiamato « liberazione della donna », o « lotta delle donne » di cui le donne stesse sono il portavoce.

Questa « lotta politica », a quanto intendo, è la lotta di classe. Ma non c'è nulla nel capitalismo che non sia capitalistico, e cioè, che non sia parte della lotta di classe.

Il dilemma è:

a) le donne, quando non sono lavoratrici salariate, sono ancelle del capitale (come si è assunto) e perciò ancillari a una lotta piú fondamentale e piú politica contro il capitale?

o) può alcunché essere mai stato « politico » se ha esclu-

so tante donne cosí a lungo?

Respingendo da un lato la subordinazione della classe al femminismo e dall'altro la subordinazione del femminismo alla classe, Mariarosa Dalla Costa ha messo a confronto quanto (a nostra vergogna) è passato sinora per marxismo con l'esperienza femminile che abbiamo cercato di articolare con l'analisi e la lotta. Ne è conseguita la traduzione delle nostre intuizioni psicologiche nella critica della economia politica dello sfruttamento delle donne,

la base teorica per una lotta rivoluzionaria ed autonoma delle donne. Partendo da quanto conosciamo su *come* siamo degradate, l'autrice si addentra nel problema del *perché*; con una profondità che, per quanto ne so, non era ancora stata raggiunta.

La grande conquista di Marx è stata quella di mostrare che gli specifici rapporti sociali tra gli individui nella produzione dei beni necessari alla vita, rapporti che scaturiscono al di là di un loro consapevole disegno, « alle spalle degli individui » (il marxiano Menschen è stato solitamente tradotto uomini), distinguono una società dall'altra. Cioè, nella società di classe, la forma del rapporto tra individui attraverso cui la classe dominante sottrae agli sfruttati il loro lavoro è specifica per ciascuna epoca storica, e tutti gli altri rapporti sociali dal tipo di famiglia ad

ogni altra istituzione, riflettono quella forma.

Per Marx la storia era un processo di lotta degli fruttati, che, nell'arco di lunghi periodi e con improvvisi salti rivoluzionari, producono via via mutamenti nei fondamentali rapporti sociali di produzione e in tutte le istituzioni che sono espressione di questi rapporti. La famiglia perciò era l'unità biologica fondamentale. La sua forma differiva da una società all'altra ed era direttamente connessa con il modo di produzione. Secondo Marx, la famiglia, anche prima della società di classe, era imperniata sulla subordinazione della donna; la società di classe stessa era l'estensione dei rapporti tra gli uomini da una parte e le donne ed i bambini dall'altra, un'estensione, cioè, del comando dell'uomo sul lavoro della sua donna e dei suoi bambini.

Il movimento femminista ha approfondito l'analisi della famiglia capitalistica. Dopo aver tratteggiato quanto le donne siano condizionate ad essere subordinate agli uomini, ha visto nella famiglia l'istituzione dove i giovani sono repressi sin dalla nascita in modo da poter accettare la disciplina dei rapporti capitalistici — che nei termini marxisti, comincia con la disciplina del lavoro capitalistico. Altre donne hanno identificato nella famiglia il centro del

consumo, e altre ancora hanno posto in evidenza che le casalinghe formano una riserva nascosta di forza-lavoro: ma le donne « disoccupate » *lavorano* dietro le porte chiuse di casa, per essere chiamate fuori nuovamente quando il

capitale ha bisogno di loro altrove.

L'articolo di Dalla Costa afferma tutto questo, ma lo fonda su un'altra base: la famiglia sotto il capitalismo è un centro di condizionamento, di consumo e di riserva di forza-lavoro, ma è essenzialmente un centro di produzione sociale. Quando precedentemente i cosiddetti marxisti affermavano che la famiglia capitalistica non produceva per il capitalismo e che non faceva parte della produzione sociale⁵, conseguentemente negavano il potenziale potere sociale delle donne, o piuttosto, presumendo che le donne nella casa non potessero avere potere sociale, non potevano vedere che le donne nella casa producevano. Se la vostra produzione è vitale per il capitalismo, rifiutare di produrre, rifiutare di lavorare, è una leva fondamentale di potere sociale. L'analisi di Marx della produzione capitalistica non era una meditazione su come la società « funzionava ». Era uno strumento per trovare il modo di rovesciarla, per trovare le forze sociali che, sfruttate dal capitale, fossero in un rapporto sovversivo con esso. Ancor più, era perché Marx indagava sulle forze che inevitabilmente avrebbero rovesciato il capitale che poteva descrivere i rapporti capitalistici in quanto rapporti pregni della

⁵ Non sembra che Marx lo abbia mai detto da nessuna parte. La spiegazione di questo richiede piú spazio di quello che qui abbiamo e richiede leggere piú Marx e meno i suoi « interpreti ». Basti qui dire che, in primo luogo, Marx è il solo a vedere il consumo come fase della produzione. « Esso [consumo] è produzione e riproduzione del mezzo di produzione piú indispensabile per il capitalista, cioè dell'operaio stesso » (Il Capitale, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1967, 6ª, I, pag. 627). In secondo luogo solo Marx ci ha dato gli strumenti per compiere le nostre analisi. E infine non si è mai reso colpevole delle sciocchezze con cui, nonostante i suoi molti contributi, ci ha gravato Engels e che, dai bolsevichi a Castro, hanno dato autorità « marxista » alla politica arretrata e spesso reazionaria di governi rivoluzionari nei confronti delle donne.

carica sovversiva della classe operaia. Proprio perché Mariarosa Dalla Costa cercava una leva di potere sociale delle donne tra queste forze è stata in grado di scoprire che, anche quando non lavorano fuori casa, le donne sono produttrici vitali.

La merce che esse producono è irriducibile alle altre merci, è unica per il capitalismo: l'essere umano vivente,

il « lavoratore stesso ».

La specificità del modo capitalistico di sottrarre lavoro consiste nel pagare all'operaio e all'operaia un salario tale da assicurarne (piú o meno) la vita e la possibilità di riprodurre altri operai e operaie. Ma l'operaio deve produrre, in termini di merci, più di quanto non valga il suo salario. L'accumulazione di plus-lavoro non pagato è appunto il mestiere del capitalista; è ancora l'accumulazione che gli dà via via piú potere su un numero sempre piú grande di operai: egli paga una certa quantità di lavoro in modo da ottenere il resto gratuito - così da poter comandare ulteriore lavoro e ottenerne ancora di piú gratis, all'infinito — sinché noi non lo fermiamo. Col salario compra la sola « cosa » che l'operaio o l'operaia ha da vendere: la di lui o di lei capacità lavorativa. Lo specifico rapporto sociale che costituisce il capitale è allora il rapporto salariale. Questo rapporto salariale può esistere solo quando la capacità di lavoro diventa una merce vendibile. Marx chiama questa merce forza-lavoro.

È una strana merce poiché non è una cosa. La capacità di lavoro risiede soltanto nell'essere umano la cui vita viene consumata nel processo produttivo. Dapprima deve essere portato in grembo per nove mesi, deve essere nutrito, vestito e allevato, poi, quando lavora, gli si deve fare il letto, spazzare il pavimento, preparare la borsa della colazione, la sua sessualità deve essere non soddisfatta ma assopita e la cena deve essere pronta, anche se sono le otto del mattino e lui torna dal turno di notte. È cosí che la forza-lavoro, che si consuma ogni giorno in fabbrica o all'ufficio, viene prodotta e riprodotta. La descrizione di questa fondamentale produzione e riproduzione è la descrizione del lavoro delle donne

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Il contesto sociale non è quindi un'area di libertà e di tempo libero ancillare alla fabbrica, dove capita che ci siano le donne degradate a serve personali degli uomini. Il contesto sociale è l'altra metà dell'organizzazione capitalistica, è l'altra area di sfruttamento capitalistico nascosto, l'altra nascosta fonte di pluslavoro ⁶. È diventa sempre

Come ho detto piú sopra, Dalla Costa si addentra nella questione del perché le donne sono degradate « con una profondità che per quanto ne so non era stata mai raggiunta ». Si distinguono altri tre precedenti tentativi, che si possono trovare tutti in From Feminism to Liberation, sopra citato. Margaret BENSTON nel suo « Political Economy of Women's Liberation » cerca di dare una soluzione allo stesso problema. Non riesce nel suo intento, a mio parere, perché si fonda non su Marx, ma su Ernest Mandel. Anche i pochi paragrafi di Mandel, citati dalla Benston, bastano a smascherare i fondamenti storici del moderno progressismo trotskista. Limitiamoci a quanto egli ha da dire sul lavoro domestico delle donne e che la Benston condivide: « Il secondo gruppo di prodotti nella società capitalistica, che non sono merci ma rimangono semplici valori d'uso è costituito da tutte le cose prodotte a casa. Nonostante la quantità considerevole di lavoro umano impiegata in questo tipo di produzione domestica, essa rimane tuttavia una produzione di valori d'uso e non di merci. Ogniqualvolta si prepara la minestra o si attacca un bottone ad un vestito si dà luogo a produzione, ma non si tratta di produzione per il mercato » (La Benston cita da Ernest MANDEL, An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory, Merit, New York, 1967, pp. 10-11. Già il titolo di Mandel tradisce la falsità del contenuto; non esiste una « Teoria economica marxista » o una « Politica economica marxista » e neppure una « Sociologia marxista ». Marx ha negato l'economia politica a livello teorico e la classe operaia la nega in pratica. Poiché l'economia frammenta i rapporti qualitativi tra gli individui in rapporti compartimentati e quantificati tra cose. Quando, sotto il capitalismo, la nostra forzalavoro diventa una merce noi diventiamo fattori di produzione, oggetti, tanto sotto l'aspetto sessuale che tutti gli altri aspetti, che economisti, sociologi e tutti gli altri vampiri della scienza capitalistica esaminano, pianificano e tentano di controllare).

Anche Juliet MITCHELL (« Women - The Longest Revolution ») crede che nonostante le donne « siano fondamentali per la condizione umana, siano tuttavia marginali nel loro ruolo economico politico e sociale » (p. 93). L'errore del suo metodo, a mio parere, va addebitato ancora una volta ad un interprete di Marx, Althusser, a cui lei si rifà. Qui la separazione dei ruoli

di piú irregimentato come la fabbrica — per cui Mariarosa lo chiama fabbrica sociale — dove i costi e la natura dei trasporti, gli alloggi, l'assistenza medica, l'istruzione e la polizia sono tutti momenti di lotta ⁷. E questa fabbrica

politico, sociale ed economico sono politica cosciente.

Forza-lavoro è la merce che le donne producono a casa. È una merce che trasforma la *ricchezza* in *capitale*. L'acquisto e la vendita di questa merce trasforma il mercato in mercato *capitalistico*. Le donne non sono marginali nella casa, nell'ospedale e nell'ufficio. Noi siamo fondamentali per la riproduzione del capitale e fon-

damentali per la sua distruzione.

Peggy Morton di Toronto, nel suo splendido articolo: « A Woman's Work Is Never Done » (Il lavoro della donna non è mai finito), pone in rilievo come la famiglia sia « l'unità la cui funzione è la manutenzione e la riproduzione di forza-lavoro, e cioè ... come la struttura della famiglia sia determinata di volta in volta dalle esigenze del sistema economico, che richiede ad ogni fase determinata, un determinato tipo di forza-lavoro » (pag. 214). La Benston, conformemente a Engels, richiede la industrializzazione dei carichi di lavoro domestico come « precondizione » giacché, « un'autentica eguaglianza nelle possibilità di impiego, e l'industrializzazione del lavoro domestico non sono verosimili a meno che le donne non lascino la casa per un impiego » (pag. 207). Il che vuol dire che se noi otteniamo impieghi, il capitale dovrà industrializzare le aree, dove, secondo lei, noi produciamo solo valori d'uso e non capitale, e questo ci conquisterebbe il diritto di essere sfruttate in modo eguale agli uomini. Con vittorie come queste chi ha bisogno di sconfitte?

La Morton, al contrario, non sta cercando quali concessioni possiamo strappare al nemico, ma cosa possiamo fare per distruggerlo. « Sin troppo spesso dimentichiamo perché stiamo organizzando le donne; lo scopo di costruire un movimento di massa non è di costruire un movimento di massa, ma di fare la rivoluzione ». « La Benston — essa afferma — non fornisce nessuna base su cui si possa fondare la strategia per un movimento femminista ». La assenza di tale motivazione dell'analisi del movimento « alimenta — in genere — un vero e proprio progressismo fra di noi » . . .

(pag. 212). Perfetto!

⁷ Quanto a quelle che non credono che la lotta nella fabbrica sociale sia politica, faccio loro notare che qui, ancor piú che nella fabbrica, è lo Stato a organizzare la vita dell'operaio e specialmente dell'operaia e di conseguenza, qui, il confronto tra classe operaia e Stato è piú diretto, senza l'intervento del singolo capitalista ne la mediazione dei sindacati

sociale è imperniata sulla donna che in casa produce la forza-lavoro come merce e sulla sua lotta per non conti-

nuare a produrla.

Le richieste del movimento femminista, allora, assumono un significato nuovo e piú sovversivo. Quando, per esempio, diciamo che vogliamo il controllo del nostro corpo, sfidiamo il dominio del capitale che ha trasformato i nostri organi di riproduzione così come le nostre braccia e le nostre gambe in strumenti di accumulazione di plusvalore, che ha trasformato i nostri rapporti con gli uomini, con i nostri bambini e la loro stessa procreazione, in lavoro produttivo per questa accumulazione.

Il secondo documento, originariamente pubblicato come opuscolo, proviene dagli Stati Uniti. È stato scritto nel 1952, nel fondo della guerra fredda, a Los Angeles, dove l'immigrazione di giovani operai ed operaie aveva assunto proporzioni bibliche ⁸. Anche se porta il mio nome, io non ero che uno strumento di espressione dei sentimenti e delle esperienze delle donne, casalinghe e operaie, dopo la loro immigrazione, dal Sud all'Est, verso l'oro dell'Ovest.

Già allora era chiaro che il lavoro fuori casa non rendeva più attraente la sfacchinata domestica, né ci liberava dalla responsabilità del lavoro di casa, anche quando questo veniva spartito col marito. Era altrettanto chiaro che il pensiero di passare la nostra vita a impacchettare cioccolatini, o ad avvolgere trasformatori, o a montare televisori era al di là della nostra sopportazione. Respingemmo ambedue le cose, lottammo contro ambedue. Per esempio, di quei tempi, gli amici ridevano ancora a vedere il marito in grembiale che lavava i piatti. Noi la facemmo finita.

Indubbiamente il coraggio di lottare per quei cambiamenti, veniva direttamente dalla busta paga, frutto di

⁸ La California del Sud fu invasa da un'enorme ondata di immigrazione durante la guerra. Tra il 1940 ed il 1946, la popolazione di San Diego crebbe del 61% e quella di Los Angeles del 29%. (*Business Week*, 20 dic., 1947, p. 72).

quel lavoro che tanto odiavamo. Ma anche se odiavamo il lavoro di fabbrica, esso forniva alla maggior parte di noi la prima occasione di un'esperienza sociale indipendente, fuori dall'isolamento della casa. Quell'esperienza sembrava la sola alternativa all'isolamento della casa. Dopo l'ingresso in massa di donne nell'industria durante la seconda guerra mondiale, e la nostra brutale espulsione tra il 1945 e il 1947, a partire dal 1947, quando ci vollero di nuovo in fabbrica, tornammo e, con la guerra di Corea (1949), in numero sempre piú massiccio. Per tutte le ragioni delineate nell'articolo, volevamo i soldi e non vedevamo altra alternativa che domandare lavoro.

Il fatto che eravamo immigranti provenienti da zone industriali o agricole o minerarie, accresceva la nostra dipendenza dalla busta paga, dal momento che non potevamo contare che su noi stesse. Ma c'era anche un vantaggio. Nei nuovi settori industriali della aereonautica e dell'elettronica di Los Angeles, oltre ai normali posti di lavoro femminili, per esempio nell'industria alimentare e delle confezioni, noi, donne bianche più che nere, perché allora alle donne nere erano preclusi impieghi con paga superiore al livello di sussistenza, riuscimmo ad ottenere una nuova libertà di azione. Eravamo libere dal controllo di padri e di madri che erano rimasti « indietro nell'Est » o « giú nel Sud ». I sindacati, fondati anni prima nell'Est con una dura lotta, all'epoca in cui erano stati importati all'Ovest contrattavano aumenti di 10 centesimi di dollaro all'anno, ed erano parte dell'apparato disciplinare che stava contro di noi alla catena di montaggio e ci costavano grosse trattenute sindacali prelevate ancor prima che noi vedessimo la busta paga. Altre forme tradizionali di organizzazione politica o non esistevano od erano di scarsissima importanza e la maggior parte di noi le ignorava. Semplicemente, un taglio netto con il passato.

Nel movimento femminista della fine degli anni sessanta l'energia di quelle che rifiutarono vecchie forme di « protezione » o che mai le conobbero, trovò finalmente una espressione. Tuttavia 20 anni prima, nella spregiudi-

catezza del nostro confronto con il capitale, (direttamente o attraverso gli uomini) ci aprivamo la strada verso quella che è diventata sempre di piú una esperienza internazionale. Questa esperienza ci ha insegnato: il secondo lavoro fuori casa è un secondo padrone sovrapposto al primo; il primo lavoro della donna è la riproduzione della forza-lavoro di altri individui, e il secondo è di riprodurre e vendere la sua. Cosí che la sua lotta nella famiglia e nella fabbrica, gli organizzatori combinati del lavoro di lei, di suo marito e di quello futuro dei suoi bambini, è un tutto unico. Ed è proprio questa unità in una sola persona dei due aspetti separati della produzione capitalistica che presuppone, non solo una nuova prospettiva di lotta, ma anche una valutazione completamente nuova del peso e della crucialità della donna in tale lotta.

Questi sono i temi dell'articolo di Dalla Costa. Quello che noi ponemmo con la lotta delle mogli della casa e mogli della fabbrica cosiddette « reazionarie » o « arretrate » o, nel migliore dei casi, « non politiche » negli Stati Uniti di 20 anni fa, viene ripreso da una donna in Italia e usato come punto di partenza per una ridefinizione della teoria marxista ed un nuovo orientamento della lotta. Questo sviluppo teorico esprime e si snoda parallelamente ad un livello di lotta interamente nuovo che le donne stanno conducendo a livello internazionale; anzi questo nuovo livello di lotta lo richiede. « Veniamo da lontano, baby ».

Non è un caso che l'articolo di Mariarosa Dalla Costa sia venuto dall'Italia.

Innanzitutto, dal momento che cosí poche donne lavorano fuori casa, la posizione di casalinga per la donna sembra congelata. La donna trae poco potere dalle vicine che lavorano fuori casa. Sotto questo aspetto, la sua posizione è piú vicina a quella della donna di Los Angeles dell'epoca in cui fu scritto « Il posto della donna » che non a quella della stessa donna oggi. Di conseguenza non è possibile, oggi, in Italia avere un movimento femminista che non si basi sulle donne che stanno in casa.

Al tempo stesso, il fatto che altrove, oggi, milioni di donne vadano fuori a lavorare e che si trovino a lottare per nuovi obiettivi, mette completamente in evidenza la sua posizione e le apre delle possibilità che la donna di Los Angeles, 20 anni fa, non poteva considerare: la casalinga in Italia, come in qualsiasi altro posto, può cercare un'alternativa allo sfruttamento della fabbrica e dell'ufficio per poter uscire dalla casa. Isolata nel ghetto cattolico italiano, non avrebbe vie d'uscita all'infuori della richiesta della creazione di nuovi posti di lavoro. Ma, in quanto parte della lotta internazionale, può cominciare a rifiutare, come altre donne stanno rifiutando, di passare dal sottosviluppo capitalistico alla liberazione attraverso lo sviluppo capitalistico. Le donne con busta paga, tanto nel mondo industriale quanto nel Terzo Mondo, rifiutando di essere le « mogli della casa » o le « mogli della fabbrica » pon-

gono una nuova alternativa per se stesse e per lei.

Mariarosa dice: « Il capitale ha cercato e cerca di utilizzare la spinta che ha creato il movimento — il rifiuto da parte di milioni di donne del tradizionale posto della donna — per ricomporre la forza-lavoro con un crescente numero di donne. Il movimento si può sviluppare solo in opposizione a questa alternativa . . . Questa in fondo nel movimento femminista è la discriminante fra riformismo e politica rivoluzionaria » (pagg. 69 e 71). Finora la donna che avesse bisogno di rompere il proprio isolamento e di trovare la propria autonomia poteva trovarli solo in una alternativa economica all'interno della pianificazione capitalistica. La lotta delle donne oggi, pone come sola possibilità una alternativa politica, la lotta stessa, e, attraverso di essa la distruzione del piano capitalistico. In Inghilterra, la forza trainante di questa lotta è la battaglia delle madri senza sostegno per un reddito garantito; negli Stati Uniti la richiesta delle madri sotto Previdenza Statale di un salario sufficiente per vivere ed il loro rifiuto dei lavori offerti dallo Stato. La risposta dello Stato in ambedue questi paesi mostra quanto esso consideri pericolosa questa nuova base di lotta, quanto sia pericoloso per esso il fatto che delle donne lascino la casa, non per un altro lavoro, ma per formare dei picchetti o per partecipare a riunioni o per andare a rompere i vetri delle SS o uffici della Sicurezza Sociale

Attraverso un movimento internazionale « che per sua natura è lotta », il potere derivante dalla busta paga femminile viene messo a disposizione della donna priva di salario, in modo che la donna senza salario possa scoprire e utilizzare quel suo potere che sinora era stato nascosto.

Il secondo motivo per cui questo orientamento trova espressione in Italia è che ad un altro livello la classe operaia qui, ha una storia di lotta che è unica. Ha dietro di sé l'occupazione delle fabbriche dell'inizio degli anni '20, la sconfitta del capitalismo nella sua versione fascista e una resistenza clandestina armata contro di esso. (Spero non ci sia qui bisogno di aggiungere che questo fu un movimento di uomini e donne, anche se val la pena di notare che non possiamo immaginare quale ne sarebbe stato il risultato se le donne avessero avuto un ruolo non solo maggiore ma diverso, per esempio nella occupazione delle fabbriche). Negli anni del dopoguerra si unirono alle sue fila lavoratori dell'Italia del Sud che, essendo emigrati da un'area di sottosviluppo, erano nuovi e ribelli alla disciplina del lavoro di fabbrica: per il 1969, questa classe operaia con la sua lotta era in grado di attrarre verso di sé un movimento studentesco di massa e creare una sinistra extra-parlamentare, che, riflettendo questa storia, è unica in Europa.

Questa sinistra extra-parlamentare non ha integrato nella sua prospettiva politica le donne come forza autonoma. È dominata da un'arroganza maschile che il Cattolicesimo ha incoraggiato. Ma ha puntato alla classe, quali che siano i limiti della sua concezione della classe; e, a dispetto del suo gergo politico, ha rotto con l'ideologia dominante della sinistra europea, con il suo eurocentrismo ed intellettualismo, e, soprattutto, porta avanti e si impegna in un'azione direttamente offensiva.

Una delle premesse dominanti dell'ideologia europea con cui la sinistra italiana ha rotto è che la classe operaia degli Stati Uniti — e non solo le femmine della specie — è « arretrata ». Agli occhi della sinistra europea il movimento Nero era un esotico accidente della storia esterno alla classe, e il tenore degli strati più potenti della classe era un regalo del capitale, e non il frutto di una lotta dura e violenta. Tutto quello che non era europeo, anche quando era bianco, non era completamente « civiltà ». Questo razzismo, che risale a prima della tratta degli schiavi, ha gonfiato le conquiste degli stati imperiali a partire dal 1492.

Ed è in opposizione a questo retroterra ideologico che Mariarosa Dalla Costa ha scelto di pubblicare assieme al suo saggio « Il posto della donna » considerandolo una espressione della diuturna lotta rivoluzionaria condotta 20 anni fa da quelle che sono state l'oggetto di tanta sufficienza e disprezzo da parte degli intellettuali europei e americani. Dalla Costa vede nella lotta di classe negli Stati Uniti la piú potente espressione della classe a livello internazionale; vede la classe come internazionale; è chiaro che sia il Terzo Mondo e sia il mondo industrializzato sono stati integrati nella sua visione della lotta.

Qui allora abbiamo il delinearsi di una nuova analisi su chi è classe operaia. Si è dato per scontato che essa fosse solo l'operaio salariato. Dalla Costa non è d'accordo. Il rapporto sociale tra salariato e non salariato — la famiglia — è integrale al rapporto sociale che costituisce il capitale: il rapporto salariale. Se questi due rapporti sono integrali alla struttura del capitale allora la lotta contro di uno è interdipendente con la lotta contro l'altro.

Un'analisi di classe basata sulla struttura dello sfruttamento e sul livello dell'antagonismo raggiunto all'interno di questa struttura, rende possibile la valutazione della lotta quotidiana delle donne nella continuità del suo sviluppo, nei termini delle sue cause e dei suoi effetti e non sull'altrui idea di quale dovrebbe essere la nostra « coscienza politica ».

In Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti (come probabilmente in altri paesi dell'Occidente) il movimento di liberazione femminista ha dovuto respingere il rifiuto della sinistra bianca di considerare qualsiasi area di lotta che non

fosse la fabbrica della metropoli.

In Italia, il movimento femminista, mentre forgia il proprio modo autonomo di esistenza contro la sinistra e il movimento studentesco, si scontra ⁹ su un terreno che, apparentemente questi propongono: come organizzare la lotta a livello sociale. La proposta della sinistra per la lotta a livello sociale è stata semplicemente l'estensione meccanica e la proiezione della lotta di fabbrica: l'operaio maschio continuava ad esserne la figura centrale. Mariarosa Dalla Costa considera livello sociale anzitutto la casa, e considera perciò la donna figura centrale della sovversione sociale. In tal modo la donna si pone in contraddizione con tutti i passati orizzonti politici, basati sull'operaio maschio dell'industria ¹⁰. Una volta individuato

⁹ E sta letteralmente scontrandosi. Mentre scrivo, il movimento femminista italiano sta replicando agli attacchi da parte di alcuni uomini della sinistra. Tutto è cominciato con uno scontro fisico a Roma, questo mese, quando una sezione del movimento femminista, Lotta Femminista, ha tenuto un seminario internazionale sull'occupazione femminile, escludendovi naturalmente i maschi. Gli uomini dissero che eravamo « razziste » e « fasciste » e interruppero il seminario. Scambiammo colpo su colpo e non fummo sconfitte. In effetti la nostra violenta reazione alla loro violenza ha rinsaldato la nostra coesione.

Persino quando è disoccupato. Ad un recente convegno della Claimants Union (Sindacato britannico delle rivendicatrici e rivendicatori di reddito, N.d.T.) queste furono le istruzioni date ai membri di un gruppo della sinistra con una circolare interna:

« Il [nostro] lavoro all'interno della C.U. dovrebbe tendere a staccare la C.U. dalle madri senza sostegno, dagli ammalati e dai vecchi, etc., per orientarla verso gli operai disoccupati ».

Quando le donne della Claimants Union, scoperto il documento, lo riprodussero a beneficio del convegno, ci fu un tumulto.

Un tale disprezzo per gli strati meno potenti della classe ha

delle implicazioni terrificanti.

Se l'operaio maschio è il solo referente di una determinata struttura politica, una volta che le donne affermino il proprio

nel contesto sociale un centro produttivo e quindi di sovversione, si riapre l'intera questione della prospettiva della lotta politica e della organizzazione rivoluzionaria ¹¹.

Il tipo di azione e di organizzazione che, con alle spalle la tradizione di lotta della classe operaia in Italia, può crescere da un nuovo movimento di classe e di casta, questa volta finalmente delle donne, nel cuore della Chiesa Cattolica, è destinato ad ampliare le possibilità della nostra lotta in tutti i paesi dove è presente il nostro movimento internazionale.

Potere alle sorelle e perciò alla classe.

Padova 27 luglio 1972

ruolo centrale nella lotta, tale tradizionale struttura politica deve essere infranta.

Questa è una questione urgente e pratica non solo per le Claimants Unions (vedi nota 10, p. 31). Il braccio armato del movimento irlandese è stato maschio abbastanza nei suoi rapporti con le donne e i bambini da essere soddisfatto di contenere la loro partecipazione alla lotta. Se il frutto sarà amaro si recriminerà sulle donne

DONNE E SOVVERSIONE SOCIALE di Mariarosa Dalla Costa

Queste osservazioni per un tentativo di definizione e di analisi della « questione femminile » individuano la questione stessa nell'intero « ruolo femminile » quale la

divisione capitalistica del lavoro ha prodotto.

Privilegiamo in queste pagine la figura della « casalinga » come figura centrale di questo ruolo. Presupponendo che tutte le donne che lavorano fuori casa continuano a essere anche delle casalinghe. Cioè, a livello mondiale, è proprio questa specificità del lavoro domestico non solo come quantità di ore e tipo di lavoro ma come qualità di vita e qualità di relazioni conseguenti che determina la collocazione della donna ovunque essa si trovi e a qualunque classe essa appartenga.

Il fatto che abbiamo qui puntualizzato l'analisi sulla donna di classe operaia non vuol dire affatto che solo le donne di classe operaia sono sfruttate. Ma vuol ribadire che il ruolo della casalinga di classe operaia, che riteniamo sia stato indispensabile alla produzione capitalistica, è determinante per la posizione di tutte le altre donne. Perciò ogni analisi delle donne come casta deve partire dall'analisi della posizione della casalinga di classe ope-

raia.

Per riuscire a cogliere cosí la centralità di questo ruolo è stato indispensabile analizzare brevemente, prima di tutto, come il capitale ha creato la famiglia moderna e in essa la casalinga, distruggendo il tipo di famiglia gruppo o comunità prima esistente. Processo che non si è ancora completato.

Mentre parliamo del mondo occidentale, e dell'Ita-

lia in particolare, dobbiamo tener presente che nella misura in cui il modo di produzione capitalistico stringe sot. to il suo comando anche la periferia mondiale, si proporra come effettivamente già sta avvenendo, lo stesso processo di distruzione. Dobbiamo parimenti avere chiaro che il tipo di famiglia quale noi conosciamo oggi nei paesi occidentali tecnologicamente piú avanzati non rappresenta la forma finale che la famiglia può assumere nel processo capitalistico. Ma queste tendenze appunto possono essere esaminate solo sulla base di una previa analisi del modo in cui il capitalismo ha creato sia questa famiglia sia il ruolo della donna, entrambi come momenti di uno stesso processo.

Sulla figura della donna che lavora fuori casa si cercherà di ritornare con un altro lavoro che completi le osservazioni che seguono. Qui vorremmo solo indicare le connessioni fra due esperienze apparentemente indipendenti, quella della casalinga e quella della donna che la-

vora fuori casa.

I fenomeni di lotta di massa endemici che le donne hanno dispiegato nel secondo dopoguerra vanno direttamente contro l'organizzazione della fabbrica e della casa. La tanto lamentata « inaffidabilità » delle donne da parte dei padroni fuori casa e in casa è cresciuta rapidamente a partire dalla seconda guerra mondiale. E va direttamente contro la fabbrica come unità di irregimentazione nel tempo e nello spazio e la fabbrica sociale come riproduzione della forza-lavoro. Tale tendenza a un maggior assenteismo, a un minor rispetto dell'orario, a una maggior mobilità è comune a giovani uomini e donne di classe operaia. Mentre nei momenti cruciali di vita della coppia, l'uomo è il solo a percepire un salario, in generale le donne, non essendo costrette cosí duramente dal rapporto di lavoro e dovendo dare la priorità al lavoro domestico, sono inevitabilmente anche più insubordinate rispetto alla disciplina del lavoro, disturbando il flusso produttivo, e causando perciò più alti costi. Questa è la scusa per salari discriminatori che compensano a profusione le perdite del capitale. Ma è proprio tale tendenza (che ha portato

gruppi di donne a lasciare i bambini ai mariti nelle fabbriche e negli uffici) che è e sarà sempre piú una delle forze determinanti la crisi del sistema di fabbrica e di fabbrica sociale.

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Negli anni più recenti, si sono sviluppati, particolarmente nei paesi a capitalismo avanzato, una serie di movimenti femministi con diverse connotazioni che vanno dall'individuazione della questione femminile in un'atavica lotta di natura uomo-contro-donna, intesa come lotta fra specie, all'individuazione di una questione femminile come specifica articolazione dello sfruttamento di classe.

Per quanto, specialmente agli occhi delle donne che hanno avuto e hanno esperienza di militanza politica, la prima di queste posizioni susciti un moto di perplessità, ci sembra sia invece subito da rilevare che queste donne, che fanno parte del movimento femminista complessivo, costituiscono un indice di estrema importanza dell'esasperazione stessa cui sono arrivate milioni di donne nel movimento e fuori del movimento. Alcune definiscono il loro lesbismo in questi termini (ci riferiamo in particolare a quanto espresso da tendenze del movimento negli Stati Uniti): « Abbiamo cominciato ad andare insieme come donne da quando, proprio perché ci ritrovavamo fra di noi, non potevamo piú tollerare i rapporti con gli uomini, dal momento che non potevamo impedire che tali rapporti diventassero relazioni di potere in cui inevitabilmente saremmo state assoggettate. Conseguentemente le nostre tensioni ed energie venivano deviate, il nostro potere indebolito e i nostri obiettivi limitati ». Dal rifiuto di tali rapporti ha preso l'avvio un movimento di donne gay che asserisce la possibilità di un rapporto libero da una lotta sessuale attorno al potere, libero dalla unità sociale basata su legami ideologici e che asserisce allo stesso tempo il nostro bisogno di aprirci a un potenziale sociale e perciò, sessuale piú ampio.

¹ È accaduto negli Stati Uniti durante la dimostrazione di massa delle donne che celebravano il giorno internazionale della donna nell'agosto 1970.

Ora, per capire questa esasperazione femminile che va dispiegandosi in forme sempre piú ampie, bisogna avere chiaro che cosa nella struttura della famiglia capitalistica ha catalizzato una tale crisi. L'oppressione della listica ha catalizzato una tale crisi. L'oppressione della donna, sappiamo, non è cominciata col capitalismo. Col capitalismo cominciò lo sfruttamento piú intenso della donna come donna e la possibilità alla fine della sua liberazione.

Nella società precapitalistica patriarcale la casa e la famiglia erano i centri di una produzione agricola e artigianale. Con l'avvento del capitalismo si organizzò la socializzazione della produzione attorno alla fabbrica: quelli che avrebbero lavorato nel nuovo centro produttivo la fabbrica appunto — avrebbero ricevuto un salario, gli altri no. Le donne, i bambini e gli anziani persero il potere relativo alla dipendenza della famiglia dal loro lavoro, che era visto perciò come sociale e necessario. Il capitale, distruggendo la famiglia e la comunità come centro produttivo, da un lato spostava e accentrava tutta la produzione sociale fondamentale nelle fabbriche e negli uffici, dall'altro prelevava dalla famiglia essenzialmente l'uomo facendone un lavoratore salariato e ponendo sulle sue spalle la responsabilità finanziaria per donne, bambini, vecchi e ammalati, in una parola per tutti quelli che non ricevevano un salario. Da quel momento cominciò anche l'esclusione dalla casa di tutti quelli che non procreano e non rendono servizi a quelli che lavorano per un salario. E in questo senso i primi a essere esclusi dalla casa dopo gli uomini furono i bambini, che vennero mandati a scuola. La comunità precapitalistica cessò di essere non solo un centro produttivo ma anche un centro educativo²

² Il che equivale ad assumere un significato interamente nuovo della parola « educazione » e il lavoro che si sta ora conducendo circa la storia dell'educazione obbligatoria — apprendimento forzato — ne è la riprova. In Inghilterra, nell'800, gli insegnanti erano concepiti come « polizia morale » che poteva: 1) condizionare i bambini contro il « crimine » — frenare la riappropriazione della classe operaia nella comunità; 2) distruggere

Nella misura in cui gli uomini erano i dispotici capi della famiglia patriarcale, basata su una stretta divisione del lavoro, l'esperienza di donne, bambini e uomini era un'esperienza contraddittoria che noi ereditiamo. Ma nella società precapitalistica il lavoro di ciascun membro della comunità dei servi appariva immediatamente tendente a uno scopo: alternativamente o alla prosperità del signore o alla propria sopravvivenza. In questa misura l'intera comunità dei servi era costretta a stringersi in un'unità della non-libertà, coinvolgente nello stesso grado donne, bambini e uomini, che il capitalismo necessariamente 3 infranse. In questo stesso senso l'individuo non-libero, la democrazia della non-libertà 4 entrò in crisi. Il passaggio da servitú a forza-lavoro libera separò i proletari dalle proletarie ed entrambi dai loro figli. Il non-libero patriarca fu trasformato nel libero lavoratore salariato, e sulla contraddittoria esperienza di sesso e generazione fu costruita una estraniazione piú profonda e perciò piú sovversiva.

Ora, soffermarci brevemente su questa separazione dei bambini dagli adulti è importante per capire anche tutto il significato della separazione della donna dall'uomo e per capire come l'organizzazione della lotta da parte del movimento femminista complessivo non può tendere,

la « plebaglia », la « piazza », organizzazione di classe operaia basata sulla famiglia che era ancora un'unità produttiva o almeno una unità organizzativa viva; 3) abituare alla presenza regolare e alla puntualità, cosí necessarie al futuro posto di lavoro delle ragazze e dei ragazzi e 4) stratificare la classe attraverso le qualifiche e la selezione. Come per la famiglia stessa, la transizione a questa nuova forma di controllo sociale non era diretta né liscia, ed era il risultato di forze contraddittorie sia all'interno della classe che all'interno del capitale, come ad ogni fase della storia del capitalismo.

³ Il lavoro salariato si basa sulla subordinazione di tutti i rapporti al rapporto di lavoro salariato. L'operaio e l'operaia debbono entrare come « individui » nel contratto capitalistico spo-

gliati della protezione delle relazioni di parentela.

⁴ Cfr. K. Marx, Opere filosofiche giovanili, trad. di Galvano della Volpe, Roma, Editori Riuniti 1969, p. 44.

pur nelle sue forme di eversione piú violenta, e quindi anche di radicale rifiuto di ogni relazione con gli uomini, che al superamento della separazione fondata sulla « li. bertà » del lavoro salariato.

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Le analisi sulla scuola emerse durante gli ultimi anni — particolarmente dall'avvento del movimento studentesco — hanno ben colto la scuola come luogo di disciplinamento ideologico e di formazione della forza-lavoro e dei suoi dirigenti. Forse non è mai emerso, o almeno non fino in fondo, quanto precede tutto questo e cioè l'abituale disperazione dei bambini fin dal primo giorno di asilo quando si vedono depositati in una classe e i genitori bruscamente vanno via. Ma è esattamente a questo punto che l'intera storia della scuola comincia 5. Ed è in questo senso perciò che i bambini delle scuole elementari non sono semplicemente quelle appendici che solo gli obiettivi « pagateci i trasporti, mensa e libri gratis », insegnati dai grandi, possono in qualche modo ricollegare agli studenti delle superiori. Nei bambini delle scuole elementari, figli e figlie della classe operaia, c'è già tutta la consapevolezza che la scuola sta mettendoli in qualche modo contro genitori e coetanei, e di conseguenza c'è un'istintiva resistenza allo studio e a essere educati. È la stessa resistenza per cui i bambini neri in Inghilterra sono confinati pressoché tutti in scuole differenziali 6. Il bam-

⁶ In Inghilterra e negli Stati Uniti gli psicologi Eysenck e Jensen, che sono convinti « scientificamente » che i neri hanno un'« intelligenza » inferiore ai bianchi, sembrano diametralmente opposti agli educatori progressisti come Ivan Illyich. In realtà li divide il metodo, li unisce un unico scopo. In ogni caso gli

⁵ Non ci riferiamo qui alla ristrettezza della famiglia nucleare che impedisce ai bambini di arrivare facilmente a stringere rapporti con altra gente; né alle conseguenze di tutto questo, cioè l'argomentazione degli psicologi che un appropriato condizionamento eviterebbe tale crisi. Ci riferiamo qui all'intera organizzazione della società di cui la famiglia, la scuola e la fabbrica sono ciascuno compartimenti ghettizzati. Ogni tipo di passaggio da un compartimento all'altro è un passaggio doloroso. Il dolore non può essere eliminato giocando sui rapporti fra un ghetto e un altro ma con la distruzione di ogni ghetto.

bino di classe operaia europeo, come il bambino di classe operaia nero, vede nell'insegnante qualcuno che gli sta insegnando qualcosa contro sua madre e suo padre, non come difesa del bambino ma come attacco alla sua classe. Il capitalismo è il primo sistema di produzione dove i figli degli sfruttati sono disciplinati ed educati in istituzioni organizzate e controllate dalla classe dirigente 7.

psicologi non sono piú razzisti degli altri, solo piú obliqui. L'« intelligenza » è la capacità di assumere come « ragionevolezza » la posizione del nemico e di forgiare su di essa la propria logica. Quando l'intera società opera istituzionalmente partendo dal presupposto della superiorità razziale bianca, questi psicologi propongono una pianificazione piú accorta in modo che i bambini che non imparano a leggere non imparino a fare bottiglie molotov. È questo un punto di vista ragionevole con cui Illyich, che è preoccupato della categoria del « sottorendimento scolastico » dei bambini (cioè col rifiuto dell'« intelligenza »), può essere d'accordo.

⁷ Nonostante che sia il capitale ad amministrare la scuola, il controllo non è mai dato una volta per tutte, per la continua sfida sui contenuti e rovesciamento dei costi della scuola sul sistema capitalistico stesso da parte dei proletari. Per cui in generale, se il controllo deve ristabilirsi, deve ristabilirsi a livelli e con caratteri-

stiche di fabbrica sempre piú stretti.

Tuttavia le nuove politiche educative che vengono forgiate di questi tempi sono più complesse. Qui possiamo solo indicare la

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 a) il rifiuto da parte della gioventú di classe operaia dell'idea che l'educazione li prepara a qualcosa che non sia la fabbrica, anche se vi indosseranno colletti bianchi e useranno macchine da scrivere e tecnigrafi invece di avvitabulloni.

il rifiuto da parte della gioventú di classe media del ruolo di mediatrice tra le classi e della personalità repressa che il ruolo di

mediatrice richiede.

l'esigenza capitalistica di una forza-lavoro nuova e piú diffe-

renziata per salario e status sociale.

la possibilità di un nuovo tipo di processo lavorativo che cercherà di interessare l'operaio che rifiuta la monotonia e la fram-

mentazione dell'attuale linea di montaggio.

Se la tradizionale « strada verso il successo » e persino il « successo » stesso vengono rifiutati dai giovani, occorre trovare nuove mete alle quali i giovani possano aspirare, per le quali cioè vadano a scuola e a lavorare. Spuntano continuamente nuovi « esperimenti » di pedagogia « libera », in cui i bambini devono

Che questo indottrinamento proveniente da un'al tra classe, cominciato fin dall'asilo, sia basato sulla spaccatura della famiglia, è provato dal fatto che i pochi figli di classe operaia giunti all'Università, non sono piú capaci di parlare con la loro comunità perché gli hanno lavato il cervello. I bambini di classe operaia quindi sono i primi che istintivamente resistono e si ribellano alla scuola e all'educazione somministrata dalla scuola, ma i loro genitori li portano a scuola e li costringono a scuola perché sono preoccupati che abbiano un'educazione che eviti loro la linea di montaggio o la cucina cui essi sono confinati. Se un bambino della famiglia operaia mostra particolari doti per lo studio, subito tutta la famiglia si concentra su di lui, gli dispone le migliori condizioni, spesso sacrificando gli altri, sperando e puntando su quel figlio perché li porti fuori dalla classe cui appartengono. Questo in effetti diventa il modo con cui il capitale passa attraverso la speranza, l'aiuto dei genitori per disciplinare la nuova forza-lavoro.

In Italia sempre meno i genitori riescono a mandare i bambini a scuola. La resistenza dei bambini alla scuola cresce e si diffonde sempre piú anche se non ha ancora alcuna organizzazione.

A mano a mano che cresce nei bambini la resistenza a essere educati nelle scuole, cresce altrettanto il rifiuto ad accettare la quotazione che il capitale ha dato della loro età. È noto che i bambini vogliono tutto quello che vedono. Fin qui vuol dire non avere ancora appreso che per

essere incoraggiati a partecipare alla pianificazione della loro istruzione e in cui deve esserci maggior democrazia tra docenti e discenti. Credere che questa sia una sconfitta per il capitale, cosi come credere che l'irregimentazione sia una vittoria, è una illusione: perché nella creazione di una forza-lavoro manipolata in modo piú creativo il capitale non perderà uno 0,1 per cento di profitto. « In effetti — sostengono — voi potete essere piú efficienti per noi se vi aprite la vostra strada, finché la vostra strada passa nel nostro territorio ». In alcune sezioni della fabbrica e della fabbrica sociale lo slogan del capitale sarà sempre piú « libertà e fraternità per garantire ed estendere l'eguaglianza ».

avere le cose bisogna pagarle e che per pagarle bisogna anche avere un salario, e quindi bisogna anche essere adulti. In genere è difficile spiegargli perché non possono avere quelle cose senza di cui la televisione gli ha appena detto che non possono vivere.

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Ma sta avvenendo qualcosa nelle nuovissime leve di bambini e ragazzi per cui spiegargli quando si diventa adulti è sempre piú difficile. Questo punto cosí arbitrario sono loro piuttosto che ce lo stanno continuamente riproponendo: nel sud degli Stati Uniti durante gli anni '60 bambini di sei anni si scontrarono con i cani poliziotto; oggi gli stessi fenomeni ce li ritroviamo nel sud Italia e in Irlanda dove i bambini agiscono nelle rivolte come gli adulti. Quando le vicende dei ragazzi (e delle donne) saranno riconosciute come parte integrante della storia, indubbiamente verranno alla luce altri esempi di partecipazione di gente molto giovane (e di donne) alla lotta rivoluzionaria. Quello che c'è di nuovo è l'autonomia della partecipazione di contro e a causa della loro esclusione dalla produzione diretta. Nelle fabbriche i giovani rifiutano la guida dei piú anziani e sono la punta di diamante delle rivolte sociali. Nelle metropoli le generazioni uscite dalla famiglia nucleare 8 hanno prodotto i movimenti studenteschi e giovanili in genere che hanno cominciato a scuotere l'assetto del potere costituito. Nel terzo mondo i giovani disoccupati sono spesso nelle strade prima della classe operaia organizzata nei sindacati.

Vale la pena di riportare quanto il « Times » (1° giugno '71) scriveva a proposito di una riunione di insegnanti convocata perché uno di essi era stato ammonito per aver picchiato un allievo: « non è piú possibile disciplinare questi elementi irresponsabili che spuntano da ogni parte con l'evidente intenzione di erodere ogni autorità sociale . . . si tratta di un complotto per distruggere

⁸ La famiglia nucleare è quella che una canzone americana di vent'anni fa dipingeva come « io, te, col bambino siamo in tre ».

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Abbiamo voluto trattare brevemente dell'atteggiamento sempre più diffuso di rivolta dei bambini e dei ragazzi specialmente della classe operaia e particolarmente della gente nera perché pensiamo che sia qualcosa di veramente connesso col movimento femminista e che il movimento femminista stesso debba tenerne conto: si tratta della rivolta degli esclusi che sono stati separati dal sistema di produzione e che esprimono nella loro azione il bisogno di distruggere quelle forze che impediscono loro di vivere socialmente, ma questa volta come individui.

Le donne, i bambini e gli anziani sono stati esclusi. La rivolta dell'uno contro lo sfruttamento attraverso la

esclusione è indice della rivolta dell'altro.

Nella misura in cui il capitale ha prelevato l'uomo e ne ha fatto un lavoratore salariato, ha creato la spaccatura fra lui e gli altri proletari senza salario che, non partecipando direttamente alla produzione sociale, non erano ritenuti in grado di essere soggetti della rivolta sociale.

A partire da Marx, è stato chiaro che il capitale comanda e si sviluppa attraverso il salario. Il fondamento della società capitalistica è il lavoratore salariato e il di lui o di lei diretto sfruttamento. Non è stato altrettanto chiaro né è stato mai assunto dalle organizzazioni del movimeno operaio che proprio attraverso il salario viene organizzato lo sfruttamento del lavoratore non salariato. È che semmai il suo sfruttamento è stato tanto piú efficace in quanto nascosto, mistificato dalla mancanza di un salario. Îl salario cioè comandava attorno a sé piú prestazioni di quanto apparisse nella contrattazione di fabbrica. Quindi il lavoro delle donne appariva una prestazione di servizi personali al di fuori del capitale. Si pensava che la donna soffrisse di sciovinismo maschile, bistrattata perché il capitalismo significa in generale « ingiustizia » e avere a che fare con « gente cattiva e irragionevole »; i rari uomini che lo notarono ci convinsero anche che questa era « oppressione » anziché sfruttamento. Ma la parola « oppressione » copriva un altro e piú endemico aspetto della società capitalistica. Il capitale non aveva escluso i bambini dalla casa avviandoli a scuola solo perché essi sono di intralcio al lavoro piú « produttivo » di altri o solo per indottrinarli. Il comando capitalistico attraverso il salario si dispiega come coercizione per ogni individuo abile a funzionare sotto la legge della divisione del lavoro in modi direttamente o indirettamente produttivi, tutti tesi a catalizzare l'estensione nel tempo e nello spazio del dominio capitalistico. Questo fondamentalmente è il significato della scuola. Per quanto riguarda i bambini, il loro lavoro sembra essere quello di imparare per il proprio bene.

I bambini proletari sono stati costretti nella scuola tutti alla medesima educazione: questo è il livellamento capitalistico di fronte alle infinite possibilità dell'apprendimento. La donna dall'altro lato è stata isolata nella casa, costretta a svolgere un lavoro considerato non qualificato, il lavoro di far nascere, allevare, disciplinare e servire la forza-lavoro per la produzione. Nel ciclo della produzione sociale, il suo ruolo rimaneva invisibile perché era visibile soltanto il prodotto del suo lavoro, *l'operaio*. Lei era perciò ingabbiata in condizioni precapitalistiche di la-

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E quando diciamo « condizioni precapitalistiche di lavoro » non alludiamo solo alle donne che usano la scopa per scopare ma anche la piú attrezzata delle cucine americane non ha niente a che fare col livello di sviluppo tecnologico attuale; al massimo può riferirsi a quello dell'800. Se non si è pagati con paga oraria nessuno, entro certi limiti almeno, controlla quanto tempo si impiega a svolgere il proprio lavoro. Il lavoro domestico infatti non è solo quantitativamente ma qualitativamente differente. La differenza qualitativa sta appunto nel tipo di merce, la forza-lavoro, che tale lavoro è destinato a produrre.

All'interno del sistema capitalistico la produttività del lavoro non cresce a meno dello scontro fra capitale e classe. L'innovazione tecnologica e la cooperazione sono allo stesso tempo momenti di attacco per la classe e di riano stesso tempo mana la produzione sposta capitalistica. Ma se questo è vero per la produzione di merci in generale, questo non è vero per la produzione

di quella particolare merce che è la forza-lavoro.

Se l'innovazione tecnologica può abbassare la soglia del lavoro necessario, e la lotta operaia nella fabbrica può usare l'innovazione tecnologica per guadagnare ore libere. questo non può essere corrispondentemente vero per il lavoro domestico: una piú alta meccanizzazione dei lavori domestici non « libera » ore per la donna nella misura in cui essa deve, in una situazione di isolamento, procreare. allevare e rimanere responsabile dei bambini. La donna è sempre di turno poiché non esistono macchine che fanno e badano ai bambini 9.

Una piú alta produttività del lavoro domestico, attraverso la meccanizzazione, può perciò riferirsi solo a determinati servizi; cucinare, lavare, pulire. La giornata lavorativa della donna quindi è illimitata non perché la donna non ha macchine ma perché è isolata 10.

Non ignoriamo affatto i tentativi attuali per arrivare ai figli in provetta. Ma oggi tali meccanismi appartengono completamente ad una scienza e ad un controllo capitalistico. L'utilizzazione sarebbe tutta contro di noi e contro la classe. Non è nostro interesse abdicare alla procreazione per consegnarla in mani nemiche. È nostro interesse conquistare una libertà di procreazione che non si paghi né al prezzo del salario né a quello dell'esclusione sociale.

Nella misura in cui non l'innovazione tecnologica ma solo le « umane cure » possono allevare i bambini, l'effettiva liberazione dal tempo di lavoro domestico, il cambiamento qualitativo del lavoro domestico, possono derivare solo da un movimento di donne, dalla lotta delle donne: quanto più il movimento cresce tanto meno gli uomini, a cominciare dai militanti politici, possono contare sulla vigilanza femminile dei bambini. È allo stesso tempo il nuovo ambiente sociale che il movimento costruisce offre ai bambini uno spazio sociale, in cui sia gli uomini che le donne si identificano, e che non ha niente a che fare con gli asili nido statali. Questi sono già risultati che constatiamo dalla esistenza del movimento. Proprio come risultati di un movimento, di un movimento che è per sua natura lotta, non hanno niente a che fare con propositi di sostituire un qualsiasi tipo di cooperazione alla lotta stessa. Queste sono già vittorie di lotta.

Con l'avvento del modo di produzione capitalistico dunque, la donna è stata relegata in una condizione di isolamento, chiusa nella cella familiare, dipendente sotto ogni aspetto dall'uomo. Le si è negata la nuova autonomia salariale nel mentre la si costringeva a uno stadio precapitalistico di dipendenza personale, piú brutale questa volta perché in contraddizione con un tipo di produzione organizzato prevalentemente su larga scala a un livello altamente socializzato.

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L'apparente incapacità femminile a fare certe cose, a capire certe cose, e prima di tutto la politica, comincia qui la sua storia che è una storia molto simile per certi aspetti a quella delle classi differenziali o delle scuole per subnormali. Nella misura in cui dunque la donna è stata tagliata fuori da una produzione diretta e socializzata, ed è stata isolata nella casa, le si è tolta ogni possibilità di vita sociale e quindi di conoscenza e di educazione sociale, eccezion fatta per le relazioni di vicinato.

Isolata nella casa, la donna è cosí stata privata della vasta esperienza dell'organizzazione della pianificazione collettiva di lotte di fabbrica e di lotte di massa in genere. Le è stata pertanto negata la fonte essenziale di educazione sociale, l'esperienza della rivolta sociale che è la prima esperienza da cui si possono apprendere le proprie capacità, cioè il proprio potere, e le capacità, quindi il potere, della propria classe. Attraverso questo isolamento invece che le è stato imposto, si è fondato il mito nella società e fra le donne stesse dell'incapacità femminile.

Questo mito ha occultato prima di tutto il fatto che l'incessante informale organizzazione delle donne era condizione necessaria perché gli operai di fabbrica organizzassero lotte di massa a livello sociale, scioperi sugli affitti, lotte sui costi in generale, e quindi che nelle lotte all'interno del ciclo della produzione diretta, il sostegno e l'organizzazione, formale ed informale, delle donne è stata decisiva. Nei momenti cruciali questa permanente rete femminile emerge e si organizza proprio attraverso il talento, l'energia e la forza della « donna incapace ». Ma il

mito non muore. Quando le donne potrebbero con gli uomini gridare vittoria — sopravvivere durante la disocupazione o sopravvivere e vincere durante lo sciopero — le conquiste appartengono alla classe « in generale ». Raramente, nella migliore delle ipotesi, le donne ricavano qualcosa per sé, raramente, nella migliore delle ipotesi, la lotta ha un obiettivo che in qualche modo alteri la strutura di potere della casa e le sue relazioni con la fabbrica: sciopero o disoccupazione, « il lavoro di casa non è mai finito ».

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Mai come con l'avvento del capitalismo la distruzione della donna come persona ha significato anche e subito menomazione della sua integrità fisica. La sessualità femminile e maschile aveva conosciuto anche prima dello sviluppo capitalistico una serie di articolazioni, regimi, condizionamenti. Aveva conosciuto anche metodi efficaci di controllo delle nascite che sono inspiegabilmente spariti. Il capitalismo costruisce la famiglia come nucleo in cui subordina la donna all'uomo in quanto, non partecipando alla produzione sociale, non si presenta autonomamente sullo stesso mercato del lavoro. Conseguentemente come ne castra tutte le possibilità di invenzione e sviluppo di attività lavorativa, allò stesso modo ne castra ogni possibilità di autonomia sessuale, psicologica, emozionale.

Come si è detto sopra, mai si è avuta una tale menomazione della integrità fisica della donna, dal cervello all'utero. Non è la stessa cosa partecipare assieme alla costruzione del treno, dell'auto, dell'aeroplano o menare per secoli la stessa scopa da sole negli stessi metri quadrati di cucina.

E questa non è un'invocazione alla gestione comune uomini e donne della costruzione degli aeroplani. Ma è assumere che la differenza fra le due storie non solo determina differenze nelle attuali forme delle lotte, ma riporta finalmente alla luce anche le differenti forme a lungo invisibili che le lotte delle donne hanno assunto in passato.

Come dicevamo poco sopra, altrettanto alla donna viene sottratta completamente la vita sessuale per stra-

volgerla in funzione riproduttiva della specie, o meglio, in funzione riproduttiva di forza-lavoro: le stesse osservazioni che facevamo sul livello tecnologico al quale sono svolti i servizi domestici valgono per la ricerca anticoncezionale (e si può dire per l'intero campo della ginecologia) che fino a questi ultimissimi anni è stata completamente accantonata mentre sulla donna è pesato l'obbligo di generare, articolato anche nel preciso divieto di abortire, qualora le piú rudimentali tecniche anticoncezionali fallissero come prevedibile.

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Attraverso questa menomazione complessiva della figura della donna, il capitale ha cominciato a costruire il « ruolo femminile » e ha fatto dell'uomo nella famiglia il mediatore e gestore di tale menomazione: l'uomo, come lavoratore salariato e come capofamiglia è diventato cosí lo specifico strumento di quello specifico sfruttamento che è lo sfruttamento della donna. Ci si può allora spiegare a che punto di degenerazione sia arrivato il rapporto uomodonna, proprio per la frattura che il sistema ha posto fra l'uomo e la donna, subordinando questa come oggetto o come « complemento » dell'uomo. Alla luce di tale frattura comprendiamo l'esplosione di tendenze nel movimento femminista in cui le donne vogliono condurre la lotta contro gli uomini in quanto tali ^{II} e non intendono consumare oltre le loro energie per affrontare nemmeno relazioni sessuali con loro, tanto ognuna di queste relazioni si ripresenta sempre in modo frustrante. Una relazione di potere preclude ogni possibilità di affettività sessuale e di intimità. Fra uomini e donne il potere con le sue prescrizioni comanda l'affettività sessuale e l'intimità. La relazione fra gay in questo senso rappresenta il piú grosso tentativo a livello di massa di svincolare sessualità e potere.

Ma l'omosessualità in generale è altrettanto radicata nella struttura stessa della società capitalistica: le donne

È impossibile dire per quanto tempo queste tendenze continueranno a costituire una forza trainante per il movimento e quando potranno volgersi nel loro opposto.

a casa e gli uomini nelle fabbriche e negli uffici separati le une dagli altri per tutto il giorno; o una tipica fabbrica femminile con 1000 donne e 10 caporeparto maschi; o una copisteria (di dattilografe naturalmente) che lavorano per 50 professionisti maschi. Tutto questo è già struttura omosessuale di vita.

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Il capitale, mentre eleva l'eterosessualità a religione, allo stesso tempo rende impossibile in pratica a uomini e donne di essere fisicamente ed emozionalmente a contatto e limita l'eterosessualità a disciplina sessuale, economica

e sociale.

Crediamo che questa sia una realtà da cui bisogna partire. Le esplosioni di queste tendenze gay sono state e sono importanti per il movimento stesso perché pongono l'urgenza di recuperare proprio una specificità di lotta femminista e quindi di chiarire fino in fondo tutti gli aspetti e la collocazione dello sfruttamento femminile.

