

Turn Left Virez à gauche

NDP  NPD



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THE FIGHT FOR OUR LIVES

First Nations, Land Rights and the Rescue of Canada's Environment

INSIDE

03 **No to Pipeline Construction: Nationalize Transcanada and Enbridge**
John Orrett

04 **From the Editor - Dear Right: The Left is Winning. Get Over it.**
Sean Cain

05 **What if First Nations Stopped Subsidizing Canada?**
Dru Ola Jay

08 **Why we Fight to Keep Socialism in the NDP**
Barry Weisleder

10 **Long Live the Spirit of Hugo Chavez**
Elizabeth Byce

11 **Another Invasion of U.S. Democratic Party Apologists?**
NDP Socialist Caucus Steering Committee

12 **Quebec: Despite Progress, the NDP Still Has Far To Go**
Richard Fidler

14 **Le dilemme du NPD**
Richard Fidler

17 **Socialist Caucus Resolutions for Federal NDP Convention**

17 **The Struggle for the Right to Choose Not Over in Canada**
Judy Koch

18 **Canada-EU Trade Deal: No Time for NDP to Show Moderation**
Sid Ryan

19 **Le NPD ne peut être modéré au sujet de l'entente de libre-échange avec l'UE**
Sid Ryan

20 **Mulcair: Between a ROC and a Hard Place**
Hans Modlich

21 **Exposing Canada's "Petro State" Foreign Policy**
Yves Engler

21 **Review: The Future of Federalism in Quebec, by John F. Conway**
Hans Modlich

22 **Concessions Cripple Labour's Struggle Against Capitalist Austerity**
Julius Arcsott

24 **Socialist Caucus Candidates for Federal NDP Council**

05



11



14



22



NO TO PIPELINE CONSTRUCTION: NATIONALIZE TRANSCANADA AND ENBRIDGE



Photo: Ian Mackenzie

Socialist Caucus activist John Orrett discusses the danger of current pipeline proposals, and how social ownership and democratic control are key to real environmental sustainability

During the 1970s, Canada's need for self-sufficiency in oil and gas, and the need for public ownership of these vital resources, were at the forefront of public debate. Thirty-plus years later, self-sufficiency in petroleum products has become a reality with proven reserves in the Arctic, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, in East Coast waters, and in the world's second largest oil deposit, the Athabaska Oil Sands. Petroleum products are now Canada's largest export, earning over \$48 billion in 2010, with 99% of it going to the United States.

But the second part of the tandem, public ownership of those resources, has been a dismal nullity. Not due to lack of merit, but through the deliberate sabotage of the effort by right-wing, neo-liberal governments. In the 1970s, public ownership got off to

a good start. The NDP Allan Blakeney Government in Saskatchewan created the Saskatchewan Oil and Gas Company in 1973. But the Conservative Premier Grant Devine sold the Government's interest in 1986. Those shares ended up with Nexen Inc., which was swallowed up for \$15 billion in February 2013 by the Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation in a controversial sale that raised questions about Canadian economic sovereignty.

Meanwhile the Trudeau minority Liberal government, under pressure from David Lewis and the Federal NDP, created PetroCanada in 1975. It grew through internal earnings to become one of the three largest integrated oil companies in Canada. This Crown Corporation was sold back to private investors in 10% increments by the majority Jean Chretien and Paul Martin Liberal governments, until the whole thing was gone. Even the Ontario Conservative Government of Bill Davis in 1983 was in on the action with the purchase of 25% of Suncor, later sold by the short sighted NDP Bob Rae Government a decade later. Fast forward to 2013. One can see why,

with no public ownership of any oil and gas resources, Canada has very little control over its own energy policy or future.

In the last three decades, we have become aware of other crucial factors relating to a carbon based energy economy. We know that resources are finite. We reached peak oil production. Even Canada's considerable reserves have a stale date. More importantly, we have learned about global warming, and that a carbon-based energy economy is non-sustainable. It rapidly changes the global climate so that many of the areas of the world are under man-made threat of drought, flooding and other disasters.

We owe much to the ecological-environmental protection movements for educating many citizens about this very real threat. But it is only a Socialist-Environmental alliance, a blending of ideas and actions, can lead us forward.

We must realize that it is the owners and exploiters, along with the Premiers, Cabinet Ministers,

continued on page six

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Dear Right: The Left is Winning. Get Over It.



By Sean Cain

It never ceases to amaze me how fast things change in the world of politics.

We all remember the 1990s. Those were tough times. Just talking about raising wages, increasing social spending or regulating an industry was practically a thought crime. Even mentioning the word “capitalism” was to drum up fears that – heaven forbid – you were thinking about a different kind of economic system.

Two decades later, and years of neo-liberal policy failure speak for themselves: stagnant wages, increasing debt, widening inequality, and a global economic order stumbling from one crisis to another, not to mention a deteriorating environment and wars for profit killing hundreds of thousands.

Right-wing economic theory – once a hallmark of conservative thought – has degenerated into sheer lunacy. Not even the wackiest of corporate politicians would campaign on deregulating the financial industry, privatizing our health care system or giving tax breaks to banks and billionaires (even though they have no problem doing this as silently as possible when in government).

A recent Environics poll showed that 65% of Canadians believe that taxes should be raised

on banks and financial institutions to reduce the deficit, and 83% agreed that taxes should be raised for the “richest income earners.” At the same time, an Abacus Data poll showed that only 21% believe that “lower corporate tax rates encourage investment and create jobs,” a theory which for two decades stood as the pinnacle credence of neo-liberal fundamentalism.

Even in the United States, a 2012 Pew Research poll showed that while 46% of 18 to 29 year-olds viewed capitalism as “positive,” a higher 49% of those in the same age group viewed socialism positively. And in all ages, only 50% viewed capitalism positively and 40% viewed it negatively. This is a remarkable statistic from a country where even the “liberal” media presents their economic system and corporate interests in such an overwhelmingly positive light.

Just ten years ago, socialists couldn’t even have dreamt these kinds

of numbers.

At the same time, the right-wing media owned by the corporate elite have been debased into pure theatre and a source of comedy. A vast majority understand too well that Sun TV, FoxNews, right-wing newspaper chains and personalities like CBC host Kevin O’Leary aren’t even under the pretense of performing real, actual journalism. Admitting that you listen to them and take them seriously in front of others – especially during life’s more sensitive moments like job interviews, dinner parties and first dates – is to pay a hefty social price of utter embarrassment.

The global revolt against the failed policies of neo-liberal capitalism rests on an ancient and very well-understood reality: that injustice breeds resistance. Everywhere. Always.

Neo-conservatism’s greatest fear has come true: the class struggle is back.

The Left and labour unions have been pinned against the wall for so long, we almost forgot what it feels like to be winning. Working people may certainly be losing the economic battle against austerity and corporate power, but when it comes to the ideological clash, we’re way ahead, and we should start acting like it.

It may be difficult to be happy in times like this, but that shouldn’t take away from us feeling confident about the rapid change in attitudes of people in Canada and around the world inspired by the vision of a more democratic, free and socialist future. ■

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Right-wing economic theory – once a hallmark of conservative thought – has degenerated into sheer lunacy. Not even the wackiest of corporate politicians would campaign on deregulating the financial industry, privatizing our health care system or giving tax breaks to banks.

What if First Nations Stopped Subsidizing Canada?

Photo: Tamara Herman



By Dru Ola Jay

There is a prevailing myth that Canada's more than 600 First Nations and native communities live off of money — subsidies — from the Canadian government. This myth, though it is loudly proclaimed and widely believed, is remarkable for its boldness; widely accessible, verifiable facts show that the opposite is true.

Indigenous people have been subsidizing Canada for a very long time. Conservatives have leaked documents in an attempt to discredit chief Theresa Spence, recently on hunger strike in Ottawa. Reporters like Jeffrey Simpson and Christie Blatchford have ridiculed the demands of native leaders and the protest movement Idle No More. Their ridicule rests on this foundational untruth: that it is hard-earned tax dollars of Canadians that pays for housing, schools and health services in First Nations. The myth carries a host of racist assumptions on its back. It enables prominent voices like Simpson and Blatchford to liken protesters' demands to "living in a dream palace" or "horse manure," respectively.

It's true that Canada's federal

government controls large portions of the cash flow First Nations depend on. Much of the money used by First Nations to provide services does come from the federal budget. But the accuracy of the myth ends there. On the whole, the money that First Nations receive is a small fraction of the value of the resources, and the government revenue that comes out of their territories. Let's look at a few examples:

Barriere Lake

The Algonquins of Barriere Lake have a traditional territory that spans 10,000 square kilometres. For thousands of years, they have made continuous use of the land. They have never signed a treaty giving up their rights to the land. An estimated \$100 million per year in revenues are extracted every year from their territory in the form of logging, hydroelectric dams, and recreational hunting and fishing.

