



Commenting on the World Plan of Action, it comes first the important distinction between the two sets of documents and ideas the United Nations body has developed over the year, namely, from one side, the whole set of documents and declarations of individual freedoms and, from another side, the ^{whole} set of programmes and strategies of development.

It is clear that the evolution of both has not been adequately merged into one. It may be said that the establishment of a new economic order, as it is hoped for in the declaration of May 1974, is an approximative way of getting to a fusion of these two lines.

In fact, these two lines represent the clash of the two main systems existing in the world today. I take for granted that this new economic international order is an order based on solidarity. Solidarity is only possible if the equality of opportunities is given to all men and women, regardless of the country and of the situation they are in.

It can broadly be said that this means that socialism, as a universal system, will gradually replace the capitalist world that came into being ~~in the world~~ with industrialisation since 700 years.

Of course the great challenge of such a socialism will be to integrate equality and freedom. And even equality and freedom have to be formulated in ~~to~~ a new way. Socialism means indeed the priority of the social rights over individual rights. It means the priority of the collective well-being over the individual satisfaction. It means the priority of peace and harmonious relationships ^{over} between the competition and struggle for life attitudes of societies where individualism is the main personal attitude.

In this equality given by the priorities just mentioned, there is a fundamental element of freedom: freedom now not seen just as ^{the} individual possibility to enter that struggle for life ~~in~~ ~~a reminiscence of the attitude of the animals in the bush~~ but ~~as~~ as a capacity to evolve a very original contribution within the network of the relationships in society. It remains to be developed the new concept of freedom to be integrated into a socialist pattern.

Other elements related to the World Plan of Action were included in discussion held, in the Commission, last week, and should be referred to in reading the minutes of that. While comments of the different measures and areas for national action can be done, it seems to me that the most important political statement to be made in the context of the world plan of action is to ask ourselves this question: where is women's specific ^{contribution?}

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Does women's freedom come automatically with the release of the freedoms in different societies? Does it come automatically from the establishment of a socialist regime?

The analysis of the different documents, namely of the document 66/3 on current trends and changes in the status or in the roles of women and men, show very clearly that even if we can say that the situation is broadly better in the ~~eastern~~ ^{eastern} countries than in the western countries in what concerns women, it is true that the third world ~~and specifically the~~ ^{third world} has made a tremendous leap forward in terms of its women's elite.

Therefore, it's not a specific political regime that will change the situation of women and the analysis which has failed to be done until now on a world level is to grasp and to cope with the areas where women feel basic oppression, ^{this} which does not mean that we deny the components of document 66/5 but that we make them as corollaries or inter-relationships between a broader out-look.



Among the many books that have come out in the last years, I think the book by Juliette Michel "~~The~~ Women's estate" provides a more accurate framework for a world plan of action.

Indeed the actual world Plan of Action starts from the existing structures in the highly developed societies, may they be capitalist as socialist, and by ~~the~~ ^{of} inferring either the specific impact on those areas on women or the contribution needed by women in those areas seems to hope for a change in the situation of women.

A totally new outlook would be to start from the areas where women as a bio-social class are discriminated and where their role has been frozen and somehow preventing them from participating in society to ~~at~~ ^{their} ~~most~~.

Four areas can be seen:

- 1st - the area of production
- 2nd - the area of reproduction
- 3rd - the area of sexuality
- 4th - the area of socialization of children.



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I venture to say that there is a 5th ~~ax~~ one which is a cumulative effect of all the others, but acts as an area by itself, and I will call it the response to the social image.

In ~~the~~ relation to the first point, ^{to production,} it is important to see that women have been from one side taken as one element of private property, together with children, and this goes back to the Bible times, while according to an estimate of the ^{Chase} ~~Management~~ ^{whaffin} Bank, the women's overall working week average 99.6 hours, which is quite something.

The interference of, or the participation of women in production, comes from a so-called ^{physical} weakness ~~from technology~~ and less education to be able to cope with the development in technology (as it is said here in the documents we have).