A questo punto vorremmo cominciare a sgombrare il terreno da un certo angolo di visuale che pure l'ortodossia marxista, specialmente nell'ideologia e nella pratica dei cosiddetti partiti marxisti, ha sempre dato per scontato: e cioè che per la donna l'essere fuori dalla produzione sociale, o meglio dal ciclo produttivo organizzato socialmente, comportasse anche l'esclusione dalla produttività sociale. Si è infatti sempre considerato il ruolo femminile come ruolo di personalità subordinata a livello psicologico, fuori dalla produzione, o occupata fuori casa in misura marginale, ma essenzialmente come fornitrice in casa di una serie di valori d'uso di carattere precapitalistico.

Tale resta anche l'angolo di visuale di Marx che, osservando tra l'altro quanto succedeva alle donne che lavoravano in fabbrica, conclude che stavano meglio a casa. Lo stare in casa poi è visto anche come vita piú morale ma la vera natura di questo ruolo in casa non emerge mai chiaramente.

Alcuni ebbero poi modo di osservare che le donne del Lancashire, mogli di operai del cotone e occupate anch'esse nella lavorazione del cotone, erano molto libere sessualmente e venivano aiutate dagli uomini nei lavori domestici. Mentre nel Yorkshire, zona carbonifera, dove le donne solo in piccola percentuale partecipavano alla estrazione del carbone, cucinavano meglio ed erano anche molto piú dominate dalla figura del marito.

In altre parole anche chi è stato capace di definire lo sfruttamento delle donne nella produzione socializzata, non ha poi colto altrettanto chiaramente la posizione di sfruttamento della donna all'interno della casa; gli uomini sono troppo compromessi nella relazione di potere con le donne per cui solo le donne possono definire se stesse e

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Va perciò chiarito che, all'interno del salario, non solo il lavoro domestico ha, anziché un mero valore d'uso, una funzione essenziale nella produzione del plusvalore ¹², ma questo è altrettanto vero per la costruzione dell'intero ruolo femminile come ruolo di personalità subordinata a tutti i livelli, fisico, psicologico e occupazionale, che ha avuto e ha una collocazione precisa nella divisione del lavoro capitalistico, nel perseguimento della produttività a livello sociale.

Esaminiamo piú precisamente questo ruolo femminile come fonte di produttività sociale, nella famiglia anzitutto:

A. Dentro la definizione di lavoro salariato si è affermato piú volte che la donna con il lavoro domestico non

¹² Ad una prima lettura in Gran Bretagna e negli Stati Uniti alcune hanno trovato che questa definizione di lavoro domestico dovrebbe essere più precisa. Può darsi sia utile chiarire anche per le lettrici italiane. Cosa abbiamo voluto significare precisamente è che il lavoro domestico è lavoro *produttivo* in senso marxiano, cioè lavoro che produce plusvalore.

Parliamo subito dopo della produttività dell'intero ruolo femminile. Per chiarire meglio la produttività della donna sia in relazione al suo lavoro sia all'intero ruolo che essa svolge, rimandiamo ad un seguente documento a cui stiamo lavorando. In esso la collocazione della donna è spiegata in modo piú articolato

dal punto di vista dell'intero ciclo capitalistico.

è produttiva. È vero esattamente il contrario se si pensa e produttiva. Il vois all'enorme quantità di servizi sociali che l'organizzazione an enorme quantoma in attività privata accollandoli alla donna nella casa. Il lavoro domestico non è affatto femminile. Nessuna donna si realizza o si stanca meno di un uomo a lavare e pulire. Questi sono servizi sociali in quanto servono alla riproduzione di forza-lavoro. E il capitale, proprio istituendo il suo assetto familiare, ha «liberato » l'uomo da queste funzioni in modo da renderlo completamente « libero » per lo sfruttamento diretto, cioè libero di guadagnare abbastanza perché la donna lo riproducesse come forza-lavoro 13. Ha costruito cioè lavoratori salariati nella misura in cui è riuscito ad accollare questi servizi alla donna nella famiglia, controllando attraverso questo processo l'immissione di forza-lavoro femminile nel mercato del lavoro. In Italia le donne sono ancora necessarie nella casa e il capitale ha ancora bisogno di questo tipo di famiglia. All'attuale livello di sviluppo, in Europa in generale e in Italia in particolare, il capitale preferisce ancora importare come forza-lavoro milioni di uomini dalle aree sottosviluppate ma lasciare le donne a casa 14. E le donne servono a casa non solo perché svol-

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13 Vedi Prefazione pag. 9: la forza-lavoro « è una strana merce perché non è una cosa. La capacità di lavorare risiede solo nell'essere umano la cui vita viene consumata nel processo produttivo . . . Descrivere tale produzione e riproduzione è descri-

vere il lavoro della donna ».

donne dentro l'industria, ma in particolari settori. Differenti bisogni del capitale dentro la stessa area geografica hanno prodotto differenti e persino opposte propagande e prassi politiche. Mentre nel passato la stabilità della famiglia si era basata su una mitologia relativamente stabile — essendo le prassi politiche e la propaganda uniformi ed ufficialmente incontrastate — oggi differenti aree capitalistiche si contraddicono reciprocamente e minano la definizione di famiglia come unità stabile, immutata e « naturale ». Un classico esempio è la varietà di punti di vista e di politiche demografiche per il controllo delle nascite. Proprio ora il governo britannico ha raddoppiato lo stanziamento di fondi a questo scopo. Dobbiamo esaminare in che misura questa nuova politica è connessa con una politica razzista dell'immigrazione e cioè con la manipolazione

gono senza salario né sciopero i lavori di casa, ma perché a casa raccoglieranno sempre i membri che le crisi occupazionali di volta in volta espelleranno. La famiglia, questo alveo materno sempre accogliente nel momento del bisogno, è stato per lungo tempo la migliore garanzia che i disoccupati non si trasformassero immediatamente in milioni di outsiders ribelli.

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I partiti del movimento operaio si sono ben guardati dal sollevare il problema del lavoro domestico, corrispondentemente alla loro considerazione della donna come figura inferiore persino dentro la fabbrica. Sollevarlo infatti vorrebbe dire sfidare l'intera base di costruzione del sindacato fondata (a) solo sulla fabbrica, (b) solo sulla giornata lavorativa misurabile e « pagata », (c) solo su quella parte del salario che viene data e non su quella parte del salario che viene sottratta dall'inflazione. La donna è sempre stata spinta dai partiti del movimento operaio a rinviare la sua liberazione a un ipotetico domani, subordinato alle conquiste che gli uomini, limitati nella portata delle loro lotte da questi partiti, strappano per « sé ».

In realtà ogni scadenza di classe ha fissato la subordinazione e sfruttamento femminile a un livello piú alto. La proposta della pensione alle casalinghe ¹⁵ — e allora non si capisce perché non anche uno stipendio alle casalinghe — denuncia solo tutta la volontà dei suddetti partiti di istituzionalizzare l'attuale condizione femminile.

Nessuno di noi crede che l'emancipazione, la liberazione avvenga attraverso il lavoro. Il lavoro è sempre

delle fonti di forza-lavoro matura; e a causa della crescente erosione dell'etica del lavoro che sbocca nei movimenti dei disoccupati e delle madri senza sostegno, con un controllo di quelle nascite che inquinano la purezza del capitale con bambini rivoluzionari.

15 În Italia è la politica tra gli altri del Partito Comunista che per alcuni anni ha portato avanti una proposta di legge che prevedeva la pensione alle casalinghe al cinquantacinquesimo anno. Inutile dire che sono rimaste parole. I tempi sono duri. Nel 1971 il ministro Piccoli poteva accennare sommessamente a piú decenti assegni di disoccupazione. Nel 1972 il pane è sempre piú strettamente legato al lavoro, proprio nel senso Nixonandreottiano.

lavoro, sia in casa che fuori. L'autonomia salariale è essere individuo per il capitale, non meno per le donne che per gli uomini. Quelli che pretendono che la liberazione della donna di classe operaia stia nella possibilità di trovare lavoro fuori casa individuano solo una parte del problema, non la soluzione. La schiavitú alla catena di montaggio non è liberazione dalla schiavitú del lavandino di cucina. Quelli che lo negano negano anche la schiavitú della catena di montaggio, provando ancora una volta che se non si conosce quanto le donne sono sfruttate non si conosce realmente quanto gli uomini lo sono. Ma questa questione è cosí cruciale per il movimento femminista che ne tratteremo a parte. Quanto dobbiamo chiarire subito qui è che, a causa della non corresponsione di un salario in un mondo organizzato capitalisticamente, la figura del padrone sfuma dietro quella del marito. Questi appare l'unico destinatario dei servizi domestici, e questo dà una connotazione ambigua e schiavistica al lavoro casalingo. Il marito, i figli, con la loro partecipazione affettiva, con il loro ricatto affettivo, diventano i primi controllori, i primi capetti di questo lavoro.

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Il marito tende a leggere il giornale e aspettare che il pranzo sia pronto anche quando la moglie lavora con lui e rientra in casa con lui. È chiaro che la specificità dello sfruttamento rappresentato dal lavoro domestico richiederà una specificità di lotta, di lotta femminista ap-

punto, all'interno della famiglia.

D'altronde se non si ha chiaro fino in fondo che proprio questa famiglia è il pilastro dell'organizzazione capitalistica del lavoro, se si fa l'errore di considerarla una sovrastruttura che si modificherà alle varie scadenze della lotta di fabbrica, stiamo percorrendo una rivoluzione zoppicante che perpetuerà e aggraverà sempre una contraddizione fondamentale nella lotta di classe e funzionale allo sviluppo capitalistico. Perpetueremo l'errore di considerarci casalinghe fornitrici di valori d'uso, di considerarci casalinghe, come tali estranee alla classe. Fin tanto che le casalinghe sono considerate estranee alla classe, la lotta di classe in ogni momento e in qualsiasi

punto è impedita, frustrata e sottratta alla pienezza dei

suoi obiettivi pratici.

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Non rientra nello scopo di queste prime osservazioni sviluppare ulteriormente questo punto. Ora invece, denunciare il lavoro domestico come forma mascherata di lavoro produttivo, apre quanto agli obiettivi di lotta, alle forme di lotta una serie di interrogativi.

Infatti la richiesta immediata che ne deriverebbe e cioè « pagateci un salario » rischia di presentarsi ¹⁶ in Italia, dati gli attuali rapporti di forza, come volontà di istituzionalizzare la condizione di casalinga e di funzionare

perciò scarsamente come obiettivo mobilitante.

Il problema resta dunque quello di percorrere forme di lotta che non lascino tranquille le casalinghe a casa, disposte al massimo a qualche manifestazione per la città, in attesa di un salario che non pagherebbe mai

la Oggi la richiesta di salario per il lavoro domestico è portata avanti in modo sempre piú allargato e con minore opposizione nel movimento femminista in Italia e all'estero. Dal tempo in cui questo documento ebbe una prima stesura (giugno '71), il dibattito si è approfondito e molte incertezze che erano dovute alla relativa novità della discussione sono state superate. Ma soprattutto, l'incidenza dei bisogni delle donne proletarie ha non solo radicalizzato le richieste del movimento ma ci ha anche dato maggior forza nel portarle avanti. Un anno fa, all'inizio del movimento in Italia, c'era ancora chi credeva che lo Stato potesse facilmente soffocare la ribellione delle donne contro il lavoro «pagandolo » con un assegno mensile di dieci o dodicimila lire come aveva già fatto particolarmente con quei « dannati della terra » che da esso dipendevano come pensionati.

Oggi queste incertezze sono ampiamente dissipate.

Ed è chiaro in ogni caso che la richiesta di salario per il lavoro domestico è solo una base, una prospettiva da cui partire, il cui merito essenziale è di legare immediatamente l'oppressione, la subordinazione e l'isolamento della donna al loro fondamento materiale: lo sfruttamento della donna. Adesso questa è forse la funzione maggiore della richiesta di salario per il lavoro domestico: dare allo stesso tempo un'indicazione di lotta e una direzione in termini organizzativi in cui, oppressione e sfruttamento, situazione di casta e di classe, si trovino indissolubilmente legate.

La traduzione pratica, continua, di questa prospettiva è il compito che il movimento si trova ad affrontare in Italia e altrove.

niente, ma forme di lotta che infrangano subito tutta questa struttura di lavoro domestico, rifiutandolo immediatamente, rifiutandosi come casalinghe, rifiutando la casa come ghetto per la propria esistenza. Perché il problema non è tanto e non è solo smettere di fare tutti quei lavori. Il punto di partenza non è come fare i lavori domestici in modo più efficiente, ma come trovare un posto da protagonista nella lotta; cioè non è una più alta produttività del lavoro domestico, ma una più alta eversività del la lotta.

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Capovolgere immediatamente il rapporto tempo-dilavoro-domestico e tempo-non-dedicato-al-lavoro-domestico: non occorre né stirare le lenzuola né le tende né avere i pavimenti lucidi né spolverare ogni giorno. Eppure ancora moltissime donne lo fanno. Evidentemente non perché sono stupide. E ci richiamiamo al parallelo fatto sopra con le scuole differenziali. Ma perché in quei lavori solo esse possono realizzare una loro identità, dal momento che, come dicevamo, la produzione capitalistica le ha in realtà tagliate fuori dal processo della produzione organizzata socialmente.

Ma l'esclusione da tale processo non comporta meccanicamente l'esclusione dalla lotta organizzata socialmente: lotta appunto che richiede di sottrarre tempo al lavoro domestico ma che offre allo stesso tempo un'alternativa di identità alla donna che prima la trovava solo a livello del ghetto domestico. Nella socialità della lotta la donna scopre ed esercita un potere che effettivamente le dà una nuova identità. Identità che appunto può consistere solo in un nuovo grado di potere sociale.

Tale possibilità di lotta a livello sociale nasce proprio dal carattere socialmente produttivo dell'attività della donna in casa. E non sono solo o essenzialmente i servizi svolti in casa che rendono socialmente produttivo il ruolo femminile. Il capitale può migliorare tecnologicamente questi servizi. Quello che il capitale per il momento non è disposto a fare, in Italia almeno, è far saltare la condizione di casalinga come perno della famiglia nucleare. E

per questa ragione non aspettiamoci l'automazione dei lavori domestici perché non arriverà mai, perché il mantenimento della famiglia nucleare è incompatibile con la automazione di tali servizi. Per automatizzarli realmente il capitale deve distruggere la famiglia quale è oggi, cioè deve socializzare per poter automatizzare.

Ma sappiamo bene cosa sono le socializzazioni capitalistiche. Sono sempre per lo meno l'opposto della Co-

mune di Parigi.

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Un nuovo salto nell'organizzazione capitalistica si formulerebbe, come già possiamo cogliere negli Stati Uniti, o in generale nei paesi a capitalismo avanzato, nel senso di distruggere l'isolamento precapitalistico della produzione nella casa ricostruendo una famiglia che piú da vicino rifletta l'eguaglianza capitalistica e il suo comando attraverso il lavoro cooperativo; trascendere cioè la « incompletezza » dello sviluppo capitalistico, che ha ancora come perno la donna « non-libera » e ricostruire una famiglia che piú da vicino rifletta la sua funzione di riproduzione di forza-lavoro.

Tornando dunque a quanto dicevamo sopra, le donne, le casalinghe, identificandosi nella casa tendono a una specie di perfezionismo lavorativo. È anche troppo noto il detto: in una casa se si vuole c'è sempre da fare.

Non vedono al di là delle quattro mura perché la condizione di casalinga come modo di lavoro precapitalistico e conseguentemente la stessa femminilità che gli hanno costruito fa loro apparire il mondo, gli altri, l'intera organizzazione del lavoro, come qualcosa di sfumato ed essenzialmente non conosciuto, non vissuto, dietro le spalle del marito, del marito che ogni giorno esce e si incontra con questo qualcosa. Le donne allora devono capovolgere questo rapporto tempo-di-lavoro-domestico e tempo-nondedicato-al-lavoro-domestico e cominciare a uscire di casa, partendo proprio dalla volontà di infrangere il ruolo di casalinga, per cominciare ad incontrare le altre donne, non come vicine di casa e amiche, ma come compagne di lavoro e di lotta contro il lavoro, rompendo questa specie di rivalità privatistica femminile, e ricostruendo una so-

lidarietà femminista: non solidarietà difensiva dello status quo ma solidarietà per l'attacco, per l'organizzazione del. la lotta.

Solidarietà comune contro il lavoro comune. Allo stesso modo le donne devono smettere di incontrare marito e figli come casalinghe, e cioè attorno al tavolo del

pranzo e della cena, dopo il loro rientro.

Ogni sede di lotta fuori della casa, proprio in quanto tutta l'organizzazione capitalistica presuppone la casa offre il fianco al possibile attacco femminista: le assemblee di fabbrica, le assemblee studentesche, le riunioni di quartiere sono tutti luoghi altrettanto adeguati di lotta femminista: e quindi di incontro-scontro se si vuole, donne-uomini, tutti come individui anziché come madre e padre figlio e figlia, con tutte le possibilità di far esplodere fuori della famiglia le contraddizioni, le repressioni, le frustrazioni che il capitale ha voluto accumulare dentro la famiglia.

Che le donne chiedano in un'assemblea di fabbrica che venga abolito il turno di notte perché di notte si vuol far l'amore oltre che dormire, e non è la stessa cosa farlo di giorno, se di giorno è la donna che lavora, vuol dire portare il proprio interesse autonomo femminista soggettivo contro l'organizzazione del lavoro, rifiutando di essere

le mamme insoddisfatte del marito e dei figli.

Ma in tale incontro-scontro in cui le donne esprimeranno il loro specifico interesse femminista, tale interesse non è, come è stato detto, separato ed estraneo all'interesse di classe. Per troppo tempo i partiti politici, specialmente di sinistra, e i sindacati, hanno determinato e costretto l'ambito della lotta di classe. Fare l'amore e rifiutare il lavoro notturno per avere la possibilità di fare l'amore è interesse di classe. Caso mai indagare perché sono le donne e non gli uomini a sollevare la questione è fare nuova luce sull'intera storia di classe.

Incontrare i propri figli e figlie a un'assemblea di studenti vuol dire scoprirli come individui che parlano in mezzo ad altri individui, e vuol dire presentarsi a loro co-

me individui.

Pressocché tutte le donne hanno abortito e moltissime partorito. Non si vede perché non possano esprimere il loro punto di vista come donne prima ancora che come studentesse in un'assemblea di medicina. E non ci riferiamo casualmente alla Facoltà di Medicina: nelle aule studentesche e nelle cliniche possiamo vedere una volta di piú non solo lo sfruttamento di classe per cui solo i pazienti della corsia funzionano da cavie da esperimento; ma le donne sono specificamente il primo oggetto della sperimentazione e del disprezzo sessuale, del sadismo e dell'arroganza professionale dei dottori.

Însomma è essenziale proprio questa esplosione di movimento come espressione di specificità di interessi femminili, castrati finora dall'organizzazione familiare capitalistica, da portare in ogni sede che sia fondata sulla soppressione di tali interessi proprio perché lo sfruttamento di classe complessivo è potuto essere costruito con la me-

diazione specifica dello sfruttamento femminile.

E allora come movimento femminista bisogna recuperare tutta la specificità della collocazione di tale sfruttamento cioè recuperare tutta la specificità dell'interesse

femminista nella gestione della lotta.

Ogni occasione è buona: le casalinghe delle famiglie sfrattate possono opporre che il lavoro casalingo ha piú che pagato i mesi di pigione non corrisposti (alla periferia di Milano molte famiglie hanno già sperimentato tale

forma di lotta).

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Gli elettrodomestici sono una gran bella cosa ma per gli operai farne tanti è tempo e fatica. Che ogni salario debba acquistarli tutti è pesante e presuppone che ogni casalinga da sola debba gestirli tutti. Il che implica il congelamento della sua condizione di casalinga a un livello piú alto di meccanizzazione. La fortuna va a coppie!

Il problema non è avere la mensa. Ricordiamoci poi

che il capitale prima fa la Fiat e poi la mensa.

Quindi chiedere una mensa a livello di quartiere disgiunta da una pratica complessiva di lotta contro l'organizzazione del lavoro, contro il tempo di lavoro, rischia di dare l'avvio a un nuovo salto che a livello di quartiere irregimenti appunto le donne in qualche allettante lavoro per avere la possibilità di mangiare poi a mezzogiorno

tutte alla mensa un pasto di merda.

Sia chiaro che non è questa la mensa che si vuole, e cosí non sono gli asili in questo stesso senso 17. Vogliamo anche mense, e anche asili, e anche lavatrici e lavapiatti, ma vogliamo anche mangiare in quattro quando ne abbiamo voglia e avere tempo per stare con i bambini e con i vecchi e con i malati quando e dove vogliamo; e « avere tempo » si sa che vuol dire lavorare meno, e avere tempo per poter stare di piú con gli uomini vuol dire che anche loro devono lavorare meno. E avere tempo per stare con i bambini, con i vecchi e con gli ammalati non vuol dire poter correre a fare una capatina a quei garages per bambini che sono gli asili nido o all'ospizio dei vecchi o al ricovero invalidi, ma vuol dire che noi, che siamo state le prime escluse, prendiamo l'iniziativa di questa lotta perché tutte queste persone, altrettanto escluse, bambini, vecchi, invalidi, partecipino alla ricchezza sociale per poter stare con noi e con gli uomini in mezzo a noi in modo cosí autonomo come vogliamo per noi stesse; perché la loro esclusione come la nostra dal processo sociale di-

¹⁷ C'è stato qualche fraintendimento su quanto abbiamo detto a proposito di mense. Analoghe confusioni sono emerse nella discussione in Italia come in altri paesi a proposito del salario per il lavoro domestico. Come abbiamo spiegato precedentemente, il lavoro domestico è istituzionalizzato come il lavoro di fabbrica e il nostro ultimo fine è distruggere ambedue queste istituzioni. Ma a prescindere da quale particolare richiesta stiamo discutendo, si fraintende cosa sia una richiesta. È un obiettivo che non rappresenta solo una cosa ma, come il capitale in ogni momento, rappresenta essenzialmente uno stadio di antagonismo dei rapporti sociali. Che le mense o il salario che vinciamo siano una vittoria o una sconfitta dipende dalla forza della nostra lotta. Da tale forza dipende se l'obiettivo è un'occasione per il capitale di organizzare in modo piú razionale il comando sul nostro lavoro o un'occasione per noi di indebolire la sua presa su tale comando. Quale forma l'obiettivo assuma quando lo raggiungiamo, che si tratti di salario o mense o disponibilità di mezzi di controllo delle nascite, emerge e si crea di fatto nella lotta, e registra il grado di potere che abbiamo raggiunto in quella lotta.

rettamente produttivo, dalla vita sociale, è stata creata

dall'organizzazione capitalistica.

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Perciò rifiutiamo il lavoro di casa come lavoro femminile, come lavoro imposto, che le donne non hanno mai inventato, che non è mai stato pagato, che ci hanno obbligate a gestire con tempi assurdi (dodici, tredici ore al giorno) per costringerci a stare in casa.

Usciamo di casa; rifiutiamo la casa perché vogliamo unirci alle altre donne per lottare contro tutte le situazioni che presuppongono che le donne stiano in casa, per collegarci a tutte le situazioni che presuppongono che la gente stia nei ghetti, sia il ghetto l'asilo, la scuola, l'ospedale, l'ospizio o l'area dei baraccati. Già l'abbandono della casa è una forma di lotta perché questi servizi sociali non saranno piú svolti in quelle condizioni e necessariamente tutti quelli che lavorano, chiederanno, rovesceranno sul capitale l'onere di organizzarli: tanto piú violentemente quanto piú violento, deciso e massificato sarà questo rifiuto

del lavoro domestico da parte delle donne.

La famiglia operaia è il punto più difficile da rompere. Perché è il sostegno dell'operaio, come operaio, e per la stessa ragione il sostegno del capitale. Perché da questa famiglia dipende il sostegno della classe, la sopravvivenza della classe, ma a spese della donna, contro la classe stessa. La donna dentro tale famiglia è la serva dell'operaio e la sua prestazione garantisce lo sfruttamento dell'uomo che da lei dipende. Come il sindacato, la famiglia protegge l'operaio, ma allo stesso tempo garantisce che sia lui che lei non saranno mai altro che operai. E questa è la ragione per cui la lotta delle donne di classe operaia contro la famiglia è decisiva.

Abbandonare la casa, dicevamo, è una forma di lotta. Incontrare le altre donne che lavorano in casa, in casa e fuori, ci fa impadronire delle altre occasioni di lotta.

Nella misura in cui la nostra lotta è una lotta contro il lavoro, è inscritta nella lotta complessiva che la classe operaia conduce contro il lavoro. Ma nella misura in cui lo sfruttamento del lavoro domestico ha avuto e ha una sua specifica storia, legata alla sussistenza del nucleo fa-

miliare, questa lotta ha una sua specificità di itinerario che passerà per la distruzione del nucleo familiare cosí com'è stato costruito dall'assetto capitalistico, definendo pertanto una nuova dimensione alla lotta di classe.

B. Il ruolo femminile tuttavia non è semplicemente quello di fornitore non salariato di servizi sociali. Come si diceva fin dall'inizio, l'ingabbiamento della donna in funzione complementare subordinata all'uomo nel nucleo familiare ha avuto come presupposto la menomazione della sua integrità fisica. Costringendola, in Italia col valido aiuto della Chiesa Cattolica che ha sempre definito la donno un essere inferiore, prima all'astinenza prematrimoniale, dopo il matrimonio ad una repressa sessualità unicamente destinata alla procreazione, obbligata alla procreazione, si è creato un ruolo femminile di « madre eroica e sposa felice » il cui sesso è tutta una sublimazione, la cui funzione è essenzialmente di ricettacolo delle funzioni emotive altrui, di cuscinetto degli antagonismi familiari. Quella che è stata classificata come frigidità femminile va dunque ridefinita come imposizione di una passiva ricettività anche nella funzione sessuale strettamente intesa.

Ora è proprio questa passività della donna nella famiglia che diventa « produttiva »; in primo luogo perché essa diventa cosí il centro di scarico dell'oppressione del lavoro che l'uomo incontra fuori e nello stesso tempo il soggetto su cui l'uomo può esercitare un'ansia di potere che il dominio dell'organizzazione del lavoro gli scatena; e quindi in questo senso la donna diventa « produttiva » per l'organizzazione capitalistica in quanto valvola di scarico delle tensioni sociali. In secondo luogo la donna diventa « produttiva » in quanto proprio la frustrazione complessiva della sua autonomia personale fa sí che essa sublimi questa frustrazione in una serie di bisogni continui che hanno sempre la casa come centro di realizzazione e che sono il corrispondente consumistico del perfezionismo lavorativo. Chiaramente non sta a noi insegnare ad altre donne che cosa devono mettere in casa. Nessuno può definire i bisogni di un altro. Ma è nostro interesse organizzare la lotta attraverso cui cadano queste sublimazioni.

Usiamo la parola « sublimazione » di proposito. La frustrazione derivante dai servizi domestici monotoni e ripetitivi e dalla passività sessuale sono separabili solo a parole. La creatività sessuale e la creatività nel lavoro sono entrambe aree dove il bisogno umano richiede che noi diamo — come dice Marx — un campo d'azione indeterminato ai nostri «poteri naturali ed acquisiti» 18. Per le donne (e quindi per gli uomini) i poteri naturali ed acquisiti sono repressi simultaneamente. La passiva ricettività della donna crea il perfezionismo lavorativo della casalinga e può rendere terapeutica la monotonia della linea di montaggio. La banalità della maggior parte del lavoro domestico e la disciplina che è richiesta per fare lo stesso lavoro ogni giorno, ogni settimana, ogni anno, doppio nei giorni di festa, distrugge le possibilità di una sessualità disinibita. La nostra infanzia è la preparazione per il sacrificio: ci insegnano a godere di un sesso deodorato e di lenzuola « sempre piú bianche », a sacrificare la sessualità e nello stesso tempo ogni altra attività creativa.

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Finora il movimento femminista, specialmente con la smitizzazione dell'orgasmo vaginale, ha denunciato il meccanismo fisico che ha permesso che il potenziale sessuale delle donne fosse strettamente definito e limitato dall'uomo. Adesso possiamo cominciare a reintegrare la sessualità con altri aspetti della creatività, a constatare come la sessualità sarà sempre compressa finché il lavoro che facciamo mutilerà noi e le nostre capacità individuali, e le persone con cui abbiamo relazioni sessuali saranno nostri padroni e saranno anch'esse mutilate dal loro la-

¹⁸ K. Marx, Il capitale, prec. cit., vol. I, pag. 534-535, « Per essa [la grande industria N.d.A.] diventa questione di vita o di morte sostituire a quella mostruosità che è una miserabile popoazione operaia disponibile, tenuta in riserva per il variabile bisogno di sfruttamento del capitale, la disponibilità assoluta dell'uomo per il variare delle esigenze del lavoro; sostituire all'individuo parziale, mero veicolo di una funzione sociale di dettaglio l'individuo totalmente sviluppato, per il quale differenti funzioni sociali sono modi di attività [nel senso di poteri naturali ed acquisiti N.d.A.] che si danno il cambio l'uno con l'altro ».

voro. Far saltare il mito vaginale è richiedere autonomia femminile di contro a subordinazione e sublimazione. Ma non si tratta solo del clitoride contro la vagina, ma di entrambi contro l'utero. O la vagina è innanzitutto il passaggio per la riproduzione della forza-lavoro venduta come merce, cioè la funzione capitalistica dell'utero, oppure è parte del nostro bagaglio sociale. La sessualità è la piú sociale delle espressioni, la comunicazione umana piú profonda. In questo senso è la dissoluzione dell'autonomia. La classe operaia organizza come classe il superamento di sé come classe; all'interno di quella classe noi ci organizziamo autonomamente per creare le basi per il superamento dell'autonomia.

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Mentre scopriamo il nostro modo di essere e di organizzarci nella Îotta, dobbiamo confrontarci con quelli che sono solo troppo desiderosi di attaccare le donne, anche quando esse diventano movimento. Essi sostengono che definendo se stessa contro l'obliterazione, attraverso il lavoro e attraverso il consumo, la donna è responsabile della mancanza di unità della classe. Facciamo allora una lista parziale dei peccati di cui essa è accusata. Loro dicono che:

lei vuole una parte maggiore del salario del marito per comprare per esempio vestiti per sé e i bambini, non basandosi su ciò di cui lui pensa che essa abbia bisogno ma su ciò che lei pensa di dover avere per sé e per i bambini. Lui lavora duro per procurare i soldi. Lei chiede solo un'altra distribuzione della loro mancanza di ricchezza piuttosto che sostenere la sua lotta per maggior ricchezza, maggior salario.

2) lei è in rivalità con altre donne per avere piú cose della donna della porta accanto allo stesso modo per cui la sua casa deve essere piú pulita e piú in ordine di quella delle sue vicine. Non si allea come dovrebbe con loro su una base di classe.

3) lei si seppellisce nella casa ed è incapace di capire la lotta del marito in fabbrica. Arriva persino a trovare da ridire quando lui sciopera invece di sostenerlo. Vota per la conservazione sociale.

Queste sono alcune delle ragioni per cui lei è stata considerata reazionaria o nell'ipotesi migliore arretrata persino da parte degli uomini che hanno ruoli di leadership nelle lotte di fabbrica e che sembrano i piú capaci di capire la natura dei padroni sociali perché sono militanti politici. Diventa facile per loro condannare le donne per quella che essi considerano arretratezza perché questa è l'ideologia prevalente nella società. Ma non aggiungono di aver approfittato della subordinazione delle donne che li hanno accuditi dal momento della nascita. Alcuni nemmeno si rendono conto di essere stati accuditi tanto gli è naturale che madri sorelle e figlie servano i « loro » uomini. Ed è veramente difficile per noi, d'altra parte, separare la loro innata supremazia maschile dal loro attacco, che appare sempre essere strettamente « politico », che appare lanciato solo a vantaggio della classe.

Diamo un'occhiata alla materia piú da vicino.

1. Le donne non fanno della casa un centro di consumo. Il processo di consumo è integrale alla produzione della forza-lavoro, e se le donne rifiutassero di fare la spesa, di « spendere », questo sarebbe sciopero. Dopo aver detto questo tuttavia, dobbiamo aggiungere che ai rapporti sociali di cui le donne sono private perché staccate da un lavoro organizzato socialmente, esse spesso cercano di compensare comprando cose. Se sia superfluo o no dipende dal punto di vista e dal sesso del giudice: gli intellettuali comprano libri ma nessuno considera tale consumo superfluo. Indipendentemente dalla validità o meno del contenuto, il libro in questa società rappresenta ancora, grazie ad una tradizione cominciata prima del capitalismo, un valore maschile.

Abbiamo già detto che le donne comprano cose per la casa perché la casa è l'unica prova che esse esistono. Ma l'idea che il non-consumo è in qualche modo una liberazione è vecchia quanto il capitalismo e proviene dai capitalisti che da sempre danno agli operai la colpa della condizione operaia. Per anni i neri di Harlem venivano ammoniti dai buoni liberali che se avessero smesso di gui-

dare Cadillacs — fino a che le compagnie che le vendevano a rate le avessero prese indietro — il problema del colore si sarebbe risolto. Fino a che la violenza della loro lotta (che era la sola risposta adeguata) dava la misura del potere sociale, questa Cadillac era uno dei pochi modi di mostrare il potenziale di potere. E questo, e non la parsimonia, induceva i liberali alla recriminazione.

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In ogni caso, niente di quello che compriamo, ci sarebbe necessario se fossimo libere. Né il cibo che ci propinano, né i vestiti che fanno classe, sesso e generazione,

né le case in cui ci costringono.

In ogni caso, il nostro problema in realtà è che non abbiamo mai abbastanza, non che abbiamo troppo. La pressione che le donne attuano sugli uomini è una difesa, non un attacco al salario. Proprio perché le donne sono le serve degli operai, gli uomini dividono il salario fra se stessi e le spese generali di famiglia. Se le donne non chiedessero niente, il livello generale di vita della famiglia cadrebbe assorbito dall'inflazione, e le donne naturalmente sarebbero le prime a farne le spese. Perciò, senza pressione femminile, la famiglia funzionerebbe una volta di piú nel senso di assorbire la caduta del salario reale ¹⁹. Questo perciò è il modo materiale piú diretto in cui le donne possono difendere il livello di vita della loro classe. E quando usciranno per la riunione politica, avranno bisogno anche di piú denaro!

2. Quanto alla « rivalità » fra donne, Frantz Fanon ha

¹⁹ J.M. KEYNES, Teoria generale dell'occupazione dell'interesse e della moneta, Torino, Utet, 1971, pag. 153: « Ma l'altra obiezione, la piú fondamentale, che svilupperemo nei capitoli successivi, deriva dal fatto che noi respingiamo la supposizione che il livello generale dei salari reali sia determinato direttamente dal carattere del contratto collettivo del salario... Cercheremo di dimostrare che sono principalmente certe altre forze che determinano il livello generale dei salari reali ... Concluderemo che vi è stato un malinteso fondamentale sul modo nel quale opera di fatto a questo riguardo l'economia nella quale viviamo » [corsivo sono anzitutto le donne.

chiarito per il terzo mondo quello che solo il razzismo impedisce si applichi generalmente alla classe. I colonizzati, egli dice, quando non si organizzano contro i loro oppressori, si tagliano la gola l'un l'altro. La pressione per un più alto consumo può a volte esprimersi in forma di « rivalità », ciononostante, come abbiamo detto, garantisce il livello generale di vita della classe. Al contrario della rivalità sessuale femminile, che ha le sue radici nella dipendenza economica e sociale delle donne dagli uomini. Nella misura in cui le donne vivono per gli uomini, si vestono per gli uomini, lavorano per gli uomini, sono manipolate dagli uomini attraverso questa rivalità ²⁰.

²⁰ È stato notato che molti dei bolscevichi dopo il '17 trovarono partners femminili nell'aristocrazia decaduta. Quando il potere continua a risiedere negli uomini, sia a livello di Stato che di rapporti individuali, i vecchi criteri di scelta delle donne come « preda sottomessa alla libidine della comunità » (K. Marx, Opere filosofiche giovanile, cit., p. 244) continuano a perpetuarsi. La stir-

pe dei nuovi zar viene da lontano.

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Già nel 1921, tra le « Decisioni del III Congresso dell'Internazionale Comunista » si può leggere nella parte I del capitolo sul « Lavoro tra le donne »: « Il Terzo Congresso dell'Internazionale Comunista conferma l'affermazione fondamentale del marxismo rivoluzionario e cioè che non vi è alcuna "specifica questione femminile" né alcuno "specifico movimento femminile" e che qualsiasi tipo di alleanza di donne di classe operaia col femminismo borghese, cosí come qualsiasi appoggio delle donne di classe operaia alla tattica traditrice dei social-intrallazzatori e degli opportunisti finisce per minare le forze del proletariato... per farla finita con la schiavitú delle donne è necessario inaugurare la nuova organizzazione comunista della società...».

Come si vede, la teoria era maschile, ma la pratica era addirittura « neutralizzante ». E citiamo da uno dei padri fondatori. Nella prima conferenza nazionale delle donne comuniste il 26 marzo 1922, « il compagno *Gramsci* rilevò come una speciale azione debba essere organizzata fra le donne di casa che costituiscono la grande maggioranza delle proletarie, e che con la creazione di speciali organizzazioni dovrebbero essere in qualche modo collesate col nostro movimento. Le donne di casa, per la qualità del loro lavoro, si possono avvicinare agli artigiani, perciò difficilmente saranno delle comuniste; tuttavia, perché compagne degli operai e viventi in qualche modo della loro vita, sono portate verso il comunismo. La nostra propaganda può, perciò, influire sopra que

Quanto alla rivalità per la casa, le donne fin dalla piú tenera età sono addestrate a essere ossessive e possessive per la casa « linda e pulita ». Ma gli uomini non possono continuare a godere il privilegio di avere una serva personale e lamentarsi degli effetti della « servitú personale ». Se si lamentano dobbiamo concludere che il loro attacco alla nostra rivalità è in realtà un'apologia della nostra servitú. Se non era giusto il punto di vista di Frantz Fanon, che il conflitto fra i colonizzati è un'espressione del basso livello di organizzazione, allora l'antagonismo è un segno di incapacità naturale. Quando chiamiamo la casa un ghetto, possiamo chiamarla altrettanto correttamente colonia governata dalla metropoli attraverso la gerarchia locale. La soluzione dell'antagonismo reciproco dei colonizzati risiede nella lotta autonoma. Le donne hanno superato ostacoli ben maggiori della rivalità per unirsi a sostegno degli uomini nella lotta. Dove le donne hanno vinto meno è stato nell'approfondire e trasformare momenti di lotta in altrettante occasioni per sollevare le proprie richieste. La lotta autonoma capovolge la questione: non saranno « le donne a unirsi a sostegno degli uomini », bensí « gli uomini a unirsi a sostegno delle donne ». Che cosa ha impedito precedentemente l'attività po-

3. Che cosa ha impedito precedentemente l'attività politica delle donne? Perché anzi possono essere usate talvolta contro lo sciopero? Perché, in altre parole, la classe non è unita? Fin dall'inizio di queste pagine abbiamo presupposto la centralità dell'esclusione delle donne dalla produzione socializzata. Questo è un carattere oggettivo dell'organizzazione capitalistica: lavoro socializzato nelle fabbriche, lavoro isolato nella casa. Questo modo è rispecchiato soggettivamente dal modo in cui gli operai di fabbrica sono organizzati in modo separato dal contesto sociale. Che cosa si deve fare a livello sociale? Che cosa devono fare le donne? Sostenere, essere appendici degli uomini nella casa e nella lotta, persino formare gruppi

ste donne di casa; può servire, se non a inquadrarle nelle nostre organizzazioni, a neutralizzarle, in modo che esse non costituiscano un impedimento nelle eventuali lotte degli operai ». (« Compagna », anno I, n. 3 [2 aprile 1922], p. 2).

ancillari del sindacato? Questa divisione e questo tipo di divisione è la storia della classe. A ogni stadio della lotta le sezioni di classe più periferiche sono usate contro quelle che sono al centro del ciclo produttivo tanto più quanto queste ultime ignorano le prime. Questa appunto è la storia del sindacato, per esempio negli Stati Uniti quando gli operai neri furono usati come crumiri, mai, in ogni caso, cosí spesso come si è cercato di far credere agli operai bianchi. I neri come le donne sono immediatamente identificabili e rapporti di crumiraggio rafforzano i pregiudizi che nascono da divisioni oggettive: il bianco alla linea di montaggio e il nero che spazza attorno ai suoi piedi, o il maschio alla linea di montaggio e la donna che spazza attorno ai suoi piedi quando lui rientra a casa.

Gli uomini quando rifiutano loro il lavoro considerano se stessi militanti e quando noi rifiutiamo il lavoro ci considerano delle bisbetiche. Quando noi votiamo per la conservazione sociale, perché siamo state escluse dalla lotta politica, loro pensano che noi siamo arretrate mentre loro hanno votato per partiti che li hanno solo svenduti, senza riconoscere che noi esistevamo se non

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Terzo aspetto del ruolo femminile nella famiglia è che, per le già considerate ragioni di menomazione personale, la donna diviene la principale figura repressiva e disciplinatrice di tutti i membri della famiglia stessa, sia a livello ideologico che psicologico. La donna può vivere sotto la tirannia del marito, della casa, la tirannia di sforzarsi di essere « madre eroica e sposa felice » mentre la sua intera esistenza rifiuta questo ideale. Quelli che sono tiranneggiati e privati di potere sono con le nuove generazioni per i primi anni di vita riproduttori di docili lavoratori e capetti, allo stesso modo che la maestra fa a scuola (in questo modo la donna è complice del marito: non a caso esistono le associazioni genitori-insegnanti). In quanto responsabile della riproduzione della forza-lavoro, la donna, da un lato, disciplina i figli che lavoreranno domani, dall'altro, disciplina il marito che lavora oggi e dal cui salario solamente dipende la sussistenza del-

l'intera famiglia.

Ora, da quanto fin qui considerato, senza addentrarci nell'analisi dei meandri dei meccanismi psicologici, ci basti aver individuato e tratteggiato essenzialmente questa produttività femminile domestica, che passa attraverso il ruolo complessivo che la donna svolge (oltre che particolarmente attraverso il lavoro domestico che essa si sobbarca gratuitamente). Poniamo quindi come pregiudiziale l'esigenza di spaccare questo ruolo che vuole divise le donne, le une dalle altre, dagli uomini, dai bambini, ciascuna nella sua famiglia come la crisalide nel bozzolo che si imprigiona con il suo stesso lavoro per morire e lasciare la seta al capitale. Rifiutare tutto questo, come dicevamo già nel corso di queste osservazioni, vuol dire per le casalinghe riconoscersi anche come sezione di classe, la piú degradata perché non pagata.

La loro posizione nella lotta complessiva della donna è decisiva in quanto viene a minare il pilastro dell'orga-

nizzazione capitalistica attuale e cioè la famiglia.

Quindi ogni obiettivo che tenda a recuperare l'individualità della donna di contro a questa figura complementare di tutto e di tutti che è la casalinga vale la pena che sia posto come obiettivo eversivo della possibilità di questo ruolo.

In questo stesso senso tutti gli obiettivi che servano a restituire alla donna l'integrità delle sue funzioni fisiche fondamentali, a cominciare da quella sessuale, che è stata la prima ad esserle tolta accanto all'invenzione lavorativa, devono essere posti con la massima urgenza.

Non a caso la ricerca anticoncezionale si è sviluppata con notevole ritardo. Non a caso l'aborto è vietato pressoché a livello mondiale o concesso al massimo come terapeutico.

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Muoversi su queste cose non è fare del facile riformismo. La gestione capitalistica di queste cose ripropone continuamente la discriminante di classe e la discriminante femminile specificamente. Perché le donne proletarie, le donne del terzo mondo, funzionano da cavie di queste ricerche? Perché il problema anticoncezionale continua ad essere posto come problema femminile? Cominciare a lottare per capovolgere la gestione di queste cose è muoversi su un piano di classe e su un piano specificamente femminile. Collegare queste lotte con la lotta contro la maternità considerata responsabilità esclusivamente femminile, contro il lavoro domestico considerato come lavoro femminile, al limite contro tutti i modelli che il capitale stesso offre come esempi di emancipazione femminile e che non sono altro che brutte copie del ruolo maschile, è lottare contro la divisione e organizzazione del lavoro.

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Per riassumere, bisogna distruggere il ruolo della casalinga, dietro il cui isolamento si è nascosto lavoro sociale. Ma le alternative sono strettamente definite. Finora il mito dell'incapacità femminile, radicato nella donna isolata nella casa dipendente dal salario di un altro e perciò plasmata dalla coscienza di un altro, è stato rotto da una sola alternativa: quella della donna che si impadroniva di un salario proprio, rompendo con la dipendenza economica, costruendo una propria esperienza indipendente col mondo esterno, fornendo lavoro entro una struttura socializzata, fosse la fabbrica o l'ufficio; e lí dava inizio alle proprie forme di ribellione sociale in aggiunta alle tradizionali forme di lotta della classe. L'avvento del movimento di liberazione femminista è il rifiuto di questa alternativa.

Il capitale ha cercato e cerca di utilizzare la spinta che ha creato il movimento — il rifiuto da parte di milioni di donne del tradizionale posto della donna — per ricomporre la forza-lavoro con un crescente numero di donne. Il movimento può svilupparsi solo in opposizione a questa alternativa. Per il fatto che esiste, già pone e dovrà porre in un'azione sempre piú articolata l'istanza del rifiuto femminista del mito della liberazione attraverso il lavoro.

Abbiamo lavorato abbastanza. Abbiamo raccolto mi-

lioni di tonnellate di cotone, lavato milioni di piatti, raschiato milioni di pavimenti, dattilografato milioni di parole, messo i fili di milioni di radio, lavato milioni di pannolini con le mani e con le macchine. Ogni volta che ci hanno « aperto delle strade » per entrare in qualche roccaforte maschile, ci hanno aperto ad un nuovo livello di sfruttamento. Ancora dobbiamo richiamarci, in modo diverso da quanto fatto sopra, al sottosviluppo del terzo mondo e al sottosviluppo nella metropoli — piú specificamente nelle cucine della metropoli. Il piano capitalistico offre al terzo mondo di « svilupparsi »; il che vuol dire, in aggiunta al purgatorio presente, soffrire anche il purgatorio della controrivoluzione industriale. Alle donne nella metropoli è stato offerto lo stesso « aiuto ». Ma quante di noi sono uscite di casa per lavorare, per necessità di sopravvivenza o per le cosiddette spese personali o per l'indipendenza economica, hanno messo in guardia le altre: l'inflazione ci ha inchiodato al dannato pool delle dattilografe o alla catena di montaggio e in tutto questo non c'è salvezza. Dobbiamo rifiutare lo sviluppo che loro ci offrono. Ma la lotta della donna che lavora fuori non è destinata a ritornare nell'isolamento della casa, anche se talvolta di lunedí mattina la casa può sembrare attraente. Altrettanto la lotta della casalinga non è destinata a scambiare la prigionia domestica con l'incollatura al tavolino della macchina da scrivere o alla catena di montaggio, per quanto il lavoro fuori possa apparire attraente rispetto alla solitudine dell'appartamento.

Le donne devono riscoprire completamente le loro possibilità, che non sono né fare la calza né il capitano di

lungo corso.

O meglio si possono anche fare tutte queste cose ma la collocazione che queste cose hanno ora è tutta dentro la

storia del capitale.

La sfida del movimento femminista consiste nel trovare modi di lotta che, liberando la donna dalla casa, da un lato evitino una doppia schiavitú alla donna, dall'altro tolgano spazio ad una ulteriore possibilità di controllo e di irregimentazione capitalistica. Questa in fondo nel movimento femminista è la discriminante fra riformismo e politica rivoluzionaria.

Sembra che di donne genio ce ne siano state poche. Essenzialmente non ci potevano essere donne genio dal momento che, tagliate fuori dal processo sociale, non si vede su che materia potessero ingegnarsi. Ora questo è

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roda tro Freud ha detto fra l'altro che ogni donna dal momento in cui nasce soffre di frustrazione per non avere il pene. Ha mancato di aggiungere che questo senso di frustrazione le comincia nel momento in cui si accorge che in qualche modo avere il pene vuol dire avere potere. Tanto meno ha ricollegato questo al fatto che il tradizionale potere del pene conobbe una nuova storia da quando la separazione fra uomo e donna divenne una separazione capitalistica.

La nostra lotta parte da qui.

29 dicembre 1971

IL POSTO DELL'A DONNA di Selma James

PREMESSA

Questo documento è stato scritto nel 1953, nel fondo della guerra fredda, in una città — Los Angeles — dove l'immigrazione di giovani operaie e operai aveva assunto dimensioni bibliche a partire dalla seconda guerra. Il documento è stato scritto da una donna casalinga e operaia allo stesso tempo ed è il frutto dell'esperienza collettiva della massa delle donne casalinghe e operaie nelle quali l'autrice si identificava.

In quella situazione era già chiaro a tutte che il lavoro fuori casa non liberava le donne dal lavoro di casa

né lo trasformava.

La chiarezza delle considerazioni a questo proposito non appartengono perciò soltanto all'autrice ma riflettono la altrettanto chiara consapevolezza delle sue compagne di lavoro. Ciò nonostante quel lavoro costitui per moltissime donne la prima possibilità di un'esperienza autonoma fuori casa. Come l'autrice afferma, dopo l'immissione in massa delle donne nelle fabbriche durante la seconda guerra mondiale e la loro brutale espulsione tra il 1945 e il 1947, l'occupazione femminile si mantenne stabile tra il 1947 e il 1949 ed aumentò nel triennio seguente in occasione della guerra di Corea.

La California meridionale era stata investita da una forte ondata immigratoria nel periodo bellico. Tra il 1940 e il 1946, la popolazione di San Diego era aumentata del 61 per cento, quella di Los Angeles del 29 per cento¹.

Nel dopoguerra e nonostante la diminuzione dell'oc-

¹ Cfr. nota 8 dell'Introduzione di Selma James.

cupazione, gli immigrati non tornarono nell'Est o nel Sud. Avevano voltato le spalle per sempre alle miniere di carbone della Pennsylvania, della West Virginia, del Kentu-

cky e alle campagne del Sud.

Los Angeles era in quegli anni una metropoli di immigrate e di immigrati sradicati dal proprio ambiente, privi — soprattutto le donne — dell'aiuto e del controllo della propria parentela. Nei settori aeronautico, elettronico, automobilistico, di cui Los Angeles era in quegli anni uno dei maggiori centri statunitensi, le donne — meno le donne nere delle bianche, a causa della discriminazione razzista che le escludeva dai posti di lavoro — riuscivano a liberare nuovi comportamenti, nuove forme di lotta, nuovi stili di vita, al di fuori del sindacato e di tutte le altre forme di gestione tradizionale della « politica »: semplicemente, un taglio netto col passato.

Il discorso dell'emancipazione femminile negli Stati Uniti è sorto in questo contesto nel dopoguerra, con le energie nuove che non accettavano vecchie « prote-

zioni » e che addirittura le ignoravano.

In questo documento, il lavoro fuori della casa appare come un secondo padrone, che si sovrappone al primo, « il lavoro stesso del marito », quello cioè che comanda il lavoro domestico della donna e determina la qualità della sua vita. La donna si scontra necessariamente con entrambi questi padroni. Il filo conduttore del documento è la tesi della capacità delle donne di forgiarsi forme di lotta nuove contro entrambi questi padroni: la lotta per il salario reale, per il blocco dei prezzi, contro l'alternativa della casa e della fabbrica, contro il comando capitalistico a « tenere il proprio posto ». L'immediatezza dell'interesse materiale, il meglio della vita, questa volontà operaia americana — tanto vituperata dalla reazione europea di tutte le risme — di avere « tutto quello che c'è di piú moderno », tutto questo vive nel documento oggi come quando venne scritto. Perché la pace fredda contro le donne non ha conosciuto disgelo: a meno del fuoco della nostra lotta.

Oggi, molto piú che in passato, riviste e giornali sono pieni di articoli sulle donne.

Alcuni trattano semplicemente di ciò che le donne dell'alta società fanno, parlano dei loro sfarzosi matrimoni. Altri si preoccupano dell'alta percentuale di divorzi e cercano di dare una risposta a tutto questo. Oppure si occupano dei milioni di donne che vengono inserite nell'industria, o della irrequietezza delle casalinghe. Questi articoli non mostrano il vero significato di questa irrequietezza e possono solo cercare di far sentire alle donne che fuori casa stanno meglio di quanto non lo siano mai state.

Invitano quindi le donne a essere felici.

Nessuno di questi articoli, nessuno, chiarisce il fatto che se le donne in qualche modo stanno meglio fuori casa, è perché le donne hanno ottenuto questo cambiamento da sole. E ancora, non sottolineano che le donne esigono ora questo cambiamento e che sono esse sole a fare in modo che avvenga.

Il modo usato da tali scrittori per liquidare il ruolo storico della donna è di non trattare della vita quotidiana e reale di milioni di donne, di ciò che esse fanno e pensano.

È solo la vita di tutti i giorni che può mostrare ciò che la donna vuole e ciò che non vuole.

Molti degli scrittori di questi articoli sono donne, ma sono donne carrieriste, che non sono parte né delle casalinghe né delle donne lavoratrici di questo paese. Esse capiscono che attenersi ai fatti sarebbe un'arma in mano alle donne per la loro lotta per una vita nuova per loro e

per le loro famiglie.

In realtà esse non si occupano delle pressioni che la donna si trova giornalmente a dover fronteggiare, non si occupano del fatto che la donna, trovandosi ad affrontare giornalmente queste pressioni, scopre la forza sua e delle altre donne; eliminano il problema dicendo semplicemente che la donna nel momento in cui scopre questa sua forza e toglie di mezzo tutta una vecchia maniera di

trattare con gli altri, prepara sé stessa e il marito a un

tipo nuovo e migliore di rapporti sociali.

Qui l'autrice scrive quanto ha visto nella sua stessa vita e nella vita delle donne che essa conosce, per cominciare a esprimere quello che la media delle donne sente, pensa e vive.

LA DONNA NUBILE

Moltissime donne lavorano fuori casa prima di sposarsi e scoprono di essere perfettamente in grado di prendersi cura di se stesse; la loro indipendenza è di gran lunga maggiore rispetto a quella della donne nubili di venti anni fa. Certamente esse desiderano sposarsi. Ma dicono che il loro matrimonio sarà diverso, che non si rassegneranno a sfacchinare per la casa e per la famiglia come facevano le loro madri. Una mia amica dice che lei è diversa da sua madre perché vuole di piú dal matrimonio: « lei non si aspettava niente, io sono diversa, dal matrimonio mi aspetto qualcosa ».

Le donne vogliono partecipare alle decisioni da prendere e molto spesso rifiutano di dover lottare da sole per far quadrare una sola busta paga; preferiscono continuare a lavorare, anche se solo per un poco dopo il matrimonio, pur di cominciare ad avere qualcuna delle cose che voglio-

no e di cui necessitano.

Uno dei piú grossi problemi che una donna nubile si trova ad affrontare, oltre al problema di dover mantenersi, è che cosa avverrà del suo atteggiamento rispetto alla morale che le è stata insegnata. Nel cercare di dare una soluzione a tale problema, le donne nubili hanno dato vita ad una impostazione interamente nuova della morale. Anche se molte ragazze non hanno riflettuto sulle loro azioni in questo modo, di fatto esse sono andate contro l'intero codice di morale che era stato insegnato loro. Molte donne hanno rapporti sessuali prima del matrimonio e non sono considerate per questo donne che hanno sbagliato o donne di malaffare: non è la stessa situazione di una donna

sola che, anni fa, andava con un uomo e teneva questo per sé.

Una ragazza mi disse che tutte le sue amiche avevano avuto relazioni sessuali con i loro ragazzi e ne parlavano apertamente: lo ritenevano un loro diritto ed erano
disposte ad andar contro le autorità scolastiche, i genitori e anche contro quegli uomini che non volevano accettarle. Che la società le approvi o no, esse si comportano
come la maggior parte delle loro amiche e sono certe che
questo diritto verrà loro riconosciuto per la forza del numero di ragazze che ormai la pensano cosí ed agiscono di
conseguenza.

« Ehi, mi spaventate! »

Oggi una donna nubile ci pensa su due volte prima di sposarsi e di rinunciare alla libertà di cui godeva prima del matrimonio. Prima, essa usciva come e quando le pareva, ed acquistava i vestiti quando ne aveva bisogno. Non aveva mai raggiunto il grado di libertà di cui gode un uomo, però aveva una sua autonomia. Una giovane donna di vent'anni, che lavora con me, dice che pur avendo avuto la possibilità di sposarsi almeno due volte, è ben felice di non averlo fatto. Mi disse: « Mi rendo conto di quanto sto bene da sola, quando sento le donne sposate parlare dei loro mariti. Io adesso faccio quello che ho voglia di fare ». Quando sente parlare le donne sposate dice: « Mi spaventate! Mi farete restare zitella! ».

Ma tutte le donne vogliono una casa e una famiglia. Questa stessa ragazza parla sempre dei suoi ragazzi e desidera avere figli. Al giorno d'oggi le giovani donne sentono che i momenti e l'intimità del rapporto che hanno col loro ragazzo non dovrebbero finire con il matrimonio, ma dovrebbero trasformare il matrimonio in un'esperienza reale. È chiaro quindi che queste ragazze non rifiutano l'uomo e il matrimonio, ma rifiutano invece ciò che il matrimonio è oggi.

Non appena una donna si sposa, scopre che deve adattarsi e accettare responsabilità, cosa che le donne sono sempre state allenate a fare. Essa capisce che il suo compito è quello di fare della casa, in cui lei e il marito vivono, un posto dove possono invitare gli amici e distendersi dopo una giornata di faticoso lavoro. E anche se una donna lavora, è cosa scontata fin dall'inizio che la responsabilità della casa spetta in prima persona alla donna, la responsabilità del mantenimento è compito dell'uomo. Il marito lavora fuori casa e provvede al sostentamento tuo e dei tuoi figli; tu devi invece garantire che la casa sia pulita, il cibo cucinato, la biancheria lavata e i bambini seguiti. Questo sembra essere il giusto modo di mandare avanti le cose. Ma presto ti accorgi che lo stare in casa a fare i lavori domestici non è come appare nei films. Il lavoro in casa non è mai finito e per di piú è monotono e ripetitivo. Dopo un po' stirare, alzarsi presto per preparare la colazione ecc. non sono cose che vuoi fare. Diventano cose che devi fare.

I figli

Alcune coppie cercano di realizzare questa divisione del lavoro fin dall'inizio. Per esempio, quando una donna lavora, l'uomo divide con lei i lavori domestici al rientro in casa. Il marito di una donna aveva lavorato in casa piú della moglie stessa, prima che questa avesse figli.

Ma ogni idea di divisione del lavoro sparisce non appena arriva un figlio. Quando ci sono bambini, l'impalcatura basata sul lavoro esterno dell'uomo e il lavoro casalingo della donna si rivela per quello che è: una condizione disumana. L'intero peso dei bambini, della casa e via dicendo ricade sulla donna. Non appena una donna lascia il lavoro per avere figli, l'uomo non si rende conto che deve aiutarla. Ciò che prima era, all'inizio del matrimonio, una divisione dei compiti, diventa ora una spac-

catura: i figli, invece di unire l'uomo e la donna, dividono il matrimonio e inchiodano la donna alla casa e il marito al suo lavoro. Ma molto spesso per una donna che lavora e non vede l'ora di smettere quando avrà figli, l'arrivo dei figli rende il lavoro fuori casa una condanna all'ergastolo. Dopo uno o due mesi essa torna a lavorare fuori.