And yet the community lives in third-world conditions. A diesel generator provides power, few jobs are available, and families live in dilapidated bungalows. These are not the lifestyles of a community with a \$100 million economy in its back yard.

Attawapiskat

Attawapiskat has been in the news because their ongoing housing crisis came to the attention of the media in 2011 (MP Charlie Angus referred to the poverty-stricken community as "Haiti at 40 below"). More recently, Chief Theresa Spence has made headlines for her hunger strike. The community is near James Bay, in Ontario's far north. Right now, DeBeers is constructing a \$1 billion mine on the traditional territory of the Ahtawapiskatowi ininiwak. Anticipated revenues will top \$6.7 billion. Currently, the government is subjecting the budget of the Cree to extensive scrutiny. But the total amount transferred to the First Nation since 2006 — \$90 million — is a little more than one percent of the anticipated mine revenues. As a percentage, that's a little over half of Harper's cut to GST.

Royalties from the mine do not go to the First Nation, but straight to the provincial government. The community has received some temporary jobs in the mine, and future generations will have to deal with the consequences of a giant open pit mine in their back yard. Attawapiskat is subsidizing DeBeers, Canada and Ontario.

Lubicon

The Lubicon Cree, who never signed a treaty ceding their land rights, have waged a decades-long campaign for land rights. During this time, over \$14 billion in oil and gas has been removed from their traditional territory. During the same period, the community has gone without running water, endured divisive attacks from the government, and suffered the environmental consequences of unchecked extraction. The Lubicon Cree are subsidizing the oil and gas sector, Alberta and Canada.

continued on page seven

"THE ONLY WAY IS TO CURTAIL EXTRACTION DEVELOPMENT AND BEGIN A NEW DIRECTION TOWARDS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THESE NATURAL RESOURCES. TOM MULCAIR AND THE FEDERAL NDP SHOULD LEAD THE CHARGE IN PARLIAMENT FOR PUBLIC OWNERSHIP."

Pipelines, from page three

diplomats and corporate lobbyists, who are tripping over one another in the halls of Congress trying to get the Keystone Pipeline approved by the Obama administration. They want full speed ahead to exploit and produce the dirtiest oil on the planet. They want TransCanada pipelines to convey it down to Texas and refine it for sale not only in the United States, but back to Canada for outlandish prices.

Other projects are now on the agenda. Enbridge, eastern Canada's largest pipeline oil and gas distributor, is asking for regulatory approval to reverse the flow of the Line 9 pipeline so that Alberta crude oil would go from Sarnia, through Hamilton and on to Montreal – in the process passing through 99 Ontario and Quebec cities, towns and villages.

Further down the road is the question of the Northern Gateway Pipeline through the Canadian Rocky Mountains. Don't think for one moment that the Chinese state invested in the Tar Sands just to sell oil in North America. It is pursuing national interests, and will insist on this pipeline and a Pacific Coast terminal for trans-shipment of unrefined bitumen to China. The Harper Government has just ratified by order in council, with no debate in Parliament, the Canada-China Foreign Investment Protection Act

(FIPA), which puts corporate interests above the public interest and any legislative attempt to regulate.

Maude Barlow and the Council of Canadians deserve praise for saying more about these pipelines than NDP officials. The Council is right when it argues that without building these lines, the oil industry would choke on their own production. It would have to curtail plans to increase this nasty business.

The weakness of NDP policy and action is that party leaders fail to demand nationalization under workers' and community control of the two oligopolistic pipeline companies in Canada, Enbridge and TransCanada Pipelines, let alone the multi-national oil companies themselves. They do not acknowledge that multi-national oil corporations will go to any lengths to protect their interests – from planning wars in the Middle-East to despoiling the environment and impoverishing the peoples of Nigeria.

Recent statements by Thomas Mulcair seem to betray the 2011 election campaign pledge of Jack Layton for a moratorium on oil sand developments. It is not sufficient to declare, as Mulcair did in March in Washington, that "the Americans are going to sort themselves out based on their own rules." This sidesteps the issue.

There would be no Keystone route if Canada refused to build a

pipeline from Athabaska to the border. If we flatlined production to 2011 levels, there would be no surplus filthy bitumen to export. This policy of not upholding the moratorium policy that the Federal NDP promised in 2011, along with not mentioning nationalization of oil companies as the NDP proposed in the past, is another example of party right wing retreat as the NDP becomes more and more wedded to the short term expediency of winning more seats.

The federal leader seems to have forgotten that the whole rationale of oil and pipeline companies is to maximize profits and dividends for their shareholders. Flat lining production is not in their corporate vocabulary. The concept of alternate sources of energy production is anathema to them. They are for full speed ahead towards global control, which will lead to global catastrophe.

The only way to stop them is to curtail extraction development and begin a new direction towards public ownership of these natural resources, and of the means of distribution. Only in that way can the profits still being amassed in this industry be channelled into investment in sustainable and renewable energy production. Tom Mulcair and the Federal NDP should lead the charge in Parliament for public ownership, and not wait until they find it expedient to follow public opinion on the matter. ■



Photo: Mary Kosta

First Nations, from page five

What will Canada do Without its Subsidies?

From the days of beaver trapping to today's aspirations of becoming an energy superpower, Canada's economy has always been based on natural resources. With 90% of its settler population amassed along the southern border, exploitation of the land's wealth almost always happens at the expense of the Indigenous population.

Canada's economy could not have been built without massive subsidies: of land, resource wealth, and the incalculable cost of generations of suffering.

Overall numbers are difficult to pin down, but consider the following: Canadian governments received \$9 billion in taxes and royalties in 2011 from mining companies, which is a tiny portion of overall mining profits; \$3.8 billion came from exports of hydroelectricity alone in 2008, and 60 per cent of Canada's electricity comes from hydroelectric dams; one estimate has tar sands extraction bringing in \$1.2 trillion

in royalties over 35 years; the forestry industry was worth \$38.2 billion in 2006, and contributes billions in royalties and taxes.

By contrast, annual government spending on First Nations is \$5.36 billion, which comes to about \$7,200 per person. Government spending per resident in Ottawa is around \$14,900. By any reasonable measure, it's clear that First Nations are the ones subsidizing Canada. (2005 figures; the amount is slightly higher today.)

These industries are mostly taking place on an Indigenous nation's traditional territory, laying waste to the land in the process, submerging, denuding, polluting and removing. The human costs are far greater; brutal tactics aimed at erasing native peoples' identity and connection with the land have created human tragedies several generations deep and a legacy of fierce and principled resistance that continues today.

Idle? Know More

The last residential school was shut down in 1996. Canadians today would like to imagine themselves more

humane than past generations, but few can name the Indigenous nations of this land or the treaties that allow Canada and Canadians to exist.

Understanding the subsidies native people give to Canada is just the beginning. Equally crucial is understanding the mechanisms by which the government forces native people to choose every day between living conditions out of a World Vision advertisement and hopelessness on one hand, and the pollution and social problems of short-term resource exploitation projects on the other.

Empathy and remorse are great reasons to act to dismantle this ugly system of expropriation. But an even better reason is that Indigenous nations present the best and only partners in taking care of our environment. Protecting our rivers, lakes, forests and oceans is best done by people with a multi-millennial relationship with the land.

Movements like Idle No More give a population asleep at the wheel the chance to wake up and hear what native communities have been saying for hundreds of years: it's time to withdraw our consent from this dead end regime, and chart a new course. ■

WHY WE FIGHT TO KEEP **SOCIALISM** IN THE NDP

Toronto NDP activist Barry Weisleder spells out the role of the Socialist Caucus in the NDP, and why fighting back against capitalism is so vital for workers today

People often ask: is the NDP socialist? Let's start by looking at the dictionary definition of socialism. "Socialism refers to an economic system characterized by social ownership of the means of production and co-operative management of the economy."

Is that what the NDP advocates? If not now, was the NDP ever socialist?

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was founded in 1932 by farmers, workers and socialist groups. The CCF's Regina Manifesto, adopted in 1933, boldly states, "No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Cooperative Commonwealth." Back in the day, the CCF and the Communist Party vied equally for influence among workers. But the CP degenerated into an apologist sect for authoritarianism and repression, and the CCF adapted to capitalism and militarism.

The Winnipeg Declaration became the CCF platform in 1956. It was the cold war antidote to the Regina Manifesto. It embraced the "mixed economy" model, with heavy emphasis on the private sector, which it said should be supported, even subsidized, and be subject only to government regulation.

The Waffle Manifesto emerged in 1969. In the name of Canadian nationalism, it proposed public ownership of natural resources, energy, banks and key sectors of manufacturing. In 1972 the NDP brass ordered it to dissolve. The Waffle quit the party, and after a failed electoral campaign, disappeared in 1974.



The Socialist Caucus formed in 1997 as a common front of party leftists seeking to "turn the NDP sharply to the left." It is based on the Manifesto for a Socialist Canada, written a

year later.

