

EUROPEAN  
women's

*study tour for*

environmental  
issues

1994

The Japan Foundation

## 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.

December 1994  
The Japan Foundation

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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—"Belligerous Aspect of Development":** Here I want to consider the two basic functions of the military/belligerous (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/belligerous 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 ethnicities. 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 psychological 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 lavoro d'amore, Edizioni 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 belligerous 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 barracks 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?

**Kašić:** 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 demand.

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 movements 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.



**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's 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 Ivaskenko:**

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

**Ivaskenko:** 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 pensions 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**

1. 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



## 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 “Housewifization 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)

TOKYO

## 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 pre-patriarchal 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 so-called 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 so-called 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 discretionary 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 semi-formal 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 housewifeization 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 anti-development, 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 merged 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. 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".