Pochi uomini si interessano a ciò che vuol dire dettagliatamente prendersi cura di un bambino: credono non sia loro compito fargli il bagno e cambiargli i pannolini. Alcuni uomini pensano che dal momento che la donna deve stare a casa con i bambini, non c'è motivo per cui debbano starci anche loro. Di conseguenza escono e fanno quel che gli pare, se le mogli glielo permettono, pur sapendo che esse sono inchiodate costantemente alla casa e alla cura dei bambini. Se l'uomo esce con i suoi amici, la donna di solito lotta per il diritto di uscire con le sue amiche. Una donna mi raccontò che era incinta e che questo le dispiaceva perché aveva già un figlio di quattro mesi. Diceva che suo marito era contento. Sapeva infatti che se lei era bloccata a causa del bambino lui poteva andar fuori quando gli pareva.

Sono sempre di meno le donne che accettano questa posizione del marito: tirano fuori le unghie e i denti per ribellarsi al fatto che casa e figli pesino unicamente sulle loro spalle. Esse rifiutano di stare a casa e di essere legate alla casa mentre il marito continua la sua vita come se nulla fosse. Se le donne devono restare a casa per via

dei figli, allora l'uomo deve restarci con loro.

La famiglia è divisa

Le donne stanno cercando di spezzare la divisione che si è venuta a creare fra padre e figli, e fra madre e padre. Il privilegio che la società dà all'uomo, oggi le donne non glielo concedono piú. È un privilegio che nuoce tanto a lui che a lei. Gli uomini sanno ben poco dei propri figli, non sono in intimità con loro, e non sanno che cosa ti dà in cambio il fatto di dedicare tempo e lavoro al

figlio. È questa dedizione che una donna concede, che rende la madre più vicina ai figli di quanto possa esserlo il padre. Gli uomini ritengono che mantenere un bambino sia tutto ciò che devono fare per avere in cambio l'amore del figlio e il rispetto della propria moglie. Essi pensano che non si debba chiedere loro nulla di più, ma meno si chiede loro meno otterranno in cambio.

Non è certo una cosa facile per una donna abituarsi a fare la madre. Prima di tutto perché sai che la responsabilità nei confronti del figlio è interamente tua: se tuo marito cessa di mantenerlo, questo compito spetta a te. Tu devi allevarlo: nessun altro lo farà al posto tuo. Chiunque egli diventi crescendo, sarà stata essenzialmente opera tua. Non appena hai un figlio devi far funzionare il matrimonio. Ora quindi non ci sei solo tu, ma anche l'altra persona, che non ha chiesto di nascere, che soffrirà se il tuo matrimonio andrà a rotoli. Un gran numero di matrimoni che normalmente si sarebbero sfasciati sono tenuti in piedi dalla donna per preservare il bambino da una famiglia divisa.

L'intera vita della donna ruota attorno ai figli. Essi sono il suo primo pensiero. Essa trova che i figli sono le uniche persone al mondo che hanno effettivamente bisogno di lei: se non ha niente di piú, essa vive per loro ed organizza il proprio lavoro in modo da poter occuparsi di loro nella maniera migliore. I suoi orari mostrano come il suo tempo non sia in realtà suo, ma appartenga ai figli. Spesso essa deve rinunciare a delle cose per sé per poter comperare ai figli ciò di cui abbisognano; deve cercare di abitare in una casa che sia abbastanza spaziosa e sana per i bambini. A volte deve lottare con il marito per fare avere ai bambini qualcosa di cui sa che hanno bisogno, e che lui non vuole concedere. Pianifica la sua vita a seconda della loro età

È certo facile per un uomo dire: questo è mio figlio, ma i problemi reali, come arrabbiarsi quando i bambini sono cattivi o maleducati, preoccuparsi di come mangiano, o quanto devono dormire, tutti ricadono sulle spalle della donna. Se le scarpe gli vanno bene, se è a posto con

i vestiti: queste sono cose di cui la maggioranza dei padri non sa niente. Questo non vuol dire che ai padri piaccia questo modo di vivere. D'altra parte non è molto ciò che possono fare per cambiare le cose. Quando escono al mattino per andare al lavoro, i bambini stanno dormendo e. quando ritornano la sera, è quasi ora per loro di andare a letto. La loro vita è in massima parte occupata dal lavoro per procurare da vivere e dai problemi connessi con questo. E per il fatto che non stanno abbastanza tempo con i figli, finiscono per avere ben scarsa idea di ciò di cui essi hanno bisogno, non solo nel senso di bisogni fisici, ma anche in fatto di disciplina, affetto e sicurezza. La divisione tra casa e fabbrica crea una divisione fra il padre e i figli. Ed è ovvio che quando madre e padre conducono vite separate, anche i figli vengono a soffrirne. Essi vengono spesso usati da ciascun genitore come un'arma nei confronti dell'altro. Raramente i bambini riescono a capire da che parte stanno, e cercano di tirarsi fuori da tutta la situazione non appena possibile. Essi rifiutano di essere parte di questa continua guerra in famiglia, e se ne dissociano non appena sono abbastanza grandi per farlo.

Poi i bambini tornano a casa

Il lavoro che comporta l'avere un figlio distrugge buona parte del piacere di averlo, per chi deve compiere questo lavoro. Essere insieme con i bambini ogni giorno, tutte le settimane, riordinare dopo il loro passaggio, tenerli puliti, preoccuparsi che non vadano sulla strada o non prendano il raffreddore, non solo è uno sforzo terribile, ma il lavoro e la preoccupazione connessi a tale sforzo diventano la sola cosa che vedete in vostro figlio. Si incomincia a vedere nel bambino solo il lavoro e nessun piacere. Si pensa ad ogni fase della sua crescita, non semplicemente come ad uno stadio di sviluppo del bambino ma come ad un maggior carico di lavoro da svolgere. Si prende a considerare il bambino come un impedimento alla possibilità di sbrigare il resto delle faccende domesti-

che e di prendersi un po' di tempo libero. Il bambino viene a intralciarti invece di essere parte integrante della tua vita. Nel momento stesso in cui pensi di aver chiuso con le pulizie di casa, i bambini tornano a casa e tutto il trantran ricomincia di nuovo, ditate sui muri, scarpe infangate e giocattoli sparsi.

Non ti rendi mai conto di che tipo di ostacoli ti crei la fatica di tirar su un bambino finché non raggiunge l'adolescenza. Allora diventa un peso minore per la madre che ha più tempo e più possibilità di apprezzarlo come persona. Ma allora è già troppo tardi. È cresciuto lontano da te e non è più veramente possibile vederlo, conoscerlo né

apprezzarlo.

Se una donna non riesce a fare capire queste cose a suo marito (ed è difficile che egli possa capirle, non avendo mai fatto questo tipo di esperienza) allora deve letteralmente costringerlo a badare per un po' ai bambini, per avere un po' di tempo libero per sé. Questo non risolve nulla ma allevia la tensione per un certo tempo. A volte gli uomini non vogliono nessuna libertà per le loro mogli. Non si fidano di loro oppure hanno idee antiquate, pensano che esse non abbiano bisogno o diritto al tempo libero. Le uniche persone a cui è possibile rivolgersi in questi casi sono le vicine di casa. Esse sono spesso le uniche persone in grado di capire, perché sono donne anche loro e hanno gli stessi problemi. Per pochi soldi o per uno scambio di piaceri acconsentono ad occuparsi del bambino per un pomeriggio. Ma anche cosí non sei veramente libera. Mentre sei via continui a chiederti preoccupata se i bambini siano custoditi bene. A volte ti senti perfino colpevole per il solo fatto di averli lasciati. Nessuno ti lascia dimenticare che dovresti essere a casa coi bambini. Se sei madre non puoi mai liberarti veramente di loro. Ma non puoi nemmeno essere libera finché sei con loro. Una donna si rende conto rapidamente che non può avere quello che si aspettava dall'avere figli. La sua situazione, quella del marito, quella dei figli, mettono i bambini in diretto conflitto con lei.

Quando una donna ha dei figli è legata alla casa e a

questi stessi figli che sono così importanti per lei. Non si ha mai veramente idea di che cosa significhi fare la casalinga finché non si hanno figli.

La casa

Tutto quello che la donna fa, lo fa da sola. Tutto il lavoro che c'è da fare in casa devi farlo tu personalmente. L'unica occasione di stare con gli altri è lo scambio delle visite. Si pensa qualche volta che queste visite siano una perdita di tempo. Ma se le donne non si facessero queste visite occasionali, impazzirebbero per la noia e per la sensazione di non aver nessuno con cui parlare. È piacevole uscire e trovarsi con la gente. Il lavoro in casa è sempre uguale dalla mattina alla sera. Anche se tu morissi, la mattina la casa continuerebbe ad essere là. A volte ti annoi talmente, che senti il bisogno di fare qualcosa di diverso. C'era una donna che cambiava la disposizione dei mobili ogni quindici giorni. Altre vanno comprando cose nuove per la casa e per se stesse. Vi sono milioni di schemi per rompere la monotonia. I vari programmi alla radio aiutano ad ammazzare il tempo, ma nulla può spezzare l'isolamento e la noia.

La cosa piú penosa del lavoro della casalinga è la sensazione di non avere mai finito. Quando un uomo lavora in fabbrica, lavora duro per lunghe ore ma ad un certo punto ha finito e per quel giorno almeno ha chiuso. Al venerdí sera o al sabato ha chiuso per uno o due giorni. In casa non è mai finita. Non solo c'è sempre qualcos'altro da fare ma c'è sempre qualcuno che rimette in disordine ancora prima che tu abbia finito. Dopo quattro o sei ore passate a riordinare o a pulire, i bambini arrivano a casa e dopo cinque minuti tutto è di nuovo sossopra, oppure il marito sporca tutti i portacenere della casa, oppure si mette a piovere subito dopo che hai finito di lavare i vetri. Si può essere capaci di controllare i figli e il marito e incoraggiarli a fare attenzione ma questo non risolve gran che. Né il marito né i figli si rendono conto di quan-

to sforzo e duro lavoro e tempo richieda tener la casa in ordine. Il lavoro di casa è tale che non ci sono limiti al numero di ore di lavoro, al tipo di lavoro, alla quantità di lavoro da fare. È questo che le donne vogliono control-

Il resto della famiglia non fa parte della casa. Essi semplicemente vivono lí. Tu fai della casa esattamente quello che è; un posto dove essi possano rilassarsi. Ne fai un posto dove si può vivere, un posto attraente, confortevole, pulito. E sei la sola che di questo posto non può mai veramente godere. Stai sempre con l'occhio attento a scoprire se c'è qualcosa da fare. Lo star dietro ad altre persone sembra essere un lavoro che non finisce mai. Cosí non ti è possibile in alcun momento rilassarti nel luogo cui dedichi la maggior parte del tuo tempo, energie e capacità.

La maggior parte delle donne non prende parte alle decisioni fondamentali che riguardano la casa. Anche se possono dare la loro opinione su mille piccole cose, le cose veramente importanti vengono decise direttamente dal marito, o lui fa in modo che sia sentita la sua pressione. Le donne sentono di dover dire la loro in casa. Oggi piú che mai partecipano alle decisioni nella casa. Ma per questo

hanno dovuto impiantare una lunga lotta.

PADRONA DI SE STESSA

Dicono che la donna in casa è la padrona di se stessa. Nel senso che nessuno le impone il ritmo di lavoro. Nessuno le dice quanto lavoro deve fare. E nessuno le sta alle costole tutto il giorno. Si può sedere quando vuole o fumarsi una sigaretta o mangiare quando ha fame.

Una casalinga ha un padrone completamente diverso. Il suo primo padrone è il lavoro del marito. Qualunque cosa debba fare, una donna dipende dal lavoro che fa suo marito. Quel che porta a casa il marito è quanto la famiglia ha per vivere. Quanti vestiti debba acquistare o se debba farli, se debba portarli in lavanderia o lavarli a

mano, se si viva in una casa con spazio sufficiente o in un appartamento affollato, tutte queste cose vengono decise dal lavoro del marito. Le ore che il marito lavora determinano l'intero orario e come la donna vivrà e quanto lei lavorerà. Un grosso problema per una donna è avere un marito che lavora di notte. Allora non ci sono orari. Appena i lavori domestici sono finiti, si alza il marito e la casa è nuovamente in disordine. Se ci sono bambini bisogna conciliare due orari e tenere tranquilli i bambini durante il giorno, cosa quasi impossibile.

Il fatto che il marito abbia un lavoro relativamente facile oppure uno difficile influisce pure sulla vita di lei. Un uomo che ha un lavoro molto pesante non andrà certo ad aiutarla in alcun lavoro domestico, tornerà a casa sempre piú brontolone e diventerà sempre piú difficile vivere con lui. La donna deve imparare a controllare molto di piú il suo carattere se ci deve essere un po' di pace, e anche i bambini devono essere controllati molto di piú.

Anche il luogo dove abita è deciso dal lavoro del marito. Il quartiere della città da dove per lui è piú facile raggiungere il posto di lavoro sarà il posto dove tu dovrai vivere. E se non c'è in questa città lavoro possibile per tuo marito devi dimenticare gli amici e rompere i legami con i tuoi, per seguirlo là dove lui trova da lavorare.

I bambini e la necessità di occuparsene sono il secondo fattore che condiziona l'esistenza che dovrà condurre la donna. Non vi è nulla di più impegnativo di un bambino piccolo. Quando ha bisogno di qualcosa lo vuole

in quel momento e non un momento dopo.

Ma il padrone ancora più intransigente, quello che veramente comanda la vita della donna è il lavoro domestico vero e proprio. Quel lavoro non ti considera un essere umano. Non ha nessuna importanza quello che senti o quello che hai voglia di fare. Esso ti domina in qualsiasi momento, sia in casa che fuori. Sei continuamente in cerca di finire un lavoro che non ha fine. Cerchi di finire quello che hai da fare nel minor tempo possibile per aver poi tempo libero per te stessa. Ma quando pensi di aver finito scopri che c'è qualcos'altro. Qualche volta le donne

si arrendono e lasciano andare le cose per un po' di giorni o di ore. Ma sono sempre loro quelle cui tocca la faccenda, quindi toccherà a loro di lavorare il doppio in seguito per recuperare il tempo perso. Stai sempre facendo quello che devi fare. Quello che hai voglia di fare conta molto poco.

La maggior parte delle donne sono molto responsabilizzate. Vogliono come madri e mogli fare il loro lavoro il meglio possibile, vogliono andar fiere delle loro case e dei figli. Non vi sono altri luoghi dove esse possano dimostrare quello di cui sono capaci. Se una donna è una buona padrona di casa, essa acquista il rispetto delle altre

donne e acquista importanza presso tutte loro.

Per questo non vi è nessun bisogno di un capo o di una capo-reparto in casa. È il modo in cui vive la donna e il lavoro che deve fare, che la tengono al passo. È questo il tipo di vita che le insegna la disciplina. Essa impara quando deve parlare e quando deve tacere. Impara a fare le cose da sé. Se c'è qualcosa che deve fare e che suo marito non fa, la farà lei stessa. Una donna madre di quattro figli ha imbiancato lei stessa tutte le mura esterne della casa. Diceva che non avrebbe aspettato ancora cinque anni, che suo marito si decidesse a farlo.

Ci vuole esperienza

Ogni volta che il marito ottiene un aumento, la moglie dice a sé stessa che adesso ce la farà piú comodamente, che i pochi dollari in piú cambieranno le cose. Ma mentre il marito ottiene l'aumento, i prezzi aumentano, oppure egli si ammala e perde giorni di paga, oppure interviene una spesa extra. E anche se le cose vanno lisce, tu parti e vai a comprare quelle cose di cui avevi bisogno da tanto tempo ma che non potevi permetterti. Cosí siamo al punto di partenza. Quasi ogni famiglia operaia vive alla giornata, ci sono molto poche possibilità di mettere qualcosa da parte per qualche imprevisto. Se salta qualche pagamento di stipendio la famiglia può trovarsi in

difficoltà per settimane e durante tutto questo tempo la casalinga deve arrangiarsi in qualche modo. La stessa cosa succede quando il marito fa sciopero. Per settimane e mesi lei deve arrangiarsi con praticamente niente. Le mogli dei minatori hanno un sistema di mettere da parte cibo e vestiti nel periodo di lavoro stabile del marito. Cosí possono sopravvivere per qualche tempo quando interviene uno sciopero, campando almeno di quello che hanno messo via in cibo e vestiti. È necessaria parecchia esperienza per imparare questi trucchi. E la donna è la sola a trovarsi nella situazione di dover imparare. In casi imprevisti gli ostacoli possono essere aggirati come non avresti mai pensato fosse possibile. E ti arrangi sempre in qualche modo.

Una donna deve adattarsi a quello che suo marito porta a casa. Non ha nessuna importanza se è poco o tanto. Essa deve decidere quando deve fare lei stessa i vestiti o quando è in grado di affrontare la spesa di comprarli. Inventa ricette per fare pasti economici, che allo stesso tempo sembrino e siano buoni. Il modo in cui vive la famiglia, ci siano gli agenti delle tasse alla porta o il cibo sulla tavola, dipende da quello che il marito porta a casa e dalla capacità che lei ha di amministrarlo. Per quanto molti mariti capiscano che i prezzi sono alti non si rendono conto di quanto sia difficile tenere un bilancio familiare. Solo la donna che deve vivere su una paga impossibile sa come amministrare le finanze.

Tutta questa esperienza insegna alla donna come arrangiarsi anche da sola. La donna che viene abbandonata dal marito, si trova in un bell'impiccio da sbrogliare specialmente se ha figli. Se ha parenti in grado di aiutarla inizialmente è da considerarsi molto fortunata. Nel complesso le tocca fare da madre e da padre ai propri figli. Non ha scelta circa il lavoro, assume contemporaneamente le responsabilità di un uomo e di una donna. Mantiene la famiglia col suo guadagno che è generalmente molto inferiore a quello di un uomo. Ha meno tempo da dedicare ai figli e a volte le tocca separarsene per poter lavorare. Eppure queste donne si arrangiano per allevare i bambini

e per ricominciare una nuova vita. Non siedono in casa a piangere. Una mia amica ha una vicina che è stata abbandonata dal marito, con i figli e i conti da pagare. Questa donna ha venduto tutti i mobili e con il ricavato è partita per Portorico a trovare sua madre. Era una donna che valeva la pena di conoscere. Se piangeva non l'avresti mai saputo. Diceva solo che non aveva l'intenzione di disperarsi ed agitarsi a vuoto come una scema. Questa era la sua prima esperienza del genere; quando arrivò il momento seppe esattamente cosa fare.

Vivono vite completamente separate

La donna sta tutto il giorno sola in casa. Aspetta che suo marito torni per raccontargli tutte le cose successe durante la giornata, qualcosa che i bambini hanno fatto o detto e che dimostra quanto essi siano meravigliosi, o che giornata pesante lei ha avuto. Vuole sapere che cosa ha fatto lui e che ne pensa di comprare questo o quest'altro per la casa. Ma la vita di lui non è nella casa. Quando un uomo torna dal lavoro non vuole piú fare niente. A volte non vuole neanche parlare. Tu aspetti tutto il giorno per parlare con qualcuno e poi, quando tuo marito torna, si tuffa nel giornale e si comporta come se non si accorgesse della tua esistenza. Quando una donna ha passato tutta la giornata in casa ha voglia di uscire la sera; andare a qualche spettacolo, o fare una gita in macchina al sabato. Ma durante la settimana il marito torna stanco morto alla sera e perfino durante il fine settimana a volte preferisce starsene in casa a riposare. È stato lontano da casa la maggior parte della sua giornata, adesso ha finalmente la possibilità di sedersi. Le donne hanno un bisogno di amicizia e di comprensione che l'uomo non sospetta neanche.

Se non vi è questa comprensione tra uomo e donna circa il lavoro e i bisogni umani, non è sorprendente che molti matrimoni non riescano a marciare neanche sul piano sessuale che è la fase piú delicata del rapporto. Le donne si sentono lontanissime dal marito che è la persona che dovrebbe essere loro piú vicina. Essi conducono vite completamente separate.

Le donne si conoscono tra di loro

Se le donne non possono rivolgersi ai propri mariti allora si rivolgono ad altre donne. Per il fatto che conducono vite cosí simili esse si conoscono e si capiscono reciprocamente. Tra vicine si può diventare molto amiche. Le donne in un cortile o in una strada sanno aiutarsi a vicenda quando ce n'è bisogno e fare passare piú presto le ore della giornata. Parlano di cose che non si sognerebbero di raccontare ai loro mariti, anche se questi fossero disposti ad ascoltarle. Chi può raccontare ad un uomo come si vuole arrangiare la casa o che cosa si vuole comprare per i bambini? Cose come problemi col proprio marito o problemi finanziari sono di « proprietà comune ». Le donne discutono di qualsiasi argomento riguardante la loro vita: se avere figli o no, e quanti, e come risparmiare soldi sul vestiario, spese di casa e cibo, quali negozi sono piú economici, i migliori metodi di controllo delle nascite, problemi sessuali e il lavoro fuori. Discutendo si risolvono molte cose. Le donne assumono un diverso atteggiamento sentendo parlare altre donne. Le donne escludono dal gruppo qualcuna quando questa non fa quello che ci si aspetta da lei. Una madre che trascura il figlio o non si cura della casa, e non ha giustificazioni per questo, non riceverà attenzioni o confidenze da parte delle altre donne

Alcuni chiamano questo « pettegolezzo » ma si tratta di molto di piú di questo. Le donne stanno rompendo l'isolamento della casa creando saldi legami con altre donne. È il solo tipo di vita sociale permesso alle casalinghe, che cercano di renderlo il piú importante possibile. L'esistenza stessa di questo legame con altre casalinghe è la condanna dei rapporti tra la donna e suo marito, il suo lavoro e il resto della società. Le donne si riuniscono, par-

lano insieme e in un certo modo vivono insieme. Non c'è nessun altro a cui possano rivolgersi se non a quelle come loro. Cosí possono decidere con chi vogliono stare e che cosa faranno. Nessuno potrà intralciare loro la strada.

Il piú bel momento della settimana nel mio cortile è il venerdí. Tutte puliscono la casa al venerdí in modo da essere piú libere durante il fine settimana. Dopo che avremo finito, nel pomeriggio, qualcuna andrà a comprare della birra e siederemo tutt'attorno parlando, riposando e scambiando opinioni. La socievolezza è grandissima e tutte ci sentiamo rilassate al massimo quando il lavoro è finito. C'è un'atmosfera di intimità e di comprensione in giro che non si può avere da nessuna parte se non in mezzo a gente che ti conosce e ti accetta come sei. Questa è la organizzazione delle donne. Con l'esperienza che possiedono occupandosi di varie cose, con l'aiuto delle altre donne del gruppo, esse sanno che cosa fare quando decidono di passare all'azione. Le donne di un condominio a San Francisco si sono unite per bloccare un aumento dei prezzi. Si sono rese conto che il governo non avrebbe fatto niente e quindi hanno preso in mano loro stesse l'affare con riunioni, manifestazioni e volantini. Nessuno di preciso aveva organizzato la faccenda, ma la vita condotta in comune le portava a conoscersi intimamente nelle loro forze e debolezze. Le donne hanno esposto le liste dei prezzi di ogni negozio della città e hanno comprato solo nei negozi piú economici. Tutta la città seppe di questo « Comitato Interministeriale dei prezzi della mamma » e i giornali ne parlarono parecchio.

Molte volte le casalinghe fanno azioni che non raggiungono mai i giornali: barricate nelle strade perché i bambini abbiano un posto dove giocare. La polizia con le sue bombe lacrimogene non è riuscita a scacciarle. Le donne si passano la parola, per esempio di non comprare la carne il tal giorno. Esse possono passare la parola ad una donna assolutamente estranea e dirle: « non comprare la carne il tal giorno ». Le donne si conoscono tra di loro cosi bene che esse possono parlare ad una perfetta estranea ed essere sicure di essere capite. Le mogli dei minatori

hanno scioperato per protestare contro l'impresa che vendeva le loro case, e un'altra volta contro l'inquinamento delle città minerarie. Sono state appoggiate dai mariti in ambedue i casi. I mariti si sono rifiutati di rompere i loro picchetti.

Le donne agiscono come gruppo perché sono trattate tutte in un modo simile. Esse, nell'insieme, vivono allo stesso modo, indipendentemente da quella che può

essere la loro situazione individuale.

Un nuovo rapporto

L'organizzazione piú universale delle donne è l'azione che le donne praticano all'interno della propria casa. Ogni donna in casa sua sta facendo una rivoluzione. Vi sono donne che non parlano col marito né colle altre donne. Eppure quando si arriva ad una resa dei conti esse sanno tenere duro e fare esattamente quello che considerano giusto. Altre donne discutono coi mariti circa quello che ritengono giusto e di loro diritto. Queste discussioni hanno un significato per la donna. Essa non sta « solo » a discutere col marito, ma dimostra a lui e, cosa piú importante a se stessa, che essa ha idee e desideri suoi. Le donne dicono costantemente e in ogni occasione che non possono piú andare avanti al vecchio modo. È questo spirito di indipendenza e di rispetto di sé che gli uomini ammirano nella donna, anche quando è diretto contro di loro. Essi ammirano una donna che non si lascia calpestare dal marito. Una donna che sa camminare con le proprie gambe e che non se le lascia dire dal marito, acquista il rispetto delle altre donne e del marito stesso.

Le donne rifiutano sempre piú di essere macchine per allevare bambini e far sí che il marito vada a lavorare fuori. Esigono di piú dal rapporto col marito. Se un uomo non può cambiare, preferiscono rompere il matrimonio piuttosto che continuare a vivere con un estraneo. Il divorzio al giorno d'oggi è stato accettato perché le donne hanno fatto sí che lo accettassero. È chiaro che non

ce la prendiamo con un uomo singolo. Vi sono troppi divorzi per questo. Quando una donna divorzia, anche se questo prende l'aspetto di una lotta contro il singolo individuo, si tratta di un atto che si oppone a tutto il modo di vita che un uomo e una donna devono condurre al giorno d'oggi.

Le donne lottano contro il ruolo che gli uomini hanno all'interno della famiglia. Questo non ha niente a che fare con quanto un marito aiuti sua moglie o quanto sia buono con i bambini. Non interessa quanto un marito cerchi di capire i problemi della moglie, non importa quanto essi vadano d'accordo, le donne lottano contro il modo in cui sono obbligate a vivere e vogliono creare un nuovo modo di vita.

LA DONNA CHE LAVORA

Uno dei modi in cui la donna esprime il rifiuto del suo ruolo nella società è quello di andare fuori a lavorare. Oggi lavorano molte donne che non hanno mai lavorato prima. Andando fuori a lavorare, le donne hanno cambiato i loro rapporti col marito e con i figli. Insieme con questo si sono date nuovi problemi da risolvere e hanno trovato nuovi modi di risolverli.

Le donne hanno allargato le loro esperienze cosí che adesso conoscono che cosa pensano e fanno larghe masse di gente. Sempre meno donne al giorno d'oggi sono solamente casalinghe. Molte donne prima o poi vanno a lavorare, alcune soltanto per pochi mesi all'anno, altre regolarmente. In ogni caso hanno un'immagine del mondo

che mai hanno avuto in precedenza.

Alcune donne con cui ho lavorato dicono che lavorano perché il salario del marito non era sufficiente. Questo è specialmente vero in quelle famiglie in cui l'uomo non ha un reddito e il suo salario è basso, ma è sempre piú vero in tutte le famiglie. Accanto agli elevati costi della vita, vi è un'altra ragione per cui è difficile accontentarsi di un solo salario: le donne hanno molti piú bisogni adesso che in altri tempi, non vogliono più passare quei brutti momenti in cui erano stremate, come durante la depressione. Non vogliono più fare il bucato a mano quando con una piccola somma extra possono procurarsi le più moderne attrezzature in casa loro. Ogni cosa adesso è moderna e le donne vogliono possedere quello che vi è di più moderno. Con un solo salario in famiglia si può sopravvivere e basta.

Quando si vive su un magro bilancio è la donna che deve sopportarne la difficoltà. Deve percorrere grandi distanze per fare la spesa. Ed è lei la prima a dimenticare

i propri bisogni quando è necessario rinunciare.

Il maggior bisogno economico di cui necessita la donna è di una qualche indipendenza economica. Le donne non vogliono piú chiedere denaro al marito per ogni spesa, vogliono avere soldi propri. Essere capaci di permettersi nuove tende quando le vecchie sono ancora buone ma sei stufa di vederle è un lusso che la maggioranza delle donne non può permettersi ma che tutte vogliono. Il denaro che ti dà il marito anche se lavori altrettanto intensamente quanto lui, non è mai veramente tuo, anche se può essere maneggiato da te per i bisogni della famiglia. I bisogni che le donne hanno non possono mai essere veramente soddisfatti con i soldi che il solo marito porta a casa.

La donna che va a lavorare in fabbrica ha un senso di indipendenza non solo riguardo al denaro che si spende ma anche riguardo alle decisioni che si prendono in famiglia. Se contribuisci al mantenimento della famiglia, non solo hai piú diritto di decidere sulle spese da farsi col denaro familiare, ma vuoi anche una parte piú importante in altre questioni che saltano fuori in famiglia e che prima venivano decise solo dal marito. Un uomo fu cosí scioccato dai diritti acquisiti da sua moglie da quando lei lavorava, che le disse di starsene a casa. Andavo piú d'accordo cosí, diceva.

Non è solo per le decisioni che una donna si sente più indipendente. Quando una donna lavora sa di non dover più passare sopra molte cose riguardo al marito. Se lui sbanda col bere o uscendo con altre donne, lei lo pianterà in asso piú rapidamente di prima. Essa adesso si rende conto che, se è necessario, è sempre in grado di mantenersi.

Uno dei motivi che spinge la donna a lavorare fuori è quello di sfuggire alla monotonia e alla solitudine del lavoro in casa. Le donne vogliono stare insieme ad altra gente. In confronto all'uomo, la donna conduce una vita isolata e solitaria. L'unica compagnia sono la radio e il telefono. Almeno in fabbrica si lavora fianco a fianco con gli altri e si sfugge alla solitudine della vita delle ca-

salinghe.

La cosa che la donna rimpiange di piú quando va a lavorare è di lasciare i figli. È vero che desidera allontanarsi da loro ogni tanto, ma non è piacevole affidarli a chicchessia. Il piú delle volte non si sa come vengano seguiti. Se sono piú grandi, non si sa con chi vadano in giro, né cosa facciano tutto il tempo. Se il bambino va all'asilo, si chiede all'insegnante come va il bambino e la maggior parte delle volte risponderà « benone ». Tutto qua. Non si sa veramente come sia trattato e seguito. Si spera sempre che stia facendo le cose giuste, ma quando si lavora non si è mai sicuri.

C'è anche il problema di dove lasciarlo quando si lavora. Molte donne separate dal marito con bambini piccoli devono metterli a convitto, ne sentono la mancanza perché sembra che questi crescano senza di loro. Non partecipano molto al modo di educarli. Altre donne preferiscono dipendere dai vicini che conoscono, piuttosto di affidare il figlio ad un asilo di cui sanno poco o niente. La ragione per la quale molte donne non lavorano è perché non hanno nessuno di cui fidarsi per lasciargli in custodia il bambino.

Ovunque essa voglia stare

Le donne vogliono poter decidere se lavorare o no. Se un uomo dice ad una donna di andar a lavorare, essa

generalmente non ci andrà. Perché essa pensa che se va a lavorare perché lo ha chiesto lui, egli si abituerà a questo stato di cose e a volte smette egli stesso di lavorare regolarmente. Una donna che conosco ha dovuto interrompere il lavoro perché il marito pensava bene di andarsi a giocare i soldi che lei guadagnava. D'altra parte, se il marito le dice di non andare a lavorare, questo non vuol dire che lei dovrà stare in casa. Quando una donna va fuori a lavorare non sempre ci va con l'approvazione del marito. Molti uomini, non approvando il lavoro delle donne fuori casa, usano come scusa il fatto che i bambini devono stare con la madre. Dicono anche di non essere capaci di aiutare la moglie a badare ai bambini, a tenere la casa e fare la spesa. Altri renderanno il lavoro domestico cosí insopportabile, rovesciandone tutto il peso sulle mogli, che queste si troveranno costrette ad abbandonare il lavoro fuori.

Le donne devono combattere contro questi uomini che credono che il posto della donna sia in casa, e che quello sia il posto dove lei deve stare. Questi sono uomini che non vogliono che le loro mogli abbiano alcuna indipendenza, e vogliono essere i soli a portare soldi in casa in modo da essere i soli ad avere voce in capitolo in famiglia. Quando la donna va a lavorare fuori, essi sanno che lei acquisterà molti piú diritti. Le donne hanno dimostrato a questi uomini che il posto della donna è ovunque essa voglia stare.

Quelle donne che vogliono continuare a lavorare e sono ostacolate dai mariti, non dicono loro quanto duro può essere lavorare. Si tengono tutto dentro. Una donna alla nostra catena di montaggio deve lottare per continuare a lavorare. Ha una figlia di quattordici anni e dice che non c'è niente da fare per tenerla a casa. Tuttavia suo marito è professionista, guadagna bene e continua a chiederle di lasciare il lavoro. Essa non mostra mai quanto è stanca e non può permettersi di chiedere aiuto al marito tornando a casa, altrimenti lui la costringerebbe ad abbandonare il lavoro.

le il lavoro. Vi è una notevole differenza di mentalità riguardo al lavoro delle donne, tra quelle donne che lavorano perché ne hanno bisogno e quelle che lavorano perché lo vogliono. Se una donna lavora perché lo vuole, non si sente molto impegnata nei riguardi dell'impresa e può mandare il capo al diavolo insieme con il lavoro, per dirla come le mie vicine. Quando si stanca di lavorare sa di poter lasciare il lavoro ma, anche se non lo lascia, il fatto stesso che può farlo la rende piú indipendente nei confronti dell'impresa in cui lavora.

Le donne che devono lavorare per necessità, la donna nubile che deve mantenere sé stessa e a volte i genitori, o la donna divorziata che deve mantenere i figli, devono stare inchiodate al loro lavoro indipendentemente dal fatto che piaccia o no. Quando queste donne si stancano di lavorare, continuano proprio a lavorare. Non c'è altra scelta per loro. L'impresa generalmente approfitta ampiamente di questo fatto e sa che può contare su queste donne per il lavoro al sabato e per gli straordinari. Quando tocca pagare dieci o quindici dollari alla settima-

na per il solo asilo, ogni liretta conta.

Il lavoro di fabbrica per la donna è a volte un lavoro facile, cioè non è fisicamente pesante. Ma come tutti i lavori di fabbrica è tedioso e monotono. In alcune fabbriche è anche fisicamente pesante. Risenti in ogni tuo muscolo di quello che hai fornito in una giornata di lavoro. La cosa più importante, indipendentemente dal tipo di lavoro che fai, è la gente con cui lavori. Se il lavoro è facile ma noioso, sono proprio le altre donne che aiutano a far passare la giornata. Se il lavoro è pesante, l'unica cosa che aiuta ad andare avanti è la presenza delle altre donne che fanno le stesse cose che fai tu e che sopportano con te. Non è tanto il tipo di lavoro che è cosí importante per te e che ti rende la vita in fabbrica sopportabile, ma la gente con cui lavori e con cui stabilisci contatti.

Succede sempre qualcosa sul posto di lavoro, o qualcuno che racconta barzellette o che fa il buffone, oppure litighi con la donna capo o con la caporeparto. C'è sempre qualcosa di cui si discute, e si parla di tutto. Proble-

mi sessuali, questioni d'amore, lavoro di casa, educazione dei bambini, balli nuovi e ultima moda, controllo dei prezzi e problemi di alloggio, diete dimagranti e ingrassanti. Non importa di che cosa parli, il fatto è che li c'è sempre qualcuno con cui parlare. Le ragazze si interessano del modo di sentire e degli interessi di ciascuna.

Contrariamente all'impresa, le ragazze si interessano le une alle altre. Quando una persona è assente si sente la sua mancanza e c'è sempre qualcuno che telefona per informarsi di che cosa è successo. Se qualcosa va molto male a una ragazza, immediatamente il suo gruppo di amiche intime inizia una colletta per comperarle qualcosa o darle il denaro per pagare qualche bolletta. Le ragazze danno senza riserva del loro tempo e dei loro soldi. Se una ragazza non si sente bene un giorno, le altre o qualche sua amica lavoreranno il doppio per fare il suo lavoro in modo che lei non debba perdere ore. L'impresa non si preoccupa mai dei singoli individui. Essa pretende, anche se il mondo crolla, la stessa quantità di lavoro ogni giorno. Le ragazze sono le sole che si preoccupano le une delle altre e si aiutano a vicenda nel momento del bisogno.

Noi, da adesso in poi

Quando una donna torna a casa dal lavoro alla sera, è una cosa completamente diversa da quando torna l'uomo. Appena arriva a casa lei ricomincia a lavorare da capo. Una donna sposata, specie se ha figli, non può mai permettersi il lusso di sedersi e non far niente. C'è la cena da portare in tavola, i piatti da lavare, i bambini da fargli il bagno e metterli a letto. Lei ha due lavori, è una madre e casalinga a mezzo tempo e una lavoratrice salariata a tempo pieno. Il fine settimana che serve all'uomo per riposare è per lei dedicato alla casa. Tutte le cose tralasciate durante la settimana devono essere recuperate in quei giorni.

È una sgobbata quella di lavorare e avere una fami-

gli per rimproverarle il lavoro fuori. Qualche volta dice che vuol lasciare il lavoro, ma non ci riesce mai.

Tutte le donne lo sanno

Al giorno d'oggi, sempre di piú, le donne dimostrano in ogni loro azione che non possono andare avanti come prima. Esse non credono assolutamente piú che quello che si crede che funzioni, continuerà a funzionare; o in altre parole, che la loro vita debba essere come si dà per scontato che sia. I loro mariti, i figli, il lavoro, tutto è in conflitto con loro. Tutto quello che fanno, ogni decisione che prendono, esse sentono che *potrebbe* funzionare. Matrimonio, figli, casa, in nessuna di queste cose le donne credono piú con certezza.

Casalinghe che non hanno mai lavorato prima stanno aspettando che i figli siano cresciuti abbastanza per cominciare un lavoro. Donne che hanno sempre lavorato, aspettano il momento in cui potranno finalmente smettere. Matrimoni durati vent'anni si sfasciano. Giovani coppie decidono che sarebbe meglio farla finita adesso, prima che nascano i bambini che verrebbero a soffrirne. Giovani donne che escono dalle scuole superiori, invece di precipitarsi verso il matrimonio, cercano lavoro, e un appar-

tamento per vivere indipendenti.

Non è che le donne non vogliano essere mogli e madri. Esse vogliono e hanno bisogno di un uomo, per dividere la propria vita con lui, e tutte vogliono avere figli. Ma sentono che, se non possono avere un rapporto umano, rifiuteranno qualsiasi rapporto. Le donne lasciano il matrimonio per divorziare, abbandonano la casa per lavorare fuori, ma non riescono a vedere da nessuna parte quel tipo di vita che vorrebbero per sé e per la loro famiglia.

Le donne si rendono conto sempre di piú che non vi sono vie di uscita, se non con un cambiamento tadicale. Ma una cosa è già chiara: le cose non possono andare avanti in questo modo. Tutte le donne lo sanno.

MATERNITÀ E ABORTO

Il documento che segue, elaborato e diffuso dal Movimento di Lotta Femminile di Padova nel giugno 1971, viene ripubblicato mentre i politici vaneggiano sul Referendum pro o contro il divorzio, segnando ancora una volta il loro distacco galassico dai reali problemi delle sfruttate e degli sfruttati.

Nota di attualità

Donne che si autodenunciano in massa per aver abortito come sta avvenendo in Francia, in Germania e in altri paesi in questi giorni, è una delle forme di lotta che la rivolta femminile a livello mondiale sta sperimentando, per strappare i veli che hanno sempre coperto questa storia dell'aborto.

Quanto a noi, donne del Movimento di Lotta Femminile, come sentiamo la necessità di chiarire fino in fondo i termini della nostra partecipazione alla lotta per l'aborto, altrettanto sentiamo la necessità di chiarire i termini di questa storia dell'aborto come ci è stata imposta

fino ad oggi.

Cominciamo subito col denunciare che lo stesso sistema che ci ha VIETATO di abortire, ci ha OBBLIGATO ad abortire e continua a obbligarci ad abortire in tutti i casi in cui le condizioni di vita e di lavoro complessive stroncano la possibilità di gravidanze pure desiderate, siano queste condizioni la mancanza di un salario proprio o la povertà del salario del marito, l'angustia e l'insalubrità

della casa o la nocività della fabbrica.

Vale la pena di cominciare a raccogliere le firme di tutte le donne a cui le condizioni di lavoro hanno strappato il figlio dal grembo. Facciamo allora subito anche queste denunce di massa contro i padroni che ci hanno obbligato ad abortire.

E adesso rifacciamo un po' la storia.

Nel momento in cui, come avevamo precisato in un primo documento, si è isolata la donna nella casa, allontanando dalla casa stessa durante tutta la giornata gli altri membri della famiglia, si è cominciato a raccontare alla donna che attraverso la « maternità » essa raggiungeva il compimento del « suo destino fisiologico ».

Questa, le si diceva, era la « sua vocazione naturale » poiché il suo organismo era « orientato » verso la perpetuazione della specie. Ma, a quanto a tutti risulta, la funzione riproduttiva non è mai stata comandata dal solo caso e natura e quindi questo parlare di « Naturalezza » di destino primo puzza già come definizione, secondo puzza ancora di più quando si constata che tutto questo destino cosí naturale viene appioppato sic et simpliciter sulle spalle della sola donna.

A noi, anche se cresciute per forza di cose, come dicevamo nel primo documento, molto in bellezza, tanto in virtú, e poco in sapienza, risulta che per fare un figlio occorre anche un uomo. Un veloce sguardo a come storicamente sono andate e vanno le cose che cosí naturalmente dovrebbero svolgersi, ci ha fatto rilevare:

Quanto piú accanitamente si è vista la donna come madre, tanto piú la si è negata come persona, come individuo. Cioè sono riusciti ad accollare alla donna la maternità (si intende come questione non solo relativa al concepimento ma alla responsabilità stessa dell'allevamento dei figli) nella misura in cui sono riusciti a castrarla sessualmente e ad escluderla dalla vita sociale.

Il Costruita ed esaurita cosí la sua personalità e sessualità come *maternità*, l'hanno obbligata poi a far funzionare questa maternità stessa a seconda delle esigenze del mercato della forza-lavoro, e del controllo politico, esaltando o annientando con la stessa disinvoltura la sua funzione di madre.

Solo per citare alcuni esempi, la pratica della sterilizzazione di massa delle donne a Portorico risale al 1930 quando i dottori la spinsero avanti come unico mezzo contraccettivo; nel 1947-48 il 7% delle donne furono sterilizzate. Questo in un paese estremamente povero che il capitale americano aveva destinato a essere colonia, fonte di alti profitti e allo stesso tempo esempio della magnanimità americana.

Queste stesse portoricane poi funzionarono come cavie per la sperimentazione della pillola contraccettiva, prima che questa fosse immessa nel mercato degli Stati Uniti.

Negli Stati Uniti continuamente vengono sterilizzate a loro insaputa le donne nere, quando capitano negli ospedali per abortire o per qualunque necessità ginecologica. Conseguenza: preferiscono abortire e partorire senza assistenza medica. Come cose di questo genere vengano programmate disinvoltamente per i problemi di crescita demografica anche in Asia e in America Latina, nel terzo mondo in genere, non è un mistero per nessuno.

E questa non è che la forma più scoperta di una generale politica (non sempre cosí facile da riconoscere) di controllo della funzione riproduttiva delle donne e, attraverso questo, del mercato della forza-lavoro. L'uso del termine « sovrappopolato » copre non solo il genocidio attraverso il far morir di fame, ma la misura della popolazione in *relazione solo* al grado di investimento di capita-

le e conseguente bisogno di forza-lavoro.

III Il ritardo con cui la ricerca anticoncezionale appare sulla scena scientifica, dopo che già si erano scoperti e perfezionati metodi anticoncezionali che le Chiese opportunamente contribuirono ad affossare, ci rimanda al parallelo con la cucina americana; ci si vuol propinare per

ultimissima scoperta tecnologica ciò che non è degno nemmeno degli albori dello sviluppo tecnologico. Questo ritardo è stato solo un *ennesimo inganno* della *scienza* e del *potere* sulla *nostra pelle*.

Se oggi ancora abbiamo la necessità di ricorrere all'aborto, questo ci fa accusare una volta di piú le mostruose deficienze e il ritardo non casuale di questa ricerca.

IV L'orientamento della ricerca anticoncezionale, che ha sempre usato e usa le donne come prime cavie da esperimento, i cui risultati continuano ad essere destinati solo alle donne, da un lato conferma la discriminante per cui dove è in ballo una questione di sesso il « problema » è « femminile » e per cui il concepimento è « affare da donne »; d'altro lato tale orientamento è stato una volta di piú uno strumento di controllo della sessualità femminile poiché determinando i metodi di controllo delle nascite determina conseguentemente i termini delle relazioni fra uomini e donne, e fra donne e società complessivamente. Se, in qualunque momento, hanno bisogno di un largo numero di donne come forza-lavoro, sono subito pronti a darci una varietà di efficaci (sebbene barbarici) metodi di controllo delle nascite.

V L'aborto perciò, pur costituendo l'unica alternativa possibile alle deficienze di una ricerca anticoncezionale è VIETATO a livello pressocché mondiale.

In qualche paese è concesso come « terapeutico » (cioè se riesci ad avere medici, psicologi e sociologi che ti dichiarino malferma di salute, un po' debole di mente e in condizioni economiche disastrose).

Cioè mai e in nessun luogo si riconosce alla donna il diritto di decidere se e quando diventare madre e quindi, viste le condizioni di cui sopra, di abortire in base alla sua volontà.

Il divieto d'aborto è un fenomeno cosí diffuso che bisogna considerare l'aborto come uno dei rischi implicati nella condizione femminile.

Vogliamo aggiungere che il rischio cui alludiamo

non è tanto quel « grave rischio » cui allude il codice penale: perché in realtà, come ormai anche i medici piú retrivi si sono arresi ad ammettere, l'aborto attuato in clinica con l'assistenza medica dovuta e con l'anestesia è molto meno rischioso di un parto. Il rischio è proprio nelle condizioni in cui si è costrette ad abortire, dovendo abortire illegalmente.

VI Quanto al « problema morale » non varrebbe nemmeno la pena di soffermarci sulle amenità addotte dalla Chiesa Cattolica per sostenere questo divieto d'aborto e che vanno dalle disquisizioni se e quando il feto comincia ad avere un'anima, e se (questione di piú antica data) i feti femminili avessero un'anima. Quindi si può dedurre che se fosse stato dato di vedere nell'utero se il nascituro era maschio o femmina, la Chiesa avrebbe autorizzato gli aborti di feti femmine.

Il disgusto che proviamo a percorrere certa letteratura ecclesiastica, ci fa chiudere subito qui la questione del problema morale. Per chi volesse approfondirla, i giornali dei movimenti femminili cominciano a raccogliere sempre più i florilegi di tale letteratura.

VII Denunciamo invece che proprio la concessione dell'aborto terapeutico come graziosa concessione nel generale assoluto divieto, ha funzionato e funziona essenzialmente come ennesimo strumento di discriminazione di classe: infatti solo le donne a cui la collocazione sociale dà un certo potere riescono a trovare velocemente (leggi: in tempo) e ad usufruirne, le dichiarazioni medico-sociali necessarie per la concessione dell'aborto terapeutico.

Per le altre diviene quasi impossibile impossessarsi di tali dichiarazioni e divengono le prime vittime di quel sadismo sociale che, compresso dall'apparente liberalismo, vuole mantenere, ad ogni costo, il diritto di decidere se e quando le donne devono diventare madri. E il medico funziona da strumento primo di tale sadismo sociale.

VIII A questo punto però, costruito il figlio ad ogni costo vediamo fino in fondo la vera faccia del sistema.

Quelle che non sono riuscite ad abortire fanno il

figlio.

Quelle che non sono riuscite ad abortire, in genere, come abbiamo detto, appartengono agli strati più proletari.

Una volta nato il figlio però, una volta raggiunto lo scopo repressivo, quello stesso Stato che ti ha obbligato alla maternità, si scrolla di dosso ogni responsabilità: « è tuo e fai quello che vuoi per mantenerlo ».

Al massimo ti dà 5000 lire mensili per il primo anno

di vita e 2500 fino a cinque anni.

È chiaro che chi ha bisogno di 5000 al mese non mantiene nessuno con 5000 lire al mese. Il figlio finisce al brefotrofio.

A questo punto lo Stato ritorna in campo. Non per aiutare la madre ovviamente, né tantomeno il bambino, ma per costruirci un'*impresa*. Le 5000 lire destinate alla madre si trasformano immediatamente in 45000 destinate per ciascun bambino agli istituti per l'infanzia abbandonata. È noto che questi istituti sono gestiti pressocché tutti dalla Chiesa. È noto — i giornali di questi ultimi anni sono pieni di notizie in merito — come vengono allevati là i bambini. Denutrizione, violenze, sadismi di ogni genere.

Si allevano i destinati agli ordini religiosi inferiori, alla sottoccupazione, all'emigrazione, al riformatorio, e alle carceri. Denunciamo e lottiamo anche contro la Chiesa come braccio destro di questa impresa.

IX Quelle che con benedizione di Dio e consenso del sistema (sul loro consenso non pare il caso di dilungarci oltre) partoriscono e riescono a tenersi il figlio, quelle cioè che hanno un lavoro e una cassa mutua, dopo essere cresciute in un'aura olezzante di esaltazione della maternità, si vedono bollata la conquista contrattuale della « licenza parto » sotto forma « assenza per malattia ».

Una maternità intesa, costretta ed esasperata come funzione riproduttiva di forza-lavoro non riesce nemmeno a concludere in bellezza il suo cammino e, fra la donna che si assenta dal lavoro e la donna che partorisce, il mancato guadagno derivante dall'assenza della prima impedisce di dare una connotazione più « produttiva » alla stessa licenza di maternità. Si tratta ancora di « malattia ».

Conclusioni

Anche noi come tutte le donne ci troviamo perciò nella necessità — urgentissima per altro per tutte — di organizzare la lotta per l'aborto, visto che il livello della ricerca medica non ci permette di dire semplicemente per una diffusione libera e gratuita dei sistemi anticoncezionali.

Con questo non ci accontentiamo certo né della pillola, né dell'iniezione, né degli altri sistemi chimici e meccanici ecc. con tutta la percentuale di pericolo che ancora contengono, di cui siamo perfettamente consapevoli, e che lo sviluppo della ginecologia — estremamente e non a caso basso rispetto agli altri rami della medicina — ha fatto ben poco per risolvere. Siamo perciò costrette come obiettivo minimale immediato ad organizzarci anche per l'aborto, intendendo che ci organizziamo non per la richiesta di un qualche tipo di aborto « terapeutico » che non farebbe che riproporre ed aggravare le discriminanti di classe che già ci sono ma per un aborto libero e gratuito (con anestesia) accessibile a tutte.

Allo stesso tempo però denunciamo il fatto che finora proprio l'illegalità dell'aborto ha funzionato come grosso pilastro di un'impresa di carne umana nella misura in cui è stato un metodo per ritardare o addirittura scoraggiare la ricerca di sistemi antifecondativi che non rovinino la salute bio-psichica delle donne.

Non solo. Ma l'illegalità dell'aborto è stata la base su cui costruire ed articolare questa impresa proprio nel senso di una selezione su dove concentrare gli aborti e quindi concentrare l'organizzazione della illegalità-legalità sulla quale far proliferare o il medico alle prime armi o

il barone universitario che deve procurarsi la clientela per

le cliniche private.

Proprio perché abbiamo capito tutto questo, fino in fondo, la nostra lotta su questo è prima di tutto lotta contro tutte le strutture sociali e di potere che hanno permesso questo, che hanno voluto questo sulla nostra pelle E allora diciamo subito chiaro fin dall'inizio che noi cambiamo il segno di questa lotta:

Il problema non è abortire.

Il problema è avere la possibilità di diventare madri tutte le volte che vogliamo diventare madri. Solo le volte che vogliamo ma tutte le volte che vogliamo.

Se adesso le donne proletarie del sud fanno quindici figli e le donne di classe media riescono in qualche modo a farne solo due o tre, non è questo misero privilegio di

non avere figli il nostro ultimo fine.

In fondo hanno cominciato pure a darcele queste pillole mal fatte, queste iniezioni che non funzionano, e ci daranno anche qualcosa di meglio, e anche l'aborto in mezzo a tutto questo meglio.

Il fatto è che se questo vuol dire, e non vuol dire altro che questo: « regolati un po' tu. Se guadagni 100.000 lire fai un figlio, se ne guadagni 150.000 puoi farne anche due », la nostra risposta è subito che non ci

stiamo.

Noi non ci stiamo già da adesso, immediatamente, perché questo conto per cui si dà per scontato quanto noi o il marito guadagnamo e su questo dovremmo pianificare i figli è un conto tutto da rivedere, tutto da rifare.

Se certa letteratura che ha cominciato a circolare ha invitato le madri, e in particolare le madri d'Europa, ad una responsabilità sociale nella pianificazione della produzione figli, noi rispondiamo subito che il tipo di responsabilità sociale che sentiamo non è affatto quella di aggiustare il tiro sul livello salariale, ma di distruggere ogni livello salariale, ogni meccanismo salariale, proprio per poter fare, tutte, tutti i figli che vogliamo e solo le volte che vogliamo.

Proprio nell'essere capaci di lottare per esasperare e attuare fino in fondo questo diritto di ognuna e di tutte di piazzare un figlio sulla faccia della terra tutte le volte che vuole, misuriamo l'unica responsabilità sociale che sentiamo.

È un diritto che spesso deve ancora passare per la conquista di una camera per due, perché se la comunità dove i genitori facevano l'amore davanti ai figli può essere stata un paradiso perduto, ora, dopo il peccato originale che separò Adamo da Eva e questi dai loro figli, la camera per due è una conquista minimale a Torino come a Reggio Calabria.

La promiscuità come affollamento è l'opposto della

comunità che vogliamo conquistare.

in

Fare l'amore tutte le volte che si vuole, fare figli tutte le volte che si vuole in un ambiente confortevole caldo e bello.

Il che vuol dire non pagare questa maternità né al prezzo del salario né al prezzo dell'esclusione.

Solo misurando di quanto godiamo di questo diritto misuriamo di quanta ricchezza sociale godiamo.

giugno 1971 Movimento di Lotta Femminile di PADOVA

non sembra conoscere disgelo "La pace fredda contro le donne apre la prospettiva un taglio netto che delle donne, per un'azione rivoluzionaria Lotta Femminista niente altro sia lei che lui nella famiglia per il capitale: anche quando non è sfruttata fuori Sfruttata in casa che operaie e operai produce quotidianamente la donna produce a forza-lavoro. Contro questo assoggettamento di pacificazione. un passato di ricatto OTECARIO - COMUNE DI PADOVA igno deli vuole fuoco ottass

EUROPEAN WOMEN's

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The Japan Foundation

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FOREWORD

In Spring 1994, the Japan Foundation invited ten women involved in environmental and gender issues to Japan from Europe. This report is a summary of the symposia held during their fifteen-day stay in Japan.

The Japan Foundation began a special program for cultural exchange with European countries from fiscal 1993, and one of the projects supports cultural interchange between European and Japanese women.

After the Chernobyl accident, people around the world have come to realize that environmental problems know no borders, and that all humankind is traveling upon the same ship. In Japan, women have shown more sensitivity to environmental issues than men. For that reason, we initiated these conversations with European women who are also suffering and deeply concerned with these issues. We also offered them opportunities to observe our society, in order to help them understand the real background behind the situation of Japanese women now.

We are very glad to know that they succeeded in establishing good relations with each other, and we will continue to promote similar dialogues with women of different cultural backgrounds in the future.

Finally, we would like to express our deep gratitude for the collaboration of many individuals and concerned organizations, whose cooperation and assistance were helpful to make this project successful.

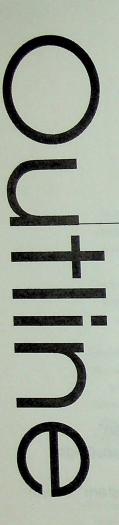
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The 1993-1994 Japan Foundation European Women's Study Tour for Environmental Issues

Objective:

The objective of the project is to invite women from Europe who are interested and active in environmental issues to engage in exchange with related persons in Japan by observing the situation in various regions of Japan and taking part in discussion meetings and symposiums.

Sponsorship:

Organized by The Japan Foundation

Co-sponsorship/Cooperation:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Forum Organizing Committee, Hiroshima, Naha City, International Lake Environment Committee Foundation, Shiga Prefecture, Chernobyl Health Survey and Health-Care Support for the Victims—Japan Women's Network, Institute for the Study of Social Justice—Sophia University, etc.

Coordinators:

Chizuko Ueno, Reiko Watanuki and Natsuko Hagiwara

Participants:

Ten Environmental Issue Specialists

Period:

Fifteen days, from March 27 to April 10, 1994



International Forum in Hiroshima

Theme: "Women, Environment, War"

Sponsor: The Japan Foundation

Co-sponsor: Forum Organizing Committee, Hiroshima

Date: Tuesday, March 29 15:00 - 17:00

Wednesday, March 30 10:00 - 17:00

Venue: ANA Hotel Hiroshima

Thueday, March 29

15:00 Discussion with atomic bomb victims and related persons

Suzuko Numata (Victim of atomic bombing Hibakusha) Bossu Shin (Victim of atomic bombing Hibakusha)

Keizaburo Toyonaga (Member, Group for Discussing Hiroshima) Yayoi Tsukamoto (Counselor for the treatment of A-bomb victims)

Kiyoshi Matsue (Director, Hiroshima Prefectural Branch, Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs)

Wednesday, March 30

Morning Reports (15 - 20 min. each)

Margarita Mikhailenko (Russia)

Irina Ivasenko (Ukraine) Biljana Kašić (Croatia)

Hitoshi Kai (Representative of Society of Dr. Junod)

Afternoon Reports (15 - 20 min. each)

Jivka Damianova (Bulgaria)

Maria Mies (Germany)

Mariarosa Dalla Costa (Italy)

Maria Gumińska (Poland)

Claudia Von Werlhof (Austria)

Mary Mellor (U. K.)

dei niardino - Deme Apple

Discussion with Atomic Bomb Victims and Related Persons

Report

Tsuboi (atomic bomb victim, Hidankyo, or Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations): I suffered the atomic bombing when I was 20 years old on the road about 1,000 meters from the hypocenter. I lost all my hair, had diarrhea, and vomited clots of blood from my mouth. Because half of my body was rotting, a large number of worms grew on me. My ears were blown away from my face, and I suffered burns everywhere; arms, back, hips, legs. At that time the doctor declared that it was all over for me and I lost consciousness for about 40 days. The model of a human being that you saw in the museum, the first item on the right, well, the sex might be different, but that was just how I looked. I finally managed to sit up on January 10 of the following year, but ever since then I have been in and out of hospital. Because of the radiation, my spinal cord degenerated, so my blood-making mechanism does not work as it should. For the past 48 years I have suffered from two illnesses; aplastic anemia caused by my inability to reproduce blood and chronic ischemic heart disease caused by my lack of blood.

Well anyway, that is enough about myself. There is one incident at the time of the atomic bombing that I really want you to remember. It occurred at a place where many injured people had gathered. The army had decided to evacuate the victims of the disaster. It happened then. When a military truck came to a halt, a soldier got out of the front passenger seat, held up his rifle, and said, "Only young men can ride in this truck. If you disobey this military order, I will shoot to kill." They refused to evacuate women, children, and elderly people. Men who could be useful in the war were treated as humans, but others were treated just like garbage. This incident influenced my whole life. I vowed firmly from the bottom of my heart that I must oppose war. Ever since my first day as a teacher, I have been devoting myself constantly to peace education, talking about my own experience and trying to relay respect for peace. Now, as a member of Hidankyo, I have become involved in the issues of atomic bomb victims and the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Regardless of my own suffering, I intend to devote myself to such issues as peace and the elimination of nuclear weapons until the day I die.