The New Politics Initiative arose in 2001. It was less radical, and far less democratic than the Waffle, urging the creation of a New Party linked to social movements. It specified no concrete programme for the party or society, and it dissolved shortly after getting 40% of the votes at an NDP federal convention.

What is the recent record of the NDP? Look at the provincial level, where the NDP has formed governments in five provinces and one territory.

In British Columbia, Dave Barrett passed many laws in a short time, but was bitterly anti-Quebec. Mike Harcourt sent the cops who killed native land occupiers at Gustafson Lake. Glen Clarke was hounded out of office by a budget deficit and petty scandals. In Ontario, who can forget the Bob Rae NDP government of 1990-95? His Social Con-trick violated collective agreements and took \$2 billion out of the pockets of public service workers. He privatized a highway, opened the door wide to Sunday shopping and casino gambling, and kept funding Catholic schools despite a crisis in public education funding.

Last Spring, in Ontario, Andrea Horwath voted for the McGuinty budget, and criticized anti-worker Bill 115 mainly on the grounds that it will prove to be a waste of public funds – if the courts overturn it... in four years or so.

In Nova Scotia, Darrel Dexter dramatically increased the HST and university fees.

In Manitoba, under Gary Doer and now Greg Selinger, NDP governments operate as "safe" capitalist regimes that do not fundamentally challenge inequality.

In Saskatchewan, the birthplace of the CCF, the NDP is shrinking both provincially and federally. The Romanow government was more fiscally conservative than previous CCF/NDP governments, and instituted a program of hospital closures, program cuts, and privatization to eliminate the budget deficit and reduce debt. Romanow later quipped that he was a supporter of Tony Blair's Third Way concept before it even existed.

At the federal level, the party under the leadership of Jack Layton made a big breakthrough in May 2011. But before the Orange Surge, the parliamentary caucus initially supported Canadian military intervention in Afghanistan and Haiti. It voted for Jean Chretien's Clarity Act in 2000, against the explicit will of NDP Federal Council.

In June 2011, the party executive tried to remove "democratic socialism" from the Constitution, but failed.

In 2012, the party chose Thomas Mulcair as Leader – easily the most stridently pro-Zionist figure to hold that position. During the six month strike by

"Socialism represents the opposite of the current capitalist agenda. It is especially counter posed to the neo-liberal austerity drive which is terrorizing workers and the poor."

Quebec students, Mulcair ordered NDP MPs to keep quiet – on the grounds that “education is a provincial matter.” He warned of the Dutch disease – arguing that it is necessary to rescue the Canadian dollar from over-dependence on tar sands development and pipelines to the west and south. He favours shipping the bitumen east. Mulcair is soft on the big trade deals now being negotiated, Trans-Pacific and European. His caucus did not oppose the Canadian and French intervention in Mali. He was slow to oppose the bombing of Libya. He is quiet on the subject of western interference in Syria, and he did not quickly or strongly oppose Ottawa’s break in diplomatic relations with Tehran.

Clearly, the NDP has shifted to the right, which has alienated many activists. So, why fight to keep socialism

reference to “socialism,” however it is contradicted in practice, indicates a living ideological link with the objectively revolutionary interests and aspirations of the broadest layers of the common people.

3. In the absence of a mass, working class political alternative, the NDP in English Canada remains the party of the unions, of the working class, and of the left. There is no significant party to the left of the NDP. Because it is a working class party much of the Canadian establishment, including the big business media, would like to see the NDP disappear – by merger with the Liberal Party, or by any means necessary.

4. Socialism, even as a political and historical reference, still poses the alternative to capitalism. Socialism represents, objectively, the opposite of the

The logic and the effect of their actions is to integrate the party into the state apparatus of the rich. Socialists seek the opposite. What exactly do we want?

- We want to make the party the conveyor belt of working class demands and aspirations.

- To make the party more democratic. For example, to make the party respect and implement policies adopted at convention, to have more time for debates and votes at conventions, and to ensure it respects (not rescinds) local candidate nominations.

- To make the party more like a social movement, one that relies on direct mass action to achieve change, rather than being an electoral machine that relies on parliamentary maneuvers, personality contests, and high court decisions.



in the party constitution? Here are four good reasons:

1. The roots of the NDP are in the working class and small farmers’ movements. The creation of the NDP in 1960 by the CCF and the Canadian Labour Congress represented an historic working class break with the parties of big business, a break with the political institutions of capitalist rule, especially the Liberal Party. That was quite a different track than the one taken by labour in the USA.

2. The significance of the

current capitalist agenda. It is especially counter posed to the neo-liberal austerity drive which is terrorizing workers and the poor worldwide.

What is to stop us? What are we up against? The party and labour bureaucracy. Not only have they made their peace with capitalism, even with the capitalist austerity drive. They seek to build a wall between the parliamentary caucus and the working class.

Party officials and their machine wish to consolidate their independence from their own social base.

To that end, what has the Socialist Caucus accomplished?

We kept socialism in the party constitution by helping to win the debate at the June 2011 federal convention in Vancouver. Rumour has it that the party executive is not keen to try again to remove “socialism” from the Constitution. Why? Because they doubt they can garner the needed 2/3 majority vote to win. The SC worked with OFL President Sid Ryan at the Ontario NDP convention in

continued on page eleven

Long Live the Spirit of Hugo Chavez



**BY
ELIZABETH BYCE**

When Venezuela's President Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías passed away on March 5, 2013, hundreds of thousands poured into the streets of Caracas crying, hugging and shouting "We are all Chavez!" Fifteen countries around the world held days of national mourning for him. Many more states sent their top leaders to his funeral. Do you suppose Stephen Harper's departure will get that kind of response?

Chavez led a movement that lifted most of his people out of terrible poverty. Himself born into a poor family, young Hugo longed to be a baseball player. He joined the army when told he could play ball there. Rising through the military ranks, he learned history and pledged to end political corruption and gross social inequality.

The failed military coup he led in 1992 made Chavez into a folk hero. Four years later, campaigning on a shoe-string budget, he won the presidency. Re-elected in 2000, 2006 and 2012, Chavez and his Bolivarian movement (named after Simon Bolivar, who freed South America from Spanish colonialism in the early 19th century) moved sharply to the left. Chavez openly campaigned for 21st Century Socialism.

In 2009 the Chavez government started the process to nationalize 60 oil service contractors and place them under the control of Pdvsa. Oil giants Exxon Mobil and Conoco Phillips sued for compensation, but lost in the courts.

The policy of nationalization has also been implemented in 125 sectors of the Venezuelan economy. The industries of telecommunications, electricity, water, gas, transportation, cement, sugar, salt — all of these have been nationalized and are now being run by workers' collectives all over the country. This is another source of inspiration to working people around the world.

In Venezuela, food production

and distribution are urgent concerns. In 2010, a serious conflict developed between the management of Polar, a major private food distribution company, and the government. By introducing systems like Mercal, the state-run food chain with some 30,000 Mercal supermarkets across the country, Venezuelans don't have to depend on private networks to obtain basic foods. Nationalization of the food industry is important to ensure food sovereignty.

Cargil, a Canadian-based seedling company, had its Venezuelan assets nationalized three years ago. Along with Monsanto, they control seed products internationally. These companies tried to foment social unrest by withholding supplies of food products they also distributed, like rice and corn flour. The Chavez government used the law on sovereignty and food security — which is a constitutional law ensuring Venezuelans get an adequate supply of food — to nationalize the companies' assets.

Ottawa tells lies about the government of Venezuela. It fears the example Chavez set. It funded reactionary opposition groups, like Sumate, in Venezuela elections. Harper encourages Shell, Chevron, Marathon and Petro-Canada to poison the lands of indigenous people in Alberta and beyond.

A victory for Venezuela in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism would be a victory for aboriginal peoples. It would be a victory for education workers, for Ontario public service workers, for postal workers, for Air Canada workers, for steel

workers, for Quebecois, Acadians and Newfoundlanders, for all working people.

There is much work to be done. Hugo Chavez left a giant legacy of mass mobilization, of communal councils, of good healthcare (with the help of Cuba), and of progressive social priorities. But the Venezuela economy is still in the hands of foreign banks, huge commercial interests, and big landlords. Until the Bolivarian revolution completes the expropriation of Capital, foreign and domestic, the first steps towards workers' control, towards food security and national sovereignty are at risk.

President Hugo Chavez said, "Here there is a transition from capitalism, which is destroying the world, towards socialism. These next 10 years, we have to advance a lot more than what we have advanced towards socialism."

Photo: Geraldo Caso



Under Hugo Chavez, Venezuelans saw improvements in health care and education and large-scale reductions in poverty

Chavez was correct. Stephen Harper's crude, rude remarks only underscore the fact. There is no time to waste. Imperialism never sleeps. Our task in Canada is clear. As the Bolivarian Revolution deepens, as it must, we should deepen, extend and accelerate our solidarity. The future of humanity depends on it.