The role of women in production has to be seen in totally different ways. It is true that industrial labour and automated technology can provide some pre-conditions from women's ^{liberation}, but history has shown that industrial labour leads women to forget the specificity of their struggle, while automated technology relegates ^{her} ~~her~~ for a second level. Therefore, the contribution of women in the level of production ~~was~~, according to my understanding, to be the change of the productive process itself as well as the analysis of what is to be produced, production for.

At the ^tmoment, she will interfere in the slogan of the collectivization of the means of production in a totally different way.

The second point concerning the reproduction of children is connected with the idea of family and what family means. It is very important to see that in the whole question of reproduction of children ~~it is~~ the reproduction role of women has somehow become the complement of the men's role in production, and women define themselves by how many children they have had. This reproduction with contraception is totally changed in its meaning. It cannot be anymore the vacation of women, it is a

period of life among others. (A lot is to be said about contraception and about the way women has been used as guinea-pigs for the different experiences until now.)

In the same way that the production ^{possesses} ~~processes~~ men and dominates men, ^{and} therefore the control of the production the control of the productive process and not of the product itself which is dominating men in the industrial chain, like-wise the child dominates the mother and while becoming a possession of the mother. Any act of autonomy of the child is ^{a threat} ~~threat~~ to women here is part of the whole education of women for in reproduction will be important but within the span of a much broader concept.

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The reproduction pattern itself needs to be changed while accepting that capacity for maternity is a definition of women as much as capacity for production is a definition of the human being, as much as capacity for creating is a definition of the human being. And capacity for creating something rather than capacity for producing because creation can be something very different from the material laws of industrial production.

The third level of oppression is what I call the level of sexuality. According to Juliet Mitchel it can be said that the sexual relationship can be assimilated to the statute of possession much more easily and completely than the productive or reproductive relationship.

Of course even when we consider that different civilizations have different ways of understanding sexuality and ~~xxxx~~ we can talk about monogamy or polygamy and so on, it is important to realize that the equality, formal, juridical equality developed by the rationale of the society of the last hundred years marks exploitation and inequality but it is a certain progress because out of that parity a new revindication and a new attitude can be claimed by women. And that meaning is that with equality in relation to sexual relationships there is a freedom of both sexes to transcend the limits of present sexual institutions. (It's to be said that the current sexual liberalization does not mean necessarily that woman is free from the sexual oppression. It can even indicate another form of oppression.) In a way, on a broad scale, it can be said that the idea of ~~xxxx~~ of the puritan bourgeoisie family ~~xxxx~~ is a precondition, as we have seen in the highly developed countries and in the elite of the developing countries in times of revolutions, is a precondition for a certain stage of breaking of barriers into the sexual relationship. This does not mean that a new concept and mainly a new institutionalized concept of the sexual relationship is established, and therefore there is a basic insecurity in women in relation to their role and their freedom, because, to my understanding, women who have ^{lived} ~~evil~~ in that sexualized world in terms of new experiences have not yet gone over the experience

on a strictly sexual basis. It seems to me here that the celibate women have a most important role to play in terms of their freedom in relation to sexual relationships in the stricto sensu, as they become more and more aware of the sexual relationships in the broad sense. The fourth area of oppression is therefore, according to the analysis we are making, the socialization of children. It is undoubtedly that it is very important the persistence all the time of the context of the same person in the child in the first months and years of his life and somehow women have been connected with ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~life~~. However this means a few years of women's life. Moreover, ~~with~~ as a consequence of the previous areas of repression, the family concept tends to be internalized by the child. New forms of socialization for the child not necessarily tied to the nuclear family but on a broader scale are some aspects to be evolved in order to demythologize the role of women in the socialization of children. The child-care centres are only an effective means of this liberation insofar as they provide indeed a new type of socialization and not as a gift to women. They have to evolve out of a new concept of society.

The fifth area I see as an area of oppression is less focussed but to my mind equally important. It is an area of impact of the image society has of women and therefore how women see themselves in the mirror of their societies. I think there is a tremendous level of expectation in behaviours, in social roles, which go beyond the four stressed here. There is an inter-play of sexes in all societies and if women are not able to ~~that~~ ^{create} that image and to create themselves a new image they will become more and more the slaves of a society where only the owners

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