Bossu Shin (atomic bomb victim): I was born in 1916. In 1910, Japan had invaded Korea and turned it into a colony, as a result of which many people fell into a wretched situation. At school in Korea, even though we did not understand the language, the Japanese principal read an imperial message that said "since you are all children of the Japanese emperor, you do not have to have any reservations at all. " That was how we were brought up to think of the Japanese. Then, at the age of 22, attracted by the affluent lifestyle of the Japanese who went to Korea, I came to Japan. When I went outside for the first time after about a week, I saw a Korean woman by the side of a cart laden with rags. She was shabbily dressed and was giving milk to a child who she carried on her back with a Korean sash. I felt very sad when I saw the woman hungrily chewing on a potato. After consulting with my mother-in-law, I have been active since then in doing what I can to improve the lives of Korean women in Japan, for example by organizing a women's group.

At about 7:30 in the morning of that fateful day of August 6, while we were having breakfast, the siren sounded to warn of an air raid over Hiroshima. We quickly ran to the air-raid shelter in the back garden, putting on our anti-air-raid hoods and turning up the radio. Then the radio announced that the warning had been lifted. The children had not slept at all during the previous night because of air-raid warnings, so when we came out of the shelter, I undressed the one-year-old child completely, put her in a sleeveless garment, and gave her to my motherin-law to carry on her back. I put the other children, aged 7 and 4, to sleep in another room. Then I went over to the goldfish pond under an evergreen tree in the garden. The water level had gone down because of a small crack in the cement, so I set about changing the water.

At that moment there was a flash in the sky. Then after a while, there was a crashing sound. $\,\mathrm{I}\,$ wondered what had happened, and then it went

pitch dark, so I couldn't see anywhere. A voice cried out from somewhere, "Help!", it was my husband's mother's voice. After about 10 or 15 minutes, the surroundings became faintly brighter, so I was able to ask, "Mother, where are you?" "In the living room," she said. "Help me quickly. I can't breathe. I'm going to die." But my house had collapsed completely. There was nothing remaining. And when I looked around, all I could see was a burnt-out wasteland. There wasn't a single house left standing. They had all collapsed, leaving just a wide open space.

My mother-in-law was lying face down in what had been the living room with the naked child on her back. A large pillar had fallen on the child's head and legs. Wondering how on earth I could save this child, I unconsciously cried out myself, "Help!" The man from the neighboring stationery store then came. "Look," he said, "you lift this end up, and I'll lift this end." But it had been a large house, so even with the two of us lifting, the pillar did not budge an inch. "It's no good" said the man. "My old man is dying in that rubble over there, too, so I'll have to go and help him. Please excuse me." After a while, a women from the neighborhood who had returned from America came over with blood dripping from her. "Cut the child's sash with this," she said, and handed me a plain kitchen knife. So I cut the sash in about four places and thought earnestly of a way to save the child. If I pulled its neck, I would probably break it. Then I put my arms under the pillar and pulled out the child by its armpits. But the child's leg then split open, and blood flowed out. I became panicky myself when I thought that this child who I had saved from under the pillar might now die from loss of blood.

Just at that moment, I don't know whether it was a gift from heaven or not, but something white came floating down from the sky. I ran over to where it fell and found a roll of bandage. So I was able to bind the child's leg and stop the bleeding. My 64-year-old mother-in-law then came out through the space created by freeing the child. Believing that she was going to die, she ran away to save herself without giving a thought to her children and grandchildren. There was nothing I could do about it. I made her sit down in the chestnut grove and hold the child, and I

went back to the house. But because the house had collapsed, I did not know which had been the room that the other two children had gone to sleep in. Thinking that they should be over there, I moved away the tiles one by one, and shouted over and over again, "Takeo! Akio!" But I couldn't tell if there was any reply. And then a fire broke out in the kitchen. I don't know where the soldier had come from, but he said, "An airplane is coming. Take refuge quickly. " But what would be the use of letting my children die under this rubble just so that I could be saved? So I stayed. The airplane passed by, and rain followed. When I mention this rain, people say that I am talking about the black rain that fell on Hiroshima. But I don't think so. Having dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and killed hundreds of thousands of people, the Americans now sprayed oil over the city so that it would burn and burn. My half-sleeved crepe was torn by the oil that clung to it. of that, I am certain.

To go back to the story of my family, when I looked up by chance, I saw a tall and completely blackened person coming toward me. It was my husband. He had taken a group of young people into the town when the atomic bomb fell. He had made his way back wearing only his pants and, as I said, completely blackened. The straw mat that he had worn to avoid the sparks had caught fire itself. If I stayed here, I would burn, too. Both my husband and I would die. So I pulled my husband away and led him down. And there were our two children, burnt to death. My husband would kick an ashtray and say that he didn't want to die. But his gums turned black and his hair fell out, and on August 30 he passed away.

Every day I lived the same awful life, carrying my child and going to the truck to receive one rice ball a day for each person. "You don't have to suffer so much," I was told. "Go to the local municipal office quickly." "Why should I go there?" I asked. "Because it hands out monetary compensation for people who died in the war or in the atomic bombing." I was very pleased indeed, because I had no money and only one rice ball a day to live on. I borrowed a bicycle from a neighbor and went to the municipal office. "I have come to receive monetary compensation for people who died in the atomic

bombing or war," I said, upon which the official immediately gave me a paper to write down my legal domicile. I wrote down the names of my two children and husband who had died. Although I was Japanese, I then wrote down Korea as my legal domicile. The official refused to give me any money. "Why not?" I asked. "I have left my child with another person. Please give me the money quickly." "I'm sorry, but I am not allowed to give money to foreigners," he said, and bowed his head. "Since when have I been a foreigner?" I shouted, thumping the table. "I changed my surname and took Japanese citizenship because I thought I was Japanese. And now you tell me I'm a foreigner, just because you lost the war." I could have gone on in this manner, but I knew it would be to no avail. So I returned home.

About 20 of us Koreans got together and even went to the Diet for negotiations on about four occasions, but they still refused completely to give monetary compensation to Koreans. We experienced a wretched life then, and we still suffer from this kind of discrimination today. The war killed my children and my relatives who went away as soldiers. I am nearly 80 now, but I have vowed to oppose war and fight for peace for as long as I live, as long as I breathe. Even though I have to limp along on my painful legs, I still go on talking to young students to give them this message.

Keizaburo Toyonaga (atomic bomb victim; member, Group for Discussing Hiroshima; director, Hiroshima Branch, Citizens' Group for Assisting Atomic Bomb Victims in South Korea): I was nine years old at the time of the atomic bombing. My mother and younger brother were 1.6 kilometers from the hypocenter when the bomb struck. My mother was burnt all over her face and right arm. At the moment when the bomb fell, my mother covered my younger brother, so he escaped without any injuries or burns. Afterward, because there was no medicine for treating her burns, all my mother could do was to grind potatoes and cucumbers in a radish grinding machine and apply the mixture to her face. Since my younger brother had received a large dose of radiation, he began to have diarrhea immediately after the explosion and soon was unable to walk. I

was at a place 9 kilometers from the hypocenter when the bomb exploded, but since I went into the city center on August 7 and 8 to look for my mother and younger brother, I am recognized as an atomic bomb victim and have an atomic bombing certificate. Our house burnt down on the night of August 6, but now my mother, aged 83, my younger brother, 51, and myself are still alive and well. I think we are probably the most fortunate atomic bomb victims in Hiroshima.

Naturally enough, North and South Koreans also fled out of the city after the explosion. At that time, however, the Japanese displayed an extremely cold attitude toward the Koreans, so the Koreans had to return to Hiroshima where they were subject to large doses of residual radiation. The Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare gives a special health certificate to atomic bomb victims. The law does not stipulate any nationality requirement for this certificate, so basically any foreign atomic bomb victim in Japan can receive one. Since the Japanese government maintains that the certificate is only valid in Japan, these foreigners cannot receive the benefits if they leave the country. As a result, many atomic bomb victims are suffering in North and South Korea. They have asked the Japanese government to give them the same assistance as Japanese or other atomic bomb victims in Japan. This movement by atomic bomb victims is part of the recent campaign for war compensation. As an atomic bomb victim, and also as a citizen of Japan which carried out military aggression against other Asian countries, I intend to continue telling our children many things for the sake of opposition to war and peace.

Yayoi Tsukamoto (member, Association of Counselors for the Treatment Atomic Bomb Victims): I work as a medical social worker at a hospital, and I also serve as a counselor for atomic bomb victims for a private voluntary group. Since I was born after the war, I did not experience the atomic bombing. But on the basis of my counseling for atomic bomb victims, I feel that it is my job to speak on behalf of these people. We often hear about the terrible experiences of the families of atomic bomb victims on that fateful day of August 6, but I have focused my attention on the less talked-about postwar lives of these people their

families, their physical condition, the psychological aspect, and the progress of government measures to improve these conditions.

For seven years after the dropping of the atomic bomb, there existed a press code that prohibited the reporting either domestically or abroad of any information related to the plight of atomic bomb victims. Only in the following year did reporting begin. It was 12 years before the government passed a law covering the cost of medical tests and treatment for just a few victims, and not until 1968 that a law was passed to give the victims a small monthly allowance for livelihood security. In other words, at the very worst time of their health, atomic bomb victims did not receive any security at all. They faced the task of rebuilding their lives almost entirely through their own efforts. In December 1980, in response to demands for comprehensive protection for atomic bomb victims, the Japanese government refused to pass a law guaranteeing state security for these people, saying that since all Japanese had been the victims of the war, it would not be possible for the government to take special responsibility in assisting only the atomic bomb victims. This statement caused a furor and marked the beginning of our campaign.

Let me give just one example of the life of a woman after the war. At the time of the atomic bombing, she was 12 years of age and working as a mobilized student 1.8 kilometers from the hypocenter. Her father had already died in the war. She was the eldest daughter in a family consisting of a mother and her children. When the atomic bomb fell, the girl felt immense despair being unable to help the naked people who cried out "Help!" and "Give me some water, please." With the whole family suffering from the bombing and their house completely destroyed, they had to start their lives all over again from a scratch. In the postwar years, the girl had to work hard so that her younger brother and sister could go to school. After her marriage, she decided with her husband not to have a child in fear of giving birth to an abnormal baby. She had feelings of both gratitude and indebtedness to her husband for having married an atomic bombing

Eventually this woman was diagnosed as having

cancer. Just before she underwent an operation, she applied to the government for recognition that her cancer had been caused by radiation from the atomic bomb. But the government refused to give recognition. So after the operation the woman had to continue working again as a cleaner in buildings. Her mother had grown old and frail, and they couldn't make ends meet unless she worked. If you receive recognition, you can get an allowance which helps the household budget. But her application had been turned down. "What about livelihood protection for atomic bomb victims who want to work but can't," she asked. I think that the problem of recognition for atomic bomb victims, and the issue of what illnesses occur according to the level of radiation suffered by the victims, will become related to the evaluation of permissible doses of radiation. I hope that the Japanese government will adapt proper measures.

Kiyoshi Matsue (director, Hiroshima Prefectura Branch, Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs): This year marks the hundredth anniversary of the Sino-Japanese War which was the first war that Japan as a modern state waged against another Asian country. And next year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb. From a historical point of view, it is extremely meaningful that these two dates should fall just one year apart. The reason is that Japanese soldiers departed for Asia from Hiroshima, and the atomic bomb was exploded for the first time in the world above Hiroshima. In other words, Hiroshima has two faces; one as a military aggressor, and one as an atomic bomb victim. I believe that we should not forget either face but continue to relate the incidents as history.

Discussion

Question: Why don't the atomic bomb victims ask the United States which actually dropped the bomb for security and compensation? And what is the atomic energy policy of the Japanese government? Tsuboi: In the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan promised to completely renounce its right to claim war damages. Consequently the atomic bomb victims

have pointed their finger at the Japanese government saying that the government should accept responsibility because it was the Japanese government that made the promise and not the United States.

Matsue: Regarding Japan's nuclear policy, there are two opinions. One argues that from a purely scientific point of view. Although plutonium certainly is an important resource for nuclear weapons, the manufacture of such weapons is not a simple matter and the government will not do so in the near future. The other question is what Japan intends to do by bringing in so much plutonium. Some critics argue that there is a limit to industrial use, and there is no guarantee that the plutonium will not be used for nuclear weapons.

Question: Officially the government will not manufacture nuclear weapons. But what about atomic energy plants?

Answer: Because of its lack of resources, Japan Intends to continue to depend on atomic power generation for its energy. Europe is searching for alternative sources of energy for atomic power generation, but Japan has almost no budget for carrying out research on alternative generation methods.

Opinion: In the United States, information regarding the nuclear tests in the Nevada Desert is completely controlled; it is impossible to obtain such information. For example, because of the nuclear tests, the American Indians who lived there and the soldiers who were treated as guinea pigs are suffering from various related illnesses. But we don't know what happened and why the illnesses occurred. I have met soldiers who were victims but who cannot claim damages, because even their military records have been destroyed.

Opinion: I get the impression from Ms. Guminska's remarks that the U.S. government is trying to hide all the information because it is so embarrassed about what it did. But actually the U.S. government has acknowledged the Nevada tests and also has boldly acknowledged that experiments took place on laborers and prisoners. At this stage the U.S. government feels no concern at all about acknowledging these facts and has adapted a more positive attitude than before.

Session 2

Greetings

Reiko Mori: In Hiroshima, we are particularly interested in holding a discussion on nuclear issues and war. Yesterday, the participants visited the memorial museum and they had a special discussion with a group in Hiroshima about the atomic bomb victims.

Today, we have with us participants from different organizations in Hiroshima. I believe it was in 1986 that the tragic accident happened in Chernobyl. I'm sure this is very fresh in your memories. We are concerned about how the Chernobyl incident has affected people's lives and we are very happy to hear first-hand reports from people who were involved in helping the victims medically and technically.

Report

Margarita Mikhailenko—"Woman and War": We visited Hiroshima Memorial Park and Museum yesterday and we had talks with atomic bomb survivors. I was deeply moved by their encounter. I know it is not an easy thing for them to recall that awful day which determined their destiny and their future. But what they talked about yesterday was not just the resentment but also the strong feeling that this sort of incident should not be repeated again. They are working so hard to bring about a peaceful world.

The title of today's forum is "Women, Environment and War". This theme is really the most suitable theme to discuss as the world is nearing the end of the 20th century. Ironically or cynically speaking, I think we can be proud that the history of mankind has continued for so long and yet in this 20th century, there have been some phenomenal developments in science and technology. Human beings are the only ones who have the knowledge, the will, the rationale and the reason but yet they are the very same human beings who developed the skills to kill their fellow men.

In the Nazi's concentration camp and Jewish ghetto towns, people were killed and murdered by using very primitive weapons. In highly

technological world, atomic bombs were invented and Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the sufferers of these bombs. We also have other problems like the acid rain, depletion of the Aral Sea, AIDS as well as the awful accident in Chernobyl. The 20th century tells us that human beings never seem to learn from history. The state or nation does not protect the people from crimes and criminals, but rather starts war and sends our children, the boys and husbands to the battlefields.

This violence is not only on the international scale but also on domestic scale. Towards the end of the 20th century, we have had many wars such as in Korea, Vietnam, Nicaragua and in Afghanistan. In Russia alone since 1987, there has been much bloodshed. There is of course war in Yugoslavia that worries us all. It's been going on for so many years and international communities are trying to put their forces together to stop the war but they have not succeeded in doing so.

In the 20th century, civilization and culture supposedly flourished yet we continue to have wars. Why is this the case? We have an abundance of knowledge and information that can be given to us very quickly and yet we are still killing each other. One cannot help but to question why.

There are traditional ways to kill people but there are also highly advanced ways of doing so. And our environment is also being destroyed and it is not possible to live comfortably in this environment anymore. I think the whole issue is rooted in our economic system. Of course, if the economy develops the problems can be alleviated. Some say the whole root of the problem lies in politics. People are hungry for power and once they acquire power they try to do everything to stay in power. They often use the word national interest. One nation's national interest inevitably comes into conflict with other nation's national interest according to the way politics are conducted today. Very often, people try to hurt the national interest of other parties in order to protect the national interest of its own. There are other reasons for conflict and dispute; historical, cultural, social, religious and people have talked about it for ages.

Once an American psychologist and sociologist did an experiment using volunteer students. They

gave assigned students various roles, such as politicians, prosecutors, lawyers and defendants and asked them to play the role as realistically as possible. They realized that even the young ones wanted to act the roles of politicians and prosecutors; they had no difficulty in playing the role very effectively and without exerting much effort. They prosecuted the defendant in a very severe way in order to get a conviction. It was unexpected that these students could harshly "prosecute" their friends. In Russia today, there are many children who are eagerly engaged in the so-called "war games"; once they start playing these games, they begin to fight their friends in a cruel way, for example, chaining a friend to a tree.

Whenever there is a cruel situation or a war occurring, it is not because people in the society really support war; the war very often breaks out because of the indifference or the passive support of the people. This we see in the rise of Naziism. Children are raised by their mothers in the first few years of their lives in which they really start learning what is right and wrong. Children begin to learn to detest evil, to respect diligence and other such good values. A Russian writer by the name of Straskatsky wrote a book called "To Be a God is Difficult". The story is about a man from the future who comes to the past world in the Middle Ages where totalitarianism is ruling. The man has great knowledge but he cannot intervene in what is happening. He saves a person out of a jail and asks, "What do you want me to do? I am a god, I am almighty. I can fulfil your wish." The man answered, "If you are a God, please give plenty of bread to everyone." The future man responded, "Giving bread does not solve anything, because the strong ones will take that bread from the weak ones." The man then requests that the strong ones be punished. The future man says, "Even if you punish these people, the strong will still rise over the weak continually." So the man then asks that industry and knowledge be valued among people, but the future man says he is sorry but to fulfil that wish would mean there would be no more world. Finally, the man says, "Let us then walk our own paths, not your path, but our own paths."

Now I think that we are already starting to walk on our own paths. I think the worst part of our history is over, at least as far as Japan goes. The Japanese have enough knowledge to attach importance on industry. One thing that I wish for in this forum is not just to exchange words and opinions, but to go beyond words and take action so that we can really contribute to the repose of the dead peoples' soul. I'm proposing an educational program for the 21st century which has already been adopted and being implemented in Russia and I would like to propose that similar things take place in Japan.

One side of humanity is children and we want the children to live in an environment without destruction and fear. I think we have the ability to give such a world to our children.

Irina Ivasenko—"Report on the Chernobyl Accident": I'd like to speak to you about the experience in Chernobyl. I was working at the nuclear power plant from 1977 and living in Prypyat with my family. Chernobyl is really the center of the Chernobyl district and in this district, there is the Chernobyl nuclear power station, and right next to the station is the town of Prypyat. This is the town where the construction workers and the staff of Chernobyl nuclear power station were living.

On April 26, 1986, we had four nuclear reactors that were being operated and it was planned to build the fifth and sixth reactors across the river. Prypyat was a very beautiful city. I will only speak as one who has experienced the horror of Chernobyl accident. Now we can say that it was a horrible tragedy, but at the time, we didn't realize how tragic and horrible it really was.

April 26, 1986 was an ordinary day. I had to do the housework and also had plans for going to our villa. It was about 25 degrees celsius outside but still inside the apartment we had central heating. I don't think it was a premonition but I couldn't sleep. At 6 a.m., my family was still asleep but I went shopping in the market. I realized that something was very strange in the city. The streets had been cleaned and washed, there were policemen on every street corner, and cars were stopped. I asked the policeman "Why are so many policemen here?" The policeman replied that some important person is coming. The people assembled on street corners and were looking towards the power station but they didn't seem to be

particularly concerned. They were saying that it seems like there has been an accident. And then I realized that half of the building of the nuclear reactor was gone and something was burning. So I immediately rushed home and said, "It's an accident and we are going to get radiation. They are washing the streets so it must be a very major accident." But then there was nothing on the radio and we had no phone calls, so I thought at least I should let my son go to school. But I could not rest and I really did not know what I should do. I thought that if it was a serious accident, then the water supply would be stopped. So I went to the supermarket to buy some juice. There were lines of people both outside and inside the stores. The staff of the supermarket were washing the floors with detergent. They were selling wine and beer outside the shop. Although it was early in the morning, people were drinking and everyone seemed very happy. I returned home with two and three liter bottles of juice in my hand but as I walked I began to feel a strange and gnawing fear. I must get my children out of this town but there were no buses, no cars and we were really trapped in here. But then I realized that there was a hovercraft. Perhaps on this hovercraft, I could go across the river to Kiev. So with my hands shaking, I took some notebooks and textbooks, put them in a knapsack and waited for my son to come home. There were crowds of people outside and they had all come to see "the rocket" which is a ferry to Kiev. There were forty seats and it was filled over capacity. Everyone was pushing and shoving. The ship gave a long horn and left. We had to return home. Then the next day, 11 a.m. on April 27th, there was an announcement on the radio. A very unemotional female voice said that we should take refuge for three days that there has been an accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

I was not afraid because it was only three days and the buses came one after another. The drivers had to wait in the forest for two days where all the trees later were charred and red. The city seemed quiet and dead. It was almost like the sun had lost its brilliance and we passed a very quiet night in fear. Ten days had passed since we sought refuge. Then they began to move the children southward. I was taken to a camp in the suburbs of Kiev. To this camp

the children from Chernobyl district had been gathered. I worked there as a volunteer guiding the children. There was an explanatory meeting where they said, "Don't expose the children to the sun, keep the children inside their rooms." But we could not control the little children. It was very difficult to keep them inside the house. Then someone came to the camp to check the radiation dose and they said that we had to get rid of our shoes but we didn't have enough new shoes or clothing. They told us we should not wear anything that was contaminated but we couldn't find any clothing that was not contaminated. They told us that they had made preparations for the railroad trains to take us somewhere else. We had with us two days worth of drinking water, two cans of fish each, one can of condensed milk, butter and some black and crushed bread. It was already fifteen days since the accident and I had gradually come to know various things. I realized that we had to wrap the food but there was nothing to wrap the food with. Where could we keep the food from being contaminated? We were taken to the Spartack Station. When the train arrived, some of the children were dragging the bags of food along the ground and people were shouting at them, "Don't let your bread touch the ground." At last we have got into the train. The water had disappeared very quickly and we were told to be patient. There was no tea, juice or water. The train carriage was very dirty and the guards of the train was drunk. We at least wanted the children to sleep on mattresses to get some decent sleep but there were no sheets. Then the bureaucrats came to see if everything was alright. They said that everything was alright but I jumped off the train saying, "What do you mean everything is alright? Look at how dirty this train is and look at how contaminated this place is. We don't have any sheets or drinking water." The bureaucrat promised to provide us with supplies but nothing changed. The children were not playing any more. They sat or slept very quietly on their beds only asking if their mothers were coming. Three months later in July of 1986, we were told that we could visit the city of Prypyat if we had special permission which had to come from the police. The police were in control of everything. Even our apartment was no longer mine or my husband's; it was as if it belonged to the

policeman. I was given 15 minutes to get back into the house. I was being watched and I rushed into my house. Standing in front of the mirror, I thought how miserable I looked with these trousers and jacket, with my hair all tousled. Coming back to my senses, I thought I should get something out of this house. I looked through the rooms trying to think of something to carry back from my home and cried, "Oh God, please help me to remember what I really need to take out of this house." The policeman was staring at me looking at his wristwatch. I got very flustered and then I remembered that I needed my address book which I found and held very close to me. Now I could tell my friends that I am still alive. I went back with the precious belongings but they fell on the floor. I felt so hopeless that I couldn't even cry.

Very often I remember a "dead town"-the toys lying on the yards, and very sad faces of children. God! Save us from seeing that again.

MC: This was a very vivid first-hand account and we are all very moved and are at a loss for words. Based on the data given to us, at the time of the Chernobyl accident, the amount of radiation released was 350 times the amount of the bomb in Hiroshima in terms of cesium 67. According to the health authorities, the number of deaths is 61 people as of 1991. Those who have been afflicted with thyroid cancer and other forms of cancer, especially the children are numerous and the number of cancer cases is increasing.

Question: Are you still living in Prypyat?

Ivasenko: No one is living in Prypyat now. They cannot live within 30 km from the center of the accident and there are whole villages that have been evacuated and forced to move elsewhere.

I am living in Kiev. Since the accident, people have moved to different places and have relocated in Kiev suburbs. Some have even left the Ukraine completely but basically everyone who has been forced to evacuate has been given a home. I am in Kiev in a small apartment. In Prypyat, I had an apartment that was twice as big so I have less space now.

Question: How are your children? Are they in good health?

Ivasenko: Before I came to Japan, my daughter was in the hospital but she is out now. My son was rather lucky because he goes to Germany each year and is able to get a complete medical check-up. But my daughter is not very well. Her immune system has weakened.

Question: We are very impressed that the victims have begun this movement to research the situation themselves. I would like to know what your feelings were and what motivated you. How did you get involved in this relief organization for victims?

Ivasenko: When people started to evacuate from the contaminated area, the investigation began by carrying out blood tests, etc. but we did not know what the results were. Those who worked at the nuclear power plant were taken to hospital and given immediate medical care. But for the residents of Chernobyl, it seemed we were just doing trivial things. I feel that these were superficial attempts to appear to be doing something.

Right after the accident, I was called upon to work for the unit that was dealing with the accident but after 1986, my son's health deteriorated and I had to top. Still, I wanted to do something that would be seful for everybody not just for my own son. So I was among the initiators of the organization called the "Children of Chernobyl" to help the children. The movement grew up spontaneously as a volunteer organization.

Mikhailenko: I would like to add the following: responsible people immediately understood the seriousness of the situation. In Russia, they have this Number Three Department which deals with the nuclear power plants and other dangerous work situations. They look after the health of people who are in danger of radiation exposure. Patients from different nuclear power plants were sent to special hospitals; they are shut off from society and it is almost like a secret organization. These hospitals were completely closed and when the Chernobyl accident occurred, the doctors and staff at these hospitals were immediately mobilized. People who were exposed to radiation were moved at once to Kiev and then to Moscow to the Number Six Hospital which is now very famous. Dr.Ilyn, who is the leader of the Science Academy, is the director of this hospital. Although they tried their best, 26 people died within two months from the accident. These were the people who were exposed to more than 500 roentgen. There were some who survived and most of these people are now living in Moscow where they have been allotted apartments. They are under complete surveillance; they have radiation disease and are receiving medical help but they cannot work.

Doctors from Hospital Number Six were specialists in nuclear medicine. They had the knowledge but did not have sufficient understanding or experience. They could not really help people by counselling or trying to explain what had happened to them. The psychological effects on the victims were devastating.

Many people visited Chernobyl. 600,000 people were involved in cleaning up after the accident and there were others who were there but not accounted for. All of these people came to Chernobyl, but there was no comprehensive or systematic accident program. It was two years after the accident that such a program was really established in a systematic manner. Until then, all of the efforts had been very sporadic and very localized, so it was very necessary to come up with a program that would deal with the accident as a whole.

The medical research center in Kiev was a local district research center that was elevated to a national status and this was the beginning of a network of exchange of information among different medical research centers in genetics, immunology, radiation disease, etc. At the end of 1987, the Kiev Radiation Medical Research Center held a press conference. At the time, the health minister seemed triumphant and said that everything was going well, that the people who should have died have already died and that those who are surviving are receiving wonderful medical treatment. He also said that the others were completely safe, not facing any danger.

We had a lot of information and material in 1989. There was to be a meeting held at a national level with all the Soviets. But it was not convened because in the medical program ,150 research centers and laboratories had been involved. The information had been gathered but we still needed to carry out a compilation and analysis of the data. And as a result, the nationwide meeting was not held.

Therefore, up until the present time, the medical research has not been compiled and announced. At the time, we did not have a universal program that all of the medical research centers were using. Medical reports have been carried out on an

individual basis. Various data have already been announced and some are specialized medical information. So you can look at the individual reports but we do not have a total comprehensive report. In 1992, four volumes of research information were published by the Investigative Commission of the Soviet Union. This is called "The Cause and Effects of the Chernobyl Accident". This deals with the sequelae, the degree of contamination and the state of health of the people who were exposed to radiation.

Ivasenko: I would like to add a couple of points myself. The collaboration is very difficult because we have now three different countries, Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia all facing problems of their own. It is very difficult to carry out a comprehensive, joint collaborative research work.

Question: On what economical basis does the community that has been created from Chernobyl continue to live? Did the state give some money as financial support for those who lost their jobs?

Mikhailenko: Yes, we do have government money given to us. The law was established soon after the accident on social security of the victims. Specific geographical areas were designated, such as village and district, set aside for evacuation purposes and the government did give us money during the evacuation but the money was very limited.

As far as the Russian situation is concerned, damages done were severely underestimated. Then we experts asked a very famous group of economists to recalculate the real damages done. As of 1988, the calculation came up to 200 billion rubles and this was before the hyperinflation.

It is wrong to say that the government and medical profession were doing nothing; they were trying to do something but the damage was overwhelming, the resources were too limited, there was poor mobility and therefore, it was highly insufficient no matter what these professions tried to do. As for the protection and safeguarding of the victims in Chernobyl, there was a major mistake made on the part of the government. The children including mine were evacuated to the most severely polluted area and this was a very sad situation. Radiation is so unpredictable in terms of where it might go.

There were many government decisions made, one after another but they were all too late. The NGO movements in and around Chernobyl became more active. The Chernobyl incident provoked the formation of NGO in a true grass root movement. We were able to influence politicians to form laws and pass laws more quickly. Maybe many of these laws would not have been passed without Chernobyl. Now the laws protect the people by providing them with pension funds and relief money.

In regard to laws and special relief money, I receive 350 rubles a year for the pension. This is a normal amount of allowance for someone like myself who has worked for 35 years. My base wage is 120,000 rubles and based upon that, I receive 30 percent in addition to that because of the health damages done, so that comes to 40,000 rubles. In the past, I was able to buy 170 kilograms of beef but now I can only buy 8 kilograms of beef although I am given relief money. This shows the deterioration of our living standards.

The laws are wonderful; in 1990, we got a special law and in 1992, amendments were made to give us additional relief. These privileges, if they were shaved off in any decree, will be very hard hit. The government is already trying to reduce the amount of money given out because of the difficult economic situation but we still need the help.

MC: We, in Japan, were able to find out that there are twenty of the same Chernobyl type of nuclear reactors in operation today in the former Soviet Union. Is it true that the old Chernobyl type of operation has been resumed?

Ivasenko: In Chernobyl, now in April 1994, we have reactors 1 and 3 in operation; reactor 2 is now being repaired and it will operate in the near future. Reactor 4 has been buried in concrete. In the Ukraine, thirty percent of the electric power generation is being supplied by Chernobyl. If we stop Chernobyl station altogether, we will not have enough power supply. During the winter, we will be deprived of heat as well as television broadcast. The Supreme Soviet decided that Chernobyl power station will not be shut down because of the electricity shortage. Additional safety measures will be put in place they say but to shut down the plant altogether is impossible.

Goto: The Society of Dr.Junod was promoted by a group of people who wanted to return the favors done by Dr.Junod to Hiroshima. There are some things we are doing for the people of Chernobyl. This is a regular provision of goods. We are inviting teachers, doctors and instructors from Chernobyl to Japan for exchanges of information. We are also sending Japanese doctors to Chernobyl to give medical assistance and we are trying to invite medical people to Japan in regard to the area of thyroid assessment, as well as leukemia and other hematologic oncology. We are inviting those folklore doctors who have special licenses to practice Oriental medicine in Chernobyl to come to Japan for additional education. We have fifteen doctors, seventeen children, four teachers and one civilian, a total of thirty-seven people from Chernobyl who have been invited to spend time in Hiroshima. From Hiroshima, fifteen doctors, three lab technicians, four urnalists, one teacher and six staff members, a total of twenty-nine have been sent to Chernobyl and the surrounding areas. The five activities that we are carrying out involve civic groups; the most active area is inviting children from Chernobyl with doctors. They went to Tokyo, Wakayama, Okayama and Yamaguchi. In addition to Hiroshima, residents in those local cities have provided lodging for children. We definitely want to continue to exchange information and assistance. We have also invited children and teachers to participate in school education. The children of the Ukraine coming to Japan has been a fruitful experience for Japanese children. Once a week, we are making a news letter entitled, "To Become Like Dr.Junod".

(There were reports from Mrs.Hara, the member of the society, about its activities and the heart warming episode of the children of Chernobyl who experienced homestay in Japan.)

MC: We have many NGO's operating in Japan trying to assist those in Chernobyl. We have a group trying to send fresh milk to babies and a number of NGO's including the women's forum participating in those activities. Within Russia and Ukraine, as we heard from the two speakers, there are NGO's and grassroots movements operating and networking. We hope that this kind of activity will continue and expand to a worldwide scale.

Ivasenko: We have never had the experience of non-governmental organization activities, but we are determined to continue to place our utmost efforts in promoting this movement. We are not just asking for financial support; we also hope that through Chernobyl, we can network with groups belonging to countries that are far ahead of us in terms of this kind of movement. Perhaps much more than the goods and material support that have been extended, I am more thankful because of the warmth extended to us. I sincerely hope that this kind of exchange will continue in the future.

Biljana Kasic-"The War in the Ex-Yugoslav Region": I came from Croatia where the war has become a part of our reality since 1991. It fundamentally shaped my feelings, notions and attitudes and at the same time, raised global questions and dilemmas which affected me to be involved in a more human and womanish activities during the war time. It is a question of personal choice and a challenge of understanding the conceptions of humanity, civilization, freedom and life. I saw how cynical modern culture and its political leaders could be as creators of new states. They show exactly the same indifference towards the war tragedy of the people and the universal values they achieved sacrificing them together with the lives of their citizens, their soldiers and the members of their nation. All those things happened in the name of collective ideology which reached a perverse culmination, a lack of respect for the sanctity of life. A lot of global interest is somehow involved in this war and of course, the profits of the military industry as well. The war in the ex-Yugoslav region displays processes that are neither simply explained, nor confined in regard to territoriality. It could happen everywhere.

The so-called transition period from socialism to capitalism and from totalitarianism to democracy has converted into war destroying the idea of togetherness, multinational and cross-cultural society. National states attracted by new leaders brought the society back quite apart from the trends as human rights or women's rights.

There were tragic impacts of the war, first in Slovenia, then in Croatia and in Bosnia and

Hercegovina, which were all former republics of Yugoslavia: There were large scale casualties amongst civilians and a large number of refugees and displaced persons. Also there have been an enormous devastation of villages and towns. Particularly in Bosnia, cultural and sacred monuments were destructed but primarily, it has been a destruction of community as an environment. The violence and destruction have reached a scale unknown to Europe since the Second World War.

The war in the former Yugoslavia has certainly affected civilians and women more than soldiers. Observing women's experiences, aspects of the war such as victimization, gang rape, torture, massacre, sexual abuse of teenager in detention camps and the status of homeless and displaced persons make up women's reality in which we live or try to live. Women and children, the least responsible for this war, are those who are suffering the most. I found that these things are irrelevant to political leaders and their goals, and it is no coincidence that, at the same time, new mythology of patriarchy has been created. The stature of militarized power has reinforced militaristic symbols and well-known stereotypes; Women as a great mother, or woman as a person who is only there to heal the wounds of the soldiers and men as warriors.

What are the moral starting points for all of us women? Since the war started, women faced the three main topics: nationalism, anti-war or peaceful action and activities and survival. This nationalism is so often aggressive and hatefully directed against the other nation that women are turned into confusion of taking rather political and nationalistic war sides. So women were in the position of taking the side of the "victim" or the "aggressor". They had to define themselves somehow which was very hurtful.

On the contrary, some women set up the anti-war and peace initiatives before the war started because they had some experience with NGO activities. These women are emphasizing anything else but the possibility of communication, tolerance and peaceful solutions. Women's peace activists organized a demonstration against the war encouraging the consciences of objectors to use their right not to go into war. They also organized some sort of peace educational programs in some refugee camps.

Women usually search for non-violent solutions in resolving conflicts. It is difficult because there are no women participating in global peace dialogues; it is just men who are there.

Women have shown more clearly than before the basic motivation, passion and responsibility for life during the war. In Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina but also in Serbia, women have organized the centers for women war victims. In terrible conditions, they try to protect and support all women emotionally, socially and financially. Particularly when the news of rape came up they banded together. In 1992, we set up the Center for Women War Victims in Zagreb. The traumatized women have tried to live with their stories.

There is a story about a 13 year old girl in one refugee camp who came from the detention camp from Bosnia-Hercegovina to Croatia. I knew before that she was raped but of course she didn't want to talk about it. She said something which I could not forget. She said that it could happen to any woman and she tried so hard to forget about it. When she spoke about rape, she never mentioned her experience but spoke indirectly.

I want to emphasize what we put as our demands at the World Conference in Vienna in 1993. First, stop the war, close all detention camps and enable refugees and displaced people to return to their homes. Second, war criminals should be prosecuted, both those who started the war and those who carried out the atrocities. Third, rape in war should be treated as a war crime and a crime against gender; the perpetrators should be charged by women judges. Fourth, the right of asylum should be granted to all women who have suffered violence because of their gender.

The main goal for women is to restore the life of the community again.

MC: There are some elements and factors other than religious or ethnic conflicts. The relationship between women and war has many key words.

Kašić: There are two questions that are asked usually. The first, what is the goal of the war? What is it all about? Is it an ethnic war or a religious war? The second, what do we think of military intervention? In regard to the first question, I can't say that it is a civil war or an ethnic war or just a typical war with

aggression. It is difficult to explain; somehow the political leaders who have the most military power and stake are the first ones responsible for these wars.

From the beginning, there were a lot of elements in the war, and after three years, I could say that it is some sort of civil war, or some sort of ethnic war with the elements of aggresion of Yugoslav army and Serbian regime in the beginning. Because the people were forced to be the enemy against each other. The hatred was imposed by the mass media and by ideology and propaganda. Once the war had started, it had its own logic and it could not be stopped easily.

On the second question, since I am a pacifist, I don't believe in any sort of military intervention as a way to solve a problem.

Question: The rapes have inflicted physical and mental pain on women. What sort of care are you giving them? Also, is there any assistance, financial or otherwise, given for the babies born as a result of these rapes?

Kasic: Before the war started, we started the hotline for women who are victims of domestic violence particularly by their husbands or partners. A lot of women in domestic situations have been raped but they never spoke about it because it might not be acknowledged. However, a huge number of women reported that they were suffering from domestic violence more than before the war. In regard to the rapes, as in other wars, women and their bodies were somehow being used as a symbolic territory of the nations of their men. Men raped women to show the power over their bodies which means the power over nation. There are self-help groups in the refugee camps to talk about anything that concerns women. Some women did become pregnant but not a lot of them; some of them did bear the child conceived by rape. If women were ashamed and wanted to be relocated to a third country, we tried to provide assistance for them with our women friends from

Question: Is the hotline being financially supported by any organization?

Kasić: There are no governmental support but we have the support of some similar women's organizations from abroad. A lot of these

organizations support us in doing these activities and some financial aid is given to us. It is a kind of women's international solidarity.

Question: The United Nations has been involved and yet it has not lead to the resolution of the conflict. Even the food and commodities that were dispatched to the region by the U.N. did not get into the hands of the people. Why did it fail so drastically?

Kašić: This is a rather complex issue. The main reason from my viewpoint is a range of dispersive global interests that interfere within the United Nations. We feel that as long as women are not represented with their interests in these international organizations, nothing would be changed. The main idea is to have a kind of War Tribunal by the U.N. for the crimes against women, but even that as I know has not worked properly. I do not believe the U.N. as a very powerful organization

Maria Mies-"The Ramboization of Men": First of all, what we have been discussing shows very clearly the role division between men and women in society. Men make war and women have to see that life goes on afterwards. This is a division of labor in patriarchal and capitalistic societies. I am getting more and more impatient with this division of labor. I can't hear the stories anymore about women cleaning up the mess which men have created after the war. It was another type of war but it belongs together. We in Germany, had an expression after the Second World War for the women who cleaned up the mess and ruins called "Truemmer-Frauen" or "ruin women". I think we women should refuse to be "Truemmer-Frauen" any longer and our first priority should be to stop these wars. It is not enough just to analyze the victims' suffering and how we can help them.

Even in peace, we feminists in Germany had a slogan during the peace movement when we tried to prevent the American nuclear rockets to be stationed in Germany: "Peace in patriarchy means war against women" was the slogan. The technology being used in nuclear power stations is war technology. We made that clear in 1983 in our first peace demonstrations where we were demanding not only to stop the stationing of the rockets but to stop all nuclear power plants in Germany. And we are still

demanding this.

However, we were successful to some extent. The Green Party in Germany, particularly after Chernobyl, demanded that Germany should stop nuclear energy even for the so-called peaceful efforts. I was a bit shocked when I heard our sister from Ukraine say that people need this nuclear power because of the shortage of electricity. We don't want this nonsense and this kind of consumerism if the price is Chernobyl or other disasters.

At the time of the Gulf War, we started a movement called "Women Say No to the War". We had weekly demonstrations and saw clearly the connection between the Gulf War, which was a war for oil, and our lifestyle. We want to reduce our style of lifestyle if war is the price. These kind of connections should be discussed, otherwise we can't complain about wars.

War is good for the economy, as long as we women look after the victims and heal the wounds of our children and also of the ecology. It seems that only women are concerned. Where are the men who are concerned about the continuation of life? Where are the men who will clean up the mess which they have created? Where are the men who are concerned about nature? Many of us understand it is a worldwide, economic and political system of war machinery that we must stop. Of course, this means we have to change our way of life, since we are accomplices in that system.

What is happening today is what an American feminist, Cynthia Enloe, calls "the Ramboization of men". This preceded the Gulf War. Before the war the film "Rambo" was shown, and she analyzed the opinions of Philippino National Liberation Army men. She asked them which film they would show after a victory and they said "Rambo". This film had the function in the United States of healing the psychological trauma of the Vietnam War. It showed the possibility of America to become strong again. The Gulf War, apart from the oil, had the function of showing that you can make a war and win it without suffering yourselves. The United Nations was indeed highjacked by the U.S. at that time. That is why I wonder how this same U.N. can help us women.

Another American feminist economist, Hazel Henderson, has analyzed this connection between the

Gulf War and the U.S. economy and how the two were directly related. The American economy recovered after the huge payments from other powers who did not send their own soldiers to the Gulf, like Germany for instance. She called this new type of war "rent-yourself-a-superpower" and make a war in a conflict-torn area which is the best thing for the failing economy. It creates jobs and men can feel strong with the idea of having a gun. The proliferation of guns is seen all over the world accompanied by this Ramboization. The Japanese economy, I think in fact, is also dependent on this war economy.

Once I attended a meeting on war toys for children. Perhaps the largest toy multinational is from Japan and the spread of war toys creates jobs for you in Japan. In Germany, we are in a deep economic recession. The chief minister of one state said we need to put more emphasis on arms production to create more jobs. It is all back again as if the Second World War had never happened. It is only we women who say that we have to stop the arms production.

The issue of unemployment is important, of course, but there is life beyond industrial society. The politicians, economists and scientists have no other answer but to make war again because it is good for the economy. In studying all these connections, I discovered the indicator of economic prosperity, the gross national product(GNP). It was developed in WWII by British economists to calculate their economical power in order to pay for the war. They came out with their GNP and said, "If we make war, it will create jobs and we will have new raw materials and will create new factories. We will have new products and the whole economy will begin to grow again." This is capitalism and without growth there is no capitalism. This GNP was a discovery and a creation of war economy. But it did not stop after the war. It was accepted by the U.N. which made a code called the UNSNA which means the United Nations Systems of National Accounts. Now all national economies are being measured according to this U.N. system which is based on GNP.

For women, it is a war criterion, because our work of looking after children and the old and doing housework is typically not included in the GNP. This has been found out by the New Zealand feminist Marilyn Waring who wrote a very important book called "If Women Counted". What is not included in the GNP is worldwide women's housework, women's work for children and the old. The whole economy would change if it were included. What is also not included is nature's work because it has been taken as a so-called "free resource" for which you don't have to pay. That is how these corporate and military warriors destroy nature on a scandalous scale.

When I drove from the airport to the city of Hiroshima, I was shocked to see how your forests and nature are destroyed. We all depend on the unpaid work of women and nature. But those who caused the disaster don't even think of it. It's not in the GNP or the UNSNA. For our future and for the lives of generations to come, women have to take action to put an end to the world in which we are called "Truemmer-Frauen". What we have done in Germany during the women's ecology and peace movements has shown some success but the success was only because we went into the streets. We have to do more than say we want peace. We have to change this system of production and consumption and that means also that we have to change our way of life.

In conclusion, in Germany, I've been invited to talk at a men's congress because some of the men are beginning to understand that this system is not only bad for women and children but also for themselves. The Green Party is organizing this congress at the end of May and they asked me as the only woman to give the key lecture. I will talk about that the men will have to stand up against this "Ramboization" of men.

Claudia Von Werlhof—"Science and War Technology": When I came to Hiroshima, I was really astonished because I had thought that something had been done after the atomic bomb was thrown. I heard that the trees were supposed to lack for 20 to 30 years after the bomb was thrown. But I saw the trees still dying. We then learned about the black rain which caused this dying of the forest.

There are so many parallels between the so-called war situation of 1945 and the situation now 49 years after. If you look at Japanese history, you will find that Japan has turned into a very militaristic nation because of all its colonial experiences. One could say that the situation nearly never stopped and that we have never had peace as it was announced. A peaceful use of atomic energy is impossible. One of the most important lectures which Chernobyl gave us was that the damages were done not only by war but also by the so-called peace and the peaceful use of technology. So what is the relationship between war technology and the so-called peace technology?

I was really astonished to hear that there are 13 or 15 atomic plants in this region near Hiroshima. I find this very strange if I believe that you really want to come out of the possible disasters. I heard that you were organizing the Asian Games this year and I asked myself why don't you use the money to heal your forests or to give it to the victims or whatever you can do to preserve other catastrophes. For example, in the city of Innsbruck in the middle of the Alpine mountains, people were asked if they would want another Winter Olympic Games organized there. The people of the city voted against it because it had destroyed half of the city.

The war in Hiroshima was not only a war or was not even a war because it was a scientific experiment. There is a man called Brian Easlea who wrote a very important book about the construction of the bomb and the conditions under which it was thrown and the discussions they have had. He mentions about the German physicists who were not able to throw the bomb themselves because of being at the other side of the war. It was the American physicists who threw the bomb and were very proud to make this field experiment. War was used as a pretext to do such an experiment because otherwise in the middle of peace, it would have been very difficult. Normally the tests are carried out in unpopulated regions besides the South Pacific where you know all the aborigines and the indigenous peoples have been destroyed.

What we have been analyzing is the type of technology which produces war games and warfare to such an extraordinary extent and the question of science, technology and industry, and how they are related to the military complex. For example, there have always been discussions about converting military industries into civil industries.

I feel that this whole conversion debate doesn't make sense because it is always the other way around which I call reversion. It is as if the whole civil industry had already been militarized and you can use everything you have here for domestic use or for civil use. Children are engaged in war games and all these high-tech products related to war. And especially the boys imitate what they see on television and what they hear from people and what they see around them. They play war and prepare for war to be a type of "Rambo" as Dr.Mies has called it.

We have done research into the origins of this type of science which led to our technology, the natural sciences and the other sciences. It is more or less clear which type of thinking is behind this type of science. For example, the atomic bomb might fall down from the sky but it is not produced in the sky. It has to come out of a certain mind because without thinking as a warrior, such technology cannot be invented.

We have found out that the whole war is against nature, that men seem to have a certain way of how to get nature and women under their control. This explains the rapes and the treatment of women and nearly everything we have as problems in the world of today. I would like to see the consequences out of this thinking which are widespread all over the world by women and by men. We cannot reduce ourselves to complain about things; we really have to do something. Women's emotions about the horrible disasters are not enough. It is really something like a provocation for everybody to think about maybe another form of thinking.

I want to conclude with some of the experiences I have had during the Chernobyl movement which has radicalized our thinking. When we were experiencing the effects of Chernobyl, we heard our children having nightmares about machines killing people and the world being destroyed. The children understood what was going on. There was a strong movement of women, especially by mothers who learned from Chernobyl the respect for life.

There was a big split in the movement and within the whole social movement scene which showed that some people are more interested in participating in this kind of dangerous development and others really wanted to overcome it.

We have to learn development, progress and

industrialization are no way to a possible future. These are recent events and inventions in history we must control. We don't want to live like in a total institution which our conditions of living are moving. What has happened to the children who were exposed to radioactivity was something like an anonymous rape which destroyed part of their lives and the living possibilities.

The children can show us radical thinking and a way out of the dilemma because they really do not want to live with all this technology and development. We want to have a simple life and we are called to invent that again. This would really be a progress.

Mariarosa Dalla Costa—"Belligenous Aspect of Development": Here I want to consider the two basic functions of the military/belligenous(that is, producing war) character that development more and more assumed in these last decades.

A) One aspect is certainly the huge profit that the investment in the military sector produces. It must be clear that the decisions relative to this kind of investment are taken ultimately by the academic, bureaucratic, industrial, and military complexes. Industrial Military Sectors(CMI), defined by Cecil Wright Wills in 1956 have been redefined in a broader sense by Frank Barnaby, ex-director of the Stockholm International Peace Institute as academic, bureaucratic, industrial and military complexes. But on this theme very important are the studies of Andree Michel to which I refer for my considerations here and with whom I shared important political initiatives, for example during the Gulf War. Today, the military investment -it is largely recognized-is not favorable to the development of a kind of economy that would produce more occupations and multiply services. It only concentrates profits in the hands of industrial military complexes while it reduces employment particularly of women. On the other hand, this investment requires very expensive and sophisticated materials. These are the characteristics of the military investment of the last decade, especially in the very recent years. It produces a very restricted possibility of employment, particularly qualified and rather destined to men. Moreover, the effect of lowering the possibilities of occupation is accompanied by the effect of lowering state's social expenses. This is true in the advanced countries as in the Third World.

B) But the more important aspect of this militarized/belligenous development is the effect of refounding continuously on a wider scale in the world the class condition(broadly intended) that is the prerequisite for the continuation of the capitalist accumulation. And this goal is pursued through renewing and deepening the kind of stratification in society as a working body between sexes, races and On the extent that the recent technological revolution has restricted and tends to dramatically restrict the possibility of waged work, it is rather the warfare than the welfare that assumes the control of the society. Not only this kind of military development produces wars but produces the militarization of the society. More investments are put into military control rather than in satisfying the basic needs of the people. In the same way, this military development produces the militarization of the culture. I think that it is very important to be aware of this. This is in itself a new kind of social control. The mass media transmit and spread images of blood and terror that produce depression, anxiety and panic in the population. The image of continuous wars deprives people of the hope for the future. This has been defined as "the colonization of the mind", that is also a form of psycological destruction of the individuals.

And the drug market, I am referring to heroin which dramatically penetrated almost through all societies in these last decades offer you the "cure", the therapy, ironically speaking of course, for the depression. That is: another form of control of the society complementary to the militarization of culture, because the cure contributes as well to the physical and psychological destruction of individuals. And, very important, this "cure" is not in the hands of individuals but in the hands of those who own and control the drug market. War market and drug market are complementary in their function toward the society. The warfare in all these aspects, material and cultural as a system becomes the police that guarantees the global economy. For how much stratification within the working society intervenes first of all between men and women, we must say

that violence-even in peace time-is a fundamental instrument of discipline that capital has refounded to keep under control women as unwaged workers(or, consequently, as low paid workers) and this explains the great acquiescence of institutions to the violence against women in society and in the family as well. For the analysis of the relationship between violence and women as subjects assigned to housework in capitalist society, I have to refer to the book of Giovanna F. Dalla Costa, published in Japanese in 1991 with the title "Ai no roudou", a labour of love (Impact Shuppankai, Tokyo) that, published in Italy in 1978 (Un lavors d'amore, Edisioni delle donne, Roma) constituted a fundamental study on this topic and well explained the function of violence as fundamental instrument of discipline in order to keep women submissive as unwaged or low waged workers.

Women become the first victims of the war system not only because the war deprives them of the resources for survival. But also because the barracks culture typical of the war system is an openly violent, sexist culture, it encourages violence of men against women as a reward for their war duty. Men are encouraged to compete and dominate, and the rape of women, very often accompanied by the assassination of women, is the "award" for the warriors according to a long tradition.

Another aspect of the war system that has been brought into attention by women's international networks, is the prostitution produced by war, particularly by occupying troops. But the inheritance of this prostitution as a product of the military system has been very often the sex-tourism industry; this industry of sexual exploitation of women as in other forms is growing. It is the product of warfare that is increasingly impoverishing women in the world. And this has led to a coalition against trafficking in women to present the first world convention against sexual exploitation in Brussels in May 1993. The coalition works for the convention being adopted by the N.U. and ratified by the States. To be precise, the law is certainly not the solution but it can be a good instrument if organized groups of women know how to use it.

In conclusion, the growing violence against women is the product of that form of control of the

society that is directly a military form of control on a worldwide scale, typical of a belligenous kind of development. This development imposes the most miserable and precarious way of existence upon men and women. Also new stratifications between different sectors of the world are imposed as to redefine military geography. The more women and men want to become citizens of the world, the more the military development tries to lower their expectations by denying their rights, imprisoning them not only in a growing misery and death but in new enclosures like refugee camps and jails.

The goal that, with a plurality of approaches, the movements that developed in the world in the last twenty years have taken as a priority, that is, to put again the human being and all living beings at the center of the debate, trying to open doors toward a new kind of development, is not easy to meet. The war system tries more and more to cancel these efforts. Nevertheless international networks are growing with women coming from the feminist movement, ecological movement, ecofeminist movement, anti-war movement and important, these networks are made by women from the South, the East and the North. Different kind and levels of experiences are led for finding another development and to spread another culture to be opposed to the barraks culture. We hope that this mutual, practical, cultural, theoretical effort will reopen for our bodies and our mind(not yet completely colonized) the possibility to imagine a future.

MC: In this patriarchal world, the economy and war have been closely related; militarization expands not only the economy but the militarization of culture and society. It has taken a heavy toll, particularly on women's lives. In order to address this situation, we must review our own lifestyles.

Question: I would like to ask a question about war tribunals for rape. Recently, we had meetings in Seoul and in Tokyo for the comfort women and the question of responsibility for those women was raised. There were two opinions: one was that the perpetrators of the crime are all the Japanese soldiers of the former Imperial Japanese Army. Secondly, we don't have any proof or evidence left since it has been fifty years from the time of the incident. I believe that we must clarify this question and determine who is

responsible in these situations. It is shameful that it has taken fifty years for this problem to come into light and this is typical of a patriarchal society. I think this double standard is prevailing even now in Croatia and in other parts of the world. It is very important that the victims are coming forward, asking for retribution and punishment for the criminals.

When we celebrated the international year of the woman in Mexico twenty years ago, in many countries women were incorporated into military schools and armies as part of the move for equality. Many women participated in the Gulf War and many American feminists have campaigned to have women in the military because leaving women out of the military would be a sexual discrimination. We cannot say that men create the war and the women clean up in this situation of equality. Women will be participating in the war machine. As women, what should we do in the event that we will be conscripted or co-opted into being a part of the war machine?

Kasic: We insisted that all these perpetrators be judged by women judges; it is so essential for us. Of course the evidence even now is so difficult to collect. There are two reasons for this: first, since the rapes, it became the fashionable news topic theme and there were a lot of misconceptions. It was a kind of pornography of war. When it was the big topic all over the world, many of the women who were raped were abused somehow and were forced to speak about it. First they were raped and then abused by the mass media. That's why they wouldn't live to give evidence anymore. The second reason is the socialization of women: that is being ashamed to speak about the rape. Most of them find it difficult to speak openly. Nevertheless, there is a lot of evidence despite all these difficulties and women are going to speak about it. There is a commission of the United Nations which I am not too happy with. They will try to collect evidence of all the situations but it is up to us others to make sure at least some of the perpetrators are prosecuted.

Mies: The Korean and the Japanese women's groups in Berlin organized a meeting last year bringing a number of war victims, women who had been forced into prostitution for the Japanese army, the so-called "comfort women" there. It showed that Japanese and

Korean women could work together, which was already a great achievement. There was enough published evidence of what happened and we discussed whether it was enough to ask for compensation. It is not possible now to trace the perpetrators but the other suggestion was to have at least an open apology by the Japanese government saying that this was against humanity. We all signed petitions to the emperor of Japan to apologize openly. But this has not happened so far. You may not be able to trace the individual soldier who raped the woman; but a public statement denouncing the act is one alternative that we can demanded.

As for the question of war as liberation for women, I know that the U.S. government is projecting this image, that if they put a woman in a uniform and give her a gun, then there is equality with men. Some years ago, we had the same discussion in Germany; many of the women made it very clear by signing statements that they would not go into the army. We challenged the government that even if they tried to conscript us, we would not go, not because we are women and they are men. The government is now trying to tell us that war is liberating and means emancipation. Of course, this is nonsense! This is not feminism; this is part of the war game.

Question: Within the capitalist economic institutions that we have today in our countries, we know it is very difficult to change the ways but how do you view the ideal situation? What should we head towards? Is it something that we can evolve into or do we need a total revolution to change this?

Mies: First of all, we must understand that only 20 percent of the world population share this model of consumerism; the rest in the Third World cannot even hope to catch up with the standard of living prevailing in Japan or in Germany. Some people have calculated that the world's resources would be finished in no time; some say the oil resources would be finished in four years; others have said we would need two more planets, one for more resources and the other for our garbage, to dump our waste.

Many people, at least in Europe, are thinking beyond this industrial system. The system itself creates recessions, as we know, and those who have dropped out and have no chance to get into it, like for instance Eastern Germany, people know that even the rich Germany will not be able to give full employment to everybody anymore. So they begin to think beyond this and I have many friends in the Third World, in Brazil and in India, who can never hope to reach that stage. Survival is the main thing and they are beginning to organize survival in a different economy. It is from these movement that we, in the rich countries can learn what a better economy and society should be like. I have made a book with an Indian friend called "Ecofeminism" and at the end there are several examples of people who are already starting. We call this new perspective the "subsistence perspective" which means to have life where we have what we need; there are so many things we do not need.

Von Werlhof: I think the whole question of equality is a trick to force women into wanting to be co-opted in society at better terms. I don't believe in this type of abstract equality of men with women because it always means that women have to renounce on what they are and to come down to the level of patriarchal men. This equality would also mean to go into the war, war as emancipation for women. We have to find another way. We have made a book on Chernobyl, called "Chernobyl has Changed our Lives" and it has many examples of how women lost confidence and faith in development and this type of civilization. I was working for years in Latin America, and I knew many people, some with no education, who started to make jokes about development and who have tried in another way to get out of this terror of development. They don't want to be forced to think that they are dependent on these institutions and their money. This is called the persistence way to a self-sustained living. These movements are growing all over the world. We must get out of this thinking of dependence, because in history, people have not been dependent on the institutions of the state; mostly society was organized without any state or central institutions and people could easily get organized in a democratic way. I was in Latin America and Central America in El Salvador working in the countryside and in the slums. The people already had a culture of saying no to the luxuries of the rich people. They did not even want to have the same privileges at all. We can learn from these many examples, of how they think and

act. We don't need to think only of money and power because that is a horrible destruction and restriction of human minds; we must get rid of that.

Dalla Costa: There has been a debate among women in the United States in which some of them took the position as a feminist to be in the army. We must be aware that one of the biggest assessments of capitalism has been to create separation among people. This happens not only among women but among, for example, the black community and other discriminated ethnicities. For that reason, we must be very aware of the importance of our political communication to be able to assume in the most clear way possible the problems and to communicate among ourselves knowing that the capital organization of the economy and of the culture is against us.