Long live the spirit of Hugo Chavez. Long live the Bolivarian Revolution. Viva socialismo! ■

Socialism in the NDP, from page nine

Hamilton in 2011 to toughen opposition to the McGuinty budget which featured a wage freeze for workers, and tax cuts for the business elite. We won that fight. Unfortunately, Horwath did as she pleased. Still, the point was made. The SC won victories on many issues over the past decade: Canada Out of Afghanistan now! Party policy calling for no public funding for religious and private schools. Hybrid and electric cars should be 50% of car production in Canada. And the demand that the federal government devote 2% of its budget to the construction of social housing.

We amended the convention agenda at Halifax, 2008, to add an hour to policy debate. (This was overturned by a manouever engineered by the MP

for Trinity Spadina, but our point was clearly made.) Our modest but important achievements at party gatherings, and the high profile attained by the Socialist Caucus, now inform the tasks we must shoulder.

1. Continue the fight to keep socialism in the NDP. Educate and organize NDPers across the Canadian state to press for public ownership of the economy under workers' and community control. Make the bosses pay for the crisis that they and their obsolete, wasteful system created. Stop the social cuts. Reinstate decent E.I. and pensions. Concessions No More! Strike to win. Money for useful jobs, not for weapons or war.

2. Build solidarity with aboriginal struggles. Generate solidarity with the fight of Quebec students for free, qual-

ity, democratic post-secondary education. Uphold Quebec's right to national self-determination. Defend aboriginal status, support their collective control of native traditional lands, and of the development and use of their resources. Oppose the ruinous, poisonous pipeline projects, and the job-killing, anti-social trade deals now on the table.

3. Build the NDP as a social movement to replace the racist, sexist, environmentally destructive capitalist order with a vibrant socialist democracy. Start by making the NDP truly democratic, from the bottom up. Educate. Agitate. Organize. Elect SC candidates to the federal NDP executive. Unite the NDP and labour left on the basis of a clear socialist platform. Advance the class struggle. Build the Socialist Caucus. ■

ANOTHER INVASION OF U.S. DEMOCRATIC PARTY APOLOGISTS?

What? Another invasion of U.S. Democratic Party Apologists?

NDP officials did it in Halifax in 2009, and they're doing it again. They're wasting the time of federal convention at Montreal, and insulting the delegates to our independent labour party. How? By importing apologists for the pro-war, pro-corporate bail-out Obama administration in Washington.

Saying Mitt Romney was worse than Obama, does not make Obama a friend of the working class or oppressed minorities. While the United States President delivers trillions of dollars to Wall Street and the Pentagon, and fills America's jails with Blacks, Latinos, Arabs and Muslims, his "gift" to workers and the poor is an "economic draft" to perpetuate U.S. occupation and drone wars around the world.

Why do we need Jeremy Bird, Obama's National Field Director and reelection strategist, to lecture NDPers on the virtues of American bourgeois politics and to extol what Rolling Stone Magazine called his "brutal" tactics in swing states? Why do we need Joseph Stiglitz, darling of the liberal media, whose economic theories include the idea that "unemployment must rise during recessions, because wages are kept 'too

high'?"

Why should the NDP provide a platform for this former member and chair of Bill Clinton's Council of Economic Advisors, whose most important contribution at the time was the infamous "Third Way" economic philosophy? The Third Way, also associated with Britain's renowned war criminal and former P.M. Tony Blair, postulated

the limited role of government - that unfettered markets often did not work well, but that government was not always able to correct the limitations of markets.

The NDP and the labour movement don't need instruction from the liberal brain trust of the world's dominant imperialist power. But we do have some good advice for our American sisters and brothers, for our American fellow workers.



One of the many victims of Obama's vicious drone bombing campaign. U.S. Democratic Party operatives have no business lecturing NDP members at convention.

Follow the example of the NDP. Form an independent political party based on your unions. Break with the Democratic Party, the graveyard of every progressive social movement since the days of Lincoln. Fight for a Workers' Agenda. Join us in the effort to put an end to capitalist recessions, wars and environmental destruction. Together, let's create a global cooperative commonwealth. ■

THE "QUEBEC QUESTION": DESPITE PROGRESS, THE NDP STILL HAS FAR TO GO

By Richard Fidler

The NDP's bill C-470, which would replace the Clarity Act and acknowledge the democratic legitimacy of a simple majority vote for sovereignty in a Quebec referendum, aroused a storm of opposition. Not just from the other federalist parties (which was to be expected), but also from the major media in English Canada.

Typical was an editorial in the Toronto Star, the only daily newspaper that endorsed the NDP in the 2011 federal election, protesting that the NDP bill "lowers the bar to [Quebec] secession." The Star editors doubted whether the NDP, as "a party that aspires to govern the federation is prepared to defend it."

More ominous was a Harris-Decima-Canadian Press poll in early February that found majority support for the bill only in Quebec, while in English Canada close to three out of four respondents were opposed. And a CP poll of provincial NDP leaders found that only one, New Brunswick's Dominic Cardy, was willing to express support for it. The others, including the premiers of Nova Scotia and Manitoba, refused to comment.

Yet Bill C-470 simply applies the reasoning in the NDP's Sherbrooke Declaration, adopted overwhelmingly by the federal party in 2006 as its current position on the "Quebec question."

The Declaration recognizes "Quebec's right to self-determination," which, it says, "implies the right of the people of Quebec to decide freely its own political and constitutional future." If Quebec were to hold a vote on sovereignty "the NDP would recognize a majority decision (50% + 1)...." The Declaration was widely credited as a factor in the "Orange Wave" that elected NDP candidates in 59 of Quebec's 75 electoral districts in 2011, hoisting the party to Official Opposition status in the House of Commons.

What does the reaction to Bill C-470 tell us about the challenge facing the NDP and its attempts to reconcile Quebec's desire for change in its status as a nation with the party's longstanding support of Canada's federal system?

A Tortured History

The Sherbrooke Declaration's principled recognition of Quebec's right to national self-determination – notwithstanding some ambiguities and contradictions, discussed below – represented an important step forward for the NDP, which since its founding in 1961 has struggled to understand Québécois dissatisfaction with Canada's federal regime. The party's firm commitment to working within the existing constitutional framework of the Canadian state has often collided with the pro-sovereignty views held by the trade unions and most progressives in Quebec.

In the early 1960s, the majority of NDP supporters in Quebec split to form an independent party, the Parti socialiste du Québec (PSQ), which called for adoption of a sovereign Quebec constitution and the negotiation of a new "confederal" accord with English Canada. The PSQ was soon eclipsed, however, by the formation of the Parti québécois, which expressed a similar objective of sovereignty followed by some form of constitutional association with English Canada.

Caught short by the rise of the independence movement, the federal NDP tended to tail the approach to constitutional reform taken by Pierre Trudeau and the federal Liberals as well as the Conservatives. It was an active participant in the unilateral 1982 patriation of the Constitution, which now included a Charter of Rights that would be used by the Supreme Court of Canada to void major provisions of Quebec legislation protecting French-language rights. Successive Quebec governments – sovereigntist and federalist alike – have never accepted the legitimacy of that Constitution.

The federal NDP campaigned for the No side in both of Quebec's referendums on sovereignty, in 1980 and 1995. And in 2000 the party's parliamentary caucus – defying opposition by the NDP Federal Council and the Canadian Labour Congress – voted for the governing Liberals' Clarity Bill, which makes Quebec sovereignty

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The Sherbrooke Declaration's principled recognition of Quebec's right to national self-determination -- notwithstanding some ambiguities and contradictions -- represented an important step forward for the NDP.

following a successful “yes” vote contingent on acceptance by the federal Parliament of both the question asked and the response given by the voters.

These actions effectively foreclosed any possibility of building significant support for the party in Quebec. Unable to build an enduring base of support in the province, the NDP for decades lacked credibility in both Quebec and the Rest of Canada as a potential federal government.

By the turn of the century, it was evident that no one on the federalist side could credibly promise renewed federalism. However, a Social Democratic Forum on Canada’s Future, sponsored by the party in the late 1990s, came up with a host of proposals for a change in the relationship between English Canada and Quebec, many of them later incorporated in the Sherbrooke Declaration. The adoption of the Declaration signalled a new readiness to rethink the party’s relationship to Quebec. And in 2011, this openness was sufficient to convince many Quebec voters, now looking for potential allies in English Canada in resisting a Harper majority government, to turn to the NDP.

The Sherbrooke Declaration

Despite its new recognition of Quebec’s right to national self-determination, the Sherbrooke Declaration does not reject a federal role in determining the legitimacy of a Quebec vote for sovereignty, nor does Bill C-470. The bill simply attempts to structure that role, in effect fettering the power of the federal Parliament to reject the popular verdict. It would accept a narrow Yes victory – and suggests some acceptable wording of the question – while proposing a similar procedure for a possible Quebec referendum question on reforming the Constitution short of secession.