Some women went to the Gulf War because of a desperate need for money. They had little children also. People are very often deeply blackmailed in the United States as in whatever part of the world and there are many kinds of cultural and political separation built among people. Our work tends to create a movement against the war as well as against misery in order to open new possibilities for the all of us, men and women.

Capitalist development has very precise laws. One very important is the creation of wealth concentrated in the hands of very few people on the basis of increasing the misery and death for the others. For how much capitalism is concerned, this has been true for five centuries; the capitalist development began in this way and continues to develop in this way.

When we consider how to move against such development, we have to take into account the different kinds of struggles that spread in the world. One of the more important struggles is for land. In fact, the privatization, expropriation of land is a key point in the directives of the world bank and IMF to the national governments of the Third World. This kind of struggle is very important not only for the survival of the people but for the complexity of meaning that it represents against capitalistic development. We must be able to connect this struggle with those of the unemployed, those of the workers who suffer heavy work conditions, low

wages and that imprisonment of life that is typical of the "developed" countries. For the first time, in a visible way, these different struggles came together when the workers of a car plant in Milan demonstrated in the street carrying posters with the image of Emiliano Zapata. I think it was an historical event that opened an epoch. The struggle against the "primitive" expropriation of the land was unified with the struggle against the post-Fordist expropriation of labour.

Jivka Damianova—"Environmental Pollution in Bulgaria": This is not a war or an accident at an atomic plant, it is just the everyday life of the people in the Bulgarian town of Ruse. It is a town of about 180,000 people situated on the Danube River which is the border between Bulgaria and Romania. For about ten years, the people are suffering constantly from the toxic emissions coming from the Rumanian side quite unexpectedly, maybe once or twice a week. Many people have already left and they are forced to look for a new place to live and to start a new life.

The main concern of the emissions is the quantities of hydrochloric acid, alkaline and other health hazardous substances. Detailed studies have shown that incidents of asthma, acute bronchitis, influenza and other respiratory disorders have increased greatly. After medical investigations, they have found out a growing number of disproportions in the weight, height and chest measurements of children in this city.

The first to start the protest against this pollution has been the women in Ruse. For a long time, their voice was not heard at all and this topic was considered non-existent by the authorities because it used to be, during the communist regime, a priority of the top leaders and people were not allowed to express their opinions. Only after 1988, when the changes started in Bulgaria, it was possible for the people to express their protests. The women as I said have been in the first lines of the demonstrations.

One of the plants in Romania has been closed but not the rest of them. Still negotiations are going on between the government of Bulgaria and Romania. The demands of the population to close down the plants and to stop the pollution are not respected. The official explanation is that the production of these plants is eagerly bought, mainly in developed countries like Germany and Austria. The Rumanian government considers this a very important economic factor and a source of foreign currency, so there is no idea of closing down this plant. Money and power is what matters and not the protests of the people and not their health in this region.

This is connected with the only atomic plant we have on our territory. It is again on the border of the River Danube. The Bulgarian nuclear power plant has six units which all originally came from the Soviet Union and two of them are the same type as the reactor in Chernobyl. It is obvious that they need to improve the cleaning system and the security system. Everything needs to be remodelled but the Bulgarian government says it costs too much to pay for these improvements. When I think of this attitude towards the environmental problems, I doubt very much whether they can really start democratization in the economy and even in policy.

There is truth in the statement that after so many years of the "socialist planned economy" and the accelerated industrialization, they exhausted the financial, economic and human resources of the country. They brought about exhaustion also in nature. These centralized governing was ignoring human rights and the laws of nature. The other reason, which is my own opinion, is the ignorance of the prevailing societies. Even today, when Bulgaria hopes to become a member of the European community, the government is completely ignoring the laws of nature and human rights, including the right's of women.

In a small country like Bulgaria, we cannot accomplish very much without international help. This is not an excuse but if we make these international efforts, we have to have in mind the different levels of economic development, political culture, democratization and traditions of feminist ideas and movements.

My last topic is the effects of Chernobyl in Bulgaria. It was only after 1988 that the prosecution has been started against the vice prime minister. This man has been responsible for the consequences of the radiation to which the population had been exposed. Today after four years of prosecution, there

is no proof and the prosecutor cannot prove in any way the fault of this man. One point is that they did not spread the information at the proper time; the second point is to prove the effects on the health of the population seems impossible right now in Bulgaria. There is a lack of information, a lack of methodology and technology and how to study the effects of the radiation.

When we saw the Peace Museum of Hiroshima, we realized that even today, after fifty years from the accident, you have the problems of the consequences. Today, when I heard Dr.Mikhailenko from Moscow saying that this big commission still did not have the results and had not completed their reports about Chernobyl, I got very angry. Shall we wait another fifty years until this report is completed? Shall we ever find out what exactly the damage is and what are the dangers for the future? What is to be done for all these reactors? If it is not possible to close them down, we must at least take some measures in order for the people to live peacefully. Right now with this situation, it is not a peaceful life in many of the Bulgarian cities where we have about ten or twelve hot spots with very dangerous environmental situations.

Question: What motivated the women of Ruse to organize such demonstrations against environmental pollution?

Damianova: Of course, there have been many men in the population taking part in the demonstrations but mostly women have been active with their children because obviously they are able to give expression to their concern about the future. It is not any anti-male feeling, but the fact is that this movement has been started by women.

Maria Gumińska—"The Concentration Camp in Auschwitz": The history of W.W.II is more or less known to the new generation but because of many changes in the present day world, the memory of this war is slowly diminishing. However, two events should never be forgotten and should be remembered as symbols of mankind martyrdom of all nations. One symbol is Hiroshima where people were immediately killed by the atomic bomb and those who survived were dying slowly because of injuries or exposure to dangerous doses of radiation.

They were victims of the first example of mass terrorism.

The second symbol is the Auschwitz concentration camp localized in the south part of Poland. Perhaps the third symbol of aggression against man is Katyn in the previous Soviet Union, however, this tragedy discovered recently left no traces except ashes. The Second World War started from the invasion of Poland by Nazi soldiers in September 1939. After heroic defense fights in which many Polish soldiers were killed, the whole country was again under the occupation from the west side by Hitler's regime and from the east by the Soviet Union.

According to a secret agreement between Hitler and Stalin, Hitler's regime immediately started to introduce a program of extermination of Polisheducated people. Already in November 1939, all the professors from the Yagie Uonian university were invited to a meeting. People believed that invaders would like to discuss something like the new work conditions; however, this was not the case. Professors were sent to the local prison and at the beginning of 1940, they were moved to a new camp in Auschwitz. Most of the victims died because of exhaustion or diseases but a few of them survived to be later witnesses. This was the beginning of a longlasting program of the extermination of the Polish nation. From 1940 to 1942, the Auschwitz concentration camp was used as a prison for the Polish people. Many prisoners died because they had to work hard without sufficient food, rest, warmth or any kind of medical care.

In 1942, the camp was enlarged, a new area was added and used for extermination of other nations, especially Jewish, Gypsies or even Russian. The mass transports of people from the whole of Europe were directed immediately from the trains to gas chambers and after to crematorium. Some historians tried to evaluate how many people died there. The documentation is incomplete but available data ranges from two to four million people. Burning capacity of all four crematories during the entire period was more than five millions.

Some prisoners, including women and children were used as "experimental rabbits" in various medical experiments organized by Nazi doctors.

Exploitation was directed even to the dead bodies of the people. Nazis prepared soap from the human fat, textiles from human hair or skin or even fertilizers from human bones or ashes.

Prisoners who were medical doctors tried to help other people, especially women and children in their suffering, to arrange actions of sabotage or resistance movement. A great amount of literature appeared in Poland after the war describing various heroic actions in the camp. The best known example is Maximillian Kolbe, the Catholic priest who sacrificed himself for another man who had many children. Maximillian died after torture the same day but one year before the atomic bomb attacked Hiroshima. We celebrate his memory in August close to the Memorial Day of the attack on Hiroshima.

After W.W.II, under the influence of military police of Stalin, the whole country was considered as a big gas chamber where genocide was realized by pollution emitted from many factories localized in the different places without any environmental protection. The violence of man against nature is also connected with the violence of man against man, man against woman. These situations still exist in various parts of the world. If we really want to avoid global catastrophe, we absolutely must change human mentality and increase man's ethical responsibility toward the present and future generations, to provoke respect for life. This requires a new approach to education. After W.W.II, the concentration camp in Auschwitz was converted into a museum, not only for the commemoration of the people who suffered and died, but also as a warning that such a situation against humanity should never repeat again.

Mary Mellor—"The Greenham Common women's Peace Camp": I have learned from you in Hiroshima the lesson of vigilance which is a message that has come also from the panel. We have learned from Dr.Guminska about the horrors that have happened: of people against people, men against women, and men against men, and that there is nothing very unique about a Stalin or a Hitler; they could happen in any country at any time and therefore we must always be ready and aware of the emergence of such a movement.

I have learned from you that you have forty fast breeder reactors in Japan and that is connected to us in the U.K. because we are just having a battle about the opening of a nuclear reprocessing plant to handle the plutonium.

This is all done at a huge cost to create 700 jobs. Ecological sacrifice will be made through this commitment. Also two-thirds of all our scientific research money goes to the military. I have come here today to talk about one example which is rather more optimistic. It is the struggle of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp against the sighting of cruise missiles and land-based nuclear missiles in Britain. The decision was made in 1979 by NATO and the British people were not consulted. We had not been vigilant because our peace movement had declined dramatically at that time.

Then we heard that the cruise missiles were to be sited and the place chosen was Greenham Common. This is a flat stony common in the heart of England not far from Oxford. It resulted in huge protests from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament up to half a million people in 1983, and the formation of European Nuclear Disarmament made connections right across Europe.

The Greenham Common Peace Camp began in 1981 when a woman called Anne Pettit from Cardiff in Wales decided that something needed to be done; this was one person who made the decision. She made contacts with her friends and it was decided that they would walk from Wales to Greenham, a distance of a few hundred miles. Under the banner of "Women for Life on Earth", they started the walk on August 27th, 1981 and they arrived at Greenham Common on the 5th of September. There were 36 women, 3 children and 4 men who came as support. They decided when they arrived at Greenham Common that they would chain themselves to the camp gates.

The base commander sent a message to say that he was not concerned about four women chained to the gate; they could stay as long as they liked. So they said "Okay, we'll stay." So they started the camp, just a handful of them. Some people were not prepared to stay so they left but others heard of the camp and it grew like a fire in a forest. (Not a very good analogy for ecologists, but we know how it

spreads.) It became an icon for women in Britain; thousands of women went into action. Obviously, only a small number were regular campers but a lot of women, literally thousands felt the Greenham experience inspiring and even women who have never been to the camp would say, "I saw it on the television and I was so inspired. My heart is with you even if I am not there."

Thirty other camps were set up across North America and Europe as part of the movement and it was an empowering experience. It showed that women could live in very deprived conditions even though they were constantly harassed, not only by soldiers and police, but by local men who came drunk urinating on their camp showing their contempt for women. They had constant abuse, because they were very exposed. Women also showed that they were as capable and as willing to make sacrifices and to leave their families to go away for long periods for peace in the same way as men claim that they make sacrifices for war.

So they stayed; in fact, the camp has only just broken up and this is after twelve or thirteen years, and of course the cruise missiles have gone.

In December 1982, they decided to call for women to come forward to what they called "embrace the base" and that meant joining hands and surrounding the whole nine miles of the base. 30,000 women came and they all placed on the fence, symbols of their lives and the things that were important to them, for example, things like photographs of their family. And the whole camp was decorated beautifully. The way they could get 30,000 people in was by a web network all done by word of mouth by telephone and personal contact. Nearly every town or city and some villages had support groups for Greenham Common in which people join together in Greenham to take action.

It was very difficult for the police to get any information and to anticipate our actions because the personal contact didn't allow for agent provocateurs to get into the system. One of our main actions in 1983, just before the missiles came was to pull down the fence. We managed to pull down nearly half of the fence. We had to buy 2,000 bolt cutters to cut the wire and actually that was the most difficult part of the mission. Buying 2,000 bolt cutters would be

suspicious, so we had to spread the purchase over several weeks so that nobody would know the fact that bolt cutters were being bought in huge numbers.

Some other aspects of the camp were the symbolic and real link of women with the earth. One of the slogans of the camp was "take the toys from the boys". It was to take away from the boys the so-called war toys that were beyond their knowledge. We made the link between men, masculinity and war and raised the question of valuing women and women's experience. We also made the link between military violence, rape and domestic violence.

The aim of the camp was to demystify, to expose the secrecy of the military and to show the boys playing their games and to trail them everywhere they went.

Collectively, women are strong: that was what the camp showed. That is why they could live there for twelve years and that is why they could get 30,000 or 50,000 people to come into support. I think sometimes women who are isolated in their own homes, isolated among men, forget the fact that they are strong if they reach out to each other and reach out across the world.

When some of the early arrests happened and the women were taken to court, one women called Anne, (I'm not actually sure if it was Anne Pettit or not, but I think it was another Anne), chose to sing a song which she had written instead of defending herself in court. The song has these words: "You can forbid nearly everything but you can't forbid me to sing. You can't forbid my tears to flow and you can't shut my mouth when I sing."

This is another song of Greenham, a song that was the symbol of Greenham and I think it is very meaningful. The words for the song are: "You can't kill the spirit. She is like a mountain, old and strong. She goes on and on."

MC: We discussed the theme of women, environment and war. As it is really a wide ranging topic, it is very difficult to summarize. I don't think we intend to make any summary here. The presenters were mainly from the academia, but at the same time, they are participating in NGO activities implementing and translating their thoughts into action. That I want our Japanese participants to keep

in mind. I would like each presenter here today to give us a short message, something that you want to leave in our thoughts.

Mikhailenko: This is the first time I am participating in a forum of this kind and I was impressed with everything that went on. I am an obstetrician by profession and I have spent most of my time in hospitals and in research.

There is feminism in my country: I have been quite skeptical about feminism but listening to the presentations by other feminists, some of the things that were so obvious to you were very new to me. When you look at how life goes in my country, discrimination in whatever form takes place as it does in all countries; there is racial, religious and sexual discrimination as well as that against children or against nature. We are so busy every day with our own lives and we tend to accept discrimination as the rule of the game. We often think that we are powerless and can't participate in any activities.

By saying that, we become the perpetrator. I myself have that sort of weakness.

Ivasenko: As Dr.Mikhailenko said, this forum has given me many things. I live in the Ukraine and have experienced Chernobyl Accident. When I undertake these activities, I tend to become very enclosed. Everything is centered around Chernobyl and I don't pay attention to the fact that the war is going on in Croatia or that the air quality in Bulgaria is so bad. In participating in this forum, I got to learn about the situation in other countries. My fellow women, I hope that we can join forces together and continue fighting.

Mies: There is good reason for hope if we are able to share our struggling experiences with each other. When I was invited to Brazil for an anti-nuclear activity, I could not go myself and I sent a video of women who fought against German nuclear plants. People thought that if those Germans do not want this technology, why do we want it? Germany is now selling their old fashioned nuclear technology to the under-developed world.

If we are able to link our worldwide struggles as women, we are not as weak as we think. The message that I would like to put across is "Take the toys away from the boys."

Werlhof: What I wanted to say is that the self-

justification of men that they would create a better world with their techniques and their wars has really come to an end. This is what men have to see. Their project of replacing the society and nature and human life by something else has come to an end and they should accept that. Maybe something could guide our efforts so that we would create a society in which children can grow up in peace.

Dalla Costa: I would like to give a brief message especially to the women who are students now. In order to try to have a deep understanding of the world, the economy and politics etc., I would recommend that one should look at the whole planet. Whatever type of investigation you are making, it is very necessary to look at the consequences on the rest of the planet and try to grow movements and associations in order to build a transnational democracy in a much more large and deep sense than the word "democracy" has today.

Damianova: Firstly, there are good news from Bulgaria that the second atomic plant that was in the process of being built has now been stopped after a big protest movement and possibly because of the lack of money. This is very optimistic. The second and last point is "You can't kill the spirit. She is like a mountain, old and strong, she goes on and on".

Gumińska: Education is what we need the most. It is not only the knowledge. Firstly, it is the very holistic approach to the philosophy of ethical values and, it is responsibility. I am worried what will be in future in my country, if a 14 year old boy watched television the whole day, would see during his life at least 11,000 different murders and violent acts.

This is a tragedy and we have to be very strong to arrange a big protest against such anti-education.

Mellor. Another song they sang at Greenham would be appropriate. It says, "building bridges between our divisions I reach out to you as you reach out to me with all of our voices and all of our visions, sisters, we can build such sweet harmony."



Forum "Toward the Future"

Theme: "War, Environment, Women"

Sponsor: The Japan Foundation

Co-sponsor: Naha City

Support: Okinawa Prefecture

Date: Saturday, April 2 9:00 - 16:00

Venue: Loisir Hotel Okinawa

Saturday, April 2

Morning Presentations (10 min. each)

Maria Mies "Women in the World Today"

(Germany)

Mariarosa Dalla Costa "Women and Labor Issues"

(Italy)

Maria Guminska "East European Women and Environmental Problems"

(Poland)

Irina Ivasenko "The Chernobyl Accident and NGO Activities"

(Ukraine)

Reiko Watanuki "War and Environmental Destruction"

(Representative, Chernobyl Health Survey and Health-Care Support for the Victims,

Japan Women's Network)

Suzuyo Takazato "Women, Environment, Bases"

(Member of Naha city Assembly, and Researcher of Women's Problems)

Teruko Kuwae "War Experiences, Women's Problems"

(Member of staff, Okinawa City)

Noriko Yamashiro "Environment and Welfare"

(Journalist, Okinawa Times)

Afternoon Replies to list of questions

Panel discussion

Maria Mies-"Women in the world today": Today is the second of April and we learned yesterday that this was the day of the Battle of Okinawa. You are celebrating the 49th anniversary of this horrible day. I would like to link that with my personal memory. On the second of April, 1988, a very dear and important friend of the German feminists died of cancer. Her name is Christel Neusuess. She was a Marxist first and became a feminist after. I considered her a victim of Chernobyl because she was so desperate about this so-called accident. It really shattered her belief in science and in technology. Many of us have started to rethink science and technology since this event. For example, we saw that the scientists who are supposed to know everything about this technology were totally useless and helpless in that situation.

I heard from our Ukrainian and Russian sisters here that the same situation even prevails now. That means that this paradigm of science and technology which constitutes so much destruction is not capable either to assess the damage it does or to compensate the victims. This is not something that is accidental. It is normal. For us in the German ecology, feminist and peace movement, Chernobyl was the moment when we realized that there is no peaceful use of nuclear energy. It is war technology whether it is used in nuclear missiles or whether it is used for producing electricity. To make that point clear, I would like to quote the following from a book in which an Englishman wrote about the nuclear physicists. His name is Brian Easley. He wrote a book called "Fathering the Unthinkable". In German, the title is "The Fathers of Destruction". He showed in that book that the bomb of Hiroshima which was thrown upon these cities in Japan after Hitler was defeated, because the scientists wanted to finish their experiment. They had agreed among themselves that if there was a big explosion, they would telegraph to each other that it was a boy. If it was a small explosion they would say that it was a girl. The U.S. scientists who were waiting for the results from the bombing of Hiroshima got the news saying that "It is a boy." That meant it was a huge explosion. This simple quote shows clearly the connection between the oppression of women and the destruction of nature. These scientists were really considering themselves as fathers of destruction. That is why we call nuclear technology war technology. That is true for the whole scientific paradigm. It is not based on cooperation with nature.

The machine is the model according to which the whole reality is being restructured. We women, particularly feminists, have begun to understand that this science and technology cannot be the base for our liberation. At the present, the same methodology and paradigm is used for reproductive technology or genetic engineering. It is no longer the hardware-machine but the bio-machine that is being created. For us, we feel this will destroy what we still consider humanness.

Even in the countries where there is a lot of wealth, like Germany or Japan or the U.S., women are not liberated. That is not a technological problem. In the beginning of the century up until the 1930's, people still believed, that if you could relieve women from housework through technology like kitchen gadgets then our problem would be solved. But is not solved neither in Japan nor in Germany nor anywhere else.

Why is it that we still have to fight for equality? Why do we still have so much violence in our very rich and affluent societies? In fact in Germany, our women's movement started with the attack of violence. It did not start with the demand for equality. Why is it that this so-called "free market system" needs this violence? One reason may be that women, like nature, are being treated as a free resource, so is the whole Third World.

Ms.Mariarosa Dalla Costa was the first in Europe to show us that without unpaid labor of women, a wage worker would not be able to sell his wage to a capitalist. In order to get access to these areas which are not the so-called free wage laborers, you need violence. We called these areas "the colonies of capitalist patriarchy". The main colonies that have to be there are women, nature and the Third World. These are the three colonies without which this whole capitalist system could not function. I think that is the reason for the increase in violence and why it does not disappear in the rich countries, and why patriarchy has not disappeared with capitalism. We have to address this every day violence which I feel is dramatically increasing since the Gulf War. That is due to the fact that the economy is more and

more geared towards arms production. Even in rich countries, war is good for the economy. In Japan, though you may not have direct intentions, so many war toys are being produced. We really have to disarm the men in an everyday way and see that arms production is being stopped. Otherwise it is futile to talk about peace.

In Germany, most of us feminists have never had the idea of equality with men as our main goal. Our goal is the liberation from capitalist patriarchy. The men as they are, particularly in the modern societies are not the image of the future or a model for a human personality. This whole strategy of catching-up with men will not be possible for all because there is not enough room on the top for all.

The same is true if you look at the problems of ecology. It would mean that everybody living in this world and in the future would have a living standard of an average Japanese or German citizen. If we would try to aspire to this goal, the world's resources in oil for instance, would be finished in four years. In no time the whole resources of this world would be exhausted. That means that this model is not to be generalized for the rest of the world. It is not even desirable because it hasn't made us happy and free. This is another lesson of Chernobyl. We don't have good water or clear air and our children have no future. There is crime and violence all over the place. 80% of the world's resources are being used up by 20% of the world's population. Therefore, the "population problem" is our problem. Overconsumption in the rich countries is the problem, not overpopulation in the Third World.

If we look toward the future and want to have a world in which our children can still have a human life and women would not be subjected to violence, we have to come down from this standard of living and this model of consumption. It is this system that considers nature, women and the Third World as a free resource and transforms everything into commodities for the consumption of the few. We have to reconsider our model of development and our science and technological paradigm.

Teruko Kuwae—"War Experiences, Women's Problems": In 1944, my father was 49 years old and was drafted into the army. He went out with a

bamboo sword saying he will kill many enemy soldiers but he never returned. The Japanese empire considered that Britain and America were our enemies and the people were taught to die for the emperor. My father felt that he could contribute to the nation although he knew nothing but agriculture. He actually went forward against the enemy with a bamboo sword during the battle of Okinawa. This was a battle for the defense of Japan. On April 1, Okinawa fell under the U.S. military. 25% of the population of Okinawa were killed. Over half of the victims were citizens, especially the elderly, women, children and the handicapped who were not armed. People were treated as spies and if they complained then they were killed by the Japanese military. Mothers caused their children to suffocate so that would not be discovered. There were mass suicides that were forced upon the population to die for the Emperor. Those who survived did not have any houses, clothes or food. They had to start from nothing. There was malnutrition and many deaths due to malaria.

With the defeat of Japan, Okinawa became an enormous military base for the U.S. military. Many women who had lost their husbands and fathers had to become the bread winner of the family and had to achieve self-sufficiency. There was a cooperative system of helping each other in Okinawa that was a tradition. There were those who started their own businesses. There were people who sold alcohol or entertainment to the U.S. troops. During the Korean War in 1950, the Japanese economy was revitalized. In Okinawa, scrap iron was sold and there were people who were able to make a living with this business.

During the Vietnam War of the 1960's, Koza, a base town, was filled with young soldiers. There were many entertainment bars. There was a rainfall of dollars falling on Okinawa and the economy had always depended on war. Soldiers became wild and there were kidnapping, killings, rapes and many other incidents where the Okinawans' human rights were violated. Gradually protests became wider and wider among the Okinawan people. There was a call for reversion to Japan. It was a demand for the return of their human rights and the application of the peace constitution.

Around the base towns, the prostitution business controlled women. There were women who were trying to raise their children so they started to sell their bodies to make a living. It is said that 8,000 women were in captivity for prostitution. By 1972, Okinawa was returned to Japan and finally Japan's ban on prostitution was applied. But as many people are aware, there is prostitution that is dominant throughout Japan. The U.S. soldiers stopped going out into town because of the devaluation of the dollar and this caused the economy to decrease.

Because of poverty, the human rights problems did not occur among the Okinawans as much as among the South East Asians who were now coming to Okinawa to prostitute themselves. This is a matter that needs to be seriously discussed.

Finally, I would like to mention my views. Currently we are not in a state of war; however we cannot say that we are in a situation of peace. There are fighter planes in this island, weapons and soldiers who are carrying out military exercises and there is a tremendous amount of the federal budget that is allocated for this. This deprives people of other budgetary resources that are necessary. 75% of the new military base is concentrated in Okinawa. It is necessary for us to stop all the preparations of war on this island.

Article nine of the Japanese Constitution bans war as a political means. This is noble and unique and we should make use of this spirit to create permanent world peace. In all issues of politics, economics and administration, we depend on the maintenance of a peaceful society. People create war but it is also people that can stop war.

Mariarosa Dalla Costa—"Women and Labor issues": I would like to give some information about the present trends and realities in the European Union taken as an example of advanced area today. Unemployment is the biggest problem that all the countries of the Union face. But the possibility of finding a job is particularly difficult for people under twenty-five and this has immediate consequences for the possibility of making new families. In Italy, the percentage of unemployment for men under twenty-five was 33.8%. While for women it was 25.5%. For

young and older women that are occupied, it is recognized by the European Union that they are in large numbers concentrated in more vulnerable and precarious jobs. That is that they can be easily fired and have bad working conditions that can easily deteriorate.

Many states of the Union have drastically reduced their welfare system. The last directive of the Union in 1992 concerning equal opportunity for women has established two weeks of obligatory maternity leave for women when they become mothers. That implies a lot of negative consequences for women working outside. For the moment, the directive doesn't ask the states to deteriorate their legislation if they have a better one. But many women and scholars are preoccupied because the process of deteriorating the maternity leave has already began in Italy as well as in other countries. Italy is lamenting a drastic fall in the fertility rate. Presently it is 1.26. International restructuring of the capital that led also to the European had as its first Union effect the deepening of the stratification among workers, among women and men and among regional areas. Given the few minutes that are available, I can't speak here about the conditions of growing misery of the Third World, but I give it as the more evident and known aspect of this kind of development that we are living .

What is new is the explosion of the contradictions within the advanced countries. Capitalism, that in the civilization of work, -waged work is characterized by two fundamental contradictions. Firstly, it presupposes the unemployment and secondly, it presupposes unwaged domestic work of women that is the cause of their risk of poverty, and the last one is the cause of their risk of prostitution. Today, both these contradictions became gigantic characteristics within the advanced countries themselves. Here the experts judge the unemployment largely out of the possibility of remedy and there are fewer possibilities of jobs for women. What is important to understand is that on the extent that the technological revolution has led to these consequences-general high unemployment and more poverty and prostitution for women-more and more the development has become militaristic. The proliferation of wars and militarization of civil life and culture are its characteristics. It is a violent form of control of the society necessary for an economic system that increasingly concentrates the wealth and enlarges the poverty.

The question of drastic reduction of work time, of different forms of remuneration of housework and a guaranteed income are discussed today by politicians and economists on a narrow basis or with false promises, because in reality, this development proceeds, in advanced areas as in the Third World, reducing the resources and pointing to the military control to keep low the power and expectations of women and men.

For this reason, it is important that women are present in the so-called economic debate. In 1985, in Nairobi, some women from the wages for housework movement asked that the unremunerated work of women in all its forms be included in the calculation of Gross National Product. The paragraph 120 of the final document of Nairobi has been amended accordingly to their demand. But the problem is not only "Women count: count women's work" as it was written in their petition. The problem is also to have back part of the wealth that the unremunerated work of women contributed to produce, and above all, a radical reorganization of what and how to produce. Consequently to approach the problem of women's work, and first of all, of the sexual division of work that in capitalist society made the women the poorest among the poor, means to try to build a different development, where man would be the scope of the production and not vice versa, and where would not be any more hierarchisation of sexes. Not by accident, women have been and are the emerging force of ecologists and peace movements as well as in the 70's they had been the emerging force that redefined the economical debate. In fact, raising the problem of human reproduction, women posed the problem of a reorganization of work time for all and of a more equal redistribution of resources.

In these years women as historically responsible for reproduction succeeded in interpreting the connection between economy, war and environmental devastation, and the fatal impact of this connection on human life. The most important thing is to reinforce the networking that can reduce the separation and distance between individuals created by the militarization of development. It is

also important to find ways to impose our willingness to the governments.

Coming to Okinawa and meeting the women here has been a fundamental experience. On this island I can see, like in a microcosmos, all the problems that women face in the world today. The strength and determination expressed by the Okinawa women is an example for the all of us. Last but not least, we in Italy also are trying to organize on all levels the teaching of peace. It is very important to demystify the official reason adduced for making wars and to explain the real function of this crime against humankind.

Noriko Yamashiro —"Environment and Welfare": I am working at Okinawa Times, the newspaper. I joined the Times two years prior to the international year of the woman, so before and after the establishment of the international year of the woman, I have observed the status of women in Okinawa. It was 1975 that the international year of the woman was implemented. Before that year and after, the meaning of women's issues changed drastically. Before 1975, the issues for women were the problems of everyday life, like the cost of living, children's education and the management of the household. The equality of women or the self-sufficiency of women were not talked about before 1975.

In 1985, there was the world conference to review and appraise the achievement of the U.N. decade for women. There were three major issues at that time. During the eighties, at the time of the world conference in Copenhagen to review the achievement of the U.N. decade for women, the U.N. convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women was signed. After the signing of the convention, there were three national laws in Japan that had to be prepared to ratify the convention. One is the nationality law; because of the patrilineal system that Japan had, there was a problem of ratification in the U.N. convention. Another issue was the co-education of the home-making classes; the classes were mandatory only for girls. The third problem was equality of men and women in employment. In Okinawa, especially the issue of the nationality law was very big.

The patrilineal system is such that if a Japanese

man marries a non-Japanese woman, the Japanese nationality is automatically given to the child; however, if a Japanese woman marries a non-Japanese man, because of the patrilineal system of Japan, the Japanese nationality cannot be given to the child. From the viewpoint of human rights of the children, this is not desirable. There were about 60 or 80 children without any nationality and the people involved in welfare, human rights and other women raised their voices against this. In 1985, there was a change from the patrilineal system to the bilineal system. Reviews were done in regard to the co-education of home-making classes and the equal opportunity employment issues, and after this, Japan ratified the convention.

The international year of women and the U.N. decade for women had a great impact for women in Okinawa. They started to go out into the world and into society getting responsible posts and titles, but on the other hand, the role sharing and stereotyping of the roles in society for women still exists. There is a survey report on the consciousness and the status of women in 1990; in the report it was said that less than 20 percent of women think that they are equal to men. This means the conventional role sharing still applies in society, and one of the conspicuous issues in role sharing is the care for the elderly. The life expectancy in Japan is very high and Okinawa boast the longest life expectancy in Japan. 84.4 years for women and 76.5 years for men. So the care for the elderly people has been placed on the shoulders of women as wives, daughters and daughters-in-law. Because there is no social system to support such women giving care to the elderly, that puts a great burden on women alone.

Okinawa's rate of accommodation in the institutions is the highest, but still there is a long waiting list of 1,400 people. There are aged people who are waiting on the list to be taken into the institutions and while they wait, they need to be cared for in the homes. There is not an adequate support system for the women who care for the elderly at home. Home helpers can be dispatched only twice a week; there is also day care service but you have to wait one or two years for this service. Many women have to stay home to care for the elderly. Social participation and human rights of

women have no place in such a system. The aging of society is not a welcome sign for women. This is a big challenge for us; the quality and quantity of the social welfare service should be improved.

Irina Ivasenko—"The Chernobyl Accident and NGO Activities": During W.W.II, I was living in Tashkent, which is part of Central Asia in the former Soviet Union. There were Japanese prisoners who came to do construction work. They were assigned to the hardest work; in the early morning, when people were asleep, the Japanese prisoners were taken into town. They wore dirty green clothes and they wore their hats low so we could not see their faces, but they were very small and quite thin. They were surrounded by Soviet soldiers. The prisoners did not speak as they walked through the city of Tashkent. We children often went to see them; the guards tried to deter the children from coming, but the children sometimes gave food to the prisoners.

W.W.II did damage to all of the countries represented here. We are aware that Japan fought in this war and there are still many military bases remaining on the island of Okinawa. We were given the chance to visit some of the bases. I understand that there are much devastated soil in Okinawa even twenty years after the war and military exercises are still being carried out. We met with Okinawa NGO's yesterday and they said they were doing activities to keep the memories intact of people who died in W.W.II. In the former Soviet Union, Russia and the Ukraine, there is still a short history of NGO's. They were created in the former Soviet Union after the accident at Chernobyl. The authorities had hidden facts about the scale of the accident at Chernobyl. Also kept hidden were the facts about the impact on the people; so people began to worry about their health, and as a countermeasure, the NGO's were established.

The NGO I participate in created a school for teaching about life, earth and how to have healthy joints. We also carry out various kinds of activities in order to upgrade intellectual skills and to enrich the mind of children and adults. There are also activities to support the people who were harmed by Chernobyl Accident. There is a husband and wife team who research the genes and also research the

land that suffered from the Chernobyl accident. They look into wild plants, cultivated plants and also the ponds, fish, birds, and insects. They look at human hair and chromosomes and study human fetuses.

In studying ten aborted fetuses, they found changes to the genes in six out of ten of the fetuses. In hearts and other organs, there were cellular differences. Also the initial stages of cancer were identified in some cells. The team found that even with a low level of radioactivity, there were already changes observed in chromosomes and cells in the human body. Simply, if one is exposed to a lot of radioactivity, cells die off; but with slight amounts, there are changes to the cells. In sophisticated animals, there are changes in the genes and childbearing women as well as fetuses are the most affected by this. Women living in polluted areas must worry not only about their health, but also about the health of their children and grandchildren because the abnormalities that can occur in their chromosomes may affect future generations.

Reiko Watanuki—"War and Environmental Destruction": Some issues of genetics studies have been mentioned and in my presentation, when I talk about the relationship between our generation and future generations, that is exactly what I mean. The whole issue is so important from the genetic point of view. This will be a good follow-up to what Ms.Ivasenko has said.

I have been studying environmental issue for more than twenty years and I want to speak about international, global environmental issues from women's point of view rather than in the capacity of Director of the Chernobyl Health Survey.

When the Chernobyl accident happened, I was shocked. I just could not stay still; at that time we still had the Soviet Union, and because of the kind of relationship we had with the Soviets, we were not free to undertake research in that region. Still I went there to Chernobyl and I met Ms.Irina Ivasenko and we toured the contaminated area. While doing the research and survey, we had a lot of dialogue and discussion. We did not have the data but finally after 7 or 8 years, we have more or less all the data. We are beginning to realize what an important grave event the whole accident was. Women in the world

really cannot ignore without paying attention to what happened there. The future generations are now asking questions and demanding us to answer, what the consequences would be to them. I think Ms.Irina talked about the fetus who is already suffering from cancer 3 months into pregnancy and therefore, not even able to be born. They cannot teach us anything directly, but we have to listen to their silent voices and learn lessons from what they would have wanted to say. "It is not the philosophy of philosophers, but the philosophy of women".

I want to talk about the destruction that has taken place not in war, but in times of peace. That is precisely the environmental destruction. There are pollutants that destroy the environment, like dioxin, PCB's and so forth. In Chernobyl, it was Cesium the radioactive material. These pollutants destroy and contaminate the environment and when that happens, these are taken into women's body and become a threat to life itself. Of course, the woman's body affected by dioxin, the milk that the mother breastfeeds to the babies will contain the dioxin, and through the placenta, dioxin is transmitted to the fetus. Of course, mens' sperm are also affected by dioxin. But more closely, women pass on the pollutants to the next generation through birth and breastfeeding and so forth. What can women do to respond critically to this highly technological society? I think that we must take up the issue of ecology, health and life more vigorously. What's happening in this scientific society is that we have created affluence in the current generations. Because of that affluence, we are committing genocide to future generations. Babies are dead before they are even born, in other words, they are the "unborn" generations. This is invisible but that's where our responsibility lies. We are the perpetrators in that respect.

Here in Okinawa, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the "unborn" generations were affected by the atomic bombs. Even after 48 years, not much is really known biologically of the consequences. Then, we have Chernobyl, and after eight years, we are beginning to see how grave the consequences of the accident were. When we talk about security, we think of it as military security or national security. There is another danger; security in terms of ecological security or lack thereof. In other words,

ecological insecurity is a major issue and when there is an accident in the atomic power plant, it will have a devastating effect not only on our current generation, but on the next generations as well.

Before I came here today, I read an article in the American magazine which said that environmental contamination threatens mens' reproductive functions. When men are exposed to pollutants like PCB's, dioxin or DDT, their sperm count is reduced by fifty percent reported by a Danish scholar as a result of studies in 21 countries. If that is the case, this will have a serious affect on humanity.

When women take in the pollutants there will be various destructive consequences on the fetuses as mentioned before. We have seen children born of the Minamata disease whose parent have had innate, congenital Minamata illnesses. It is the mercury poisoning which the mother passes on to her child. What is tragic is when the mother passes on the pollutant to the child, her level of pollutant is reduced. This is heartwrenching as Ms.Maria Mies have suggested that we need to change the whole paradigm.

Maria Gumińska—"East European Women and Environmental Problems": Environmental destruction can be seen not only during war. After W.W.II, under the influence of East European military policy of Stalin, heavy industry was located in Poland and in other central and East European countries. This industry was very energy-consuming and emitted many toxic chemicals in the process of burning coal; however, until 1980, because of the censorship, environmental problems were secret and in other countries up to 1989. But they had a great impact on human health.

After the solidarity movement in 1980, 27 areas of ecological hazard were discovered in Poland. Some of these areas were already in a state of ecological disaster. The southwest part of Poland was in an extremely bad situation. This area was called the Black Triangle or the Death Triangle. Krakow was a beautiful city but it was converted into an industrial city surrounded by many factories. Even the thousand year old stones of the historical buildings and monuments were destroyed. Of course, the same happened to nature and sensitive human organisms.

The special commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences has discovered many toxic chemical in the air: sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, hydrogen fluoride, suspended particular matter, heavy metals, lead, organic solvents including carcinogenic chlorinated hydrocarbons. All of them exceeded several times the maximum allowable standards. Sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, ozone and airborne particles from industry, cars, or domestic stoves caused damage in the respiratory systems of the people, especially in tobacco smokers. Women are more resistant to respiratory diseases than men, but children are the most sensitive group.

Cardiovascular diseases constitute the main cause for Polish women's deaths. They are responsible for about 50 percent of women's deaths and this percentage is increasing. Cardiovascular diseases are connected with poor nutrition, smoking or stress, but the influence of huge amounts of carbon monoxide as a risk factor should not be omitted. Everyday, thousands of tons of carbon monoxide were emitted from the steel mill, power plants, cars and domestic stoves. Its concentration exceeded thirty to forty times the maximum allowable standards. Carbon monoxide blocks oxygen transport by blood and causes hypoxia especially in the brain and in the heart; therefore, many women suffered from hypertension.

The most typical for the region were the toxic fluorides emitted from the aluminum smelter. In 1980, hydrogen fluoride were way over allowable standards, and in 1981, under the influence of social pressure, the government decided to close down the division emitting toxic fluorides. Then their concentrations decreased. Fluorides penetrate the body and appear in all cells and body fluids. Part are excreted in urine, but the remaining part diminished magnesium concentration in the cells and inhibited many magnesium-dependent enzymes, especially those involved in chemical energy formation.

After prolonged exposure to fluorides, they accumulate in the bones and cause degenerative changes and stiffness of the spine. Symptoms of bone disease were found in 70 to 90 percent of residents living near the factory. Pollution also has a negative impact on the brain tissue and causes various mental alterations. Higher lead levels in the

blood correlate with serious health problems, especially in children, like mental retardation, slower learning and memorizing. The carcinogenic compounds increased cancer morbidity and mortality. Women experienced mainly breast and cervical cancer. The cancer mortality rate is higher for women of central and East European countries than for the average in western Europe.

Recently the ecological situation has improved because of the recession in industry; still previous emissions may cause delayed health effects. Now we face new problems connected with increased consumption on one side and poverty of unemployed people on the other side. We also see the transfer of toxic technologies from the West, import of hazardous waste or forbidden pesticides. This is not only an economical problem but an ethical problem because human beings have right to a healthy, clean environment for the present and future generations. The new idea of sustainable development which is a chance for survival on the globe requires respect for nature and human beings. It requires respect for many barriers and limitations in our life in order to join development with homeostasis.

Suzuyo Takazato—"Women, Environment Bases": Okinawa is comprised of many islands and each island is unique. We are surrounded by the beautiful Coral Reef Sea and we have our own unique history and culture and have lived in harmony with nature. By reasons of geographical location, Okinawa's destiny has been to be a military base by Japan and the United States and many hardships have been suffered by the people of Okinawa, especially by women.

Today, the island of beautiful coral reef cultivated since the ancient times is being changed into an island of resort hotels and golf courses to provide leisure and relaxation for the business enterprises engaged in the economic battle. In becoming a battlefield, its culture and its natural environment were destroyed. During the three month battle of Okinawa, the shelling was so heavy that the hills were all levelled. Even today, over 300 unexploded shells a year are excavated at construction sites bringing citizens' lives to a temporary halt. It is said that such shells will continue to be discovered for the

next fifty years.

Fifty years ago, the shelling stopped but for women a new battle began. Women' bodies became the battleground to be ravaged and raped. Many rapes took place in the internment camps and also in public places among G.I.'s. Furthermore, both Korean and Okinawan women were forced to serve as comfort women to over 100,000 Japanese military personnel. As of March 1994, 130 military brothels have been confirmed.

It is the military base that causes noise pollution. Life has been lived with the sound of jet planes taking off and landing for fifty years. On a daily basis, there are live ammunition exercises carried out using mountains and forests as their targets. This often leads to forest fires. In 1980, forest fires burned for forty hours destroying 200 hectares of land.

We are in a military base and there is also the resort developments that are taking place. Before the reversion to Japan in 1972, in order to stimulate the Okinawan economy a marine exposition was planned. This was held in 1974. In preparation for the exposition, development took place at high speeds that was accompanied by environmental destruction. This was the beginning of the resort development in Okinawa. In the twenty-two year period since Okinawa's reversion to Japan, government funding invested in public works for Okinawan highways, coastal maintenance, dam construction, seaport maintenance, landfill and land improvement reached a total of three trillion yen.

Development had occurred at a high pace in a very short period of time. In a short period of time there is time for nature to be restored but instead, destruction of Okinawa's nature has taken place. It is said that Okinawa is reviving by eating up its own nature. Many animals and plants are deprived of their ecosystems so that they are forced into extinction. Red soil erosion is taking place which is affecting the coral reef and the marine life.

By the year of 2000, a total of 54 golf courses will be achieved by the projected plan in 1990. Since this will allow the courses to operate all year round, there will be large amounts of agricultural chemicals and herbicides which pose the danger of polluting the local water supply. It would be a development that totally disregards the natural ecosystem.

From olden times, Okinawa were protected and nurtured by the sea. It is for this reason that the grandmothers and grandfathers of Ishigaki island fought to protect their very lives against the proposal to fill their ocean with concrete in order to carry out the plan to build a new modernized airport to accommodate jet planes. This drew support from the entire world in terms of international environmental protection for the coral reefs in the sea of Ishigaki island. In the end, the plan to build a new airport was stopped. We are all human. We have the equal right to live. Women's bodies are not created as a battleground for rape or as guinea pigs for scientific experiments. The same is true for nature. We must protect the sanctity of our ecosystem from violation by our human societies' competitiveness.

When human rights are threatened, we must take action to protect and this is not just a call for equality but a call for the protection of all life. In the past there was the Japanese military and the U.S. military that had carried out structural crime. This must be clarified. We must reveal this to the world, the problem of comfort women or the statement by the human rights commission of the United Nations held in Vienna that sexual violence perpetuated against women in times of regional conflict should be considered as war crimes.

Gaining this understanding, the situation of women in Okinawa called for re-investigation. We must consider what kind of psychological damage has been suffered. Women's bodies should not be commercialized nor should the soil of Okinawa be commercialized. We should question large scale consumerism that seeks only what is convenient and re-evaluate the quality of lives on a daily basis. Therefore, it is necessary for us to carry out movements even if they are small in size.

Katsuko Kakazu: I am the member of the association to review Okinawan women's history. It was two years ago, in 1992, that we began the interviews and drew the map of Japanese military brothels. Forty-six years after W.W.II, not many people remember what happened during the war, so those we interview are not the direct parties and they only have remote memories of the time. The military try to hide this fact and the battle in

Okinawa burned much of the evidence. In March 26, 1945, the battle started in Okinawa. One year prior to that, in April 22nd of 1944, the first battalion landed on Okinawa, the fiftieth air battalion. During a one year period about 100,000 soldiers were brought to Okinawa.

The military brothels were then established. In

1992, there were 121 in total but after, the number increased. Now the number is 130. The brothels were converted from private houses or barracks. Most of the prostitutes were Korean women and local Okinawan women. The limited number were brought from the mainland or from Taiwan. Many Korean women were dispatched and sent to the brothels far away from the downtown area. They were transported from one brothel to another on trucks. Okinawan prostitutes were kept as mistresses for the military personnel, but they were less in number. The public brothel area in Okinawa was air-raided and destroyed; after in the central south region, many brothels were established where the troops were stationed. There were long lines of military servicemen in front of the brothels. The brothels were tightly managed and controlled by the military. The personnel raped women and this has to be indicted strongly. The Korean women were deceived and brought to Japan. The Okinawan prostitutes were made to be comfort girls and there has not been much criticism made against this fact. Masako Owaki: In the Japanese Diet, in regard to the environment, various debates are taking place. There is a basic law on the environment which has passed the Diet. This law has a shift from the previous one where there was prevention of pollution, to putting more emphasis on the protection of the environment. There is a basic law that has been formulated and it will need to be in harmony with plans for the economy. For the environment administration, a turning point has arrived. Even so, there are many unresolved issues. On a symbolic basis, there is the Minamata disease issue that is still unresolved; there is the matter of the construction cost of 200 billion yen for the Nagara River. There is a major project that has not been realized and this has to be reviewed. Government subsidies were provided for public works. Seventy percent of local government budgets are allocated for this sort of development, therefore, we have not been able to deter the destruction of the environment.

What is necessary to consider is that when we look at the indicators for high speed economic growth, we need to review all the systems that have allowed this to take place. It is not possible to measure our lives just by GNP, but rather we must look at how human-like our lives are, and how we can eliminate the discrepancies in wages.

There are about 600 plaintiffs represented by lawyers and in regard to the Japanese expenditure of nine billion dollars and the dispatching of the mine sweepers by the Japanese government is an infringement on our rights to survival. By such government acts, our human rights to peace has been infringed upon. Currently, it has become a minority issue to protect the constitution in order to achieve peace in Asia without having a military. Such a system has to be created in Japan.

Ms.Watanuki has talked about ecological security. But I think human rights security is also another thing that must be realized in Asia.

Reiko Terada: Listening to the sessions from the morning, I felt very gloomy about future prospects, but I also sense brighter dreams for the future. The latest news in Okinawa is the revival of extinct animals in Ryukyu Islands. A fish, "Ryukyu Ayu" has reappeared in the Islands for the first time in nine years. Environmental protection activities are being carried out throughout Okinawa and "Ryukyu Ayu" is a symbol of such animals endangered with extinction. We believe this is something which we can hope for in the future.

In Europe, there is also a revival of nature being sought after in various activities. There has been a new approach to nature so that we can revive the dynamism of nature. In Okinawa, we have formed a group of forty to look at specific sites and we are planning an international symposium this year. The extinction of the species is a major issue which we are focussing upon. These are animals that could be companions of future generation. We are eliminating the assets of the future.

From an environmental standpoint, we have led a life of destroying future assets by using such things as detergents. Also there was the Chernobyl accident as well as the problems of AIDS which

seems as if we, humans have spread them throughout the world. As we head towards the future, I think it is necessary to change directions, and for that purpose, the role of women is becoming more and more important. The social structure as well as the economic structure was created by men. Women have to make a contribution to the survival of all life on earth.

When we look at specific measures that could be taken by women, as we work in the current technology and administration, we can have women's views reflected on them. And that is the key to our efforts.

Questions toward Maria Mies:

- 1. Please give us more detailed information about how developed nations can lower their standard of living?
- 2. What are the prospects for concrete strategies of paradigm changes?
- 3. What are the specific actions being taken to lower their standard of consumption in Germany?
- 4. In order to lead more human-like lives, how should we change the consumption or development model?
- 5. War, destruction of the environment and all other issues seems to be caused by materialism. In order to change our pattern of consumption, what are the methods that exist?
- 6. In regard to women, natural environment and the exploitation of the Third World, capitalism has moved in a certain direction. I would like to ask if you are optimistic or pessimistic about the future? If possible, could you tell us about specific activities carried out in Germany?
- 7. Is it possible to achieve harmony between technology and ethics or between science and ethics? Is there a third alternative besides pessimism or optimism?
- 8. I would like to hear more specific aspects in regard to harmony and peaceful co-existence between technology and ethics.
- 9. There is a necessity to change the technological framework. Progress has been made, not for the sake of humankind, but for the selfish goals of each nation. How do you review this framework?

Mies: A lot of work has already been done by a

number of feminists all over the world. For example, Carolyn Merchant, wrote a very important book about the Death of Nature and the History of the Scientific Revolution; she shows very clearly the link between the destruction of women in the witchhunts in Europe and the emergence of the new scientific paradigm. This paradigm consists of cutting objects of nature into bits and pieces and then recombining the elements according to the model of the machine, not according to an organic body. Modern technology is based on the mechanical destruction of whatever there is, of a whole into its smallest elements.

This has led to the atomic energy because people thought if they knew what the atom was, then they knew what matter was. The latest is DNA and genetic engineering; if they know what the genes are, then they know what life is. We call this the reductionist model of science. This means without destruction, modern science does not know anything. That is why I call it war-technology.

Many of us are working towards new ways. We have formed the Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering. There are natural scientists who are very unhappy about this concept that has reached a dead end. It will destroy the world, women, animals and there is no chance that we can go on. We must use our brains not to be divided in that sense. I am not pessimistic about that.

There are a number of male scientists who have also seen this. I would suggest to break the boundaries between all disciplines to reach this holistic understanding of reality. To ignore the boundaries of one's academic discipline is important. Life is not separated into disciplines; life is a whole. Of course, the power is not yet in our hands but I think sooner or later, this will change.

In the present paradigm, there cannot be harmony between science and ethics because this science explicitly states itself as value-free. War is a human experiment and dropping atomic bombs is being justified by science. Within the laboratory anything is allowed, but once we are out of the laboratory, the ethical questions arise. Then we must question whether something should be applied or not. In my view, this is an a-moral science and we

must re-introduce ethics into our research process from the beginning, before research starts.

Once a professor in genetics asked me, "How do you know if something is good or bad without having tried it out?" Unless you drop the bomb on Hiroshima, you don't know whether it works. This is precisely the ethics of modern science and technology. This is a-moral and criminal right from the beginning. We need a different paradigm for science and technology, a paradigm which anticipates its consequences for the future and for that we need to use our hearts more than our brains. Now we feminists say this is not a subject-object relationship but rather a subject-subject relationship.

This is related to the question of consumerism. Economics also has no morality because they only consider supply and demand, or the market mechanism as a kind of natural law which works for the best of all. We know by now that this mechanism is a big lie. Otherwise, the Third World would not be poor and women would not be oppressed. We need to introduce morals into our economic functioning as well.

A group in Holland has recently made a study to find out what the Netherlands would be like if the sustainable development principle was applied. Sustainable Netherlands means the reduction of consumerism to a drastic extent. How can you really have a capitalist economy which is compatible with this claim of sustainability? People think that the economy should always grow and at the same time, they want sustainability. But this is not possible. For all of us citizens to change our values would hopefully make the government to follow our lead.

One initiative in Germany called NEPAL, is exploring how to live better with less. Of course, this does not mean to live a miserable life, but it is a question of how much is needed to have a good life. I am collecting more evidence of what people are already doing to get out of this system. As to the question of my being optimistic or pessimistic: basically I am an optimist. I found out that when you start to change the world around you with the belief that you can do it, you will have a little bit of success. Even if you cannot change the whole world, you can change your view of the world and become more optimistic.

Questions toward Mariarosa Dalla Costa:

- 1. For women to work outside the homes, there will be various security systems to support that, for example, maternity leave. Could you tell us something about how this is done in Europe?
- 2. You said that it is necessary to expose the intentions of the governments whose policies make war inevitable. How do you go about this in your country?
- 3. The Italian birth rate is 1.2 according to your presentation. Why is it so low and what are the measures you are taking to combat this issue?
- 4. What is the employment rate of the women to begin with? Also, will a two week maternity leave not cause health problems for women?

Dalla Costa: The unemployment rate in Italy is speculated to be 12 percent but is continually growing because people are increasingly getting fired.

But the more shocking fact is that some people are committing suicide because of the lack of jobs and the lack of hope to find another job. In addition to that, the selling of organs, already a tragedy for the Third World, began in Italy also because of the lack of work or unemployment.

Independently from the official percentage of unemployment, this is the reality of people living day by day and it shows that this development is reducing occupation and social services. Some of the people who sell their organs often are also cheated with false promises which is another tragedy. There have been many struggles to defend occupation; nevertheless the situation is not good at all. I think this is a trend that will not be remedied in the next few years.

Unemployment hits young people as well as older people; women are fired in a rather easy way because often they are employed in the more precarious jobs. The European Directive of 1992 stated two weeks of obligatory maternity leave. From my point of view, this is a tragically ridiculous period of leave. This statement provoked a lot of concern among women and scholars because many states have a much better law. In Italy for example, we have a leave of three months before and two months after birth. But they have already begun to

try to reduce this treatment.

Women have reduced their fertility rate but the complex of policies expressed by the government is not really encouraging women' desire to have children.

We in Italy, never had a system of family allowances paid directly by the state to women with children like instead it has been true in many other countries. So we are starting from a very bad situation compared to the rest of Europe and North America and this had certainly an effect on the low fertility rate.

In addition, the problem of women having no money and being housewives leads to a lot of domestic violence in Italy as elsewhere, but now we have a network to help women who are victims of violence. We see that women are receiving a lot of violence but cannot escape from the house because they have no money. So we need women to be supported financially if they have no possibility of a job and are victims of violence.

The other problem is that there are few services for helping raising children in our country. Here also the tendency is to reduce the welfare state as in all the advanced countries. The services are very costly and very few. This situation is extremely hard for women who work outside the home. What passed in the last years in Italy is the same kind of structural adjustment plan that passed in many of the Third World countries: de-valuation of the money, reduction of a sanitary system, reduction of educational system, and cutting of many sectors of welfare besides unemployment and further precarization of work.

But it is important to understand that many women decided to refuse to have children in order to organize a kind of resistance against the state in order to try to bargain other conditions for becoming a mother and other conditions of life. They wanted to be social individuals as men wanted to be. They also wanted their children to be social individuals, refusing a hierarchy in the family with a submission of one to the other.

Wages for housework and a drastic reduction of work time were demanded so men and women could have time for reproduction. Against being considered as machines for producing labor power women, and human beings in general, should have conditions of life that could permit them to desire to have children spontaneously.

The refusal of women to have children is the refusal of the conditions of life that this development proposes. To "convince" women to have children again requires great changes in the development, not just to give a little money. It is not a question of little measures.

Questions toward Irina Ivasenko:

- 1. Please discuss the aftermath of Chernobyl.
- 2. What kind of environmental campaigns and movements have women been conducting in Eastern Europe?

Ivasenko: The aftermath of Chernobyl is a very important issue because the women had to leave their houses and all the things that they used in daily life. It took several decades to build the wealth and the belongings that they had to discard. That was a profound mental shock to the women. It is difficult to convey the depth of the shock to you.

Chernobyl Accident is not restricted to the Ukraine and Belorussia. It had an impact on all Europe and the whole earth. Therefore, I am not the only one who can answer these questions on what kind of aftermath there was. For example, as of 1993, 84.5% of the population in the district of Ivankovsk are recognized as being sick. Sick rate and mortality rate compared to 1985 rose by 2 to 2.5 times; especially conspicuous were the blood related diseases. Also there have been almost no new births.

The decline in the fertility rate results not only from the Chernobyl accident. Ukraine as a whole is undergoing much economic difficulty which is one of the reasons. The level of living standard has become very low. The wage level is minimal.

The victims of Chernobyl Accident get 30 percent of official minimum wage, added to their pentions- and that is enough to buy only 1 kilogram of meat.

Those people who worked in Chernobyl and who were involved in the aftermath and whose health was damaged, were forced to live in very severe conditions. They rush to any job opportunity available to make a living. Even those people whose health was badly damaged are still working in the

power plant in Chernobyl. Even those, whose thyroid gland was removed completely through the surgical operation after the accident, still are working there. Once you leave a job, it is almost impossible to find a new one. That is why they stick to their job.

The official unemployment rate is five percent. But there is a hidden latent unemployment which should be very high. My personal impression is that the actual rate is as high as forty percent. You leave the house in the morning and you see men and women walking along the street because they do not have jobs. There are standing in the street selling one loaf of bread or a package of cigarettes. They do not appear in the statistics.

Recently, many children suffer from a thyroid disorder. Some of the children are suffering from thyroid cancer and the numbers are increasing. In 1986, when the accident took place, those children who are suffering from thyroid cancer were two or three years old.

There was a question about the women fighting for the improvement of the ecological situation. In 1992, in Kiev, 405 radiation-damaged areas were identified with still abnormally high levels of radiation.

In the morning, I talked about "the school for the future". What does this school do? They do physical exercises for joints. There is an exercise for the eyes, giving massage to their own bodies. It is an education to enrich the emotional status of the victims. There is a criticism among the questions that these things done at school would lead to mysticism. I don't agree with this idea.

Questions for Maria Gumińska

- How can we help and support victimized children of the Chernobyl accident?
- 2. I would like to hear about the situation of gene treatments?
- 3. If a woman gets divorced, what happens to the name of the child and the custody?

Gumińska: It is not easy to introduce a gene treatment. I am afraid that it will be not safe in the future and it will be also very expensive. In addition to exposure to various chemicals, numbers of

spontaneous abortions increase. It is a reaction of nature to protect genome against injury. We do not have now any population growth. Unfortunately, we have a high rate of congenital abnormalities, prematurity, low body birth weight and a high rate of infant mortality. The only way, instead of introducing expensive treatments is to have prophylactic actions against pollution and environmental diseases. Supplementing some neutralizing drugs, an example is magnesium against fluorides, is a new method which requires more study.

After Chernobyl, we did not have any information and then some information came too late. We supplemented non-radioactive iodine to prevent the accumulation of radioactive isotopes in thyroid. We protested strongly at that time against nuclear power plants so now we do not have any nuclear power station in Poland. This was the reaction of the society. The nuclear energy is against the idea of sustainable development because of the great amounts of radioactive waste for which there is no place to store.

We think that the future belongs to solar energy but there is not enough study in this field. Of course, it cannot be used for military purposes but to survive it is enough. We all live because of solar energy; all our food is coming from the energy of the sun. We have in Poland "the Polish Ecological Club", a non-governmental organization that was founded in 1980 in Krakow because of the ecological disaster. We had people who were aware of the dangerous situation, therefore, we could join together to influence our future. We tried to influence, first of all, the education and introduce a new idea of sustainable development, the ecodevelopment. It is not only the knowledge that is needed but also the philosophy behind it and a new approach to ethics.

Women had a rather good position in socialist countries; they have free access to education, to health and child care and they are allowed to occupy a good position in society; however, because of the difficult economic situation, many women have to take jobs. Until 1987, almost 70 percent of women in the productive age were employed. However, high

prices and low quality of services caused that women do not have time for extra activities except these connected with family life. Polish women encountered the problem of an extreme shortage of time to do any recreation, sports or tourism. Their time is divided between their job and their family.

Now we face new problems associated with unemployed women. There are some families where the women and men share the household and childcare duties, but in some families, women must handle everything at home, as well as work outside. We are trying to change this situation by education in schools.

For children who have suffered because of the environment, we have a health monitoring system and the children are sent to "Green School" in which they are located in a healthy environment. They learn and at the same time, free health care is given. This is a great social support. We are also trying to improve the ecological situation in the Black Triangle and to introduce changes in the fossil fuels, by using gas or oil instead of coal.

MC: Next are the questions for Ms.Watanuki. There are many.

Watanuki: There is one point that Ms.Gumińska mentioned that is the true conclusion: the fact is, the use of nuclear energy is not compatible with sustainable development. In response to the question of the effects of radiation diseases on the body, I would like Margarita Mikhailenko to reply as she is a specialist in the field of obstetrics and is much more knowledgeable than I and is aware of the effects of radiation on a pregnant woman.

In regard to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this information has not been faithfully conveyed to the world and to Japan even 45 years after the war. The question is, "Why is this research not taking place? Why are there no citizen's activities to try to seek disclosure of information? "I think that this is a serious problem. When I go to Chernobyl, no matter who the authority or specialist is or who the victims are, I am told to talk about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The reason is for future generations there is the effect which is often not made clear. Finally, four or five years ago, the victims have demanded disclosure of information as

they felt that their bodies were suffering. They wanted to be liberated from the fears of their health. Especially women were asking this question. When I ask specialists, they say that there may be a social stigma on the victims and the effects are not clear, but what they are saying to the world is that nothing is really happening. For the damages of Chernobyl, President Gorbachev requested a famous doctor, Dr. Ilyn from the medical academy to do a research. I had the occasion to interview him and I was able to learn the situation. He said that there was nothing that happened in Hiroshima so it's a lie that the children are getting cancer from Chernobyl.

There is one doctor whom I will not reveal the name who has been saying that there are no ill effects on future generations due to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. There is a laboratory that was requested by IAEA to go to Chernobyl and investigate this situation. A report was drafted two years ago that nothing was happening because of Chernobyl. But there are many victims who suffered hardship because of this report.

It is not just an issue of the medical field. I have written a book entitled, "Death Before Birth". The reason why I am mentioning this book is because we created a network to help the victims of Chernobyl. We have a grassroots movement that allowed this book to be published. It is 2,200 yen and the proceeds are donated to the children who are victims.

I have the feeling that I cannot remain silent. I truly feel that something has to be done. A woman's perspective must be brought into this. Of course, there must be many men who feel the same way but they tend to be on the sidelines, not on the mainstream whereas we women consider this as a priority.

We believe that the effects of today are killing off the children of tomorrow. In regard to recycled technology, I do not want to be educational in my comments and furthermore, I do not have the qualifications for this. Since I have been asked to make a proposal in this area, I would like to convey to you my sentiments, not to force my feelings on you but to express my comments. Specifically, if you become involved in something and you may notice something, you will change yourself and your beliefs. You become a different person from that of yesterday and you will change again tomorrow. When the relationship with society, nature and when dealing with the issues of the north and the south, you begin to see things in a different perspective. This is reflected in your activities.

Margarita Mikhailenko: Immediately after the Chernobyl accident, many medical specialist especially in the field of radiation arrived. They had been working in secret organizations up to that time. When confusion occurs from a medical perspective, there are no countries that have adequate preparations. Medical specialists of Russia arrived in Chernobyl but their numbers were inadequate for such a disaster and they could not cover all aspects. If preventative measures had been taken immediately, such a large scale disaster may have been prevented.

Cases of thyroid gland disease and cancer was observed among children in Gomel province. We should mention that cases of cancer in children only occur once every three to five years but in Gomel, there were 100 cases of cancer observed during a one year period. Much damage has been done to the immune systems of people. Also there is psychological stress that has had a major effect on people because of the mass evacuations. During the first month, over 100,000 people were forced to evacuate due to the high levels of radiation. There was no disclosure of information when people were evacuated and there was a great deal of psychological stress particularly when families were forced apart. This led to high mortality rates, especially among the elderly because of cardiovascular diseases.

Specialists in radiation were dispatched to the polluted areas and many doctors were mobilized some of them from the Health Ministry. Many of them had never been involved in preventative measures before. It was necessary to carry first aid activities. A large scale program was formulated two years after the accident but during that period, many research were carried out with different methodologies so they could not compare their results.

In the removal process of the radiation, many workers who were involved suffered later on from heart diseases. They also suffered from hypertension, and there were abnormalities in their heartbeats. It was found, with limited research however, that the reproductive functions of the young males was affected. For the men who were involved in radiation removal, the sperm count per ejaculation went down by fifty percent. There is also the concern for impotence. So we can see that these young men were definitely affected by the radiation.

We looked at the cause of death and mortality rates among the workers who were involved: the suicide rate was higher than normal, and death by accident was much higher than the national average for the same age group. In our country, traditionally if people experience sexual problems, there is reluctance to talk about these problems and it was almost impossible for them to consult with doctors on this issue. Males had more sexual problems than females and even now, it is a serious issue.

The after effects of Chernobyl are closely tied to the economic situation of the former Soviet Union countries and the problem of the environment and ecology are also closely related. I am able to cite this following figures because of Peristroika and the efforts of President Gorbachev. Every year, the per capita figures of Russia which comprises of a population of 150 million, there are 330 kilograms of pollutants that are affecting each person in Russia.

There are cleansing facilities but they are not functioning well. This is because solid waste from factories is not fully disposed of. Only 70% are disposed so there is much emission to the atmosphere. The water quality is very poor and there is a tremendous amount of pesticides that are still remaining in the food. From 1991, the life expectancy has gone down. The figures for life expectancy were not very good at first, but in 1992 it was 62.7 for males. Life expectancy is thirteen years shorter than Japanese men and eight years shorter than Japanese females. When we look at these figures, we can see the economic situation, the health situation and the food situation of our country. During the past two years, the life expectancy average has gone down by two years for the first time in the history of our nation.

If we look at Russia as a whole, we can see that the population growth rate has gone down. In other words, that rate is higher than the birth rate. The birth rate average per 1000 persons is fifteen in the past. But now the birth rate is ten per every 1000. As for the number of births, it was 2.5 million but this has gone down from 1992 to 1.5 million. Just by listening to these figures, you can understand the situation.

Question: Could you tell us more about this genetic approach to the issues?

Watanuki: As for genetic science, I was taught by a professor from Osaka University and I have given explanations about these studies in this book. A geneticist in Japan does not speak out very much but this professor was an exception and I would like you to know what he is doing.

Another question has been posed about the impact of dioxin on the fetus. In the past two or three years, much has been discovered about dioxin and that it is passed on from the mother to the child through breast feeding. Blood as vehicle for passing it on, the percentage is really quite small. The majority of that process of passing toxic substance from the mother to the child is through breast feeding and mother's milk.

Mies: Generally speaking, I think what is needed is a really severe critique of this concept of science and technology. We should no longer believe that scientists can solve all these problems. We have to assume responsibility for ourselves.

As far as proposals are concerned generally, I have collected evidence in Germany and in several parts of the Third World. I was very much inspired by the proposals of poor women in Brazil. They understood perfectly the world situation and all the problems we have mentioned here with regard to technology and the economy and structural adjustment. They are the worst hit victims of this whole world economy. They said that "We are fed up with this development. We don't want to be developed. Leave us alone." That is the message that I also got from the women in India who fight for their survival in the Himalayas. People are fighting against the construction of big dams, those not only women but also men. They want to be left alone in their environment which they have preserved and protected over centuries.

They have a different concept of both technology

and science and also of development. What surprised me most was that they said they did not need all of these modern jobs. They exchanged directly between producer and consumer. I was very surprised that they had the same kind of vision of a more human, more women-friendly society which we had evolved over the course of our women's movement in Germany.

The main proposal is actually to reclaim the commons. Keep control of your own resources. Don't depend on foreign economies either for export or import. Try to be as self-sufficient as possible. These are proposals which are not coming from a few academics but from the people who fight for survival. These women do not have a welfare state as we still have in Germany. To fight for survival in the full sense means to establish a kind of self-sufficiency.

I think that in Okinawa, you could do this. You could do without these military bases. You could do without a lot of this so-called development and lead a much happier life. The last thing that I would like to say is that this would not be a poorer life but a better one: in human relations among men and women, women and women, adults and children, and particularly between humans and the earth. I have found in many parts of the world that people are striving towards a different or alternative economy and society. We have to collect all of the evidence and one has to search in one's own country to see what is already happening.

Takazato: For us, the people of Okinawa, we have had such a splendid experience participating in this forum. Recently, we often say "Think globally but act locally". I think that this is important but in addition, we must think not only globally but also in terms of future generations.

The accident in Chernobyl has affected not only Russia but Poland and European countries as well and it will also be affecting future generations. During the Vietnam War, the orange agent was used and the effect was serious. Before dropping and using it in Vietnam, it was actually used in Puerto Rico as an experiment. The children in Puerto Rico were affected just as the Vietnamese children were. It was from the bases in Okinawa that these soldiers left for Vietnam to drop those orange agents. That

being the case, when we think of what we can be doing in years to come, as Ms.Mies said, you should not departmentalize yourself. We need a more interdisciplinary approach. We must expound the scope of interest to encompass other academic disciplines.

We should not be depending on knowledge or science. Perhaps we have believed through our education that science is almighty; we have to break that sort of belief. We have to make proper choices not only for us but for our children.

So what can we do in Okinawa? We have to really combat this situation of having military bases here on the islands. Recently, along the bases we see pretty flowers and one tends to think it is a conserved area. But it is not. These military bases are really the factory for wars and as islanders, we have to address this issue directly.

Ms.Mies mentioned the plastic cups; when she saw them, she said, "Why don't you use the cups instead of the plastic disposable ones?" That is one thing we can be doing to prevent the pollution of nature. As for energy, we must question seriously whether or not the nuclear power plants are needed and if we should be accepting the existence of those plants.

It takes 45 billion yen to create one dam. We are happy now to have the budget allocated to create three such dams, but is it really what we want? In India there is a movement against the construction of huge dams. So in the area of energy issues and water resources, we seem to be pursuing convenience and what is easier to use, but that is not the approach we need. Even though it may slow down the pace of our life, and it may not be so convenient to us, we must think of an alternative way of living.

As you leave this hall today, you will be taking with you many impressions, observations, determinations and some questions. I hope that you will continue to pursue these questions, and together with people from Europe, we want to intensify exchange. Also we want to have a network of women from different parts from the world to pursue the path for peaceful existence.



"On the Shores of Lake Biwa, A Gathering of Women"

—Meeting to Discuss Environment Issues with European Women—

Sponsor: The Japan Foundation

Co-sponsor: International Lake Environment Committee Foundation

Cooperation: Shiga Prefecture

Date: Tuesday, April 5 9:30 - 15:30

Venue: Otsu Prince Hotel

Tuesday, April 5

Morning Speeches

Yukiko Kada "Environment of Water and Culture in Shiga"

(Senior Researcher, Lake Biwa Museum, Shiga)

Mitsuko Hayashi "Outline and Role of Lake Biwa Conference"

(Secretary General, Lake Biwa Conference)

Sumiko Yamaji "Approach of Ecological Cooperative Union"

(Chief Director, Shiga Ecological Cooperative Union)

Afternoon Discussion

Claudia Von Werlhof "Efforts of the Administration and Environment"

(Austria)

Mary Mellor "Cooperation of Citizens, Efforts of Cooperatives, etc"

(U.K.)

Maria Mies "Preservation of the Ecosystem, from an Feminist Perspective"

(Germany)

Free discussion

Greetings

Emi Uehara: Shiga Prefecture where we have gathered today is located at the center of Japan and is a very small prefecture with 1% of the entire land area of Japan and with the population that is equivalent to 1% of the Japanese population. The unique characteristic is Lake Biwa, the largest lake in Japan which has 1/6 of the area of the prefecture, and provides water to the inhabitants of Kyoto and Osaka.

Shiga Prefecture has a geographical condition of being situated in the center of Japan, so it has developed very early in the history of Japan.

The secondary industry represents 58% of the entire prefecture in terms of gross product which is the highest rate of industrialization in Japan. Per capita income is in the upper level among the prefectures of Japan. Meanwhile, the population has increased very rapidly. As indicated by these facts, higa Prefecture which has Lake Biwa has to deal with environmental issues and there is much effect observed in the climate of this prefecture.

In 1977, Freshwater Red Tide occurred in Lake Biwa. Administrative countermeasures as well as the efforts by the local population were started to protect Lake Biwa from pollution. In 1980, the Ordinance Concerning the Prevention of Eutrophication of Lake Biwa was enacted.

In 1984, the first World Lake Conference was held in Lake Biwa. The issues of Lake Biwa are considered as a global issue, and Shiga Prefecture took the initiative in holding this conference. The Secretary General of United Nations Environment Program suggested the establishment of the organization for this, and ILEC-International Lake Environment Committee- was formed as a result. At a very early stage in the development of the committee, there was also a prefectural research institute that was established for Lake Biwa. It was a very innovative thing for the prefecture to establish such an organization. In this manner, there are various efforts for environmental issues. There was also the Lake Biwa Ecology Research Institute that was established. In 1992, there was the Ordinance Concerning Weed Beds. In October, the International Environmental Technology Center of UNEP was to be established in Shiga Prefecture. We hope Shiga Prefecture will be able to make contribution in this area. In 1993, Lake Biwa was registered in the Ramsar Convention. Many efforts are being carried out with the participation of the people of the prefecture.

We hope that with the seminar we will be able to contribute to the protection of Lake Biwa as well as the protection of the lakes of the world. We also hope that this would provide inspiration to other movements.

Margarita Mikhailenko: International Forum-Women and Environment happened because of the fact that Japanese people remember very well the tragedy of the Second World War. Because Japan is an island country with high density of population, it is a problem of the survival of the nation. Because Japan understands the black clouds of Hiroshima, the situation in Chernobyl, acid rain falls, and ozone holes that scare the life of the people, Japan feels the responsibility for life on earth to a greater extent than any other countries.

Each of us was deeply impressed by the visit of the Peace Memorial in Hiroshima, by meeting with the survivors of the atomic blast who continue to fight for peace and by the scale of the woman's movement in Okinawa.

In Shiga Prefecture, we could say how much has been done by the government, by the public to preserve Biwa Lake from pollution. We also saw a great interest on the public opinion of Japan toward the problem of environmental protection. We highly appreciate the active position of this society informing secure future. Water, air, nature and peace are the only scenes necessary for our life. They are invaluable and have their price which is our life and future.

Yukiko Kada—"Water Environment and Culture in Shiga": Lake Biwa and the surrounding nature have a long history of several millions before human beings came to settle in this area. It's been about 10,000 years since the first man started to live here. Japanese agriculture, especially paddy rice growing, has a long history. The same piece of land has been cultivated and worked for 3,000 years now.

Within 1,000 years of cultivation, the community changed and women's roles changed. A female

literary writer by the name of Raicho Hiratsuka said about 100 years ago, "In primeval ages, woman was the sun." which is a well-known phrase. A woman in the ancient times had work and an important role, and she was a full member of the society. But as Samurai class gained dominance, the role of women weakened and status of women shrunk. In 1945, when the Japanese nation lost in the Second World War, unfortunately Japan was not able to change itself from internal pressures. To change ourselves, we had to wait for the external pressure which made fundamental changes such as equality of opportunity in education for men and women, and women's participation in politics.

Water of Biwa Lake caters to 14 million people living in Kyoto and Osaka. It is frightening to have 14 million people depend on a single source for water. We want diversity here. This is not only from the environmental protection point of view.

There are so many unique species found in Lake Biwa. Around Lake Biwa, we found some ruins from 4,500-5,000 years ago. Setashijimi, a type of unique shellfish in Lake Biwa, were found in masses in a shell mount. The shell mount is actually a city waste disposal in those days. I don't know how our rubbish will be found 5,000 years from now. When we think of the environment, we have to always think about the time axis, the length of time that supports the chain of generations of life.Immediately before industrialization took off in 1960s, netting and shellfish peddling were also women's work. In those days, there were no water pipes. Water of Lake Biwa was used for drinking and household. Women used to fetch water from the lake and do the washing at the lake.

Resources, such as food waste and dirty water, were totally recycled. But all the burden for recycling was placed on women.

Between '55 and '65, river water was replaced by tap water. This was necessary for major industrial development. The municipal pipe lines allowed the water from Lake Biwa to be supplied to remote locations. Between the '60s and '70s, we saw rapid economic growth together with the rapid changes in life style. The pipe lines were a dream for many women because they had difficult working conditions such as to fetch water everyday for

cooking. There was also a sanitary problem. Women wanted to be freed from the work. They can become full house wives taking care of the babies and children only staying inside the house.

Life style changed around Lake Biwa and more than 50% of the people work in factories now. As the number of factories increased, more and more nitrogen and phosphorus flowed into the lake. It is estimated that 20% of nitrogen comes from factories and other establishments through 400 different brooks and streams, 30% from households and from agriculture. The origin of phosphorus primarily comes from households followed by factories and other establishments. Although there are some chemicals, the pollutants in this case are primarily organic which cause eutrophication. If we compare our situation from Chernobyl and Hiroshima, it's very difficult for us to associate these pollutants directly with life risks. Because of the additional nutrients into Lake Biwa, the biological situation in Lake Biwa is changing. Both nitrogen and phosphorus are necessary for living things. But unwanted proportion of them are causing problems.

The experience of a woman who has lived in the same place for a long time allows us to understand more about women's life in the old days. She says "my life is much easier now. I'm much happier today, but we didn't have so much waste. There were more fish back then and they used to come right to where I used to stand."

Situation surrounding women and the natural environment sounds like two totally separate topics, but there are common aspects. Environment and women are often considered something in the shadow. Everybody takes for granted that they are there. But only when people lose them, they realize they cannot live without them. The new value such as tap water should incorporate the fact that environment means generations. We have to think about different time scale when we talk about environment.

We have to introduce a perspective of looking at the chain of things that are organic. A German scholar by the name of Habermoth talks about "communication orientation". We have to think about how to create a society or community which is communication-oriented. Mitsuko Hayashi—"Outline and Role of Lake Biwa Conference": The residents of Shiga Prefecture calls Lake Biwa, "our mother lake". Lake Biwa is a reservoir of drinking water, and also provides other environmental resources, industrial water, agricultural water, recreational resources and a place for academic research. However, the water quality of Lake Biwa started to deteriorate from around mid '50s with high economic growth. The causes are the rapid increase of the population of the prefecture, the increase of the industrial waste water discharge and the affluence from domestic households.

Large part of the water pollution and eutrophication of Lake Biwa are attributable to the residents. The residents are the victims, but at the same time the ones inflicting damage to the water quality. In order to explore waste to improve the water quality and to take immediate action to improve it, in August, 1978, the pre-council of the Lake Biwa conference that is to say "the Prefectural Liaison Conference to Promote the Use of Soaps to Protect Lake Biwa" was established. It was abbreviated as "soap conference". The objectives include the promotion of use of soap to protect the water quality of the lake to be developed among the private sector organizations and the residents. The movement reviewed the value of the water based on free will. The soap conference consisted of the municipal liaison counsel. At the time of the initiation, there were 40 municipalities and also 82 organizations within the prefecture.

In 1977, for the first time, Lake Biwa observed the outbreak of red tide. It increased the sense of crisis among the residents. Public opinion took up this issue and in 1980, for the first time in Japan, the Ordinance Concerning the Eutrophication of Lake Biwa was established. Lake Biwa must be intact when we hand it over to the next generation. Therefore, we promoted the use of soap instead of synthetic detergent. Due to these 10-year efforts, the deterioration of the water quality of Lake Biwa leveled off. In 1988, the soap conference was changed into the Prefectural Liaison Council to Protect Lake Biwa from Water Pollution ("Lake Biwa conference"). Today, there are 50 municipalities involved and all of them have water environment councils. There are 88 organizations in Shiga Prefecture involved in this movement. Each resident should review its relationship to the environment and set up rules friendly to the environment.

Shiga Prefecture was not well known for civic activities, however, the soap activities have introduced or enhanced the consciousness among the dwellers about the importance of the movement. We expanded our movement within the prefecture and now it is going across the prefectural boarders and on a global scale.

Sumiko Yamaji—"Approach of Ecological Cooperative Union": In the past, there was a large flow of water, so water remained clean, but now, there is no water in the river. You can only see the water when harvesting is carried out. There is no flow of water in autumn. This is because the dam was built. But the river is not for agriculture, it is for everybody. When we requested the dam officials to let water flow throughout the year, we had complaints. The dam officials and farmers say there will be lack of water when the fields require the water. Currently it's only half of the year that we have a flow of water from the dam. Many years ago, if we entered the river, fish immediately came near us. We treasure the river very highly.

Through the hardships, the Ecological Cooperative Union was created 4 years ago. Its activities are of the people of Shiga Prefecture. Before the Ecological Cooperative Union was established, we had movements that tried to spread the use of powder soap, and that gathered various household wastes to create powder oil, so that we would not pollute the lake. There are about 3,800 members currently in the Ecological Cooperative Union.

In the Ecological Cooperative Union, what we mainly do is to recycling. Powder and liquid soap have been made from household wastes. They can be used for washing clothes, dishes, automobiles and for other purposes. There are no additives used for these soaps. We also recover milk packs and make boxes of tissue and toilet paper. Furthermore, we collect aluminum cans and promote purification tanks for households and small business. We are very much interested in water, green, soil, atmosphere and energy, and have our own unique

development and sales of ecological products; powder soaps, liquid soaps, recycled paper. We also carry out the recycling process of raw waste, faeces and organic wastes. Water reeds of Lake Biwa and milk packs are used to create business cards. We have sprays that are environmentally friendly.

The 4th business activity which we carried out is called the soft business. Within the prefecture, there are ecological markets that are held periodically. We request waste oils from households and unnecessary objects to be brought in order to recycle them and we sell those goods at the market, in festivals or other events.

Aside from this, we also go to children's gatherings and have puppet plays. We carry out presentations about ecological manners and try to have more widespread recognition of ecological issues. We also act as the secretariat for various types of symposia and seminars. It is more important for us to have ties with local governments than act alone by ourselves. It is necessary for us to exchange information with various citizens' organizations and make wider activities. The Ecological Cooperative Union is still a small organization. So from our European guests, we hope to hear various things which would be reference to our activities.

Maria Mies-"Preservation of the Ecosystem, from a Feminist Perspective": Why, all of a sudden, are people getting interested in women and environment? Feminism is not at all popular in the world. It definitely is not in Germany. But, since the UNCED conference in Rio de Janeiro, feminism is a topic in the international discourse. Women have been singled out in three ways. First, they are seen as the ones who destroy the environment as perpetrators, particularly the poor women in the 3rd world because they have to fetch water, cut down trees for fuel wood, and breed too many children. But it is in fact the 20% of the world's population living in the affluent countries and in affluent classes who consume about 80% of the world's resources. They are the ones that cause about 75% of the world's pollutants. The second aspect is that women are the victims of environmental destruction, not only in the poor countries, but also in the rich

countries. After Chernobyl, it was us women, particularly the mothers, who had to see to it that the children got some kind of non-contaminated food, water or milk. So indeed, the women are not only seen as perpetrators, but also as victims. The third and the most interesting aspect is that we are also seen as saviors of the environment. If we look at what has happened in the ecological movement, very often women spontaneously are the first to talk of environmental problems or try to do something about it. My friend, Vandana Shiva, from India and I have written a book called "Eco-feminism". Vandana Shiva has documented the struggle of women who tried to prohibit the felling of trees in Himalayas. The Green Movement in Kenya, the movement to save the Mangrove Forests in Latin America, the movement against the construction of nuclear power plants and the movements around Lake Biwa were started by women first, not by the governments nor the scientists. Of course, there are also men who are concerned, but obviously women feel a kind of responsibility which goes beyond daily lives and looks towards the future. We will not be able to undo all the damage that has been done and is being done all over the place by, what some of the eco-feminists call, the military warriors and the corporate warriors. Men also have to stop this destruction.

Many women in the movements who tried to do something, began to discuss and to theorize our relationship to nature and then we became aware of this destructive paradigm which we call science. For a long time in history, at least from the last century until a few years ago, we practically thought science and technology are helping us towards progress, but the whole concept is based on a world view that considers men to be above nature. This paradigm cannot liberate women. In biotechnology, for example, the latest invention is the anti-pregnancy vaccine. Women have now the war in their own bodies. Their whole immune system is turned against being pregnant. Female bodies are the battlefields for science and the new accumulation process, based on biotechnology.

It is absolutely necessary that we women in socalled advanced countries should try to discuss among ourselves and come out with another concept and another relationship to nature, between men and women and amongst each other, a relationship not based on dominance and exploitation.

Mary Mellor—"Cooperation of Citizens, Efforts of Cooperatives, etc.": I have been involved mainly with worker cooperatives but what I want to talk about today are the principles of cooperation and how they might be used to help us with the paradigm shift, how to understand and form new organizations and new frameworks within present day society. It is very important to bring in those ideas of Ecological Union which were talked about by Ms. Yamaji.

In the United Kingdom ,we have women strongly involved in ecological movements. The Green Party has more women members than other political parties. There is also a Women's Environmental Network formed in 1988. The kind of campaigns they have been involved in are to do with the chlorine bleaching of sanitary products and diapers. Chlorine bleaching produces dioxin as a byproduct. Their campaign was so successful that within six weeks manufacturers had started using non-chlorine bleach which shows the power of women's voices. They also had a big campaign about the use of disposable diapers, flushable sanitary wear and packaging.

Women's Environmental Network in fact is run cooperatively. When we start campaigns to think about living equally and in harmony with the natural world, then our organizations must be harmonious and equal as well. That is the cooperative principle with which we democratically and equally control our organizations. Cooperative movements have sprung up in many parts of the world in the past 30 years, mainly concerned with organic products and uncontaminated foods. You have a new cooperative movement here, the Seikatsu Club Cooperatives, that were formed around organic production and the relationship between consumers and organic farmers. We have similar organizations in the UK. We have one large cooperative which produces whole foods. But again we have almost been spoiled by our own success because private companies started producing non-chlorine bleach products, recycled paper tissue, whole-meal bread, whole-grain rice. So it has become commercialized. In a way a movement like this dies by its own success.

150 years ago, workers were moving from the land into the cities, and the security and the quality of the food and their lives were very poor. So they were concerned with the problems of life that were coming to them through the emergence of industrial society. Therefore, they formed cooperative societies. And the main principles were as follows. (1) to have pure and uncontaminated food. (2) to educate in the ideas of cooperative movements. (3) that the money capital invested in production should only be paid a fixed and limited amount of interest. There would be no element of profit in capital investment. This is what is critical in modern society. What it means is that the decisions about what we produce, how we produce it, the quality of that production and the way people work should not be a money issue alone. These decisions should be based on people's needs and what is appropriate and what is ecologically sustainable and what can create a quality life and not just the quantity of money for some people. (4) that there should be democratic control of the cooperative society by all the members. (5) that membership should be open to anyone who wanted to become involved. It is also important to have cooperation between cooperators. That is, we should aim to build a cooperative society, spread cooperation until we are able to form a cooperative way of life.

A concept which is going around at the moment in the UK is the idea of "stake- holders". Stake-holders are not just the people who put the money in, who at the moment they are the only ones who count. But there are people who work, consume the product, live near the factory and also the earth itself and the species that are displaced by that production. Everybody and everything that is affected at the point of production is a "stake holder". We are talking about the reliance we have upon each other and those are the key principles of cooperation.

Claudia Von Werlhof—"Administration and Ecology": I was very happy to hear that women are so active around the lake because it is our

experience, too, that if something happens, it comes from women. Other women really think they can change rules by entering and participating in politics and in the administration. If this lake is so old, how was it possible to spoil it after 30 years? There must have been so many bad things. I really wonder how you will change the situation, for example, women are really taking care of the lake with the soaps. But we didn't speak about industry. And the prefecture didn't say anything until now about this problem.

When we stopped at noon, I saw the lake behind the fence. It was so sad for me to see how the lake is kept like a wild animal or something like an old mother goddess. It's kept behind the fence in order to remove its danger from us. But the danger is us, not the lake. What I learned from my own experience is that we cannot solve a single problem without solving all the others as well. We discuss the lake problem, for example, in relation to the farmers who are using fertilizers of the chemical nature. So the moment they stop using the fertilizers, they could no longer go to their work outside the fields, in the administration and in the factory. This again would mean that they wouldn't earn enough money any more. So this is something like a chain reaction and there is really no hope to solve the problem as a single problem. My next point would be to say that we ourselves will have to be clear that nobody and no institution will help us. This is what we really learned in the extreme, but very clear case of the Chernobyl accident. Our book, "Chernobyl changed Our lives" tells the experience. We could not rely on politics any more.

The topics of the Green Party which came out of the ecological movement of especially women was used by the old parties in the middle of their own programs, but just as a show business.

In our analysis, it came out that one must say the administration, the bureaucracy, the political system, science, technology and industry like the military are systematically incapable of solving the problem because they are not only a part of the problem, but the problem themselves. If a forest or a lake is going to die, you never have a scientific proof of who is responsible or what was responsible. If they die, it is like what you call "karoushi" here. People suddenly die from a heart break after having used too much of

their life forces. It is like the symbol of a society which is all around wrongly organized.

The International Environment Committee was giving us a very strange picture of the lake in a glass, nature in a glass. Next may be women in a glass. This type of understanding nature is a domesticated one. I feel myself as if I'm in prison when seeing this. So this is typically a male way to look at nature, to have her under control. But from this it is that nature dies. This wonderful lake could be collapsing within the next 50 years if you don't change anything. I think it is very difficult because the holiness of nature is not recognized any more also by women. But it is up to us to change this again. So that maybe in the end, you could say "Biwako, watashitachi no okaasan".

MC: Prince Hotel has made an attempt to prevent us from going forward to the lake. We see the fence in front of ourselves. If someone could explain about this, that would be very nice. It seems as Lake Biwa has been placed in a glass. This means an attitude of control. There is a problem of industrialization process itself due to science and technology. This is the matter of conflict for ourselves. There are many contradictions that we must feel, but at the same time it's necessary to look at reality. We would like to hear comments from our Japanese participants.

Nakako Nishimura: I had been involved in women's activities after World War II. So this may not directly be related to environmental issues. But there is one thing I would like to stress. Since the UN Year of the Women, it is said that the status of women has improved.

But when we look at history, the first stage in women's progress was the end of World War II. Voting rights were provided to women for the first time and this was a major step. Women were able to look at things based on the fact that they were able to vote and women were able to consider for the first time what democracy meant.

In 1954, there was a women's committee in the prefecture and it was decided women's classes and group studies were necessary for the improvement of the status of women.

Around 1950, Shiga was famous for the large number of small groups which existed in the prefecture. There were about 3,000 groups that were constantly carrying out dialogues. This was an original activity deeply rooted in the society and close to the practical issues at hand. Every day matters were dealt with as issues. We started off with activities to improve the situation in the kitchens. This led women to take up issues of Lake Biwa. If a true dialogue is carried out, then it's possible to identify the real issues that exist. By carrying out discussions we are able to know things and so it is very important that in the past we had 3,000 groups discussing various issues. That seems to be a common thread.

Michiko Abe: For the past 10 years or so ,I have been carrying out various women's activities regarding the environment. I often sensed futility. Why is it always us the women who gathered? 15 years ago, we dealt with the same issues that we are still dealing with today. I wonder why that is the case. But hearing Dr.Mies' presentation, I realized that I should become an eco-feminist. We are reviewing our everyday lives and looking at what changes have come about. The citizens' lives, especially women's lives, have changed. There have been priority given to the economy, but we should end this period. Another fact is that committees, especially leaders, are dominated by men. As we face these contradictions, we have been carrying out various activities. We must consider what we can do immediately. Therefore, we have created these pamphlets, "Environmentally Friendly Life Style", which deal with movements surrounding the lake carried out by women. As we made them, we learned various things. I believe that Ms. Mellor mentioned about democracy that we have to participate and we have to present our views. We all have to think about issues together to resolve issues. Our lives would not change unless we take the initiative on this and I look forward to participating in various kinds of activities.

Takahashi: We have listened to Dr.Mies mention a role of women as savior, but the burden of saving the society is not only on women's shoulders, but on men's shoulders as well. In the Japanese women's movement after the World War II, one of the typical slogans or mottoes was, "the mother who gives birth to new life want to nurture life". But women alone cannot do everything. In the future, what concerns

me is not the early stage of life, but the terminal stage of life. The question is who will take care of the elderly. In Japan, it is on the shoulders of women. One day, all of a sudden, your daily lives will be severed from normal flow and you cannot plan ahead of it. To be relieved from the burden means death.

It seemed to me we should draw men to our side. We listened to the cooperative movements discussions and Ms. Von Werlhof who also made a presentation that you cannot just rely totally on the administration. Probably we should stand up again and strengthen the movement for more cooperatives.

I had opportunities to be in contact with the students of various colleges and universities. To the question, "in order to solve environmental problems, what shall we do?", the typical answer of women was, "I will do" or "I am doing whatever in my power to implement, for example, collecting and storing milk packages for recycling." Comparing to men, one of the strength of women is based on the recognition of reality. That means women are more practical.

Yamaji: Dr.Mellor talked about the democratic control and participation of all the people involved. The consumers' cooperatives seem to be diverging a little from the all people's participation. It seems that the Japanese cooperatives' movement is facing certain crisis because only a handful of people are holding the power. So I took Dr.Mellor's presentation as a warning to how the cooperatives should be run. The slogan I held was, "we should be friendly to people and town" and a man who was the leader said that I was too bold to put on such a slogan. Being friendly to people is O.K., but being friendly to earth is too grand a scheme because the earth has been friendly to people all the time. Dr.Werlhof talked about "karoushi" and I listened with great interest. We should not be arrogant, but we should come back to the basics all the time.

Masumoto: I am responding to Dr.Mellor's presentation because of the social participation view point that I present. Girl Scout gives social education. On the 20th anniversary of the organization, there was a survey on the environment of Lake Biwa. Girl Scout started to give attention to the environmental problems of Lake Biwa 20 years

ago. We are trying to foster a keen sense for the environment. There are 2,000 members in the Girl Scout and adult members are going through a lifelong education. Dr.Mies earlier talked about the importance of communication with the natural environment in which the Girl Scout members are in close contact with.

The 1993 motto was the environmental education or developmental education. The Girl Scout wants the girls to be initiators to appeal to the rest of the world and raise consciousness about environment. Usually these things start with your family, your classmates, then the city and the prefecture and Japan as a whole and the rest of the world. We should not give up hope saying that this is the male chauvinist society, because as we stand up and take actions, we can start changing things.

Takeo: In the past, Lake Biwa gave us a sense of warmth. Observing the situation as it changed, I began to feel that I wanted to do something if it was only to prolong the life of Lake Biwa. Now I'm facing the dilemma of whether to choose development or environmental protection.

In the very beginning of the '90s, they said that if women changed, the world can be changed also. And we have always thought that this was the case, but in the 21st Century, I would say unless men change, too, we can never change anything. We would have liked to see some European men participate in meetings like this, because in the 21st Century, I definitely think that men would have to change fundamentally starting from their awareness, if to change anything at all. I have been listening to the European women, Ms. Von Werlhof and Ms. Mies, and I could not but feel that even in Europe men have not changed as much as they should have. But what we could learn very much from these people was that they are firmly based upon philosophical grounds.

I represent the Federation of Women's Groups in this country. We have a total of about 1 million membership. This is a group of women's groups. We started out from the anti-synthetic detergent movement. The first thing we noticed was diaper rashes and rashes of our hands. We knew that these detergents were not good.

In 1978, the soap conference was started. But that

group activities reached a limit. The Biwa Lake Ordinance was passed and I was a member of the municipal government then. We have also gone to civic groups and there were many civic group members coming to our offices everyday asking for ordinances to be passed. That moved the entire bureaucracy of the prefectural government. We try to raise the awareness of people. We should not focus just on the lake itself, but also on all of the tributaries and brooks which are feeding into it. We have always been down to earth as far as activities were concerned.

In 1991, we began water quality survey. We have identified all the rivers that flow into Lake Biwa. We chose upstream, midstream, and downstream and looked for COD as well as BOD values. We had always anticipated that water is cleaner at the upstream, but that was not the case. Even upstream tended to be highly polluted when there are many people living around. We did see the natural purification power of the river, so even in the downstream when there are fewer people living around the river, we saw that the pollution level was lower. We have to do this kind of survey. We have to introduce life style that no longer pollutes the river. At the same time, we need to survey the level of pollution at all times, so that we can manage ourselves. Each river we feel has a unique face. Keeping the faces clean of these rivers will allow us eventually to keep the face of Biwa Lake clean and make it smile.

Hayashi: We would like to have a greater participation of men and even Lake Biwa can die of "karoushi" was what Ms. Claudia said. It was such a frightening comment that would stay with me. We must have participation of women, men and everybody to change this.

Hatsue Nishimura: "Tom Sawyer" was my favorite book as a young girl, and that is exactly the kind of life I was leading.

My children as well as the children I teach are not getting enough of nature. We are trying to teach children efficiently, but we have to do a fundamental review of the so-called efficient education.

In the prefecture of Shiga, children are acquiring much information about environment. The most inexpensive way of changing the bad situation with the environment is to do good education of our children. Now it is very important to develop textbooks that allow children to go out in nature and look at nature from an ecological point of view. ILEC has helped us much in this regard.

You say "men" and "women". I think this distinction may not mean as much in future generations. At our elementary school, we are teaching children about eutrophication, acid rain, why it is important to protect forests.

The Education Department of Shiga University has a special department called the Ecological Information. A faculty there is a member of our group and we are learning much from her as to what we should convey to our children. We are trying to teach children not the answers to the questions, but how to ask questions because there are so many of them. Not every elementary school or secondary school within Shiga Prefecture is at this level. It's not that every school teacher realizes the importance of ecology and environment. But I am sure that we can spread these thinking.

Nakatani: I do take consideration to the environment and carry out activities accordingly. In university, I carry out consumer education and education on clothing. In consumer education, I have to mention that in the curriculum there is a limitation as to what could be taught, but this was incorporated. There is some emphasis placed on environmental protection as education on consumers. What I myself study is in regard to the relationship between clothing and environment.

Most people attending here are wearing different clothes from what they wore yesterday. Women are both victims as well as saviors as Dr.Mies mentioned. When it comes to clothing, it seems that women are not the victims nor the saviors. They tend to follow fashion and individual taste. There is a tremendous burden on the environment in regard to clothing. One blouse uses up the energy and resources of the earth and is very closely tied to the matter of waste generated from industry.

There was a talk about recycling aluminum cans, glass or milk packs. Women pay attention to these objects, however, despite the fact that women have a great number of clothes in their possession, they do not consider to recycle them. This is an area that

tends to be neglected by women. Clothing is buried in the ground or incinerated and naturally this imposes an affect on the environment. Young people are born and raised in a very affluent world, so they do not lead their lives taking the environment into consideration. The idea of imposing the cost of environmental protection on products should not be spread among younger generation. When we consider that situation, we have to look at the education carried out for elementary school, junior high school, high school and university, and there are educational activities that are carried out in regard to the environment. Naturally at the university level and regional level and in households this should be organically coordinated, so that we can carry out better environmental education in the future.

Inconsumer education, environmental aspects are incorporated, however, I do feel tremendous dilemma which has to be solved. Otherwise, we will not be able to continue with our activities like what we are doing now. Shiga Prefectural University shall be an official prefectural college as of 1995 and there will be an Environmental Science Faculty established. There will be an environmental ecology section, environmental planning, biological resources, management section that would comprise of this faculty. We must live in harmony with nature as we move forward to realize the societies of the future. The objective of the faculty is to educate people with creativity.

Nishino: I study shellfish and fish that live in the depth of the lake. I would like to talk about human environment from that perspective.

I think there is a misunderstanding and I must clarify one point. Ms. Werlhof had mentioned as she looked at the picture that it seems as if the lake is inside a cup. That could be interpreted that way, but this means that the lake is on the other side of the glass. It could be interpreted that the matter of water is very closely tied to the lake.

In Lake Biwa, there are 1,000 species including animals and plants. And 43 species (4%) of those are unique to this lake. There are approximately 10 species that are either extinct or endangered. In other words, 1% of 1,000 species is endangered or already suffered from extinction. This means, on the

other hand, 99% are not yet extinct. But when we look at individual numbers of each species, the numbers are declining steadily. There are several reasons for this. One is the artificial eutrophication that has taken place. This is due to human activities in which Phosphorus and nitrogen have been discharged.

Aside of that, there are four major reasons. (1) pesticides and toxic materials such as PCPs are coming into the lake from rice paddies around the lake which caused the decline of Setashijimi. (2) fishing and introduction of exotic species are uncontrolled. (3) the construction work in rivers polluted water which started coming into the lake. The release of water from dams is another cause. (4) the land reclaim from the lake caused pollution.

Consciously or unconsciously harm had been done to life under water. If we deal with the problems one by one, then we will be able to protect the life in the lake. In 1959, there was too much plankton causing plugging in the filters and 10 years after that there were mould that appeared. Eight years later, the red tide occurred and 6 years after that water blooms occurred. Another 6 years later in 1989, there were large amount of plankton that occurred. The ecosystem of the lake has been changing every several years to 10 years. It is like being strangled gradually with a silk code. There was much pollution coming due to construction. This may directly affect the life of creatures. This takes place in a very short period of time. It could be affected in a matter of one week or one month just like being poisoned. The problem of introducing exotic species such as Black Bass from North America and Kokanadamo, a water weed, has been raised in a mid-term scale. Several years after their discovery, there has ben a tremendous increase in the numbers of exotic species. They are like thieves. There are 20 exotic species identified. They come to the lake from various roots. One is an intentional release and the other is that they may be mixed with the release of other fish species. We tend to think fish as very cute creatures, however, there may be some that are like sheeps, but other species that are like wolves. To us, humans, all the fish may seem to be sheep like animals, however, that is not the case. There is a possibility that there will be a further

increase of exotic species coming into the lake. They often talk about the symbiosis with nature, but often the result is quite contradictory. If there are people who think about the release of species without giving a deep thought around you, I hope that you will inform such people of this process and I hope you will be able to educate your children as well.

In recent research, life under water has proved to be very beneficial in the purification of the lake and improving the water quality of the lake. That is part of ecology. Ms. Kada mentioned the fact that this is similar to the "shadow work" or "house work" carried out by housewives. This is the work that is not recognized at first. It would be best to leave the ecology of the lake to the animals that are indigenous to the area. So if you bring a foreign species, it is not necessarily a good thing for the lake. It's of course necessary to prevent phosphorus and nitrogen from entering the lake. We can solve issues to depend on the indigenous life of the lake. So it's necessary to think about how we can prevent the incorporation of exotic species into the lake.

Question: In European countries, are there specific examples of joint efforts of males and females?

Maria Mies: Women care for ecology. They care for nature. They do something to nurture life to create life and to restore life. The difference between men and women in the ecological movement is that men usually think first of technology. They invent new machines, for instance, to purify the water. They do not stop producing life destroying or water polluting machineries and substances. They do not stop using fast cars.

I would say that men should get out of the production of death, which is much more important than repairing the damage. Women have tried to undo the damage. So we have to mobilize men. Men who would feel something has to be done, should mobilize other men. We need a men's movement, not only a women's movement.

In Germany, some of the men around the Green Movement are beginning to understand that it is absolutely necessary for men themselves to change, not only their private lives but this whole mode of production which is based on continual economic growth. One slogan of the women's movement was, "All production of arms should be stopped. And all

production which is harmful to nature should be stopped" means a lot of changes in our world's industrial production system. This is something, men also have to do. The aim is to draw the men out of this destructive production and into the caring preservation of life together with us and take responsibility for life.

Question: To do the activities on the waste disposal and environment, women are getting attention as main players. It seems to me that there should be a new role to be played by both men and women. Could you share with us the British example of the division of labor or the role sharing of men and women?

Mellor: What has been happening is that in the families where both partners work full-time there has tended to be more of a balance in terms of domestic labor, except when children arrive in which case men decide that's a bit too much, so they stop. You also see an awful lot of men pushing children in prams and who are involved in child care. So in that sense, my conception of the difference between Japan and the UK is that the men are much more involved more generally in child care in the UK.

There is still a fearful tendency in organizations for men to get into control at the top. And this has been found even in the new green movements. Women are doing the work at the grass roots. They are forming the basis of the organization. When it comes to the full-time professional, then men tend to take these jobs because they are more mobile and they've got domestic support. However some men are beginning to question their role and the whole notion of masculinity.

Also in the UK, the consumer cooperatives have very low participation at the moment. In the '50s, 1/4 of the population was involved in the cooperative societies. It was very big and very successful. But as the super markets came in, particularly American super markets, the cooperative movement shrunk to about 5%. So what I was really doing was reclaiming cooperative principles. It's not just going into shops. It's to do with principles.

Question: At present, human intelligence seems to be at the fore-front of optimism and some people believe that it would solve everything. Dr.Werlhof asserted that the importance of the political change, but do you think such change would save the global disaster? What kind of change do you think is necessary to save this world?

Von Werlhof: First of all, this type of thinking, what we call intelligence or rationality, proves to be just the opposite of what it claimed to be. It is a sort of a total ignorance. I would say the introduction of exotic fish in the lake is a good example.

So people really don't know what they are doing, and they are not even interested in knowing what they are doing. You cannot find any intelligent way to go on with life like this. I think this type of optimism is not very justified at the moment because we are all dying from it possibly. A colleague of mine calls it a "violent thinking" because this thinking is always interested in controlling the things one meets. I think a real good thinking has to be related to the feelings of the people and to the traditions. What I propose we should do is, what I call dissidence, to fall out or off the belief that this type of thinking is something positive or good for the world.

Mikhailenko: We all must be honest. Nuclear power plant disaster was something out of the blue for the citizens. We were told nothing about the danger. The only official announcement by the government was that nuclear power plant was nothing but a safe operation. May be they had been safe, but it was only part of the truth. Government also said nuclear power plants can maintain the air and water clean. They never told us these nuclear power stations could blow up. This secrecy operated very well during the '50s. Within my country there was a major accident in Chelyabinsk which was kept totally secret from the eyes of the citizens.

We have to think about safety, structure and working code of the average operators. If we introduce more strict discipline, then it would deprive people of imagination and creativity. Great inventions can be made by great geniuses, but they have to be given the freedom of creativity. Nuclear power stations are in existence. Who should be responsible for this? I'm saying this because for example we have allowed the state to deceive us for

the past 17 years.

We have to confess and reflect upon ourselves. We need to exercise the right of gaining information whether or not nuclear power stations are necessary. There have to be a debate and thorough thoughts by each and everyone of the citizens. Nuclear power stations are weapons and it's something that we have to understand. We have to think about every arm, every piece of weaponry if they are there to kill people.

There are so many reactors in Japan, too, I understand. This is the point I would share with you. Do people of Japan want the government to use their tax payers' money to build new reactors? If this is a democratic society, tax payers themselves should debate and make decisions and tell what the decisions have been to the government instead of the other way around.

Irina Ivasenko: I'm a Ukrainian and I would like to present my own view because what I'm about to say may differ a bit from my Russian colleague. I have worked at hydro power station, thermal power station and nuclear power station.

It is easy to say to close nuclear power plant, but let me give you the following example. In Ukraine, we were able barely to survive through this past harsh winter because of the very difficult economic situation. Ukraine was not able to watch T.V. for one full month. We were not able to receive transmission from Moscow. For a month we were not able to use the lift. I live on the 14th floor of a highrise apartment building, so several times in the year people living on higher floors had to walk up and down. 30% of Ukraine can generate from nuclear power plant. Everything else comes from hydro and thermal plants. There was a crisis situation as for thermal power plant due to the lack of coal. Whether we need to build nuclear power plant is a complex issue, but it has to do with the different stage of each country's culture and economy.

MC: We just learned directly from these representatives what we did not know or what we are only able to watch through the television broadcasting. I believe that we have some commonality here. Our industrialized societies are built in such a way that we are heavily dependent

on one source or another of energy. I would like to close just by saying that establishing personal network is very important. I think that kind of person to person networking is the most womanish approach of acquiring power. A womanish way of networking is something that I would like to leave you with.



Seminar

"Women's Unpaid Labor and The World System"

Sponsor: The Japan Foundation

Date: Friday, April 8 13:00 - 17:00

Venue: Keio Plaza Hotel

Friday, April 8

Reports

Mariarosa Dalla Costa "Capitalism and Reproduction"

(Italy)

Claudia Von Werlhof "Housewificization of Labor in the '90s"

(Austria)

Maria Mies "Women's Labor and the World System"

(Germany)

Mari Osawa "Social Welfare Policy and Corporate Welfare"

(Feminist economist, specialist of social policy)

Yoshiko Kuba "Women's Unpaid Care Work at Home and in the Community"

(Women's Labor Economics)

Ruri Ito "Japanese Capitalism and Asian Women Workers"

(Economist, Developmental Studies)

Chair: Chizuko Ueno

Commentators: Kohei Hanazaki

(Philosopher) Kumiko Ida

(Lecturer at Kyoto University)

Emiko Shibayama

(Researcher of Human Labor Problems,

Professor at Nagoya Municipal Women's Junior College)



Greetings

Chizuko Ueno: I don't think unpaid labor is uniquely a women's issue. Immanuel Warlastine pointed out that men have talked enthusiastically about the world system. The world economic market system does not cover all the activities of human beings. Labor unpaid by the market should be discussed in order to talk about the world system and to disregard the means that are only men's views.

Mariarosa Dalla Costa—"Some notes on Capitalism and Reproduction": The sphere of reproduction today reveals all the original sins of the capitalist mode of production. In fact, we live in a planetary economy, and capitalist accumulation draws its life-blood for its continuous valorization from waged as well as unwaged labor, the latter consisting of all the labor involved in social reproduction in the advanced countries as well as in the Third World countries.

Human reproduction today is overwhelmed more than ever before by capitalist accumulation's laws; There are continual and progressive expropriation (from the land as a means of production to the individual and collective rights that contribute to ensure survival); There is constant production of inequality and uncertainty (women are even more unequal and uncertain compared to male waged workers). The continual polarization of the production of wealth (that is more and more concentrated) and the production of poverty(which is increasingly widespread).

Finally, capitalist accumulation spreads through the world by extracting labor for production and reproduction in conditions of stratification which may result in slavery. According to a recent estimate, slavery is the condition in which over 200 million people are working in the world today.

Currently, the task being set by the directives of the major financial agencies, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, is to redraw the boundaries of welfare and economic policies as a whole in both the advanced and the developing countries. The result is that increasingly ample sectors of world population are destined to extinction because they are believed to be redundant or inappropriate to the valorization requirements of capital.

La Republica, the Italian journal reported "More coffins less cradles in Russia" Inadequately disciplined population in the Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America is exterminated through hunger, epidemic, war, genocide, military and police repression. According to Italian press reports in 1993 to 1994, suicide was coming to be seen as a solution to high unemployment. Then, in India, the tribal in the Narmada valley have declared a readiness to die by drowning if work continues on the construction of dam which will destroy their habitat, and with that the base of their survival and cultural identity. The most recent and monstrous twist to the story comes from the extreme example of resistance offered by those who sell parts of their body which is the only exchange value remaining.

Poverty imposed on a large part of the planet by the major financial agencies chains entire families to work in conditions of slavery so that they can pay their creditors; workers are made to work in conditions of slavery in livestock farms, plantations and mines; children are made to work in conditions of slavery in carpet work-shops; women are kidnapped or fooled into working in the sex industry and other sectors.

The woman's condition in capitalism is born with violence, just as the free waged worker is born with violence. Within the current context of the population's reproduction, the woman continues to suffer violence as the subject of emerging poverty at the world level, since unpaid responsibility for the home makes her the weak contracting party in the external labor market. But, because of the lack of economic resources, she also suffers a further violence of being sucked increasingly into prostitution.

All the considerations we have made so far are designed to lead to one fundamental thesis, that capitalist development has always been unsustainable because of its human impact. A presupposition of its birth was the sacrifice of large slices of humanity, mass exterminations, the production of hunger and misery, slavery, violence and terror. Particularly from a woman's point of

view, capitalist development has always been unsustainable because it places her as unwaged worker in a wage economy and hence, for that reason denying her the right to an autonomous existence. And, if we look at the subsistence economies, continually besieged, undermined and overwhelmed by capitalist development, we see capitalist development continually deprive women of land and water which for them are fundamental means of production and subsistence in sustaining the entire community.

The question of unsustainable development has become topical fairly recently with the emergence of evidence for various environmental disasters and forms of harms inflicted on the ecosystem. The Earth, the water running in its veins and the air surrounding it have come to be seen as an ecosystem, a living organism of which man is a part. After five centuries of expropriation and domination, the earth itself is returning to the limelight. Now, it is being expropriated of its reproductive power.

But these extreme operations of which the aspiration to bank and patent the genetic heritage is just one of the latest aberrations, belong to a single process whose logic of exploitation and domination has brought the planet to such devastation in human and environmental terms as to provoke disquieting questions as to the further possibilities and modalities of human reproduction. In interpreting and finding a relationship with the various struggles and movements, a global vision must be maintained of the many sections of the society rebelling in various forms and in such different contexts throughout the planet. To give priority to some and ignore others would mean adopting the same logic of separation and counterposition which is the soul of capitalist development. The cancellation and annihilation of a part of humanity cannot be given as a foregone conclusion. We mentioned above the big struggles for the land especially in the Third World. In the metropolises and the advanced capitalist countries in general, may no longer have the waged jobs which in that context, are the source for subsistence. At the same time, the welfare measures representing the complex of individual and collective rights that contributes to ensuring survival are being cut back. Here, human reproduction has already

reached its limits. The woman's reproductive energy is increasingly dried out like a spring whose water has been used for too much land. Water does not multiply.

Claudia Von Werlhof—"Housewifezation of Labor in the 1990's": 15 years ago, two German women and myself invented a new concept called "housewifezation". This new word was a result of our effort to understand the capitalist world economy as a fundamentally patriarchal one. We have come to the conclusion that women's work in modern society has been transformed into the pillar of capitalistic accumulation. We found out that the whole process of capital accumulation rests upon unpaid house work.

The methods of the so called primitive accumulation, namely direct political violence and coercion have never been really abolished in favor of economical, indirect and internalized collision, but have continued to play a major role in the economical and social process characterizing especially the field of house work, but also other fields of wageless or low-paid unprotected work.

It is not casual that it is also women who form the biggest part of the unwaged or low-waged working class. The ideology of the housewife who is considered to be only consuming, spending leisure time or doing unproductive and unessential work in the house can be used for all forms of exploitation of women's labor. Only our leftist friends did not want to understand how favorable for capitalist profits this arrangement was, because this reality is undermining the theory on the revolutionary role of the male proletariat. Why house work cannot be paid is not only a question of money, but also of its character as a form of subsistence production connected with life, people, and the living in general which are surely unpayable.

Basically subsistence start with birth. Babies and children would not grow without subsistence. They would not stay alive. This shows that subsistence is directly depending on women's bodies as nature. They are not just a material resource to be used, but the spiritual and emotional sphere of relationships of love and mutuality. This concept of nature where spirit and matter are reunited again is not accepted

by many Marxists, even by many women who have developed an oppositional attitude toward nature, explainable by the exploitation they experience as if they were a mere material resource. So many women continue to be confused. It is not nature but patriarchal society which is attacking women.

In the next step, you will meet the problem of agriculture. People have to eat. No culture exists without agriculture or without the female. From the industrial point of view, this is difficult to accept because it means that the revolution does not consist in a proletarianization that is integrating women and peasants into the proletarian labor force, but in liberating the proletariat from the slavery of factory work, and integrating it into a subsistence-oriented economy and society based on the cooperation with the surrounding nature.

I am astonished to see how the capitalist strategy to transform women into housewives has succeeded in Japan. If the housewife is the cheapest and most exploitable type of labor force under capitalist conditions, it would only be logical to try to extend housewifezation to men as well. The fact that women's work could remain unpaid has always been very attractive as a model for capitalists. It explains also, how the labor of peasants who come to the city is organized and kept artificially cheap.

In any case, the politics of housewifezation have never been as acute as they are at the moment. Regular wage work is breaking down instead of becoming generalized on a worldwide basis.

Turning to our real tradition which is the old female and peasant cultural tradition of prepatriarchal times, we would have to try to find a way out of dilemma. I think there is no other way out of the problem than to start with subsistence. The internationalization of the Japanese economy and society, the breaking out of Japanese capital into the world left the people with growing problems of unemployment, abolishment of life-long occupation and security, lower wages and the losses in their living standard. The liberation of the economy in the form of the full-opening to the world market and the cut off of any protection for the Japanese producers and consumers through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) shows clearly how capitalism is now attacking the last and lowest resources left for worldwide exploitation. This cannot last for long. From this perspective, the gap between men and women in regard to the sexual division of labor is to become closer as far as the poorer strata of the people is concerned. Isn't this paradoxically a chance to reunite the sexes in a common fight for a new form of life? Women are on the front of most of the grass-roots movements, and this is true for the whole world. For example, the Seikatsu Clubs organizing consumers' and producers' needs together in order to get cheaper and better unpoisoned food and other needs for everyday life seems to show one way in the new direction.

Especially in Venezuela and Mexico where I have been for long years, people are losing their faith in development, progress and opportunity. Realizing that they were pursuing the wrong path, they become very active and now women are taking advantage of the situation. What an irony of history. Women are nearer to the question of subsistence, so that they have less problems in adapting to the new situation and uniting theory and practice of a new life style. Waged labor does not liberate them. This fact has followed them into the factory and stays with them when leaving it again. Therefore, feminism which is built on wage work for women will disappear with this wage-work. Feminism which is built on housework will only last when it turns the forms of housework into a new basis for subsistence. Because in contrast to wage work, housework will always be needed. But the transformation of housework into subsistence cannot be done by maintaining the socalled traditional female values which proved not to be traditional at all.

MC: It poses a shocking criticism against Japanese capitalism. Housewifezation was so successful in Japan as well as male housewifezation in which men are made into housewife for their company master.

Maria Mies—"Women's Labor and the World System": Without colonialism, capitalism would never have started. This colonialism didn't stop with the so-called era of primitive accumulation as Marx thought, but continues even up to today. We try to identify the main colonies of this model of production: women, nature and foreign people. We have to remember that colonization is not possible

without violence. The fundamental difference between capital and wage labor is a relationship based on a contract, in which a fictional kind of equality is assumed. The relationship between the colonizer and the colonized however is one of direct violence which is not based on a contract.

This violence is basically directed against women. It is usually assumed that modernization, industrialization, urbanization will do away with patriarchy as a system of male-dominance. It will disappear and make way to equality between the sexes. Patriarchy however did not only disappear in this process but also the ever expanding process of growth of capital and capital accumulation is based on the maintenance of patriarchal relations.

I found the term "housewifezation" during empirical research among women home-workers in India. I studied the work done by women in a socalled household industry. These women who were poor peasants, made lace in which they got very low wages. Out of their labor, huge fortunes were being made by exporters. All lace were exported to Europe because in India, they don't need lace. The most productive labor comes from such women, because capitalists don't have to invest anything. They don't have to pay unemployment benefits; home-workers are not organized, don't make strikes etc. This model of the home-workers has now become the model of development for women all over the world. Wherever development policy was being formulated by the World bank, NGOs, etc., women were encouraged to do this home-based type of work for a foreign or urban middle class market.