The virulent opposition to Bill C-470 by the Harper government and the Liberals, however, demonstrates the complete unwillingness of Canada’s traditional governing parties and their corporate backers to contemplate any fundamental change in Quebec’s constitutional status. Typical was the reaction of Liberal leadership aspirant

Justin Trudeau. “To bring forward that motion is the height of both hypocrisy and political gamesmanship of the worst kind. If I needed another reason to cross out the idea of co-operation with the NDP, that’s an obvious one.”

Both Tories and Liberals had hoped that the amending formula in Trudeau Senior’s 1982 Constitution – which makes any major constitutional change contingent on adoption by Parliament and seven of the ten provinces with at least 50% of Canada’s

of policy and program negotiation between Quebec and Ottawa and (in most cases) the other provinces and territories, negotiations in which Quebec may and often does find itself alone arrayed against the other ten or more governments. It is cast as a strategy for winning Quebec acceptance of a federal union even before any constitutional guarantees of its national character have been achieved. Fundamentally, this comes down to little more than the status quo.



population – would rule out any possibility for Quebec’s legal secession from the federation. They are outraged that the NDP, with its modest proposal to accept a democratic majority vote, has now challenged this federalist consensus. We can be sure that they will hound the party on this issue in the months and years to come.

The Sherbrooke Declaration indirectly acknowledges the impossibility of constitutional reform to accommodate Quebec concerns. Instead, it recommends a limited practice of “asymmetrical federalism” that would “consolidate [conjuguer] the Canadian federal state with the reality of Quebec’s national character” by allowing Quebec to opt out with compensation from federal programs in areas of exclusive provincial jurisdiction. And its over-arching concept of “cooperative federalism,” an old NDP standby, involves not a reallocation of powers but a never-ending process

Clearly, the ball is in the court of the Québécois to initiate and lead the movement for change in Quebec’s constitutional status, whether in or out of the federation. But is the NDP prepared not only to listen to this national movement and learn from it, but to work to create understanding and solidarity with the national struggle of the Québécois among its members and supporters in English Canada? Such solidarity is an essential ingredient in building a pan-Canadian movement that can not only defeat the Harper government but reverse the neoliberal offensive.

This requires a much greater effort by the party in English Canada to address Québécois concerns – a major challenge, as English Canadian hostility to even the modest democratic content of the NDP’s Bill C-470 illustrates.

continued on page sixteen

LE DILEMME DU NPD

Par Richard Fidler

En 2006, le NPD avait surpris l'opinion en adoptant la « déclaration de Sherbrooke ». Cette déclaration, bien qu'elle dépasse le discours habituel du NPD, contient d'importantes ambiguïtés et contradictions qui en fin de compte nient l'engagement formel du parti à défendre le droit à l'autodétermination du peuple québécois.

Pas de réforme constitutionnelle

À un premier niveau, la déclaration n'aborde pas la question du statut constitutionnel, ni du point de vue d'une réforme, ni du point de vue de l'indépendance. Cette question pourtant centrale est évitée par le NPD qui préfère une approche bureaucratique et administrative. Le fédéralisme préconisé par le NPD n'implique aucune redistribution des pouvoirs et débouche sur un processus sans fin de négociation entre le Québec et Ottawa, et même avec les autres provinces et territoires.

On demande au Québec d'accepter le cadre fédéral, avant même des négociations constitutionnelles qui pourraient éventuellement redéfinir la confédération et offrir au Québec des garanties sur son statut de nation. Cette approche, c'est ce que le NPD qualifie de fédéralisme «coopératif».

La loi de la « clarté »

Il est encore plus remarquable que la Déclaration de Sherbrooke ne mentionne pas la loi dite de la « clarté », votée au Parlement en 2000 à l'initiative du gouvernement Chrétien. Il faut se souvenir que les députés du NPD (il y avait deux exceptions) ont voté en faveur de cette loi qui brime le droit du Québec à l'autodétermination. La direction parlementaire du NPD est allée dans ce sens en dépit de l'opposition au projet de loi exprimée par le Conseil fédéral du NPD ainsi que le Congrès du travail du Canada et plusieurs militants ordinaires du parti.

En vertu de cette loi, un vote

“Il reste à voir si cette évolution pourrait forcer un réel débat au sein de la gauche au Canada anglais, qui était et reste ambiguë par rapport aux enjeux fondamentaux soulevés par les peuples qui réclament leurs droits.

pour un « oui » serait soumis au bon vouloir du parlement fédéral et des autres provinces.

En janvier dernier néanmoins le NPD a proposé une nouvelle loi (C-470), qui

obligerait le gouvernement fédéral à négocier avec le Québec dans l'éventualité où la majorité des Québécoises et Québécois votait pour la souveraineté dans le cadre d'un référendum. En faisant cela, le NPD a voulu éviter d'être coincé par un projet de loi du Bloc Québécois (C-457), qui voulait tout simplement demander l'abolition de la Loi sur la « clarté ». Le projet de loi C-470 représente un certain progrès pour le NPD puisqu'il prend, au moins partiellement, ses distances par rapport à la Loi sur la « clarté ». Ceci dit, le projet de loi C-470 ne dépasse pas le cadre conceptuel de cette loi.

Les « conditions » du NPD

Pour justifier son projet de loi, le NPD s'identifie aux principes énoncés par la Cour Suprême du Canada dans le Renvoi relatif à la sécession du Québec. Selon le NPD, la loi sur la « clarté » ne respecte pas ces principes de ce jugement selon lequel, dans l'éventualité d'un vote majoritaire pour la souveraineté, « toutes les parties » seraient dans l'obligation de « venir à la table des négociations ». Cette négociation, toujours selon le NPD, serait soumise au respect de certaines conditions

Le gouvernement fédéral doit déterminer si, à son avis, la question référendaire « énonce clairement la modi-



fication constitutionnelle envisagée ». Le libellé de cette question pourrait être par exemple : « Le Québec devrait-il devenir un pays souverain ? ». Ou encore : « Le Québec devrait-il se séparer du Canada et devenir un pays souverain ? ». Si le gouvernement fédéral juge que la question n'est pas claire, il en saisit la Cour d'appel du Québec qui doit alors se prononcer sur la clarté de la question dans un délai de 60 jours. Si cette Cour déclare la question inadéquate, le référendum québécois serait illégitime. En d'autres mots, le NPD propose que le gouvernement fédéral (ou la Cour d'appel du Québec dont les juges sont nommés par Ottawa) ait le pouvoir de décider si l'éventuel référendum sur le statut constitutionnel du Québec sera légitime ou non.

- Dans la même optique, Ottawa aurait le droit de déterminer cette légitimité, non seulement en fonction d'une question qu'il jugerait « claire », mais aussi en évaluant l'ensemble du processus et de la procédure du référendum (l'exercice du vote, le dépouillement du scrutin, la transmission des résultats et les limites des dépenses, etc.)

- Une fois que ces conditions seraient respectées et qu'une « majorité des votes validement exprimées est en faveur de la modification proposée », le NPD voudrait que « toutes les parties formant la Confédération » (c'est-à-dire non seulement le gouvernement fédéral et le gouvernement québécois mais aussi

les gouvernements de toutes les provinces et territoires) s'assoient et négocient la sécession ou le changement constitutionnel demandé par le Québec.

Où est le droit à l'autodétermination ?

Comme on le sait, la loi sur la « clarté » ne spécifie pas le pourcentage du vote qui constituerait une « majorité claire ». En réalité, les partis fédéralistes comme le PLC et le PC ont déjà dit qu'il faudrait plus de 50 % des voix pour que la sécession soit légitime. Pour le NPD, la position est plus nuancée. Dans la déclaration de Sherbrooke, le NPD affirme qu'il « reconnaîtrait une décision majoritaire (50% + 1) des Québécoises et Québécois » tout en ajoutant qu'« il appartiendrait au gouvernement fédéral de déterminer son propre processus ». L'objectif du projet de loi C-470 est de forcer le gouvernement fédéral à engager des négociations impliquant « toutes les parties formant la Confédération ». On évite ainsi la discussion sur le partage des pouvoirs et sur le fait que dans la constitution actuelle, c'est Ottawa qui dispose des pouvoirs réellement importants, tels le système financier et bancaire, le commerce, les affaires extérieures, les tribunaux et instances judiciaires supérieures, les forces armées et la police fédérale.