The World Bank tries to draw women away from their subsistence activity into what they called "productive labor". Productive labor is defined as labor which produces commodities for a market which contributes to capital accumulation. Housework for oneself is not considered to be productive. By introducing more and more women into a kind of capitalist world economy in which they are hardly paid anything is the most efficient way of capital accumulation. Therefore, women defined as housewives are the optimum labor force in the world today. As long as this division of labor exists, there is no strategy to achieve equal wages. This is one side of the picture; women as "producer-

housewives", mostly in the Third World.

The other side of the picture are "consumer-housewives". If we imagine that Japan or Germany would have to live by its own people, its only resources, its only intelligence, without being able to exploit external areas and external labor, women would not have been able to become mere housewives. They would have had to work as farmers or workers. So this is a new model: housewives as agents of consumption. It is not just that women are only the victims in this process, but some women are also profiteering from this sexual and international division of labor.

If we would have to pay the same wage which a German skilled male worker gets to the woman in Sri Lanka who makes the blue jeans for us, most of the blue jeans would not be affordable to any of us. If we trace the path of food, clothing and electronics equipments back to their producers and study the conditions under which they are produced, we can understand in which exploitation we live and how we share in this exploitation.

This whole model of the international division of labor which has been equivalent to the sexual division of labor for a long time shows that rich countries can live quite well with it. But obviously, this system has come to a crisis now. We have a recession in Germany. East German women were the first to be thrown out of jobs and to be again housewifized. Our Minister of Commerce and Economics has even suggested that a "cheap labor sector" should be created within Germany. Women as housewives are skilled. They are the best equipped to fill this sector. He says, "If we want to prevent German capital to go to other cheap labor countries, we have to create a cheap labor sector in Germany itself." Women have to become a cheap labor colony of West German capital more than before like in the other third world countries. So there is no other way to solve the crisis, but to put the burden on women, and to ask them to do unpaid, half-paid, low-paid, insecure, precarious work.

The third world is coming back to the first world. It is absolutely the same strategy which was there right from the beginning of the colonial period.

MC: Many serious issues were pointed out. Unless we think about the unpaid workers, we will not be

able to do away with some of the negative aspects of their colonialism.

Mari Osawa-"Social Welfare Policy and Corporate Welfare": I would like to talk about the Japanese style of corporate welfare benefits. I will focus the attention on the wage differential gaps in Japanese corporation by the size of corporation and by gender which are listed here in 11 statements. 1. One of the characteristic of Japanese economy is the existence of keiretsu system or shitauke system. They are subcontracting system, in other words, a division of labor among corporations as seen in subcontracting and subsidiary system. 2. This kind of division of labor between corporations is very closely related to division of labor by gender. 3. Subcontracting or shitauke system is seen very frequently in Japanese automobile industry or electronics industries. This gives the basis for the international competitiveness of these industries. 4. There is big wage differential depending on the size of the corporation. 5. Wage differential by size of corporation is very closely related to vertical gender segregation. In the case of women, wage differential by size of corporation is bigger than in the case of men. 6. There is a conspicuous wage differential depending on sex in Japan when compared to other countries. 7.Among the components of labor costs, the most conspicuous wage differential was seen in the discretional fringe benefits given by large corporations. 8. We had a particular tax system or social policies or social security system which have helped large corporations to increase their discretionary fringe benefits. In the 80's, the government stepped up what they called the policies for family or solidifying the family base for self-help and privatization. These social policies helped large corporations to increase their discretionary fringe benefits. 9. The major beneficiaries of those discretionary fringe benefits are men because the majority of those who are working in large corporations as regular employees are men rather than women. Larger the corporations, younger the women work force. In large corporations, they have marriage bars which says that women must leave the company when they get married or that married women will not be employed. 10. In the 80's, part-time workers

increased. The differentials by genders thus increased. Japanese government's social policy is to encourage women to work as part-timers, but to become dependent on their husbands. 11. Japanese society is a corporate-centered society, and what is at the center of this corporate society is a very strong patriarchal system and government policies deliberately worked to strengthen this patriarchal system. How can we do away with this sort of system or structure? Women must really come into the center of this corporate society. Unless you have women come into the real center of that work force, the structure cannot be dismantled.

MC: The fact that differential between male and female on the corporate level has been supported by the national government.

Ruri Ito—"Japanese Capitalism and Asian Women Workers": Ever since 1980, there has been much discussions about opening up or closing the Japanese market. The foreign workers issue has been on the political agenda drawing much attention. From the end of 70's, the Asian women started to come into Japan but this was excluded from the discussion. On one hand, there are foreign workers' issues. On the other hand, there are problems of Asian brides and prostitutes from Asia to Japan. These two have been treated very differently. Dr. Dalla Costa talked about the two options for women in the process of capitalist development:marriage or prostitution.

The foreign workers' issue has drawn much attention after 1988, especially because more Asian men and women started to come to Japan for work. At that time, it was not so much of a labor issue, but a issue of violation of basic human rights such as human trafficking. Foreign workers come to Japan to improve their daily living or better standard of living for themselves and for their families. It seems that in Japan, male foreign workers and female foreign workers are separated differently. It seems to me that the structure of Japanese employment opportunities is disadvantageous to Japanese women. This situation against women in Japan is reflected on the human rights violation of Asian women. Economy growth has been the top priority of Japan. Under such circumstances, women through marriage with the company employees have become company wife. As long as women accept this status, they are given certain protection. Therefore, the sexism against Japanese women has been justified by the company-protect-first logic. Against Asian women, the Japanese nationalism justified the sexism against them. Every year, more than 100,000 Asian women come to Japan to work in the sex industry. We also observed a new phenomenon that Asian women come to Japan to become spouses of Japanese men.

More and more Japanese Brazilians are coming to Japan to settle down. This situation makes for them new relation in the Japanese society. For example, these women workers are not only reproductive labor force in the household, but also productive labor force in the factory.

Are these Asian women or non-Japanese women to be incorporated to the existing gender culture of Japan, or will they be excluded or will they produce new gender culture? Foreign women working in sex industry in Japan originally were believed to stay for a short period of time. However, there are more cases where they overstayed and after expiration of this period, they face new problems such as giving birth to children or to deal with recognition of the children.

At a meeting at the end of 1980's, a Korean woman who have stayed in Japan for several years said, "We are living consequences of the Japanese women's obedience to men for such a long time." Such recognition should be taken into an account. As Ms.Osawa said earlier, there were wage differentials between male and female. In such conditions, it is difficult for the Asian women to find job opportunities which can adequately support themselves and their family members.

Yoshiko Kuba—"Women's Unpaid Care Work at Home and in the Community": As we face the aging society in Japan, among household chores, there is home care work that is increasing very rapidly. The aspect of housewives' chores and housewifezation or unpaid labor is closely tied. The major issue is care for the elderly as unpaid labor that is taking place at households.

By the year of 2025, Japan will become number one aging society of the world. The care for the elderly is a matter that is closely tied to the issue of women's unpaid labor. There are two reasons for this. First, at the present, there are bedridden elderly persons who are handicapped and being cared by their families. That is taking place quite commonly from the sense of love or obligation. It is a very important social resource carried out by the families. Second is that the gender involved for this care is predominantly female. The reality is that home care labor is a form of unpaid labor. Therefore, welfare can be carried out very cheaply.

We must be aware of the fact that Japanese government policies are reflected in this unpaid labor. Finally, the Japanese government is showing interest in this area. When we talk about the year of 2010 or 2025 and consider whether this issue can be resolved by that time according to the current plans, much of welfare assume that there will still be much familiar unpaid labor care. Regional activities should organize in a manner in which we can focus on this issue.

As Ms.Osawa mentioned, we must erase the boundaries of housewife. There are tremendous contradiction between labor and everyday life. In regard to this contradiction, we must also look at the aspect of child care and new forms of organization of labor. There should be informal, formal and semiformal systems. These systems will not be on a unpaid basis but rather on a basis of new form of subsistence.

When we go to hospitals, there are people who are in home care labor for 24 hours a day. There are often Okinawan women and Brazilian women of Japanese ancestry who are involved in the hardest forms of labor in the hospitals.

MC: Care-labor is not a problem unique to Japan. There are also other untransparent forms of labor as well in Europe. But this kind of home-care is carried out by wife and housewife. It is not wife, rather daughters-in-law, so they are entitled to inheritance. Kohei Hanazaki: I live in Hokkaido. For the past twenty years, I have been dealing with indigenous people, the Ainu. Various network has been created by indigenous women. The Ainu people have been leading subsistence life out of their land. But their life has been exploited, and the basis of their livelihood has also been destroyed in the global

system of development. I have been to Cambodia and Laos. The farmers are being forcefully taken out of the country side to participate in the global system of development. It has promoted colonization. In this Western theory, there is a legal theory called "Land without Master". This has been very convenient for the Westerners to colonize other countries. The land which was not inhabited by Westerners was considered "Land without Master". They were permitted to own that land and dispose of that land as they pleased. This was the same theory that was applied to the Ainu people when the Meiji Government started in Japan.

The phenomenon of housewifezation is taking place. This is quite similar to aggression being directed against this "Land without Master". In another words, women's unpaid labor is considered as natural resource. Because of that, it was made possible for men as waged workers to sell their labors in exchange for returns. As Ms.Mies pointed out about primitive accumulation, this system of capitalism has been created as revolutionship between capital and wages. Outside of that system, there has also been mechanism of accumulation which exploits nature or the people and resources of colonies or women's bodies and women's reproductive labor as something free to take. When you look at women's non-wage work from the perspective of global system, we will come to realize that this will not be compatible with the kind of society we have here in Japan of affluence and pursuit of growth.

What we need as a long-term strategy is to oppose development, to oppose growth, to promote ecology movement, to promote decentralization of power, to promote parliamentary or participatory democracy, to introduce an autonomy of living with mutual assistance, and also to encourage men to participate more in household work, child raising, and home care for the elderly.

Kumiko Ida: In Japan, there is a pursuit of profits and efficiency as prize above anything else. It is capitalist form of labor that is taking place. Self-sacrifice by the worker is praised as diligence. But in the case of Italy, people rejected very strongly to that kind of capitalistic form of collision. I believe that sense of rejection was able to improve labor

movement in Italy.

The salaries workers are beginning to refuse to go to work in certain situations. There are also cases of child abuse found in homes. Children are refusing to go to schools. There are many social issues that are coming out. Because of this desperate situation, and because of the elimination felt by individuals, we are able to see the problems of unpaid labor as a social issue. These kind of energies should be directed toward changing society so that negative factors can be converted to positive factors in this manner.

Emiko Shibayama: First, there is the problem of "karoushi", death due to overwork. There are several court cases of karoushi of women. Most of them involved young women, for example, 23 year-old female worker at bank and a nurse who died at the age of 23. In case of the nurse, she worked straight for 34 hours three times a month.

According to the ILO report on working hours, compared to Germany or Italy, Japan's working hours on an annual basis are 500 to 600 hours longer. Trade unions of financial companies made a survey and looked at the overtime work in one year. How much was paid for such work? 80 % of the overtime work was not paid for. Japanese average workers work 3000 hours a year. This is the critical line over which karoushi is imminent. Most of the workers are working on such borderline. If asked whether you face a risk of karoushi or not, 80 % of respondents answered yes.

Secondly, according to the last year's Welfare Whitepaper, there was a discussion on the policy measures for less number of children and sound fostering and neutering of children. There is an estimate of 20 million yen mostly as meals and school fees until a child graduates from university. There is no calculation for the women's input to rearing of children. We need to study this further. Otherwise, there will be no change in the mindset. We need to make preemptive offense on such an attitude.

MC: That was a sharp criticism. If anyone of the panelists would like to respond to other panelists, presentations, or would like to ask questions, please do so.

Mies: I would like to make a brief comment on the last speaker. I found it very interesting that women

stopped ovulation under terrible pressure. That means that we are nature. If we consider ourselves as equal bodies, we can say that under such conditions our equal systems are breaking down.

Von Werlhof: Ms. Osawa said that she would be in favor of women uniting or trying to get into the center. This tendency exists, but it is not logical at all. Because this means that women would be in favor of the whole destruction that is going on. This cannot be the case. Even if the nuclear power plant would be ran by women, problems and dangers in it would not change. Why should women do the same thing as men do which we criticize all the time?

MC: This is the kind of argument I have been anticipating. Ms.Osawa, I am sure you would like to respond.

Osawa: Mr. Hanazaki has also said that relationship between wage and commodity should be restricted, and that more emphasis should be placed on antidevelopment, on anti-growth, on more ecology work and on more involvement of men in household work, etc. I have been really racking my head to try to think how I can successfully get men to participate in the domestic chores. In order for men to do this, women's earning power should be stepped up to come to power with men. My another comment is that women should really come into the center of economy. The system itself is very sophisticated with several layers of discrimination and gaps. By coming into the core of such system, women can demonstrate the energy to change or to destroy that system. Ms. Werlhof talked about women in cooperatives and why this has been made possible. Where most of the elite salaried workers have health care benefits, resort benefits, pension fund, etc., their wives are beneficiaries of these generous social benefits. Because men are outside working and do not come home until very late at night, wives have plenty of time to participate in various local activities. Once men quit work and start staying home, women can no longer have that free time. That would mean the end of her free activities. As long as housewives stay as housewives even though affluent and dependent on their husbands and participating local activities like cooperative activities, once the corporate life of their husbands ends, so does the free life of wives.

MC: It is getting more and more interesting.

Probably other people would like to participate in this discussion.

Kuba: I have a comment to make to what Ms.Osawa just said. Cooperative's activities are divided into two categories. There is a workers collective, in another words, an activity to create work. There is a group of people who are involved in caring for others and undertaking activities in the area of welfare like making clothes for handicapped people, etc. All these women really are not the ones from affluent class whose husbands are working in large corporations. These women really want to become independent.

Yamauchi: The workers collective is a sprinter from the cooperatives. These are the women who want to have their own capital and create their own working place, rather than being dependent on large corporations and other corporate capital. We have been active for about ten years and have seen women being treated in such an unequal way. Particularly women in their 40's, even if they want to work, there will not be corporations which will be willing to employ them. We should take advantage over regional community and start small businesses or large businesses. We really do not want to seal ourselves to corporations. We don't want to sell ourselves to men. We don't want to sell ourselves as housewives. We want to be independent. If we are going into the core of economy, one thing we should keep in mind is "Never to sell ourselves". Even though we are at the peripheral, we should never be just a peripheral. We should be involving in very worthwhile activities.

MC: I think Ms.Yamauchi and Ms.Kuba seem to have different perspective about workers collective. It is not just a matter of selling oneself off but it is also a matter of not being able to sell oneself because no corporation wants women. Mr. Hanazaki said that men should change. We like to know how men can change.

Hanazaki: Ms.Osawa talked about sharing domestic work. For men to participate in domestic chores, it is necessary for women to increase their salaries. Free time to do household chore or other leisure and increasing salaries are one or the other. There is a contradiction between time and salary. It is also being felt by men. If they want to have their salaries

up, then they must give up their time. But if your wage is smaller, it may be a momentum for men to change their own consciousness. How can we encourage men to choose voluntarily smaller wages? You would need a long-term strategy to succeed in convincing men to do so. You need to change the culture that is supporting our life and the way that we are living now. You have to start changing their philosophy, ethic, thinking and culture.

Mies: It is true that men and women have to change their own culture. We need different priorities in our lives and different definition of the core of society. When we talk about subsistence, we mean life, preservation and creation of life as a core. As long as we stick to the money-making, profit-making, industrialized nature-destroying and women exploiting economy, we have to get into the core. There is no hope in my view. How can men get out of that machine and become human again? In Germany, many men voluntarily go back home on a part time basis to take care of their children. Then sometimes women are breadwinners. Many men are also fed up with this system not only because they are suppressing women but also they feel that they are really damaging their humanity. There have to be men's movements to fight this inhumane machine which destroys nature, women, children and themselves.

Sakakibara: I am a member of Seikatsu Club. I would like to support Ms.Osawa. Unless women have income, men will not do household chores. Minimum amount of wages enough to support themselves can be earned by women even if men are forced out of work. It may depend on their life styles. But it is difficult to gain minimum wages because as aging increases, there are less employment opportunities for women. Professor Werlhof has mentioned that we may contribute to creating an evil society through the fact that there are nuclear plants being made. But for women to get involved in society does not express their desire to die from karoushi. It is necessary to look at how we are involved. Even if corporations try to make women work like men, there is a wage structure. We can utilize the authority. I think that it is necessary to have training for doing this. We need solidarity with people and we have to become involved where we can and do what we can. I have selected my own life style based on such considerations.

Kuwabara: Ms.Osawa talked about the social system of unpaid labor among women and that there are market principles involved in her thinking in which others talk about the departure from such principles where there is theory of productivity. We should look at how women are exploited in unpaid labor. We should not look at the market principle, but rather seek other solutions. When we talk about growth or progress, we must think about how to avoid exploitation of human relationships. This is the aspect of capital accumulation which Ms.Mies talked about and wrote in her book. If women are able to increase their income, it will be better for her thought. We should earn more in order to force men to share the household chores. Ms. Werlhof had taken an opposing view in her speech. She has talked about the relationship of men and women in poverty sectors where there is less discrepancy between the sexes. There could be new forms of human relationships indicated. Men's attitude may change if they become impoverished. When we look at the exploitation and alternatives, there are new relationships. Ms.Kuba and Ms.Shibayama have mentioned about the changes not from the standpoint of market principles and changing the exploitations, but rather alternative approaches to solve the solution aside from the market principles. I myself believe that solutions should not be sought from the principle of productivity. In regard to entering the core or main stream, Ms.Osawa should change her approach.

MC: All that has been discussed so far has been summarized. But I am sure that Ms.Osawa is dissatisfied with what was discussed so far.

Shibayama: In the 1990's, it is necessary to look at reality accurately. One thing is social participatory approach such as Seikatsu Club. Among system engineers, there are many cases in which men are requested to retire after they reach the age of 40. So employment structure is changing. Husband is the main source of revenue for many wives who are participating in society and supporting the division of labor. In the recession of the 1990's, males are becoming instable. Life-long employment is starting

to crumble. We must look at whether the conditions for women to continue to carry out their activities is still existing or not. In regard to the situation of women in light of technical innovation, women should carry out such criticism. I wrote about "Shock of Women" in regard to Japanese style management and in-house labor unions. There are major obstacles that women had in work-site. Although Japan is supposed to be a democratic country, there is no democracy in the corporations. There are women who are willing to risk their lives and write about their experiences. It was necessary for such people to force themselves in order to support the economic superpower of Japan. These could not be exposed unless we have such efforts by women. Japanese education is not carrying out any education for genders in regard to taking initiative to work as real human beings.

MC: The point here is whether women come into the core of labor market.

Sakai: Ms.Osawa talked about core. What is this core? Generally speaking, women to go into the core of capitalism is too much of a sacrifice. We need to look more into the question of ten million part-time workers. They need to raise their voices and get their rights. Therefore, the part-time jobs in medium sized companies are instruments for the operation of companies. As life-long employment system crumbles, part-time workers become more and more important. When they go into the middle size companies as part-timers, women who have to raise their children and do housework can only work for five to six hours a day. The middle sized companies may want more of those women labor force to support their operations. According to my survey, there are some women who are willing to work seriously and demand more wages. These women can change men as well as corporate society and we would like to support these women. Women have to raise their voices to achieve their rights. If this means getting into the core of society, I will agree with Ms.Osawa.

MC: Thank you for adding a new perspective to the discussion.

Suga: The relationship between unpaid labor and world system is so important. I would like to learn more, but so far we have not been provided with

much information. The world system has changed from the last century and now we are undergoing further changes into the next century. In the 19th century, women's labor and women's status have faced many problems. In the 20th century, capitalist world system was based on colonization and people had to start war in order to get more colonies. So women's issue was not at the center of the discussion. It seems that capitalist system have to colonize the former socialist system. The fact is that women are being colonized.

MC: Women are not to be colonized but women have been colonized. That is the perception we have. Hosoya: Why do men work until they die in the companies. I have been thinking seriously about this yesterday and today. I have come up with three points. 1. It is enjoyable to stay in the company. 2. They need to make a living for their family members. They have a sense of obligation. 3. When you have to take care of their family members, you feel very comfortable at home. Even if you don't have any managerial titles in the companies, you can be a president in your household if you are the breadwinner. When women go out into society and get jobs, what would happen? Sometimes they may feel obliged to support financially their husbands and children. This is unusual. Under current circumstances, even if women enjoy the company, there are not allowed to work in the same condition as men. Devoting oneself to inhumane conditions of work will be difficult for women. Therefore, Ms.Osawa strategy is effective. It deserves our attention. It should not be ignored.

MC: It seems to me Ms.Osawa's opinion is minority here. But majority of women are following Ms.Osawa's strategy. These women have not reached managerial position in the company. They are forced to have low wage and mundane work on daily basis with longer length of service. They stick with their jobs for a long time. They never seem to let it go consciously or unconsciously. A lot of women have chosen to do that.

Osawa: In order to be rather provocative, I emphasized one aspect of the discussion. It seems that I have succeeded but my opinion has become a minority. Let me supplement my statement. My strategy is as follows. If a person quits and leaves the

company, how can we make a society for such a person to survive? More the options are available, the better. Average wage of women is one half of that of men, although they are doing supplementary work or auxiliary work. Women are not adequately rewarded for their efforts and the situation should be changed. Somebody talked about the alternative economy or subsistence economy. Their options for these types of economy should expand further. But we are living in the company-centered society. When I talk about the core, I automatically think of corporations and companies. What I am saying is that if women stay in mergenalized area, can they change society? Ms.Werlhof talked about the risk involved in establishing the nuclear power plant. If woman get into it, she can be exposed to radiation. As long as we use electrical power, we cannot escape from the current system. Even if you are escaping from where you live, acid rain will fall on you. If we reject totally the benefits of civilization or evils of the civilization, can we really survive? If we cannot survive without them, we have to go into the core and turn it up-side-down, making it inside-out. It is impossible for women to go inside the core under the current system, because institutionally women are separated and segregated by violence. In order to get into such core protected by violence, there should be another force. Market force was controlled by traditional force or socialist democracy. But in history, these forces have been mixed to influence the Market force would destroy the environment and would drag people downward. Unless we think about it, we cannot come up with a new system or a new society.

MC: Thank you for proposing your perspective. It seems that Dr. Mies and Dr. Werlhof would like to respond to Ms.Osawa comment in regard to the question of subsistence.

Von Werlhof: The question of getting into the core and the question of subsistence is related to each other. People try something else than to get into the core not because they don't know what they are doing but because they don't believe in this core. What I found out about the core is that there is simply nothing, it is completely empty. For me it is like archeology looking at the past from the future. I don't believe in the system. We can find out how the

system works, at least we tried to. And the subsistence concept was the answer as another possibility. The question is how to come out of this system, not into it. The question is not how to behave within this process, but how to get out of it. The subsistence category or concept comprises something that is really the opposite to the system which puts onto the market always more people, products, and minds. We thought that this category of subsistence is not just economy or utopia, but something like a perspective, something like a way or vision that we could follow to make certain steps out of this system.

MC: Ms.Mies wants to make an additional comment.

Mies: I would like to remind ourselves that drawing people from subsistence was a deliberate strategy formulated by the World Bank. MacNamara said several years ago, "It is our aim to draw peasants away from subsistence and draw them into the market economy." That means, they can't survive without capitalist markets and its commodities. That is the real problem for capitalism. If you follow the principles of the market economy, you have to believe in money that breeds money or makes money out of money. But, how should life come out of money? What has capitalism done for women? We should give up this faith in money. I personally have learned about subsistence from people who do not live in a welfare state or in the rich countries, people who have to fight for survival. For them, these questions are matters of life and death. What they claim and what they want is not just more money, but life and dignity and autonomy. They don't want to be integrated into the capitalist system. They know pretty well that it does not give them anything. In Germany, with the recession going on, people slowly begin to see, that this is not just a passing crisis but that this model has reached its limits. It is time to think of another model. If women try to go into the core of that system, you will also have to colonize other people, other areas of the world or nature. We have to develop a new paradigm and a new perspective where life is being created out of life, not out of money, and where nobody needs to colonize other life-forms or people in order to live a "good life".



Open Symposium "Women, Environment, Peace"

Sponsor: The Japan Foundation

Institute for the Study of Social Justice, Sophia University Chernobyl Health Survey and Health Care Support for the

Victims, Japan Women's Network

Date: Saturday, April 9 10:00 - 18:00

Venue: Sophia University

Coordinators: Chizuko Ueno, Reiko Watanuki

Saturday, April 9

Part one "Reproductive Health and the Environment"

Chair: Chizuko Ueno

Reporters: Margarita Mikhailenko (Russia)

Maria Gumińska (Poland) Jivka Damianova (Bulgaria)

Reiko Watanuki Satoko Nagaoki

Part two Greeting: Takako Doi (The Speaker of the House of Representatives)

Session 1 Chair: Reiko Watanuki

Keynote reporters: Junko Nakanishi (Environmental scientist)
"Environmental Problems and Countermeasures in Japan"
Claudia Von Werlhof (Austria) "Women and the Environment"

On-the-spot problem: Irina Ivasenko (Ukraine) "Chernobyl, Eight Years Later"

Seiko Ochiai (Member, Suzu City Assembly) "Voices of Noto Women"

Session 2"Problems from Women"

Chair: Kazuko Tsurumi

Maria Mies (Germany)

Mariarosa Dalla Costa (Italy)

Mary Mellor (U. K.)

Hannelore Schölz (Germany)

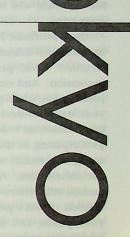
Biljana Kašić (Croatia)

Yayoi Aoki (Researcher of Women's studies)

Kiyomi Tsujimoto (Executive Committee, Peace Boat)

Masako Owaki (Lawyer, Member of the Diet)

Chizuko Ueno



Part One: Reproductive Health and the Environment

Margarita Mikhailenko: I have brought with me letters from the Health and Medicine Ministry of Russian Federation addressed to the president of Chernobyl Women's Network of Japan, Mrs. Watanuki who has visited Russia and Ukraine many times.

The letter reads: The visit of your delegation to the Ideological Reason Department of our Institute in October, 1992, produced a very favorable impression. And we are grateful to the questions posed by you which provided your competence and your deep interest in receiving the objective information in order to find optimal ways of participating in the process of forming a new ecological mentality necessary for the construction of our environment. Also we are thankful for your medical relief efforts for the sake of the Chernobyl children. It was a great pleasure for us to hear that your public and humanitarian activities are continuing with more and more success. With regret, we have to mention the fact that the ecological crisis in our country has led to the deterioration of the ecological situation. This would inevitably have an effect on the health of the children, especially those from the radiologically contaminated territories. We express our wish for health and fruitful work to all initiators, organizers and participants of the conference.

All letters express deep gratitude to the members of Chernobyl Women's Network of Japan and for the indefatigable work for the sake of the children victims of Chernobyl.

Life is in fact no more than a preservation of itself and that is reproduction. I would like to talk about several key points that determine reproductive health.

The ecological situation of today's Russia can be considered disastrous. Negative factors have been accumulating for decades. This was caused by both the development of technological civilization that was common for the whole world, and the inner economical and political factors that intensified to self-destruction which was a consequence of wrong priorities based on the desire of governing nature.

In 1992, the air of Russian towns and cities received up to 30 million tons of pollutants, coming from permanently operating resources, including sulfur, carbon monoxide, nitric oxides, volatile organic compounds and others. There were also 17 thousand tons of highly dangerous pollutants, including vanadium oxide, lead, chromium, benzopyrene, mercury, etc. Only 77% of the pollutants were caught and purified and only 54% of the caught and purified pollutants are utilized. The rest do not subject to proper purification. The atmosphere receives 20 million tons of pollutants from automobile exhausts. Thus, on the whole, with the view to purification treatment, air receives 700 grams of pollutants per person a day. In large industrial centers, this figure amount to more than two kilogram per person a day.

Waste outlet into Russian surface reservoirs is about 76 billion cubic meter a year, including the polluted waste requiring purification. But the purifying devices treat only 22 billion cubic meter and only 3 billion cubic meters(13%) are purified to the standard level. 8.5 billion cubic meters are not subject to any purification. According to the State Sanitary Inspection, 31% of the samples taken in the water supply areas were unsatisfactory by sanitary and chemical standards and 25% by microbiological standards.

From this point of view, we were deeply impressed by the work of the beer plant of Shiga prefecture. The Environment Protection Agency of the prefecture established norms for the waste water discharging into Lake Biwa. And the plant never exceeds these norms though purification is very expensive.

The situation in Russia is caused by lack of technical means used to detect a number of chemical elements. Consequently, the presence of these elements is not measured or even mentioned. The dominating poison among these utilized elements is dioxin, in huge amounts coming from the fields treated with pesticides.

Land pollution and destruction of the territory of Russia is unrepresented. Every year, about 100, 000 hectares of land becomes unbalanced. More than a standard level of toxic compounds are taken into the food products of these territories. About 20,000

cases of forest fires each year destroy almost 250, 000 hectares of forest. 3/4 of all forest fires are caused by the forest activities of the population, organization and enterprises. It takes several decades to restore a forest and this destruction is exactly organized by human beings.

On the whole, one should say that 1/3 of all disasters of the 20th century happened in the 80s. In Russia alone in 1992, there were 13, 000 accidents that killed 25, 000 people. In the former USSR, over 150, 000 square kilometer were contaminated after Chernobyl disaster. It has conducted and continue to conduct its additional influence on human health. In the presence of political instability and economic disintegration, the sudden drop in living standards, increasing pollution of the environment, environmental protection mechanism that don't work Å | all this together brought the country to the decrease in life expectancy both in the country in general and in particular regions and groups of population.

In general, in Russia, during the period of 1985 to 1992, the number of deliveries were down to almost 1/3. The health condition of pregnant women considerably deteriorated. Pregnant women affected with anemia increased four times and those with blood circulation disease and urogenital system disease increased two times. There is also an increase in the number of delivery complications. On the whole, in 1985, 56% of deliveries were considered normal, and in 1992, it was 45%. The number of premature babies is constantly growing although there is no decrease in abortion. There was not a conspicuous decrease in prenatal death rate during the recent 10 years. As for the number of 1,000, babies who are born sick increased by 2.4 times. There is a considerable increase in the number of new-borns with registered congenital abnormalities.

There are concern for the steady increase in the number of cancer.

There are a lot of scientific research conducted by academics from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine which are dedicated to the health situation of the contaminated territories. But those research did not confirm negative consequences of radiation over human health. This conclusion caused a storm of

indignation among the affected population and deep surprise among the several scholars. Most decontaminator workers which called in Russia, liquidators who were engaged in the aftermath of the accident suffered from dry cough, hoarseness of voice, eye pain, excessive tears, shedding and other symptoms all which were connected with radiation. The level of disease among the liquidators is higher than the population on the whole. Many research is dedicated to children, much more than grown-ups. The most serious consequence for children's health was the effect on the thyroid glands as well as the high level of leukemia.

Maria Gumińska: Health depends not only on social conditions or level of education but also on economical and environmental situation. Just after the Second World War, in spite of economical difficulties, the population growth in Poland was high in order to compensate the losses. In that time, many positive changes appeared in the country.

Women had a free access to education, to health and child care and were able to occupy a good position in society. Many women had jobs and full employment for all working-age population was assured. Until 1987, almost 70% of women in the productive age were employed. But high prices and low quality of services caused time-consuming works at home. In addition to economical difficulties, Polish women met the problem of permanent shortage of time. Therefore, Poles have turned themselves towards a family life as an important value. Responsibilities both for jobs and families limited women's participation in public life.

The better quality of life for women and their children could not be realized as long as their health were threatened by pollution and increasing amount of toxic chemicals. After the Second World War, under the influence of east European military policy of Stalin, heavy industry was located in Poland and in other central and East European countries. This industry was very energy-consuming and emitted many toxic chemicals in the process of burning hard and brown coal. However, until 1980, because of censorship, environmental problems were kept secret. After the solidarity movement in 1983, 27 areas of ecological hazard were recognized in the country. This was called the black triangle or the

death triangle.

The special commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences has discovered the following toxic chemicals in the ambient air; sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, suspended particulate matter, hydrogen fluoride, heavy metals, aromatic hydrocarbons, organic solvents including mutagenic chlorinated hydrocarbons. All these chemicals exceeded several times the maximum allowable standards.

All irritant gases in the ambient air cause damages in the respiratory system, especially in tobacco smokers.

Another type of effects were seen from the cardiovascular system. Cardiovascular diseases are responsible for above 50% of women's death in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe and the percentage is still increasing. Cardiovascular diseases are connected with unfavorable type of nutrition, smoking habit, stress, but high amount of carbon monoxide as the risk factor should not be omitted. Every day, thousands of tons of carbon monoxide were emitted from the steel mill, coke plants, cars and domestic stoves. Its concentration in the ambient air exceeded 30 to 40 times the maximum allowable standards.

However, the most typical for the region are toxic fluorides emitted from aluminum smelter. In 1981, under the social pressure, especially of the Polish Ecological Club, the government decided to close down the electrolysis division. When fluorides penetrate human body, only part of them is excreted with urine. The remaining amounts diminish magnesium concentration in the cells and in body fluids and inhibit many magnesium dependent enzymes. The decrease in the cellular energy level causes physical weakness. After prolonged exposure, a part of fluoride accumulates in the bones causing degenerative changes:bone pains and stiffness of spine. The symptoms of so called osteofluorosis were found in 70% to 90% of residents living near the factory.

Pollution has also a negative impact on the brain tissue, and cause various mental alternations. Higher lead levels in blood point to serious health problems, especially in children, like mental retardation, diminished ability of learning and memorizing and psychical alterations.

Environmental factors, especially, of air or water pollution also influenced women's reproductive health. During the exposure to fluorides from aluminum smelter, professor Niwelinsky and his coworkers observed degenerative changes in placentas of pregnant women. Placentas develop only during several months of pregnancy and represent a barrier between the mother and the child in which some toxic compounds may accumulate. Similar degenerative changes are caused by the influence of lead ions. Normal structure of placenta is necessary for fetus nutrition and development.

In our laboratory, we have found that in the urine of dystrophic infants with a body weight below 2,500 grams, the amount of fluorides and lead irons increased but the magnesium concentration diminished. Fluorides and lead irons are inhibitors of enzymes involved in cellular energy formation. Amount of ATP as an energy carrier is smaller because of the increase in pollution. Magnesium, which is an antagonistic element is necessary for enzyme activation but its amount is lower. So this is the main reason for infant dystrophy and low body birth weight.

In the polluted region, the infant mortality rate is 16 to 18 per 1,000 which is four times higher than in Sweden, or other western European countries. But in some parts of the black triangle, these infant mortality rate is even 6 to 8 times higher than in Sweden. Now population growth is absent.

Many causes of spontaneous abortions like stress, hardship of daily life and exposure to various mutagenic compounds should be taken into consideration.

We also have an example of changes in plants, in the form of malformation and miniaturization of leaves caused by mutagenic chlorinated hydrocarbons.

In humans, we could observe clusters of cancer cases near those chemical factory, emitting mutagenic compounds. But also to all chemical mutagents, we should add radioactive isotopes which were emitted after the Chernobyl disaster. At the end, unfavorable health status of Polish women was resulting in negative trends in standardized mortality rate. Women's life expectancy was shorter by 6 to 8 years than the average for women from

West European countries.

After the solidarity revolution, the military policy has stopped and heavy industry is collapsing. But we are facing new problems: high rate of unemployment, illegal import of hazardous waste and toxic technologies, polluted water, imported foods with chemical additives which have already caused different kinds of allergies. They cause not only health problems but ethical problems. Human beings have their rights to the clean healthy environment for the present and the future generations.

MC: We chose the theme "Feminism and Environment", based on a concept that environment consists of natural environment and physical environment. Destruction of natural environment leads to physical destruction, and destroys the children, and eventually destroys human society.

Reiko Watanuki: I am a coordinator of this symposium, and also a representative of women's network relieving the victims at Chernobyl. I would like to speak as an environment issue researcher. The presentations made by both speakers were based on medical perspective. So some of today's participants could not find interest in the presentations. But they made important points. Based upon it, I would like to talk from a social perspective.

30 years have passed from Minamata to Chernobyl. Minamata taught us about issue of reproductive health. I would like to speak about it from historical point of view and especially from women's point of view. The reason I emphasize "women" is that women take the issue of life seriously and suffer the most. However, men are also facing serious problems. Newsweek (April 6, 1994) reported that "environmental pollution eliminates 50 % of sperms in the U.S." Since the 1980s, such academic issue has been projected. We can realize that reproductive health has been violated. I have been tackling with this issue since 1970. My report also refers to the cause of cancer by Chernobyl, Minamata, Hiroshima, Vietnam, Lovecanal from the U.S., Sebeso from Italy, Bopal from India, Additive AF2 in tofu in Japan and American DES hormone to prevent miscarriage. In regard to Chernobyl, I would like to point out that

hereditary problem is most crucial.

It is widely believed that the Japanese have severe opinions in radioactive pollution. However, according to Yomiuri and American Gallop surveys in 1987 one year after the Chernobyl nuclear accident, 50 % of the Japanese people worry about the accident whereas for Europeans, it was 75% to 80 %. This outcome suggests that the Japanese are very optimistic with radioactive problems. Another survey shows that the Japanese women respond to the radioactive problem more intensely and are against promoting the nuclear power plants than the Japanese men. Therefore, reproductive health stands for health of generative health. In regard to the damaged women's and men's health problems, polluted mother's milk can be easily indicated statistically. For instance, Japan is positioned at the middle in the worldwide comparison of DDT pollution. After Japan and Europe stopped using DDT, it was diverted to China, India and Mexico. As a result, mother's milk in the Third World has been increasingly polluted. This is highlighting the north and south issue. New data indicates that more non-brain symptom among congenital diseases can be found without any knowledge of its cause in Japan than any other countries.

Among the environmental destructions from Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1946 to Chernobyl in 1986, environmental pollutants which affected the next generations are dimethylmercury, dioxin (including PCB) and radioactive materials such as cesium. Mothers polluted by such poisons can recover their health to some extent by passing the poisons to their embryos or feeding milk to their babies. This is what I most want to put an emphasis on. We, the current generation is enjoying rich life style in such unethical way. We are living by exposing the next generation to cancer and death.

We must recognize the social structure that takes away the reproductive rights of the next generation. Ms.Chizuko Ueno pointed out seven sins of Minamata. I would like to point out four sins of Chernobyl as internationally common violence.

First, covering up the information of the accident as structural violence resulted in infants' death. Taking away the reproductive rights is the most essential problem. Second, scientists of the world are likely to underestimate the problems. Scholars from Hiroshima and Russia jointly persuaded us by saying that nothing had happened. Third, there is no area available for epidemiological comparison in Chernobyl. Because entire area of Chernobyl was polluted. Talking about this issue with genetic scientists gives me an impression of the limitation of epidemiology. There is a damage far beyond the academical approach. Fourth, in regard to mother's milk as a north and south issue, damage can be found with a delay of 20 to 40 years, substantially in the next generation of South America. Reflecting the economical and political relationships, our lives are being endangered.

Including Chernobyl, radiation exposure is taking place on a worldwide scale regardless of state of war or peace. It is taking place in Hanford, Three-Mile Island and small islands in the South Pacific. In a span of 20, 30 or 40 years, violation of reproductive rights by such trouble cannot be indicated by figures. Therefore, I would like to conclude my presentation by giving you a voice from a woman. A second generation of the exposed person asked, "When will this end?" She worries that her children might inherit the same worry as she has. She was agonized by this continuing worry and wrote "When will this end?" on her book. This is a severe question to the modern civilization. What I was most touched was Russian women's protest saying "Ilyn, Ilyn!" Ilyn is Dr. Ilyn, a biochemist and representative of Russian Medical Academy. Why the mothers in the polluted area were protesting? Ilyn said that they could remain there. But they could sense that it was impossible. Shefchenko, a genetic scientist in Moscow, said that the measure made for the residents ignored the genetic influence, and only focused on the health of the people who are living at the time of the event. If genetic influence was considered, there is no way that they could not live there.

In brief, our generation is killing the next generation. I would like to pursue the society where the matter of life is positioned as an essential importance.

Jivka Damianova: During the 45 year period from 1945 to 1989, the socialist laws, which abolished the discriminations on the ground of sex, age,

nationality, etc, had rather positive consequences and women in eastern Europe and Bulgaria have been involved largely in political and public activities. In Bulgaria, the number of women taking part in all different kinds of production was even higher than in Poland 82 to 83% of the women to took part in the production.

But we are obliged not only to look closer to positive consequences but also to negative consequences. The whole system of government policy on women meant to fully bridle the women's working, reproductive and intellectual potential to achieve the ultimate goals for the construction of socialism which conducts the policy of the communist party, but not with regard to women's own demands. I would say, sex did not exist in public discourse. Then feminism was announced as an agent from the West.

On one hand, the old rules have been broken indeed through the socialist laws and the socialist system, but at the same time, new pressures and new changes came which were not less heavy for the women's support. It is a hard time for women in Bulgaria. Two years ago, when I met with Ms. Ueno in Austria, I told her that women are still in good position, but now only in 2 years, the unemployment of women has increased in a huge number. You can imagine this is a big shock indeed. This is the main problem for Bulgarian women, next to the increasing rate of criminality, violence against women and children and the destruction of the old regulation system. And of course, the very big concern in Bulgaria right now is the war in Yugoslavia which is a neighboring country. I must say it's not an optimistic picture.

MC: You might think that Ms.Jivka's comment does not seem to have anything to do with environment. I want you to think that violence against environment and violence against women are linked.

Satoko Nagaoki: The environmental influence on women has been discussed. When the environment is devastated, woman and children are the first to suffer. This is symbolic in a sense. Overestimating science is causing the destruction of the earth and women's bodies. Woman's bodies have been treated and controlled as a tool to have babies. Right now, the science which was used to control the nature is

about to be used to control women's body. For instance, in Japan, the improvement of infertility treatment, a great amount of ovulation induction pills are being used to have more babies. In the Third World, a great amount of long-lasting hormone contraceptive pills are being used not to have children, and anti-pregnant vaccine is about to be in use. The information of such medicine is covered up to women. Their side effects and troubles are underestimated. Following the same path, people in the south are suffering the most. The Japanese dominance protection law permits the contraceptive surgery for handicapped people and abortion surgery. Abortion is allowed within the frame of the population policy. When thinking about the reproductive health and the environment, unless women's self-determination rights and its condition exist, woman's health will not be protected. Unless we change the definition of science which is controlling and stealing the nature, women's bodies will be continuously hurt.

MC: Ms.Nagaoki pointed out who is the victim and who is the assaulter. I want to add one thing. I said that violence against environment and women are linked. Violence against women is not always a physical one. There is socioeconomical violence. Ms.Jivka pointed out women's unemployment. The situation that women cannot make their living is a great violence. I want you to think who causes such situation and who suffers the most.

Maria Mies: I'm very happy that Satoko Nagaoki made a reference to what is happening in the 3rd world with women. If we speak here about reproductive health and we are concerned about the future generation, we should never forget that a kind of opposite policy is pursued in the 3rd world with regard to women's reproduction health.

Satoko and myself belong to an international feminist network against genetic engineering and reproductive technology, and some of our friends have conducted research in this anti-pregnancy vaccine which is now being propagated all over the world, and will be used particularly after this population conference in Cairo in September this year. In the third world, the increase of population is seen as the greatest pollution of the environment, so people are considered to be the pollutants. In this

vaccine, the female immune system is turned against pregnancy. Now, these friends are making a call to stop all research on these anti-fertility and antipregnancy vaccines and I have a call to support this campaign. Since I consider myself as activist scholar, I do not want only to analyze things but also to change things.

Murai: My name is Shimako Murai. I am doing a play. I was born in Hiroshima. Nuclear bomb in Hiroshima and children in Chernobyl inspired me to play reading act in Switzerland and Czechoslovakia. Genetic problem is not actually studied in Japan. The second generation of the exposed people are now having babies. They are keeping secret about their children's physical handicap. As the U.S.S.R tried to hide the information about Chernobyl accident, Hiroshima hid the medical research after the bombing by the U.S. I am hoping that younger generation will study the genetic problems.

Part Two: Session 1

MC (Reiko Watanuki): Why we have such an occasion where Japanese women and European women were able to come together will be described by Ms.Chizuko Ueno first.

Chizuko Ueno: We now see coming together of the women of different ideological brooks. We saw the fall of the Berlin Walls and much more importantly, we saw Chernobyl in 1988. That told us how pollution can just simply cross borders and brought women together throughout Europe by grass root movements. We have decided in this year of 1994, to invite European women who have experienced major changes in those days. We wanted to know how those experiences have changed European women.

Women, environment and peace are the three main topics we have selected ourselves. I would like to talk about what we mean by these topics.

First, when we say environment, we would like us to include our inner cosmos as well as outer cosmos. Environment can be surroundings, but we can also talk about environment within our bodies. These people have visited Hiroshima and have interviewed atomic bomb victims as well as their children and grandchildren. They have also seen how women at grass root have got together and have successfully been promoting activities which will try to purify and change the environment.

Secondly, war is the most violent form of brutality towards women. Of course, environmental destruction can also strike women very harshly. We have a woman from Croatia who spoke to us and there was a heated discussion taken place in Okinawa regarding the topic of war and women. There is Mizuho Fukushima who spoke to us about the activities to correct the situation of comfort women. What we found throughout these discussions is that warfare is not something of the past but it's closely related to how we live today in our society. We still have prostitution at the United States' bases. We also have the so-called "Japa-yuki san" situation where Southeast Asian women come to Japan for prostitution. All of this is closely tied to what we think was past war.

The third aspect is women. Yesterday we held a seminar which was entitled, "Women's Unpaid Labor and the World System". We found out that it is closely related to environment. War and rape are the most raw forms of brutality against women. Unpaid labor forced upon women is the most structured brutality against women. The situation where women are unable to earn their living is seen as violence during peace time. Now who are the victims and who are the victimizers, who are paying the burden of it all are something that we have to think about, otherwise, those people who decide and promote this procedure to carry on cannot be identified or held responsible.

Mr. Hosokawa, the Prime Minister of Japan, resigned and we were wondering if the next is going to be Ms.Doi. It seems we all hope that the day will come soon where that's no longer a dream. In any case, we have the hope of all Japanese women, Ms.Takako Doi.

Greetings

Takako Doi: The theme of the symposium is "Encounters after the Wall". After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, we immediately, in January of 1990, received some guests from Eastern Europe and held a symposium of women. At the time I was the

chairman of the policy committee of the Socialist Party and I recall even now quite favorably how important and how impressive this meeting was. Then we had a general election in February of that year and we were very successful. At the time of the symposium with the Eastern European women, I quoted from the speech President Weizsacker of Germany gave about 40 years after the war. He said,"whoever closes his eyes to the past cannot see the future". And in the speech there was a very moving passage which I would like to repeat here.

Of all the burdens that mankind has to bear, the greatest burden was probably borne by women of various nationalities Their suffering, their patience and their untold strength can really move the world. When these people are working in great fear and anxiety, when they are supporting and protecting human lives and when they are caring and nursing for their husbands, their sons, their fathers, brothers, their relatives who have fallen into the war, it is the women who have carried on the light and who have born the torch to keep the humankind alive. It is the women who picked up the stones and placed one upon the other to build after the war. And it is the women who were the strength in Berlin.

But when men came back from war, women again retreated into the shadows. However, with destruction, corruption and inhuman actions, human beings may descend into an everlasting hell, but then it is the women who help us to regain ourselves and our strength to come out of that hell.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, we all thought that the new era had begun. With the dismantlement of the Cold War framework, we thought that a new world had arrived and women's presence was very strong there. But we still have anxiety, for example, environmental issues, conflict, racial oppression and violation of human rights. How can we deal with these problems as reality and achieve an ideal society where all people can live together in harmony and peace? I think we are all struggling and groping into the dark towards that same end.

I believe what is important for us is to become economically stable, but more than that, what is really important is, of course, life and the dignity of humankind and the respect for human life. It is about 24 years ago that in various parts of Japan, we had outrageous environmental destruction. There was an economic boom. We had the chimneys blowing smoke and waste water poured into the rivers and ocean. People decided to tell the politicians what is important. Parliament, rather sluggishly as it will always be, started to move. We had for the first time the environmental protection law, that is, the anti-pollution law. So from the priority given to economics, we have priority that is now gradually turning to the environment.

There are women behind this movement. It is mainly men who are in the forefront in economic activities, but the voice of women come from their daily lives, from families, from households and communities. They are saying, "we are alive, we want to continue to live". It's a very desperate cry for help to save the environment. Are we going to strive to build a better economy or are we going to struggle for our lives or health? It does seem like a head to head conflict, but I always think the following about the issue.

Women are really concerned about a rich and fulfilling life. What is then rich and fulfilling life for a human being? I think it starts, first of all, without having your life or health threatened and being able to struggle against what is threatening your life. As long as we remain silent and resistant to this threat, then we have no reason to be alive. We must be able to pass on a legacy of life to the future generations. Economic activity, every sphere of society and, of course, politics- In all of these different spheres as I quoted from the words of President Weizsacker, it is abnormal for human lives to be oppressed. Of course, the extreme is war, but environmental destruction is also an oppression of human beings. Environmental destruction does not choose its victims. But it is mainly the women who bear the brunt of the destruction. Those of us, especially women who think that life is so important, are struggling more than men for the protection of life. We must become the principal voice of the society that can move the society. With the advancement of media technology, we get instant news from places all over the world. But it is most important to hear the real voices, not through media, and to be able to reach out and touch upon another to listen to one

another. This is one of the major outcomes, the results of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the cold War structure. We are able to meet one another to talk with one another. This is most important. My power and strengths are very limited. I cannot do very much, but I would do my best and I hope that we all join hands together.

MC: I did not expect to have such a strong feminist message from Ms.Doi, but I'm very happy that she has spoken to us. I'm very moved by her words.

Junko Nakanishi-"Environmental Problems and Countermeasures in Japan": 1970 was the time for both Japan and the industrialized nations of the world to face environmental issues. In most of the industrialized nations, there were anti-pollution measures that were started. In December of 1970, a Diet meeting was convened in Japan for the purpose of deliberating proposals to regulate pollution and 14 pollution related laws were revised and enacted. We, Japanese, referred to this meeting as the "Pollution Diet Meeting". In the following year, 1971, the first fullfledged pollution measures were launched. Japanese environment was improved much earlier than we had anticipated. Since the pollution Diet meeting and the countermeasures taken after, there had been much human sufferings. There had been deaths as a result of pollution, therefore, when we talk about environmental issues, it was necessary to focus upon how we could protect human health. 20,000 to 30,000 persons are being paid compensation for the damage done to their health and there is no other country that has this extent of compensation. Twenty-five years have past, but when we look at the Environmental Administration, there is still a tendency to try just to protect human lives, even if it means to loose nature.

When we look at the Environmental Administration of Japan, we are very much behind in the legal regulations of chemical substances. When it comes to toxic waste, only 9 toxic substances have been identified in Japan whereas 700 substances in the United States are subject to legislation. There had been much resistance by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery that had prevented such regulations.

Japan is more advanced in the area of

environmental countermeasures. It was necessary for the private sector companies to carry out under their own initiative pollution prevention measures despite of the limitation in legal restriction. This is because there was much movement by the fishery agencies or the agricultural agencies that prevented the corporations from carrying out too much pollution. Japan is a rare case where the primary and the secondary industries develop together.

We have been able to reduce pollution that is emitted by the factories. The major problem now is the pollution that is created by the consumption. We really have to change our lifestyles, the products that we use and the society as a whole. We must be able to protect the environment, so that we can pass it onto the future generations. Think not only of ourselves, but think about other living things, animals and plants. In the past, we had been dealing mainly with restriction of chemical products such as NOx or SOx. If we are going to think about the natural environment, we have to stop the development that is cutting up our land and our natural beauty. We must also try to change the structure of society which is based on development.

I publish what is called a "Water Related Information" booklet every month. I have been doing this for 14 years now. I am also doing Nakanishi's Telephone Service. You can listen to 5 minutes of what I thought about the new issues that arose in the previous week.

MC: You have covered all of the activities of the past 20 years. We have been able to learn very much and it was also very meaningful as an international comparison of various movements.

Claudia Von Werlhof—"Women and the Environment": You wanted us to recognize what has been done in Japan to destroy air, water, soil and the bodies through radioactivity, industrialization or the military. Compare to our experiences in other parts of the world, we cannot but see the same mechanism operating on a worldwide basis. As a white academic middle class woman from middle Europe, I stem from the "belly of the beast" who invented this mechanism and spread it all over the world. This "divide and rule" mechanism is a very primitive and a brutal one because it only wants to

control and to subject. "Isn't the best Indian a dead one?" said the Americans. One cannot use wild animals for economic purposes without taming them before, which means separating them from wilderness. First, one had to introduce the famous "social change": the division of production and consumption, of labor, of the sexes, classes, ages, of city and country side, of humans and animals, etc. These politics are mostly developed by men who got control over women only by destroying female cultures. From this point of view and only with the so-called tradition of modernity, it has been possible to transform women into sex objects of pornographic industry, to herd them into the labor market as Etsuko Kaji and Chizuko Ueno are analyzing it for Japan, to reduce them, to have dependent housewives and to convert them into mother machines including the technical separation from womb and women and the general industrialization of life as a "production" in the so-called "reproductive technologies".

Now it can be seen why the result of this whole procedure is not really a "rule", but is a destruction of life, cultures and nature. "Civilization and Enlightenment" as it was propagated for Japan when being opened to the west, when looking at the progress and development and at "peace and democracy" resulted in war against life itself. You ask yourself how and why humankind has become obviously mad. But humankind will answer that it is not responsible for the destruction. It would always justify itself by saying that it was the opposite of what it really wanted to get. How is this contradiction explainable?

Patriarchy, motherless society in nature, was established. This feeling in women has always been a big obstacle for patriarchal progress which in the last instant aimed at replacing concrete mother by an abstract father, the so-called father principle of father law. I think it has barely been discussed in the ecological movement that androcentric politics of matricide and genocide, the politics of usurpation of the genuine female as well as natural self-creating capacities and the negation of these capacities at the same time has been the basic project of modernity. Most men in ecological movement maintain a sex neutral or even sex-less comprehension of the facts,

the quantitative "logic of ecology", in which nature remains a "mere resource" for being appropriated and used by humankind in order to invent a "big machine" instead.

Isn't it true that the Japanese miracle was built on the exploitation and oppression of the Japanese women and peasants, their labor patience and spiritual strength, their knowledge and experience about human needs and their satisfaction? There may still be something left with the Ainu people in the north. What would be left of the politics of liberalization and full opening of your country to the world market? The so-called "international state" is now independent from the land and the people. Women have indeed remained in society being regarded as an exploitable resource, as a pure material to be used, disposable for whatever business. Women are treated as if they are the most worthless things in the world. Pregnant women are already seen as the dangerous and even hostile environment for the embryo they bear. They are treated in a way which proves society's wish to get rid of them. People under patriarchy commit crimes against their environment. In the meantime, more women start to do the same contributing to the division of the feminist movement. Many women have started not only to cooperate with patriarchy, but even to internalize its way of thinking, acting, being and feeling.

This may be the ultimate, the double perversion which could have happened. Today the results of historical process of the modern world show very clearly, that if there is any future, the way to it would be very different. Many women prefer to be like men. The risk, but also the chance to do away with the "west toxication" of our brains is growing in which both patriarchal materialism and idealism can be recognized as the two sides of the same coin paradoxically. Because when separating matter from spirit, the result of the operation can never be the same. Therefore, patriarchal idealistic materialism or materialistic idealism by opposing nature and putting men on top has finally produced infertility, monoculture and desertification of matter and mind within a very short period of time. A male spirit that is separated from and opposed to female matter does not exist, or only in a very negative and destructive

way, as a delusion, a phantom of nihilism. Nature is different. It is neither idyllic nor violent, but strong and self-creative. The environment, therefore, is never sex-neutral or sex-less but generally and characteristically a female world. We have been here to promote the idea that everybody should start to accept this reality and to define what he or she is able to think, to be, to feel and to do in favor of life on this globe. We do not need heros who compete with nature, but people who will feel a sense of responsibility. Thus, finally we hope that our visit to your country has contributed to reawake this strong old female sense of ecology, a really deep ecology which would have to start again there at the crossing where humankind has left the way of cooperation with nature and her beings.

MC: It was a very impressive presentation about violence and desertification of soul, etc. I'm looking forward very much to hearing from different speakers about the impressions of Dr. Werlhof's presentation. I would like to ask you a question. I think you said that you changed after Chernobyl. Will you say something about Chernobyl and I would like you to tell the audience your wonderful nickname.

Von Werlhof: I'm the Chernobyl Mother Animal. It was meant to be extremely terrible because the relationship between women and animals is very much discriminated, of course, under patriarchal conditions, but women found a different way. They felt united with other beings after Chernobyl.

Irina Ivasenko—"Chernobyl, Eight Years Later": I'm not a professor, I'm just an ordinary person. We have now been in Japan for almost two weeks and I have met many people. Wherever we go and whatever we see, people have always been asking about Chernobyl, what kind of accident it was, what the present situation is and also what the people in Chernobyl were doing at the time of the accident.

Looking at the Ivanov District, at the present time in 1993, 84.5% of the population is sick. In Ukraine and other districts, we find that the fertility rate is down and people cannot have children any more. In Ukraine, 120 out of 1,000 births end in death. There are many abortions and we do not get many medical supplies or drugs from the west of the world.

Building construction has been stopped. Natural gas has not been used sufficiently. What is the most important is the state of health of the children. Thyroid cancer among children has increased. From 1981 to 1985, there were only 25 cases, but from 1986 to 1991, there were 177 cases. In 1992, the Research Institute of Endocrinology carried out a study that said 30 children and 50 adults had received the operation. I believe that this is the result of the radiation contamination. Most of the children were born in the contaminated areas. The majority were born before 1986. 2/3 of these children were less than 3 years old at the time of the accident. The people who are most exposed to the risks are women of child bearing age and foetuses. The foetuses who are exposed in the first 3 months are subject to various medical problems. Malnutrition and lack of drinking water have endangered them, especially their blood vessels. In January, 49 patients were found to be suffering from vascular disease. In Kiev, the number of such cases has increased dramatically. I hope that this would be a lesson to everyone, so that none of you have to suffer the way I have.

MC: What she is worried about most is the children. There are explicit abnormalities observed today already and those children who were born after Chernobyl are also experiencing similar developments of aberrations. The genetic scientist who lives in the area not so far from Kiev said that they do not have enough fund to carry out necessary research activity. I know that our request has already reached Japan for contributions. I hope you will recognize the situation and make the contribution.

Seiko Ochiai—"Voices of Noto Women": I come from Suzu city which is located at the top of Noto Peninsula, in Ishikawa Prefecture. It's a depopulating tiny town of less than 25,000 residents. Suzu was chosen as the site of nuclear power plant 15 years ago. Five years have already been passed since the protest movement has started by the Suzu residents.

Proposed sites are in two small villages called Takaya and Jike. These two sites are to send electricity to Osaka and Nagoya which are far away from us. To build many kilometers of transmission line grids to go all the way to Nagoya and Osaka, multiple number of nuclear plants have to be located. This is a very important point surrounding our movement. The construction plan initially spread implicitly among certain land owners and people involved in politics and lasted for about 5 years. There were very small actions by local residents in small protest movement area. The protest movement grew together with the labor unions affiliated with Japan Democratic Socialist Party. Major change in the process of the movement occurred in June, 1986, when Suzu City Assembly passed the resolution to proceed the project. It's quite thoughtless because it was immediately after the Chernobyl accident.