Une certaine ouverture

On doit cependant admettre que le projet de loi du NPD manifeste une certaine ouverture. Dans la clause 9 de C-470 par exemple, Ottawa et les provinces seraient obligées de négocier toute proposition constitutionnelle ratifiée par les électeurs québécois concernant l'intégration du Québec dans l'ordre constitutionnel canadien (soit la constitution de 1982 (qui n'a jamais été endossé par les gouvernements québécois), la délimitation du pouvoir fédéral de dépenser au Québec, les transferts fiscaux permanent et les normes y afférents, ainsi que le retrait du gouvernement du Québec, avec pleine compensation, de tout programme en cas d'intervention du gouvernement fédéral dans un domaine de compétence législative provinciale exclusive.

Ces clauses pourraient renforcer la position du Québec face aux gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux. En substance, cette approche pourrait rejoindre la « gouvernance souverainiste » préconisée par le leadership du PQ en substitution au projet original.¹

Par rapport à un éventuel référendum, le NPD suggère qu'Ottawa et Québec négocient préalablement la question, un peu comme l'ont fait récemment les gouvernements anglais et écossais.

a continué à la page 16

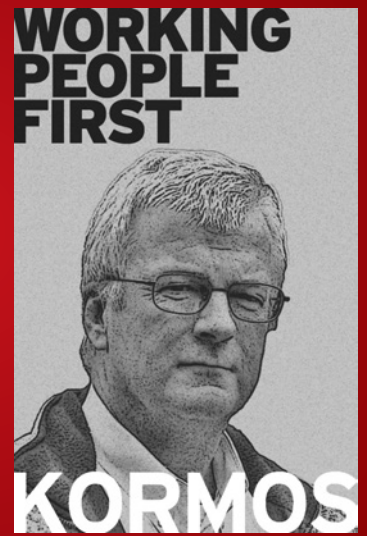
Quebec, from page thirteen

confronted and overcome. The NDP will face unrelenting opposition in its efforts by a hostile media, especially in English Canada.

However, there really is no alternative if the party is to build on its May 2011 breakthrough. And there is ample evidence that the needed reorientation of NDP thinking on Quebec, initiated by the Sherbrooke Declaration, can in coming years help to cement strong ties of solidarity between progressives in both nations — a precondition to turning politics in Canada toward the left. ■

PETER KORMOS (1952 - 2013), Niagara Regional councillor, and for 23 years the NDP MPP for Welland, was an outstanding fighter for the working class, the poor and the disenfranchised. He was a person of principle who openly identified as a socialist. He fearlessly stood up to corporate foes, and to traitors to the cause, including inside his own party. It was a pleasure to work on his campaign for Ontario NDP Leader in 1996, and alongside him on many other worthy causes over the years. Peter will be sorely missed. Our sincere condolences go out to his family and to his vast legion of comrades and friends.

Barry Weisleder,
Chairperson, NDP Socialist Caucus



Suite de la page 15

Entre l'arbre et l'écorce

Entre les lignes, il appert que le NPD cherche à dialoguer avec les éléments plus conservateurs du PQ et de la mouvance nationaliste québécoise. Il voudrait également se mettre de l'avant comme force politique capable de réconcilier le Canada et le Québec. Ce faisant, le NPD pourrait également apaiser les tensions qui subsistent au sein de sa députation québécoise (58 députés du NPD), qui semble-t-il ne partagent pas la même idée sur la question nationale québécoise.

Cependant, l'approche du NPD a été la cible d'une montagne de critiques au Canada anglais. Non seulement de la part des autres partis fédéralistes (ce qui était prévisible), mais également de la part des médias qui en général ont été très violents dans leur dénonciation de C-470. Le *Globe & Mail*, le *Ottawa Citizen*, et même le *Toronto Star* (le seul quotidien qui avait appuyé le NPD lors de l'élection de 2011) ont tous dénoncé un projet qui pourrait « faciliter la sécession du Québec ». Un parti qui aspire à gouverner la fédération, ont-ils dit, doit être prêt à « défendre le Canada ». Ces réactions n'augurent rien de bon pour Thomas Mulcair qui espérait attirer les appuis tant des nationalistes québécois que des anglophones fédéralistes modérés.

Au Québec, la réaction à C-470 a été plutôt tranquille. Les médias québécois ont surtout mentionné le fait qu'au Canada, il semble avoir un refus unanime

des aspirations québécoises dans leur ensemble. Une exception cependant a été l'analyse de la correspondante du *Devoir* à Ottawa, Manon Cornellier. Selon Mme Cornellier, le projet du NPD pourrait réconcilier le caucus québécois avec le reste du pays où une majorité substantielle d'électeurs continue d'appuyer l'idée d'une loi qui pourrait contrôler une tentative de sécession. En substance selon elle, C-470 limite la marge de manœuvre et l'arbitraire d'Ottawa. Indirectement, il confirme l'appui du NDD au droit à l'autodétermination, à la reconnaissance d'une victoire possible du oui au référendum et au fédéralisme asymétrique.

Avenir incertain

Avec une telle manœuvre, le NPD espère satisfaire ses électeurs québécois. Le Bloc Québécois serait ainsi privé de plusieurs de ses appuis (les « nationalistes mous ») et ainsi, le NPD pourrait protéger ses 58 sièges. En tout cas cela reste à voir.

Car en réalité, aucun des deux projets, tant celui du NPD que celui du Bloc, ne seront adoptés ni même présentés au vote de la Chambre. De manière plus importante, le débat autour de C-470 a démontré l'ampleur du « non-débat » sur cette question au Canada anglais. Un jour ou l'autre, le NPD sera confronté à ce dilemme. Ou bien il est apte à proposer une nouvelle vision du Canada qui impliquerait sans ambages ni ambiguïté le respect des droits du peuple québécois à l'autodétermination. Ou bien il s'engage à défendre le statu quo quoi qu'il advienne. Seuls de grands bou-

leversements politiques et sociaux pourraient modifier la donne.²

Or justement, le mouvement *Idle No More* représente potentiellement une ouverture. Ce mouvement militant reflète l'opinion d'une partie croissante des Premières Nations qui estiment que l'architecture légale et constitutionnelle que lui a imposée l'État colonial canadien n'est plus tolérable. Il reste à voir si cette évolution pourrait forcer un réel débat au sein de la gauche au Canada anglais, qui était et reste ambiguë par rapport aux enjeux fondamentaux soulevés par les peuples qui réclament leurs droits. ■

1 Le nouveau ministre des relations internationales du Québec, Jean-François Lisée, a déjà proposé un « plan B » étapiste dans son livre *Sortie de Secours: Comment échapper au déclin du Québec* (Boréal, 2000). L'idée est d'organiser plusieurs référendums sur des besoins essentiels qui, s'ils étaient acceptés, imposeraient un renouvellement du fédéralisme.

2 Le NPD peut-il se rapprocher de l'aile progressiste du mouvement souverainiste, notamment de Québec Solidaire ? Pour cela, il faudrait rejeter la proposition de Mulcair de bâtir une aile provinciale du NPD au Québec (remise à plus tard lors du dernier congrès du NPD pour des raisons principalement pragmatiques). Le membership officiellement réclamé du NPD au Québec est de 13 000 membres, un peu moins que le membership de QS et de loin inférieur à l'objectif recherché par M. Mulcair (20 000) lors de sa campagne pour le leadership du NPD.

Socialist Caucus Resolutions for NDP Convention

The following resolutions were approved by the Federal Socialist Caucus Conference in Toronto. They have been circulated for adoption at meetings of NDP riding associations, Youth clubs and affiliated unions for debate and vote at Convention. We hope you speak out and support them on the floor. Read the full resolutions at www.ndpsocialists.ca.

1. Campaign against CETA, TPPA and FIPA
2. Support Campaigns to cancel student debt and fees
3. Stop the Pipelines
4. Restore Relations with Iran
5. Oppose the Sale of Resource Firms for Democratic and Environmental Reasons
6. Break the Siege of Gaza
7. NATO Hands off Syria!
8. Make CPP Benefits a Decent, Living Income for Retirees
9. Legalize Cannabis
10. Restore Food Safety; Rebuild the Public Service
11. Raise the Minimum Wage
12. Nationalize U.S. Steel
13. Phase-out the Alberta Tar Sands
14. Proportional Representation Within the NDP
15. Support the Cochabamba Protocols
16. Canada out of NATO, NATO out of Afghanistan
17. Canada Out of Haiti
18. Justice for Palestinians, Boycott Apartheid Israel
19. Nationalize the Auto Industry
20. Nationalize the Big Banks and Insurance companies
21. Nationalize Big Oil and Gas
22. No NDP coalition with Business Class Political Parties
23. For More Policy Discussion at Conventions
24. For Democracy and for Leadership Accountability
25. End 'One Member One Vote' superficial decision-making
26. Democratic Control of the Telecommunications Industry
27. Hands off Migrant Workers
28. Fair and Democratic Trade
29. Elimination of Tuition and Student Debt
30. Build Social Housing
31. Repeal the Clarity Act
32. Share the Work, Shorten the Work Week
33. Defend and Extend the Right to Strike
34. Building the Party as a Mass Movement of the Working Class and Allies
35. Party Internal Financing
36. Solidarity with Cuba
37. Defend Venezuela and Bolivia
38. Social Ownership and Economic Democracy
39. Social Ownership of Primary Industries

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE NOT OVER IN CANADA

By Judy Koch

It has been 25 years since a Supreme Court of Canada ruling that allowed the Morgentaler clinic and other clinics across the country to provide abortion services to women. It was an historic victory, yet women across the Canadian state still have a fight ahead of us. Abortion is not available to all women. Some of the most oppressed women, such as native women, immigrant women, teenage women and rural women, find access to abortion limited or nil. Recently refugee women were deprived of this right. Abortion is not performed in Prince Edward Island, and the government of New Brunswick refuses to pay for clinic abortions. There are also threats to defund abortions in Ontario.

Federally, there have been attempts to roll back the right to abortion by private members bills - since the government realizes that if it comes

out frontally against abortion, there will be a large public backlash. The latest such attempt is a bill to establish a commission on "when life begins." This could lead to fetuses being considered human life, thus blocking abortions. In October 2012, there was a private member's bill against abortion which was defeated by a 2 to 1 margin. It was supported by 100 MPs. At the same time, the Harper government refuses to implement provisions of the Canada Health Act that guarantees equal access.

Before winning the right to abortion, countless women in Canada were harmed by botched treatment. Women who then went to the hospital were in danger of being arrested for having an abortion. Morgentaler was arrested a number of times before the Supreme Court finally ruled in his favour. Women stormed Parliament in Ottawa in favour of the right to abortion. Yet today, there is still the so-called Right

to Life organization, supported by the Catholic Church, which harasses women attempting to exercise their rights. They set up "counselling services" to frighten women away.

The NDP Socialist Caucus firmly upholds a woman's right to choose. We seek to bolster NDP and Labour support for choice. The support of provincial NDP governments greatly helps the struggle. As well, women, and our male allies still need to demonstrate publicly for abortion rights.

The right to abortion was one of the most important gains of the feminist movement in the 1970s and 1980s. On October 20, 2012, rallies took place across Canada for reproductive justice, equal access, and no forced sterilization. About 100 people demonstrated at Toronto's Old City Hall that day. The struggle for abortion rights is part of the anti-austerity cause, the battle to defend and extend public health care, and the struggle for women's liberation.

We invite you to join us in the struggle today. ■

Canada-EU Trade Deal: No Time for NDP to Show Moderation

OFL President Sid Ryan explains that NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair's "wait-and-see" approach to the Canada-European Union trade deal is dangerous, not moderate.

It is always uncomfortable to give public advice to a friend, but when he is about to head down a perilous path, a good friend offers a strong warning.

This is how I feel about NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair's recent appeal to Canadians to remain open to the Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). If the NDP is seeking to demonstrate its thoughtfulness and moderation, this secret deal is not the right moment. NDP support for CETA – no matter how qualified – could lead Canadians down the wrong path.

Canada's experience with other free-trade agreements belies the myth that a free-trade agreement with the European Union could somehow reverse an already imbalanced trade relationship. According to economist Jim Stanford, CETA could expose Canadians to an even greater trade deficit and lead to the loss of as many as 152,000 jobs. CETA also grants rights to corporations that jeopardize the powers of Canadian governments at every level.

Such concerns are echoed by environmental organizations, labour unions, civil society groups and a growing number of researchers and experts. In fact, Council of Canadians Chairperson Maude Barlow has been at the forefront of opposing CETA's threat to water, education and other public services, and more than 80 municipalities and school boards have expressed concern, with more than 40 demanding to be exempt. Even a UN envoy this week signalled that this agreement would undermine the ability for Canada to support local economies and address poverty and hunger.



Despite this broad-based opposition, Mulcair is still musing about supporting CETA, but perhaps he'll listen to the candid counsel of a friend.

I think Mulcair already knows in his gut what is best for Canadians. In outlining the "deal-breaker" issues for the NDP, he proves why CETA must be rejected outright. After all, many of his non-negotiable issues – ranging from environmental protections to buy-local programs and Canadian banking regulations – are still on the table. Even Mulcair admits that despite his promise to defend the public interest, the NDP is up against "powerful, insider interests" – not to mention an all-too-willing Harper majority government.

What would these corporate interests gain at the expense of working people? The pharmaceutical industry is seeking to extend monopoly patent rights for their brand-name drugs, which the federal government has admitted would cost the public up to \$2 billion annually. The NDP says it can live with this if it is accompanied by compensation to the provinces and consumers, but this still leaves Canadian taxpayers footing the bill.

In addition, European companies stand to win the right to legally challenge Canadian laws that interfere with their

profits, even on issues that are of vital importance to Canadians like health care and the environment. And this is just the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

We already know much of what is at stake in the CETA negotiations because draft text has been leaked. So Mulcair's "wait-and-see" approach to CETA is dangerous, not moderate.

It doesn't take a good lawyer – or even a union negotiator – to know that when the "final text" is plunked down on the table, it is too late to change the deal. Waiting for the Tories to reveal the final offer to Canadians before raising objection is akin to closing the barn doors after the horses have bolted.

This is all the more reason why the NDP should be denouncing CETA and publicly declaring that the fix is in. Exposing CETA as a "corporate bill of rights" isn't Chicken Little alarmism, it is speaking truth to corporate power. And it is this kind of principled commitment to values that led the NDP to a historic surge in 2011.

For the four and a half million NDP voters and the millions more they hope to win over, a willingness to bend your values is not inspiring leadership. If there is any lesson to be drawn from the past, surely it is from his Liberal counterparts who learned the hard way that if you forget what you stand for, then no one else will believe in you either.

I admire the confidence that Mulcair has earned from Canadians through his principled opposition in the House. When it comes to an international trade agreement that puts corporate interests ahead of the public interest, Canadians deserve no less. The NDP must seize this opportunity to offer an alternative vision for trade – one that is sustainable, equitable and fair. ■

Sid Ryan is president of the Ontario Federation of Labour.

"The NDP must seize this opportunity to offer an alternative vision for trade — one that is sustainable, equitable and fair."

Le NPD ne peut être modéré au sujet de l'entente de libre-échange avec l'UE

Par Sid Ryan

Il est toujours délicat de donner publiquement un conseil à un ami, mais si cet ami s'engage dans un sentier dangereux, un ami authentique se doit de faire un avertissement ferme. Voilà le sentiment que j'ai au sujet de l'appel récent, lancé par le chef du NPD Thomas Mulcair, à se montrer ouvert au projet d'entente de libre-échange entre le Canada et l'Union européenne. Si le NPD souhaite démontrer sa perspicacité et sa modération, cette entente secrète n'est pas le bon prétexte. Le soutien du NPD envers l'entente, peu importe l'étiquette qu'on veut lui apposer, pourrait entraîner les Canadiens dans la mauvaise voie.

L'expérience qu'a le Canada d'autres ententes de libre-échange va à l'encontre du mythe selon lequel une entente de libre-échange avec l'Union européenne pourrait inverser une relation commerciale déjà déséquilibrée. Selon l'économiste Jim Stanford, l'entente pourrait exposer les Canadiens à un alourdissement du déficit commercial et entraîner la perte de 152 000 emplois. L'entente octroie aux entreprises des droits qui mettent en péril les pouvoirs qu'ont les gouvernements au Canada, et cela à chacune des instances.

Ces craintes sont partagées par les organisations environnementales, les syndicats ouvriers, des groupes de la société civile et un nombre croissant de chercheurs et d'experts. La présidente du Conseil des Canadiens Maude Barlow est aux premières loges des opposants qui perçoivent l'entente comme une menace pour l'eau, pour l'éducation et d'autres services publics, et plus de 80 municipalités et conseils scolaires ont fait part de craintes, dont plus d'une quarantaine qui exigent d'être exemptés. Un envoyé de l'ONU a indiqué cette semaine que l'entente mettrait en péril la capacité du Canada à soutenir les économies locales et à s'attaquer à la pauvreté et à la faim.

Malgré cette robuste opposition, Mulcair rumine toujours l'idée



d'apporter son soutien à l'entente. Mais peut-être prêtera-t-il l'oreille à un ami qui lui dit ses vérités ?

Je crois que Mulcair connaît en son for intérieur ce qui est dans l'intérêt des Canadiens. En formulant des questions cruciales pour le NPD, il fournit lui-même les preuves de la nécessité d'opposer une fin de non recevoir à l'entente. Après tout, beaucoup de ces questions non négociables — de la protection de l'environnement aux programmes d'incitation à consommer des produits locaux et aux réglementations des banques canadiennes — font l'objet de discussions en ce moment. Même Mulcair admet qu'en dépit de sa promesse de défendre l'intérêt public, le NPD doit faire face à de puissants intérêts à l'interne — pour ne rien dire du gouvernement majoritaire de Harper, qui abonde dans le même sens.