They said they would do preliminary study in order to assess environmental impact on land and marine. But this was a tricky thing because we knew that there has been a huge amount of money involved in selecting site before this preliminary study was ever conducted. Once the study commenced, very curious things happened in those villages where several hundred millions of Yen were spent for the study. There were opportunities legally to hand out money to various types of people such as farmers and land owners who began actually to benefit from the preliminary study. After receiving money, they can no longer say "no" to the construction which leads to gradual decrease in opposition.

The encumber mayor said he would say "yes" to the preliminary study although he himself allegedly said he was against it. We had to come with a good powerful candidate. Then came the Chernobyl accident which gave us the momentum to go ahead. All of a sudden, the movement spread like wild fire. As a result, the election proved to be very successful. Within one month, the preliminary study was forced upon us. We were raged. What happened then was almost like a revolution. Everyday for more than one month we stopped the survey personnel on the roads. We went to and stayed at the City Hall for 40 days barricading ourselves in. That led to the cancellation of the study successfully.

They are waiting for the next opportunity to resume with the preliminary study, but they have not been able to do so for the past 5 years.

Throughout the movement, this was a true educational experience for us. Now we know what NPPs are. They are doing it for financial benefit of the electric power company. They are trying to widen the gap between the poor rural community and the city people. The reason they cannot explain nuclear power plant as a safe operation is because it is dangerous.

A person who is famous in this field came to Suzu and said, "without electricity, we have to go back to the Edo Period. 1/4 of the population will die out." I asked him back. "Who are the 1/4 of population that are going to die?" He said, "it's the city people who would die. If you don't accept NPPs to be built in your community, then 1/4 of the city dwellers will die. Are you going to take responsibility for this?" Who built the cities which cannot sustain itself? It's the city dwellers. Why do we have to be responsible?

This was an incident of a sexual harassment. And I don't think it's a coincidence that the core of antinuclear power plant movement in Suzu was formed by a group of women, not men. We know what it means to be subjected, oppressed and discriminated against. I hope that we can continue to be active, so that we can involve ourselves in a greater and larger movement to talk not only about anti-nuclear power stations, but also anti-war and anti-environment.

MC: You have really brought to us the voice of the women of Noto. We'll now have a general discussion. Ms.Ivasenko had a very difficult time in the aftermath of Chernobyl and also established her own NGO. Ms.Ochiai of Noto is pursuing movements to prevent accidents like Chernobyl by stopping the development of nuclear power plants in Noto. I'd like someone to say something about environmental assessment.

Nakanishi: The environmental assessment bill has not yet been completed in Japan. Currently it is asserted that those contractors carrying out the project should be the ones who do the assessment and the third party should not be involved. So there has been a miscarriage of the bill many times. As a result of the UNCED meeting in Rio de Janeiro, it was decided that each of the nations that is party to the treaty should have an environmental assessment bill. I believe that we are taking the first step to

realize this.

However, the fact is that because there was no such bill, there had been assessments being carried out by utility companies which are of no use at all. It is necessary to look at environment as a whole. But what has been done to the environmental assessment is just based on technical details such as the concentration of ppm level. I think that there is responsibility on the part of citizens' movement as well as on the part of government and corporations. The responsibility of the citizens' movement is that we had not asserted what we truly desire as environment. For example, there are opposition movements to golf courses and pesticides, but the pesticide problems are not so great. When we consider golf courses, we must consider the destruction of nature that takes place. But people are just focussing on the drinking water as a result of the pesticides. There is a larger environment that must be protected, but it is often felt that we will not be able to get sympathy from a large percentage of the population unless we look at the specific issues. So we have neglected to assert the overall importance of protection of nature. Unless we carry out environmental assessment in this right, it would not be useful at individual sites.

Masako Owaki: Japan has started off its fast speed reactor operations. In regard to anti-nuclear movement, we can see that our effort has been insufficient and I regret this very much. This is related to the matter of opposition to golf courses. It's not just a matter of Japan. Japanese capital is going throughout the world to export golf courses and destroy nature as well as people's lives and their culture. This is completely the same as nuclear reactors. However, there is radioactivity which is more dangerous in the case of nuclear reactors. Therefore, when we are going to talk about women, environment and peace, it is necessary to look at the core issue of nuclear power. It is necessary to reflect this in your everyday lives

Margarita Mikhailenko: I would like to stress one important thing. In regard to environmental destruction, I have seen a horrible example of various heavy metals or other toxic substances. When I talk about these issues such as psychological stress or radiation diseases, it can be seen that there

are destructions of human bodies. It can be observed that human immunological system is being destroyed. When we look at the example of Russia, we can see the environmental destruction and economic confusion in which the average life expectancy of the people has gone down tremendously. The immunological system of the body is very fragile and can be disrupted very easily by radiation or by the quality of the food or by stress conditions. We loose a system in our body to protect ourselves.

MC: The destruction of immune system means that the natural qualities of your body is lost. Looking at the children of Chernobyl, we have seen this clearly in the past year or two. When children at the age of 2 or 3 have problems with their immune systems, then even when they become adults, they will continue to have physical problems.

0000: I carry out the relief activities for the Chernobyl victims. In Hamaoka, there was a lady called Shimahashi who is a mother carrying out a struggle. She is not speaking about the Chernobyl children. She is talking about the people around us who leave high school and decide to work at nuclear power plants. For periodic inspections, they go underneath the core of nuclear plants. They have to use a detector. They may tighten a bolt three times and leave because of radiation. Apparently they are exposed to tremendous amount of radiation. Mrs. Shimahashi's son who passed away only received medium dosage of radiation. Mrs. Shimahashi often says inside his mouth was like soft chocolate cream or like intestines of rotten fish. It seemed his teeth melted down. He rejected oxygen mask because he used masks to go to the core of the nuclear reactors to carry out inspection work, and he no longer wanted to wear masks. We often felt that Chernobyl would be a terrible thing for us to suffer in Japan, but it is necessary to be aware of the fact that there are people who are suffering from radiation everyday in Japan. It is an infringement of human rights and I hope that you hear that mother, Ms.Shimahashi, talk, and that you will give her support.

Tashiro: From March 12, I have been carrying out a movement against the nuclear power plant called Monju. I have sent a petition to the Agency of

Science and Technology and hearing Ms.Ochiai talk, I was very moved. We at the Monju plant have carried out this movement without knowing anything about other movements and other people. We felt very strong. We would like to know more about citizens' movements against power plants.

Session 2—"Problems from Women"—

MC: We have heard about the environmental problems, the situation in Chernobyl, the relationship between women and environment and voices of Noto. And the question is what we can do as women and what kind of proposals we can make to society.

Maria Mies: What do we do to get out of this patriarchal capitalist, nature hating, women hating, children hating system? We have to understand that we are part and parcel of nature. Men and women, particularly men, have to relearn this lesson. The second point I want to make is that this system is not something which grew out of our biology, but it is a historical invention of capitalist patriarchy. It did grow in fact out of colonialism and within a few hundred years, it changed the world so drastically. But it can be overcome and it should be overcome. The third point I want to make is absolutely crucial for our discussion of future perspective, a demystification that "science is neutral". We heard so many cases, facts and figures today, but we have not heard anything from science how to change the situation. That is because scientists and science don't take responsibility for what they are doing. We have to develop a new and holistic perspective. We will not get further unless we develop a view of nature which considers our own nature and the nature around us as a whole in which matter and spirit are together as one.

The next point I feel is absolutely urgent. When you hear all these stories about the dangers of nuclear radiation and pollution, we do not talk of the economic system behind it of which we are also participants. If you really want to get out of it, we have to say no to a number of things, particularly to our consumption patterns in the rich countries. Now I think it is the most difficult task particularly in the rich countries. We have to make a choice. If you do

not want nuclear power stations, it is us who have to change our lifestyle. Then we are threatened, "if you do not have this, then life will be finished. You will go back to the Stone Age." But if we change our definition of happiness and our needs, we will not be threatened. We need a strong movement of consumer liberation, not only to check what we consume is good, but also to consume less. We have to produce differently and my proposal is in fact to try to satisfy our basic needs by non-commodified ways, that means by the ways of human relationships.

MC: As an introduction, she has given very important points that were highly concise.

Mary Mellor: We have very little time in this meeting and we have very little time in our lives. If we are to meet the crisis that is in front of us, first of all, we have to think clearly and practically. There are no easy solutions or utopian solutions. There is no package of already made alternative society. What these movements do show us are sets of principles and it is very important that we understand and appreciate these principles and aim to develop a future society within that framework. Those principles can give us vision and can also empower us in our struggle because we can't go forward unless we have a sense of future.

The second point I want to make is that one of our most difficult problems is our best political friend, that is, limits. Humanity and nature are one. We are embodied in our biology and embedded in our ecology. Society and culture are always constructed out of and in the context of ourselves as biological beings in an ecosystem. In a sense, we create a society against nature, against our natural and ecological limits. That is why there are no easy answers. I consider this to be an accidental universe. We are here and there is no natural harmony for us. There is certainly an integrated ecosystem on the planet, but that doesn't necessarily mean that it's there for us as species. It's a human-oriented search. As humans we have to take a responsibility on ourselves for creating a harmony with nature. Our starting point is to understand our material position as biologically and ecologically based beings, but gifted beings. Then we can learn to create harmony not just on one occasion, but for the rest of the

human existence because the situation will always be changing and evolving. We forget our own life. We forget that life has to do with birth or maturation of physical needs, ill health and death. Then we start to dominate subordinated groups, women, racially oppressed minorities, colonialized people, class exploited people and the planet itself. The task for us is to expose and challenge these domination, particularly the dominance of economic thinking. We must reintegrate social life within our ecological and biological time scales and we must equally share the burdens and benefits of being human. This requires moral, political and economic struggle. There is no time for sectarian political or academic disputes. That is why I've written a book called, "Breaking the Boundaries", in disciplines, relationships, our lives and social structures. We have to create a boundary around our lives that allows us to live within the boundary of sustainability.

Chizuko Ueno: Throughout the two week exchange program with European women, I have learned to focus more on the importance of decision making capabilities that women should have. In other words, women should be empowered to make decisions. We live in both market and non-market arena. This market is not just a private arena, but includes public sector as well as cooperative sector. Since yesterday, we have been discussing the patriarchal system within the family which belongs to the private sector and in order to overcome this, women should go more and more into market mechanism, but to go into the market system is the most difficult thing for women. So the only remaining area for women is cooperative, in other words, going into volunteer work. Compare to market sector, to make an appearance in the public sector is somewhat easier.

For example, in case of Suzu City, it was easier to run for office than not to run. It was much better to win that election than not to win it. Of course, this is one of the public system. It's very important for us to note that women in decision making status are very instrumental. In Norwegian countries, larger population of public workers are women and this has to do with the fact that it was easier for women to assume part-time work than full-time work,

therefore, they were able to use the remaining time doing housework. Public sector was one area where they allowed part-time workers. So it was just out of the consequences that women's voice came to be heard in the public sector. To enter into the public sector, we have to change the mentality behind all the establishment and change the meaning of cooperation. To assume decision making role is exactly for that itself and for nothing else. It's not to assume power.

Hannelore Schölz: When we look at women and nature, it is necessary to consider that there are many common aspects because they had a long history of being dominated. Ecology and feminism can be interconnected because of its long connection. East Germany had a system of patriarchy and so it is not a coincidence that subjects regarding nature and women were almost like a taboo.

Currently many changes are taking place in the field of culture of East Germany. The unemployment rate is high. There are less marriages, more divorces and more single-parent families. This has led to the destruction of the traditional societies. In such a situation, women are showing solidarities and are trying to struggle against the situation.

I was able to meet Ms.Mario Yagi. She is an architect and she also carries out activities for the combination of theory, practice and art. She has been carrying out activities to protect nature, so that we can live in harmony with nature. I was also happy to meet Ms.Irina of Ukraine. She had mentioned that she would have wanted to learn something about such alternative approaches earlier, but there are many models for women which are common throughout the world.

Yayoi Aoki: There is the fact that nature and women were considered the same. It was considered to be a resource to be exploited limitlessly by the capitalist society. However, when we consider the current situation, I believe that women can no longer be considered as being the same as nature. Rather such an approach is dangerous. Prof. Werlhof has mentioned that the market has incorporated many women and Ms.Mellor has mentioned the honorary male system and we see a different way that women are being exploited by climbing up the ladder. There

is north south issue existing among women as well. On one hand, women are victims of discrimination, but on the other hand, women are also the perpetrators of discrimination. The people living in cities are far away from nuclear reactors, so they tend to be numb to the issues. To be numb is to be discriminative. It is necessary for us to have this awareness. Also when we look at Japan from an international stand point, we must recognize the fact that we are surviving based on exploitation of the third world. Our affluent lives are achieved through the sacrifice of the third world people. We, Japanese women, are placed in a very difficult position, but it is necessary to be aware of the situation we are in.

There was an example by Ms.Ochiai of Suzu City and I received one hint from her presentation. There were male scholars that came to the scene and said, "if electricity is insufficient, then we would return to the medieval times". That was a threat, but what is so wrong about the past culture. There is the wisdom of the ancestors. We tend to consider the past history as being that of discrimination against women, but we should reject such fixed notions. And by doing this, we can understand ideology of the exploitation of the third world. When we talk about symbiosis or love for nature. These are beautiful words indeed, but when we pursue such thoughts, there are many things which are considered dirty or not suitable for humans. We talk about the dirtier aspects of harvesting plants. When we find worms in our plants, we tend to consider this unclean. We have to change such thoughts not just on the level of ideology, but also on the level of sensibility. We must make changes.

Mariarosa Dalla Costa: What governments see today as the major problem in the advanced societies is the fall in the birth rate which is at the same time one of the most significant index of the relationship that this development induced between humankind and environment. The capacity and the willingness of human beings to reproduce themselves collapsed because its productive and reproductive energy had been concentrated to the production of the commodities. No energy remains for the reproduction of life. On the human side and on the ecosystem side, there are two phenomena which are very similar and interconnected being the aspiration

of the unique destruction of resources through a intensive and durational exploitation. For these reasons, I believe that the falling of the birth rate cannot be remedied through any kind of traditional pronaturalist policies. Because it is the result of perversion and the devastating attitude toward human beings. Development consequently is the problem to solve.

Biljana Kasic: I would like to outline the controversies of discourses towards the main topic of reality we live in rather than to provide answers. First, we should respect not only the cultural differences, but primarily the fact that we live in the different historical times in the same moment. Therefore, the concepts of women's rights, civic rights or human rights mean differently as well as the concept of justice or freedom. Women in poor socialist countries, for example, are going to lose their rights to equal opportunity which are already achieved in socialism. So they found these matters so disturbing. Should women only react and not act or create a global policy? Should women respond to impose our artificially constructed dilemmas in male dominated society? I myself rather choose moral ignorance towards such global questions. War is crime against humanity. Thousands of women are being raped during this war. We are coming to the most important point. What about our basic needs regarding the experience of country in war which destructed the human nature, our bodies and our souls? Considering the experience of women's lives, new priorities are already established: respect for life, non-violent solutions for solving conflicts peacefully and new contract with nature.

Masako Owaki: The Japanese government is thinking of going to Southeast Asia to start building nuclear power plants. What can we do to put a stop to this development? Some people talked about changing the lifestyle. We need to share such thinking throughout the world starting from women. We can unite our forces and share the same view of the lifestyle we have to change. When we tried to introduce our thinking related to human rights to people in Southeast Asia, they rejected by saying that they wanted more sophisticated human rights. We have to think about human rights as we define them. It has to be something that would go

beyond national boundaries. Human rights in the context of the ecology is something that we need to think about. In order to eliminate north south issue on the planet, we have to, first of all, establish our rights as equal citizens. I think that kind of human rights are important.

Kiyomi Tsujimoto: I have been thinking about overcoming national boundaries and I have been involved in the Peace Boat activities for 10 years. I would like to go back to 10 years ago and tell you why I did this.

I was born in the year 1960, so I have experienced the rapid growth period in Japan. When I became a university student, there were two questions that were occupying my head. First, am I really happy surrounded by so many things? Secondly, I lacked the recognition towards history. I thought that I should go back to history and take a different perspective to learn more about Asia and how Japan was related to this. That's why I started going to Asia by boat. Speed has always been assumed the highest priority. But on the boat we have 24 hours to talk and to debate. It was a good thing to use a different time flow. I have been on 15 different cruises and 73 different ports have been visited by our boats attended by almost 7,000 people from all over the world.

After a while, we encountered a major incident which was the Chernobyl accident. We have always considered about overcoming national boundaries, but it was there in my mind. I, however, truly experienced how nuclear fallout. They simply go over national boundaries and start pouring on us. That led me to think about borderless way about the planet, so I started visiting people and NGOs who have been against NPPs. In addition to going to Southeast Asian countries, I started going around the world. We started doing ecological survey around the world. After a while, there was another shock. I went to Sarawak in Indonesia and huge sums of Japanese overseas aids money were spent for building dams. This was a major environmental destruction and I saw that indigenous people's lives are being deprived. Every time there is a destruction of environment, there is always the destruction of people's culture, especially, the indigenous people. I was able to see for myself that those of us living in advanced countries were victimizers and those indigenous people are always the victims. I started thinking about what power is needed to overcome the situation. I know each and everyone of you in the audience are activists and I'm sure you have realized the same thing.

Networking at grass roots is the only way we can overcome this difficulty. In the history of mankind, it was always people linking with people that changed history. Historical events always occurred when two people or more people met. Unless we can come together today, we cannot change the history. To talk about it is quite easy but we have to act on it. It is very important to implement our theory of network. We have to be original. For example, we use the boat which is original. Grass root organizations tend to be short-lived, but we need stable organizations to survive for a long time. It costs 1.6 billion Yen to go around the world on one trip. People much younger than me for the first time are acting as leaders, but from somewhere these people have collected that huge amount of money. They found sponsors, sometimes even corporate. These people have been highly imaginative and original in their way of fund raising and attracting supporters. This is a sustainable movement for a sustainable world and I would like to continue doing this.

Reiko Watanuki: I would like to ask Ms.Mary Mellor a question. But before that, Ms.Tsujimoto had given us very visualistic comments. When I was involved in NGOs, I was working in the style of Ms.Tsujimoto. Ms.Masako Owaki had mentioned about the activities of the government and talked about the human rights of women. I think that was very important. I always wonder what the correct ethics are. But I was not able to hear the end of your presentation, Ms.Mellor, about the sustainability of the world. I would like to inquire how Ms.Mellor defines sustainability in regard to the sustainable society.

Mellor: The basis of what I was saying was that I feel in a lot of things I read, particularly in Green writings, as if there is some natural level of sustainability between ourselves and the planet. Only if we have sufficient awareness, the answer would pop out. I do not think sustainability is like

that. I think sustainability actually has to be reasoned out. We have to know in detail. That's why we have to break down the boundaries, not disciplines, because we do need the scientific disciplines. We need them to orient themselves to debate about nature sustainability at any point under any condition of human development. So it's a question of knowledge, motivation, commitment and principle.

The second thing is that in the absence of perfect knowledge which we'll never have, we should start from the position Maria Mies and Claudia Von Werlhof have talked about. That is from a principle of basic needs. So much of our life is material, but has no meaning. It seems to me what we should be looking for is a minimum standard of living for people, and then we should put emphasis on cultural, creative and non-unsustainable activities. I think there are plenty of spaces for that. In our more modern society, probably at a municipal level, we need to organize collectively through local government type of organizations, not in the form we have up until now.

MC: Ms.Watanuki has pointed out a very important issue just now. Ms.Mellor had talked about the sustainable society. When it comes to sustainable development, I believe that you were talking about sustainability in the light of sustainable development. It seems to be very paradoxical when we talk about sustainable

Mellor: I talked about sustainable society, not the sustainable development.

MC: Sustainability is usually used in a context of sustainable development. It is a sort of incirculation. It's very misleading. The moment you talked about sustainability, we just naturally connected that there is no nature in it. We tend to associate with development. Then we get into a paradox. Everybody on earth should be fulfilled with the minimum standard of basic needs. On the basis of the minimum, you have to have cultural creativity. The minimum has to be defined sustainable as well.

Mies: I would like to add something to that. This would mean an end to the permanent growth to our

would mean an end to the permanent growth to our economy. There is a drastic contradiction between the economic aim of permanent growth and of sustainability and, particularly, of sustainable development. These two things cannot go together. When we talk about sustainability, we cannot talk at the same time of maintaining our capitalist growth industry here. When you talk of basic needs, that would mean 20% of the world living in affluent societies have to forego a lot of things.

MC: I think that the issue has been repeatedly come up of lifestyle. I tend to talk about life patterns in Japanese. But in regard to changing lifestyle, it's necessary to change your values. Women's method is to change the system. If we try violently to destroy the system, then it will just replace one bad system with another bad system. That was the male way. But we have to find the norms for this and it would not be "sustainable development", but rather a "sustainable relationship". This needs to be clarified.

Mies: There has been a discussion about "minimum standard" for a long time. What I think is most important is that people themselves define what they are going to do and not to let others decide on their behalf. So it cannot be our aim to be obedient to an order coming from above, but to have the responsibility of ourselves to create such a new situation, in relationship with nature, our own capacities, abilities and possibilities.

MC: "Basic needs" is a word that is often used and is a polluted phrase, but would someone care to comment in regard to this?

Mellor: On the question of "basic needs", the problem of the phrase, "people defining what they want", is what "people"? If people decide about their own development, they will decide on the basic needs, but I'm not convinced that they actually would. I think they might go for sustainable development which wouldn't be sustainable. I think what we've got to do is to create a fundamental basic economic structure that allows people to free themselves from the commodified market system. Because this system is a trap, you get lots of benefits. But the quality of your life is not going to be that marvelous. But you can't get out unless there is somewhere else to go to. What I'm interested in is creating an alternative economic framework of, what I call, "collective subsystems" that allows people the space and freedom to get out of this modern high-tech monetarized entangled

economic structure.

MC: Very basic issues have been raised. It's something we would like to pursue in detail and as an issue from now on in regard to symbiosis or sustainable development or basic human needs. These are very fine words indeed, but when we look at the modern system, it is often used to sustain the current status.

Dalla Costa: I am a little perplexed about the vision between social relationship and sustainable development through a very clear separation. I don't think that it's possible because these developments are unsustainable since the beginning of the 16th Century. Because it is a capitalist development, the basic needs undermine the need of time and freedom of laws that characterizes development in order to require social relationship and to free ourselves from the sexual division of labor. Very often it could be arbitrary to define what the basic needs are, but certainly I know that these developments undermine basic needs because we are continually divided and there exist mass obligation of misery and poverty.

But what I want to emphasize here is that it could be a little idealistic to think about defining social relationship. I think that the rebellion in surplus in Mexico and many other kinds of struggles and movements in the world are great power if we are able to network. But certainly the problem is very complex because we must acquire power moving on a very different level like the militant level or the scientific level. We must acquire the power, first of all, to understand completely and sometimes technologically to make different choices and to impose our willingness to very powerful set of interest that doesn't want to modify capitalist development. Sustainable development is a problem, but we have to discuss it, we cannot just put it apart as a compromising definition and speak only about social relationship.

MC: I think you have given us a very important thought at the end of the symposium. It is true that it's very difficult to reach any conclusion. Now we are talking about "sustainable development" but once "alternative development" was the popular term. Here again we have the word, "development" which is attached to alternative. "Development" has

stuck with us and it's rather cumbersome. With "development", there are people whose lives are endangered. By forming a network of people whose lives are threatened by "development", we could perhaps solve the part of the problem. There are many sociologists in Latin America and others in neutral countries. These persons are considering the best form of "development" and this kind of symposium is very important if we could form a network of people who are trying to achieve the same means.

Perhaps the audience feels that this symposium was without any conclusion, but I believe that this is a question that cannot reach conclusion at this time. I think it was very significant that we have been able to express our views and exchange our information.

"War and Women"

Sponsors: "War and Women" Executive Committee,

The Japan Foundation

Cooperation: International House of Japan

Date: Thursday, April 7 18:30 - 21:00

Venue: International House of Japan

Speakers: Biljana Kašić (Croatia)

Mizuho Fukushima (Lawyer, Comfort Women Litigation Network)

Chair: Kiyomi Tsujimoto (Executive Committee, Peace Boat)

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Biljana Kašic- "War and Women": I live in a country where war has become a part of our reality and my reality. On so many different levels, it fundamentally shaped my feelings and attitudes, and at the same time, raised global question. I saw how cynical modern culture and their political leaders could be as creators of new national states in Europe. They show exactly the same indifference toward the war tragedy of people and universal values. All happens in the name of collective ideology and empire ambition and aggression in which there is no respect for the sanctity of life. The so-called transition from socialism to capitalism or totalitarianism to democracy has destroyed the idea of living together or the idea of togetherness. Big topics at the moment are national and historical ideas, and not other things as human rights or women's rights. I would like to bring up two basic questions. First, it is my moral dilemma. Women are related to responsibility of war power leaders and global decision makers in male dominated society. In such society, how could I say something about war. Secondly, should I ignore the fact that women's voices are not being heard? At any kind of global decision making process, you cannot notice any women.

If I might make a comparison between men and women from a historical perspective, men are usually those who start the war and afterward are going to speak about peace. Women are not necessarily pacifists, but they are more capable of compromising and understanding others and searching for non-violent solution.

The tragic impacts of the war in Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina created a large number of casualties among civilians. The large number of refugees and displaced persons are now in the most devastated villages and towns.

The violence and destruction have reached the scale unknown to Europe since the World War II. More than 250,000 people were killed during this war. More than 20% of them are children. There are more than million refugees all over the world. At the moment, it is not just a problem of our countries, but of the whole world. Militarization is growing in many ways among others, militarization is implicated in high rates of prostitution.

The war in former Yugoslavia has certainly

affected women more than men. Observing women's experience and aspects of the war such as victimization, gang-rape, torture, massacre and sexual abuses of teenagers in detention camps, women and children, the least responsible for this war, are those who are suffering the most. These things are often irrelevant to political leaders and their political goals.

Women are facing three main topics: nationalism, peace activities and surviving. Nationalism is directed so often aggressively and hatefully against the other nation. Our war now turned women to the confusion of taking political sides. A lot of women take the side of "their men". But some women set up anti-war initiative emphasizing the possibility of communication, tolerance and peaceful solution. A lot of women from Bosnia and Hercegovina and other different regions organized the peaceful march to cross the Sarajevo before the war started. Some women were encouraged to provide peace education program especially within the schools with mixedethnic children. Children cannot be enemies because of their nations. Women have to survive and save their children. Women have shown clearly their basic motivation, passion and responsibility for life.

At the World Conference on human rights in Vienna in 1993, our demands were first to "Stop the war.", "Close all detention camps.", and "Enable the refugees to return to their homes". Second, "War criminals should be prosecuted. Third, rape in war time should be treated not just as war crime, but crime against gender. We emphasize that the whole perpetrators should be judged by women judges. The mass-media are searching for stories providing strange emotion and shock about women who are raped victims. That is exactly what I call the pornography of war. We have to be more sensitive when we deal with raped women.

At the moment in Croatia, the UN Commission on human rights is trying to find women who will testify as victims at Haag. But the problem is how to find these women because they are not willing to speak about their experiences. I think it is our common duty to speak up and support those women and to save their stories and tragedies.

Rape against women is always in connection with male power and militaristic power. They usually

humiliate the women as their battlefield. Now domestic violence is increasing because the soldiers are coming home.

The Center for Women of War Victims in Zagreb which was founded in December 1992, provides the refugees and the women counseling and self-reliance programs and professional support. It also deals with their immigration problems. We have a lot of support from a lot of feminists and peace activists from all over the world. Some of them work with us as volunteers. Women who live in this camp are mostly isolated from their families and neighbors, or have terrible experiences to live with because of this war. A lot of women are getting cancers, anxiety, suicidalhoods, depression, etc. because of their traumatized positions. On the other hand, we noticed that a lot of women choose to be prostitute because that is the only way to make a living. During the course of our work we have passed through several different phases, from the situation when women raped, or the war suddenly became a mass media attraction-the "exotic" side of the war-to the period of losing all outside attention, and just being forgotten.

After all, we have changed because of this experience of war. We realized that there is just a thin line between war time and peace time and that we usually live near war time. It means that we could not achieve any kind of peaceful life if we don't stop this violent thinking or all forms of violence in our society. It is up to all of us to change it.

Mizuho Fukushima: I have an impression that we are fighting against the common thing. History seemed to have changed, but actually has not. What shocked me was that women in Bosnia and Hercegovina who were raped could not live with their families and stayed away from their homeland, and were forced to become prostitutes. In this regard, we could see the similar situation in military comfort women, other women who suffered sexual violence and unmarried women who were discriminated by their family members and were forced out of their homelands.

Ms.Son who was a military comfort woman is having a lawsuit. She could not go back to Korea, and remained in Japan after the war. I want you to remember that women from Thailand and Korean Peninsula who could not go home had no choice but

to commit suicide.

I am one of the attorneys who are in charge of lawsuits in which military comfort women are requesting apology and compensation from the Japanese government. I would like to mention about the symbolic situation where military comfort women are. A 12-year-old girl who was snatched out of her country to Taiwan said that being a comfort women was terrible but it was more terrible when she could not go home after the war ended because of no money, no way and no people to help her. When comfort women were found to be Korean in the Japanese military, they were killed. She managed to survive for two years in Taiwan by pretending to be a Taiwanese. She was discriminated by men, Japan, Taiwan and Korea. When she went back to Korea, she could not get married, or could not have children. And after all, she has been discriminated by women for nearly 50 years.

Military comfort women are the extreme form (sexual violence. They were raped by many men on a daily basis. Some women testified that they were raped by 100 men a day for ten years. What was most impressive was that a doctor named Tetsuo Aso, with a request from the army before the World War II, submitted a report to express his opinion about making korean women and girls to be military comfort women. The report describes the comfort women not only as subject of men's pleasure, but also as sanitized public toilet. We cannot put those women into the same category of military comfort women.

In regard to "women's discrimination", there was a conference hosted by NGOs in Berlin with a theme of "War and Rape, Women's Dignity, and Human's Dignity" in September of last year. Rape and sexual violence by Nazi and the Allied Forces were finally discussed. In Japan, the issue of military comfort women is being talked as an issue between Japan and Asia without certain viewpoint. Japanese women must look at this issue as a seriously big crime in our history. According to the analysis of a survey "Post War and Now for Comfort Women of the World" performed by the Japan War Responsibility Research Center, many women are suffering womb disease, bladder inflammation, body aching during raining due to battering, extracting womb, infertility, gallstone, insomnia, depression,

headache, trauma, gastrointestinal, venereal disease such as syphilis, etc. Their infertility rate is 74% in Korea, 73% in Taiwan and 19% in Philippine. 30% of Korean military comfort women are remained unmarried, 9% in Taiwan and 7% in Philippine.

In regard to human rights violation against military comfort women, their problems can be divided to three categories: 1. They were forced to be military comfort women. 2. They had to suffer great agonies when they were forced to be military comfort women. 3. Many of them could not go back to their homelands after the war. I want you to see these issues as current issues. I would like to emphasize that human violation is still around us.

I heard some Korean women who agreed to testify at the court. Kin Gakujyun was one of them. I met a woman who was a military comfort woman in Korea in August, 1991. When she was 17 years old, in Pusan, Korean and Japanese people said to her, "Young lady, young lady, we have good jobs for you in Japan. If you work at a military uniform factory, you will be able to save some money and even buy a sewing machine." She was so poor at that time. She took a boat to Japan. But she was taken to a military port in Hiroshima, and stayed there for few nights, and transferred to a comfort place which used to be a church in Rabaul on the New Britain Island. She was forced to stay there as a comfort woman for several years. In March, 1946, those women who remained in that island had a chance to go home by ships. They were told that Korean people were liberated and it was the time to return to their homeland. She hesitated to go home. She thought that those people were trying to fool her again. She boarded the ship to Korea. She committed suicide several times because of suffering sequela of venereal disease. She said, "I could not get married. I could not have baby. I have always been alone."

At "Women's Help", a sanctuary for Asian women who has come to Japan to work, it was learned that many women were told, "Young lady, young lady, we have jobs for you in Japan. If you work as a baby-sitter or maid..." instead of saying "If you work at a military uniform factory,...". The discrimination against Asian women has not changed at all. Some Japanese treat these women as things not as human beings. Japanese women who

think that they have nothing to do with such problem are supporting such system. The Japanese women's extreme low status allows human rights violence against Asian women working in Japan. In regard to the rapes at the camps in Bosnia and Hercegovina, we must consider the same violation against human rights.

Why could the military comfort women make accusations? I want to stress that women's activities in Korea have been changing. After one women testified, "I suffered sexual violence at the police.", Korean women's activities started to rethink about women's human rights problems. In Japan, this issue has just been started to be discussed in spite of insufficient family law. Environment has been changing for those women to talk about their human rights and sexual violence they suffered. We must think how the mass media and many men are treating the sexually abused women.

In June, 1990, the Japanese government answered to the issue of military comfort women at the Diet, "Those women were taken by private companies. The Government and the military were not involved in this." Later on, the documents were found. Prime Minister Hosakawa admitted that war was the Japanese war of aggression. However, no specific measure has been taken so far. At the meeting between President Kim and Prime Minister Hosokawa, they talked about the relationship between Korea and Japan with a concept of "We should build our relationship not in the past, but toward the future." I am afraid that both the presidents were suggesting that they want to close the curtain on this issue.

I want to do something for those women who will not live for 30, 40 or 50 years, so that they can feel, "Even though I had a great amount of pain in my life, now I am so happy to be alive." I want to do this as a Japanese woman not only for Korean women, but also for Japanese women.

Batabia Special Court Martial was held for the Dutch women who were forced to be comfort women. Total of 1,038 Japanese soldiers and 448 cases were prosecuted, and 236 of the soldiers were sentenced to death for kidnapping women and children for compelled prostitution and forcing women into prostitutes. At Officer's Club at a

comfort facility, some of those who were sentenced to death, threatened women by saying "If you keep refusing to have sex with Japanese soldiers, you will be killed or your family and relatives will be retaliated.". I was impressed with the decision of the court. I hear some people saying that we should not judge the issue of military comfort women with the current human rights consciousness because even men did not have human rights during the World War II. I was moved by the judgment made in 1946 saying that this issue was the violation of women's human rights. We have to think about this again.

Question (Ashizawa): I was a guest professor of Zagreb University three weeks ago, and taught there last year. I am a chairman of Japan Croatia Friendship Association. I have a question for Ms.Kašić. How can we make contact with Croatia? There is one thing wrong in your report. Adriatic Sea is splendid, and you can still visit there. Since I took many travelers there, I received a medal from that area. I want Ms.Kašić to correct this point and the moderator to have a tour to see that region. What do you think of it, Ms.Kašić?

Question: Are there few female journalists in the battle field?

Question: I heard that the U.N. is violating human rights in different ways. What is the evacuation to the U.N. force in former-Yugoslavia? And what is the U.N. force's role there?

Question (Fukae): In regard to the rescue center where Ms.Kašić is working, how many volunteers are there in 15 refugee camps? How do those women who were raped or went through the terrible experiences feel now? I understand that the center protects every race, and accommodates women who were enemies or on different sides of the war. How did these women change their way of thinking?

Umezawa: I believe that as long as men and women exist, rape will not disappear. No war has existed without rape and violence from the ancient time. In the battlefield, only men are fighting. Enemies are everywhere. They can be killed anytime. Their hearts will be dried out. It is natural for men who go to the battlefield to be hungry for any woman. It is impossible to take a family or a girlfriend to go there. In order to eliminate rape and sexual violence, it is necessary to send a great number of official military

comfort women to the battlefield. I believe that soldiers are longing for that. Sex between men and women is not simple thing at all. Human is also animal. What if 100,000 women go to the battlefield with guns and have to fight for a long period of time? In the war in the future, women also have to fight with guns. What if 30 to 40% of the soldiers are women in the battlefield? We need to think about this.

Kašić: Military intervention toward Serbian position close to Sarajevo a month ago was in connection with the political demands, global interests and nearness of bases in Italy. Beside that there are military ships there. I'd rather speak symbolically that I don't want to swim in the Adriatic Sea anymore. We found UN peace keeping forces somehow useful there in terms of military intervention. But, on the other hand they bring with the brothels, assault against women, new, "militaristic" style of life. We have to know that some women are going to be prostitutes in brothels. They are so close to Sarajevo that even UN peace keeping forces are not innocent and naive with regard to the issue. They use and abuse women as well. They have a lot of money compared to ordinary people who live there. Everybody asks pacifists if they are for military intervention or not. I am not for any sort of military intervention in any case. Those who started the war should be held responsible in stopping the war. War is a world conscience, too. They could have stopped the war if they have listened to peace activists.

Anyhow, it is quite a good idea to organize a tour by peace boat there because there are a lot of military zones in these regions. But there are new increasing conflicts in Palestine and Israel regions as well. There are a lot of military ships in Mediterranean region close to Malta.

Good feminist women journalists are coming there, but they usually write for some feminist magazines which are not published in numerous copies. In the mass-media, war topics are mostly put in a pornographic way. I think there is a dilemma that the mass-media is not interested in the stories by feminist journalists because they are written from different view point, that is to say women's view point. For the mass-media, it is so easy to put war in a propagandistic way that people who are not in the situation of war, mainly those who live in the

advanced countries, feel quite good for not belonging to such situation. In sense, it happens somewhere else.

I would like to answer about our Center. A lot of women who are working at our Center are already refugees, and they are from Bosnia, and they belong to different nationalities. We are the only center in Zagreb which has such kind of approach. So they feel quite good with us. There are more than 100 volunteers in our center.

I quite disagree with that rape has been with mankind since it began or that deals with the natural functions of women or men. It used to be culturally acceptable. It is nothing to do with natural rule. Don't go into such thinking. I just want to say that some women use this symbol of rape to show how nature is "raped", and how mountains, rivers and sea can be "raped" because it can be used or abused or exploited by human race. In terms of law rape is against humanity, and against female gender, also.

MC: Ms.Kašić expressed her opinion to the last opinion. I understand why such issue keeps coming out.

Ueno: My bad habit is to get upset by what men say. I was shocked to death when I heard what the first gentleman mentioned "Inspection Tour". If you visit the camps to inspect those women for interview, it can be secondary rape. If you really want to support or make contact with them, as Ms.Kåsić mentioned, you should join the volunteers working there. If you cannot go over there, you can give them help mentally or materially, or oppose the peace keeping force bill. There are many ways for you to help those women. Ms.Kašić has just given an accurate evaluation for the meaning of Peace Boat. It is not designated to provide an inspection tour. I am not sure what your exact intention is.

After Ms.Kašić's eloquent and clear presentation, he still insisted the necessity of women for the people in battlefield to comfort them. That is how the word "comfort woman" was created. In reality, it is not a comfort woman, but woman-abuse. There is no comfort in it.

I was stunned by "Pornography of War" in Ms.Kašić's presentation. It reminded me of the shock when seeing the report on international magazines like Time and News Week. Their viewpoints are based on men's. They are committing the secondary rape over the victims by showing their close-up pictures on their magazines. Those journalists do not care about how those victims spend the rest of their lives with scars. Why don't they put the assaulters' pictures on their magazines? I cannot help thinking that the look to the victims are always that of men with curiosity. I believe that there are some journalists in this hall today. It is grateful if you think what you are doing and what you should do.

These problems are still going on regardless of enemy, friend, internal or external. I am pleased to have an opportunity to find that husbands' violence against their wives are referred to the women's low status in the relationship between men and women. Fukushima: Ms.Kašić's presentation gave me a clear idea how we are fighting against the common things. Japanese women are divided into: wife, mistress, Miss, Mrs, woman who gives birth to a child or who doesn't, virgin, not virgin, beautiful woman, ugly woman, heterosexual, lesbian, woman who works or who doesn't,etc. From now on, women who have been divided must think the women's human rights as their own problems. I don't tell women not to get married, but it is better to see more women don't get married. When more Japanese women stop having husbands and think about human rights as their own problem, the society of this country will change essentially.

Kašić: Through this trip, I learned many things from Japanese activists and those who are doing peace activities. Among our Japanese friends, networks are being constructed and expanded day after day. I met lot of my friends who participated in Asian People's Court for Women's Human rights. I learned that we have many common things. What I am really longing for is peaceful days. In order to realize such peaceful days, I have an impression that it will take more time. Peace-building process depends on global, "international" agreement.

MC: I want all of you to think what you can do at your places. Ms.Kašić mentioned that she met her friends at the Asian People's Court. I believe that we can construct the women's network through friends' friends. Those who are participating in this seminar could hear what exactly is going on in Yugoslavia. Please tell about this to other people. If this message gets across, this seminar can be successful.

"Ecology and Feminism"

Sponsors: Institute for Women's Studies, Ochanomizu Women's University

The Japan Foundation

Date: Thursday, April 7 13:30 - 17:00

Venue: Institute for Women's studies, Ochanomizu Women's 1 University

Speakers: Mary Mellor (U.K.)

Maria Mies (Germany)

Chair: Yayoi Aoki

Commentator: Aiko Okoshi

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Mary Mellor-"Feminism and Ecology": The insights of feminism and ecology are central to understanding the human predicament at the end of the 20th century. Some ecofeminists have seen the association between women and nature as a natural phenomenon. Against this, there is the assertion that this association is socially and historically constructed. I have called the former affinity ecofeminism, and the latter social or socialist ecofeminism. To choose the former would neglect society and to choose the latter would neglect nature. The way out of this impasse is not to deny nature or society but to directly transcend them both through a materialist analysis of human society as ecologically and physically embodied. What is needed is to rediscover historical materialism, drawing on the insights of feminism and ecology.

Ecofeminism by bringing together the domination of women with the domination of nature has brought into sharp focus the central dilemma of feminism. Ecofeminism seems to face two choices, either to assert women's natural affinity with nature or to find some social explanation for the domination of women and nature. The problem with social ecofeminism was that it could find no social explanation that was universal enough to explain the way in which women were dominated across history and across culture. I would argue that men's political dominance grew from their lack of centrality to the nurturing and development of society. In this context, the identification of women and nature is not some essential affinity or an activity assigned to the whim of some cultural and social form. It is women's role as mediators of human society. The ecologically destructive phenomenon of development in highly industrialized societies rests on a huge network of mediation through the exploitation and exclusion of women. And these mediations are carried out on the basis of race, class or gender through the expropriation of colonized land and exclusion of colonized people. In order to sustain these bloated industrialized societies, the majority of the people on the earth are excluded from the benefit of its natural resources. The earth and 4/5 of its people are sustaining eight hundred million people who live in high modernity. From a materialist ecofeminist perspective, we do not have a dualistic structure of man, women, society and nature, but a dialectical relationship. Man can only exist because he is sustained by woman. Economies can only exist because they are sustained through exploitation and exclusion. Humanity can only exist because it is sustained by nature.

What is central to ecofeminism is the fact that the majority of those who benefit from the exploitation of the planet and its people are men. Male domination has been almost universally named as "patriarchy". This implies authority, responsibility and control. I would suggest that filiarchy, the rule of the son is a much better analogy than patriarchy for the treatment of the earth and its people in the hands of male-dominated society. Where the patriarch(the father) implies authority and responsibility, the filiarch(the son) implies no such thing. The filiarch exists in all times and in all cultures. He is sustained by the "mother", that is structures of mediation: women, exploited people and the earth itself. What we have to do is to transcend the filiarch. I would argue that we do this in much the same way as Marx and Engels sought to transcend class-society, by exposing the real relations that underpin material existence and demand that humanity lives consciously within its biological and ecological limits.

While feminists were right to challenge the essentialism of traditional conceptions of women, it is not possible for men or women to socially transcend the materiality of the body. While Marxists were right to challenge the false scarcity of capitalism, they were wrong to ignore the material limitations of "men's inorganic nature". The Green Parties are right to point out ecological limits, but without feminist and socialist analysis, harshly reactionary solutions could be imposed as those limits are reached from authoritarian control of resources to population control and eugenics.

In the face of biological, ecological and material reality which cannot socially be reconstructed, the only humane response is to learn to live consciously, collectively and equally within those limits. Bringing feminism and ecology together is central to that project. The filiarch could always promise that time and space would be created for all in due course through progress, growth, development and equal

opportunities. The ecological crisis shows this promise to be a sham. It also undermines all the claims to social constructivism of left or right. Man cannot create to the same extent to which he can destroy. That destruction is being challenged by grass-roots struggles across the globe. The task of materialist ecofeminism is to show that those struggles are all connected and to identify a political path to the concrete utopia of a sustainable equalitarian society.

Maria Mies-"Can ecofeminism heal the divided society and nature?": The global ecological situation was highlighted at the UNCED conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the main documents put their focus on the population explosion as one of the main causes of environmental destruction. Yet, most of the official papers of the U.N., as well as documents from other institutes indicate that 80% of the world resources are being used up by 20% of the world population living in the rich countries, and that 80% of the world's waste and pollutants are also caused by that minority of the world population. Still they say that the most serious problem in this world is population growth in the third world countries. They put the blame particularly on poor women who breed too many children. It is believed, that everybody in the third world will eventually have the same life-style as Germans, Americans and Japanese. It is understood however that the generalization and globalization of this life-style will be a catastrophe for nature.

However, the capitalists, consumers and politicians in these rich countries know no other economic philosophy, but that of permanent growth: of cars, refrigerators, goods, services and capital. But in order to cure the environmental damage caused by this growth, the growth of human population in the South who for example will not have the power to purchase cars, should decrease. People in the rich countries do not want to give up this life-style, and thus put the blame on the victims of the system, namely the poor in the South. In regard to our responsibility toward the destination of forests, the blame is also put on the poor women. Because in most of the third world countries, women are responsible for getting water, finding fire wood and

seeing that the food is provided. Nobody talks about a different sexual or division of labor. If men had to look after these things(water, fuel, food), perhaps we would have more consideration for the earth.

Some years ago, I got a leaflet of an Indian man who wrote "Women of the world unite and save us all." Women have done that long ago. My interpretation is, that ruling men in the world who run the economy in their states, are at the end of their wits with regard to the environmental question. Therefore, they want the "women in the world to unite and save us all". Indeed, women everywhere were the first to react against ecological destruction, and to start campaigns and made movements to protest and to restore the health of water and forests, etc. This, in fact was the beginning of Ecofeminism.

Ecofeminism did not start theoretically in universities. It did start in the streets. It did start in people's struggles. The theory was developed later by women who participated in these struggles. It was above all the reality of concerned women struggling everywhere in the world to preserve the foundation of life for themselves, for their children, for the future generation, for animals and plants. Feminists had to realize quite early that the systems of dominance by men over women had its analogy in men's dominance over nature. The relationship between women and nature was based on the fact that capitalism treated nature and women as free resources. The main goal therefore is to restore the subjectivity, the humanity to women.

Another issue which mobilized and is still mobilizing thousands of women across the world is the recognition that science and technology are not gender neutral, but rather that a whole paradigm of science was developed by White Man since the 16th century. This paradigm is violent, patriarchal, antinature, colonial and aims at dispossessing women of their generative capacity as well as nature of her productive and spiritual qualities.

In this dualistic paradigm man and nature are divided, and nature is subordinated to men. Men and women are divided, and women are subordinated to man. Spirit and matter are divided, and matter is subordinated to spirit. Individual and society are divided, and individual is subordinated to society. Consumption and production are divided. The local

and the global are divided, and the local is subordinated to the global. Feminists have been criticizing this dichotomization of life since long. These kinds of dualisms would not be possible without violence. An ecofeminist perspective would have to be based on a cosmology and anthropology in which diversity of all life forms is respected, preserved and celebrated as the true source of wellbeing and happiness, and in which they are not considered a threat to good life and individual freedom, but rather as its precondition. That means we reject the idea promoted since the 18th century that freedom of Man and his happiness depends on the on-going process of emancipation from nature and on his independence from natural processes, symbioses and his dominance over these processes by the power of his reason. By dominating nature, he expected to emancipate himself from the "realm of necessity" and reach the "realm of freedom". This was also the utopia of the Marxists who considered the "realm of necessity" a purely biological or a natural sphere. I reject this dichotomization between the "realm of freedom" and the "realm of necessity". We all live on a limited globe. That we all live within the necessity is not our real problem. We do not want to get beyond necessity and I do not think that human freedom starts only after you have dominated nature. We have to find happiness, freedom, culture, etc. within this limited sphere of necessity. The whole equalization-policy with regard to women is based also on this philosophy. Women should reach the level of men, particularly through science and technology. I think this is a great illusion. It would not solve the ecological problems nor would it overcome sexism or patriarchy. If women do what men do today, it will make no difference. If they have the same jobs and follow the same paradigm, the same philosophy and politics, it will make no difference either. We need to develop a new understanding of science and of our relationship between humans and the earth, a relationship which is not exploitative and oppressive.

Comments

Akiko Okoshi: I was impressed that ecofeminism is superior not only in theory but also in activities in

the Western countries, and has been opening up a new paradigm and perspective. After the modernist feminism thrived, the feminism to rethink the modern world appeared. There have been tense argument whether the women's liberation is to reach the men's level or not. So the consciousness toward feminism was confused, and its direction was not clearly pointed out. Although there are still difficulties to indicate the specific perspective, I believe that clear image and direction for feminism was projected in this seminar. We have many environmental destruction and pollution problem here in Japan. But these problems are being covered up. It is not that Japanese capitalism does not cause this sort of problems. In fact, Japanese capitalism is greatly destroying nature in the third world, especially in South East Asia, South America and Siberia. Ms.Mies and Ms.Mellor both refer the current destruction of natural environment to the dualism of Western modern rationalism. It is one of the major element. But it is not enough to explain the destruction of natural environment caused by Japanese capitalism. While Japan is proceeding to destroy natural environment through the economical invasion of the third world, it is invading their thought as well in a dreadful way.

Japanese native attitude toward nature is coexistence with nature. It is stated that recovering the togetherness and coexistence with nature would solve the ecological problems in Japan. The Western dualism is not the only thinking of destruction of natural environment. The Japanese thinking was derived from the Buddhism stating that men are pure nature and women are defied nature. This can be hardly recognized in the general thinking. It remains in the Japanese people's mind by allowing them to preserve the internal nature and to destroy the external nature. Oriental dualism seems to project dualism for coexistence and togetherness with nature. Actually it consists such terrifying concept toward nature. Such major issue still exists without any solution. The ideology of patriarchy is being reproduced in various forms. It is also being reproduced in a new form for coexistence with nature. I would like to know how can the women in a position of nature being robbed and exploited keep stressing their recycle concept.

Comments from the speakers

Mellor: We are actually able to develop a kind of common theoretical themes. We can talk to each other about modernization and philosophy. I don't think we quite followed your question about recycling. Do you mean just the mechanism of recycling, or are you using the phrase metaphorically?

Mies: I understand that from a feminist perspective that we will be able to see the restoration of the symbiosis of life. I personally feel that men also are able to see that. Our problem is not our anatomy. The men are as much part of nature as we are. But of course in our modern technological capitalist society, they have been constructed as either military or technological or corporate warriors. Their identity in which they are living now has to be changed. Ecofeminism cannot save the world unless men step out of this kind of warrior identity. For that, we need men's movements.

Some of the capitalists are beginning to understand that capitalism has come to a dead end. They are trying to incorporate a lot of our critical thoughts into their new strategies. Green capitalism is a good example. Capitalism is the same, whether it is Western or Asian. You have made your own version of it in Japan, using your own culture. But just going back to the traditional relationship with nature is not possible within such a paradigm. I always want such situations to quote in a word of a Filipino who was one of my students: "I thought the Western's values are good for the Western people and the Eastern values are good for the Eastern people. But now I have understood that Western values are not even good for Western people." I think it is misleading if you think that capitalism is a cultural question only restricted to Western values.

Okoshi: How do you place women in domination of their sons in regard to patriarchy? Especially in Japan, it is commonly believed that mothers do not dominate their sons, but are subordinated to them. "Mother" is a very dangerous word in Japan. I would like to know your view toward mother.

Mellor: First, whether you use the concept of patriarchy or the concept of filiarchy, the problem of mother or the problem of blaming mother is common to both because mothers create filiarchs and patriarchs according to the blaming theory.

Second, I don't take a psychodynamic approach. I don't see things building from individual human relationships to bigger structures. I take a structural perspective that sees the relationship between mothers and sons as an outcome of structural forces of male-domination in societies. Therefore, putting individual blame on mothers is like blaming workers for dangerous production or colonized people for losing their land.

Third, I want to make a point about what is central to the relationship between men and women. That is the problem of violence. It is the fact that sons collectively and individually exhibit violence against women. Sons cannot keep their power unless they keep their mothers in place to nurture and sustain them. At the same time, women are excluded from power by their sons, patriarchy where women don't have their economic independence Then obviously they have to stay close to their son and that is where the socio-economic domination lies. The ideology of patriarchy is very strong. When feminists took on the word "patriarchy", they made a mistake in using that word although it has been very meaningful for a long time.

In regard to filiarchy, changing the concept in our heads will empower women and will get them out of the trap where they are subordinated to men. Ueno: Strangely, "dominance by father", "dominance by son", "patriarchy" and "filiarchy" are the system which makes mothers to raise sons to hate women. How do you explain such bad circulation or the mechanism of reproduction of phyliarchy? Is the relationship between mother and son in Mediterranean countries similar to that in Japan?

Mellor: The relationship between mothers and sons is not as strong, certainly in the United Kingdom as it seems to be in Japanese culture. I think the beginning of conscious raising would be in fact to reclaim the problem as a feminist problem, not as a women's problem. The interesting thing in societies is where a mother and a son are strongly connected, there is a great deal of respect for a mother. That is a trap for women because they have to give up the security of being respected mothers in order to

become independent.

In Japan, it seems that hatred for women is based on the fear of reproductive activities whereas in our culture, it is more to do with rejection of women as weak and inferior. But what is the same in our culture is that men are claiming social dominance as men, not as sons. We have to remind them of their dependence and their status as boys.

Aoki: Filiarchy is not something that we are familiar with. I believe that this answer gave you a clear image. Ms.Ueno pointed out that it is very close to the Japanese situation. Japanese men are taking advantage over women by the coaxing mechanism. This is originated in Tenno System. My thesis "Feminism and Ecology" contains Tenno System and Feminism. Baring such idea, I think Japanese men can understand what Ms.Mellor is trying to say.

Watanuki: Our interpreter used a word "coexistence" several times, and also "symbiosis". What do they exactly mean?

Mies: Symbiosis literary means "living together", coexistence, interdependence of different creatures, plant life or animal life. It also means any kind of life-system. But through modern technology and science, all these symbioses have been cut apart, including our own bodies. Mothers and children are all the time being separated because growing up means cutting apart the symbiosis between them. Our dominant concept of freedom, of adulthood, of autonomy is linked to the separation from all kinds of symbioses. Women have to cut up the symbioses between our heads and our lower parts. We cannot live in peace even within our bodies.

Watanuki: That is why the value of symbiosis is being highlighted.

Mies: Therefore, we have to think over this symbiosis in relation to what has been said to be free or liberated.

We first started as feminists with women's movement to fight against violence. We did not start with fighting for equality. In the second wave of feminism, we did not want to become equal with men. We wanted to fight against domestic violence. That was the main topic of our movement. It started around 1970 and in the end of the 60's in Europe and Germany. When the other movements came, for

example, the movement against stationing of nuclear missiles in Germany around 1983, the peace movement started. We had many campaigns and movements against nuclear power. We saw them as "feminists" issue, too. We did not make the difference between nuclear power in missiles and nuclear power in power stations. We linked them up. This is, historically speaking, the beginning of the ecofeminist concern in Germany. Many women who participated in these movements were not feminists to start with, but through these struggles, they became feminists with an ecofeminist point of view.

I would like to say something also to the discussion of the concept of patriarchy and filiarchy. I will stick to the concept of patriarchy because it evolved out of the feminist movement. It was the name given to the system that oppresses us. There is a lot of continuity of the old patriarchy in the world which uses modern technology and science to maintain itself or to recreate itself. For example, in India, a technique to examine the health of the fetus(amino-centesis) is used to find out if it is a boy or a girl. This technology is used today to eliminate girls. They are being aborted. Feminist sisters in India made a big campaign against this aminocentesis, because of its patriarchal bias.

Modern technology or science is used to reestablish or maintain old patriarchies. Seeing the concept of filiarchy may be correct in Japan or perhaps in Europe to some extent, but it is certainly not correct for a number of countries in the world which are still maintaining and even recreating the old patriarchal order of some preference. It is important to see that it is linked to their type of capitalism. That is why I will continue to call the dominant system capitalist patriarchy.

Ueno: In regard to the paradigm of "catching up with men" or "being at men's level", it may be a very partial view point of early American feminism. I don't think that the second wave of feminism started with criticism toward modernism and industrialism. Japanese feminists never wanted to be at men's level from the moment feminism started. However, we face a problem of how to prevent the essentialism linking women to nature and how to avoid to positively accept the image of women defined by men.

Mies: I fully agree with you on the equalization issue. We did not focus on equality with men in the beginning. In Germany, this whole equalization policy was introduced only after the Green Party came into power, because they made the point that an equal number of women should be in the party itself. That is the whole policy of what we call the quota system. Certain quotas should be reserved for women in universities, in jobs, etc. In theory, the other parties also follow a kind of equalization policy now which however never worked. It created the illusion that there is a chance within our system that men and women can become equal. I do not know how the situation was in the U.S. But I remember that they also focussed a lot more on violence, in the beginning, on women's health and such issues.

To the question of essentialism, I think that is not my problem. We have to change the words to avoid confusion in the academic discussions. We have to theorize essentialism but I am interested more in the theory that comes out of the movement. I have always been an activist rather. I am a woman. We have no words anymore for our communication if we don't respect at least the fact that we are women. It does not mean however that my feminist struggle grows out of the fact that I am a woman anatomically speaking, but it does grow out of our history and experience of women's oppression. I think that men can be as active in the struggle as we are. You don't need to be a woman to see this kind of inhumanity. At least in Germany, we never believed that "anatomy is our destiny". The problem is "dominance", "exploitation" and "oppression". We can fight them. That is what we are doing. The discourse on essentialism is a futile one in which I do not intend to participate.

Aoki: The main characteristic of ecofeminism is not only the equality of men and women, but also its worldwide scope. In the third world, both nature and women are consisted. As Ms.Mies mentioned, Japanese richness and convenience exist with sacrifice of the third world people. Ms.Mies made me realize that we are forcing women in the third world a great deal of sacrifice. Japan is providing most economic aid to the third world. We must realize that huge amount of money is being used for

a wrong development. What should we do? How can we restore the divided world and people's relationships? This will be our major subject.



"Environment and Women"

Sponsors: German Society

German Department, College of Arts and Science,

University of Tokyo

Date:

Thursday, April 7 15:00 - 17:00

Venue:

Audiovisual Room, College of Arts and Science,

University of Tokyo

Speaker:

Hannelore Schölz (Germany)

"Reform in Eastern Europe and Study of the History of the Labor Movement in Bulgaria"

Sponsors:

Japan Committee, Linz Council, East European

Study Group, Modern History Study Group

Date:

Friday, April 8

Venue:

Hosei University

Speaker:

Jivka Damianova (Bulgaria)

List of Participants

Mariarosa Dalla Costa Italy Associate Professor, Institute of

Political Science, University of Padova

Jivka Damianova Bulgaria Secretary of International Business Club,

Center for the Study of Democracy Assistant Professor, Sofia University

Maria Gumińska Poland Head of the General Biochemistry Department,

Professor, Institute of Medical Biochemistry, Collegium Medicum, Jagiellonian University

Irina Ivasenko Ukraine President, Kiev-Chernobyl Union

Biljana Kašić Croatia Scientific Researcher,

Institute of Contemporary History

Mary Mellor U. K. Principal Lecturer in Sociology,

Department of Applied Social Science, University of Northumbria at New Castle

Maria Mies Germany Professor, Fachhoch School

Margarita Mikhailenko Russia Director of Medical Programme

Chernobyl Global Security Fund

Hannelore Schölz Germany Assistant Professor, Humboldt University

Claudia Von Werlhof Austria Professor, Institute for Politics,

University of Innsbruck