Qu'est-ce donc ici qui favorise les intérêts de la grande entreprise aux dépens de la classe ouvrière ? L'industrie pharmaceutique cherche à étendre les droits relatifs au monopole sur les brevets pour les médicaments portant leur marque, ce qui, comme l'a

admis le gouvernement fédéral, coûtera aux contribuables canadiens deux milliards de dollars par an. Le NPD dit pouvoir s'accommoder de cela s'il y a une compensation pour les provinces et les consommateurs, mais il n'en demeure pas moins que c'est le contribuable canadien qui devra payer la note. De plus, les entreprises européennes pourraient se voir octroyer le droit de contester légalement les lois canadiennes pouvant menacer leurs profits, y compris sur des questions d'importance vitale pour les Canadiens comme les soins de santé et l'environnement. Ce n'est là que la pointe de l'iceberg.

Nous connaissons l'enjeu élevé des négociations entourant l'entente de libre-échange avec l'UE en raison de fuites qui ont mis au jour l'ébauche du texte. Donc l'approche expectante de Mulcair envers l'entente est non pas modérée mais dangereuse. Nul besoin d'être avocat de renom — ou négociateur syndical chevronné — pour savoir qu'une fois le texte définitif couché sur le papier, les dés sont jetés. Attendre

a continué à la page 23

MULCAIR: BETWEEN A ROC AND A HARD PLACE

Photo: Matt Jiggins

Is Thomas Mulcair strangling the goose that laid the golden-orange egg?

The inept handling of former NDP MP Claude Patry's decision to join the BQ is a costly example of how the party leadership has yet to firm up the precarious grip it has on its Quebec base and how desperate is the need for the NDP to take a crash course on Quebec politics and the National Question.

With Claude Patry's departure, the Nouveau Parti Democratique lost one of its few active labour unionists in the House. Jonquieres-Alma, the site of Canada's first pulp mill at Val Jalbert, is one of our core industrial ridings. The Saguenay region recently witnessed an eighteen month lock-out at Rio-Tinto Alcan, where the company imposed concessions similar to those at US-Steel in Hamilton and Vale-Inco in Sudbury.

Not only did Patry win the seat for the NPD, he defeated the twice-incumbent Harperite cabinet minister Jean Pierre Blackburn in a bitter two-way fight, increasing our vote by almost 40%. In the Quebec National Assembly, the seat is a solid PQ fiefdom like many other NPD ridings -- including, for example, Alexandre Boulerice's Rosemont-la-Petite-Patrie.

To pillory Claude Patry now as a defector in robocalls from Ottawa NDP HQ was a futile, knee-jerk reaction. Chantal Valleyrand conceded as much in a prime-time radio interview with Jacques Beauchamp. The robocalls got no response, she had to admit.

Mulcair's stance in favor of Harper's funding of Labrador's Muskrat Falls project -- without calling for similar funding of Quebec hydro projects -- is another example of something that rankles Quebec voters.

We can only hope that the Bloc Quebecois doesn't call Mulcair's bluff and get Patry to cause a by-election in Jonquieres-Alma. That could be a 'bye-bye' election for our 2015 Quebec hopes.

What is it that makes Quebec so volatile for us?

Following the creation of the New Party, we lost fiery Quebec labor leader Michel Chartrand, who tried in vain to gain a modicum of autonomy for



the federal section at the constituent congress in 1961. Since the Trudeau era, so ossified and automatic was NDP separatism-bashing that we let Stephen Harper beat us to a very belated recognition of Quebec's Nationhood.

Tommy Douglas's defiant rejection of Trudeau's 1970 War Measures Act was a rare moment when the party had it correct. The Waffle argued early that an independent socialist Canada had to start with recognizing Quebec's essential right to national self-determination. The NDP eventually adopted this plank. But the low point came with Roy Romanow's sordid role in the 1981 Kitchen Coup.

Later on, the me-too stance of Bob Rae at Meech Lake and Charlottetown only played into the hands of the arch-chauvinist Reform Party in the Rest Of Canada (ROC). It also gave birth to the Bloc Quebecois and the narrow, razor-edge federalist victory in the 1995 Quebec referendum.

It has taken two decades, plus Jack Layton's uncanny and folksy approach -- so lacking in the cerebral Mulcair -- to unleash the Orange Wave. Elsewhere in this magazine, Richard Fidler explains that, while Craig Scott's private member's Bill C-470 is a welcome first step, it will take more than that.

At this writing -- the white smoke had just risen above the Vatican

-- Marc Garneau has just dropped out of the Liberal leadership race, ensuring Junior Trudeau's coronation -- all on the weekend of our crucial Montreal convention.

What the party needs to do in our ROC heartlands is to conduct a vaccination campaign against Trudeau-mania II. We must expose simplistic jingoism and overcome the Anglo establishment's bullheaded approach which is so well criticized in John Conway's *Debts to Pay* (see review). Conway's book is just the vaccine to do the job. A pro-active leadership should place it on our NPD.ca web site and invite its author to do a coast-to-coast speaking tour.

Also, given the Idle No More upsurge, we should re-think our constitutional approach to First Nations. The NDP can learn from the examples of progressive regimes in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Let's begin with a pluri-national directorate at party HQ. Like the NHL owners, we are skating on thin ice. Let's rise above the mindless, anti-Quebec body checking in the ROC. ■

Hans Modlich is Swiss-Canadian and an NDP activist in Beaches-EastYork. He is a frequent commentator on Quebec issues in Turn Left. See www.ndpsocialists.ca.

Exposing Canada's "Petro State" Foreign Policy

By Yves Engler

Two recent developments within corporate Canada help explain Stephen Harper's more imperialistic foreign policy.

Canada's growing "petro state" has driven a more extreme, anti-internationalist, foreign policy. With tar sands production growing from 600,000 barrels per day in 2000 to 1,600,000 today, this basically guarantees that Canada will oppose or flout international agreements to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Environment minister Peter Kent made this point forcefully in March when he described the Kyoto Protocol as "probably the biggest foreign policy mistake the previous Liberal government made." The politicians most committed to tar sands expansion have an incentive to build hostility towards international accords and the UN.

Another development that helps explain the Conservatives more aggressive foreign policy is the incredible growth in Canada's mining sector. Canadian mining companies' overseas investments increased from \$30 billion in 2002 to \$210 billion last year. More

than 60 percent of the world's mining companies are listed on this country's stock exchanges, and as much as 80 percent of global mining equity financing takes place in Canada.

Overseas mining profits make up a big part of corporate Canada's yearly income. And it's not just resource companies benefiting. In October, for instance, Toronto-based law firm Fasken Martineau announced that it would take over South Africa's Bell Dewar. According to the *Globe and Mail*, "Fasken Martineau says its expansion there is primarily driven by its mining industry clients as they increasingly invest not just in South Africa, but across the continent." Similarly, Canadian banks have set up shop in a number of countries specifically to service miners. ScotiaBank, for example, announced that it would expand its operations in Peru to do more business with mining clients.

Canadian mining profits are heavily dependent on a quarter century of neoliberal reforms. Privatizations of state-run mining companies, loosening restrictions on foreign investment and reductions in government royalty rates have greatly benefited Canadian miners.

International Monetary Fund Structural Adjustment Programs that pried open African economies to foreign investors in the 1980s and 90s have enabled a 110 fold increase in Canadian mining assets across the continent - from \$250 million in 1989 to \$29 billion today.

The situation is similar in many Latin American countries. For instance, there were no Canadian mines operating in Mexico in 1994. By 2010, there were about 375 Canadian-run projects. Before the reforms that came with the NAFTA, Mexico's constitution dictated that land, subsoil and its riches were the property of the state and recognized the collective right of communities to land through the ejido system. Constitutional changes in 1992 allowed for sale of lands to third parties, including multinational corporations. Combined with a new Law on Foreign Investment, the Mining Law of 1992 allowed for 100 percent foreign control in the exploration and production of mines. With hundreds of projects in Mexico, Canadian mining companies have been the biggest winners from these reforms.

continued on page twenty three

REVIEW

Debts to Pay: The Future of Federalism in Quebec
by John F. Conway

Reviewed by Hans Modlich

This work, like no other Anglo Canadian book, dissects the historical debts that English Canada has incurred over the life of our uneasy relationship as two solitudes in a single federated state. Authored by the longtime University of Regina academic, John F. Conway, born and raised in Moose Jaw, in the province that gave us Tommy Douglas, we New Democrats should take it to heart especially.

In my opinion, it is the best way out of the emotional conundrum that clouds the historical facts once they are freed from the distorted reporting we encounter in our corporate media.

At the very outset, let's be clear here that we're not talking about any monetary debts. Conway clinically re-examines each legacy bequeathed to us by previous Liberal and Tory federal intransigence and bullying which have resulted in an uninterrupted string of failures to come to constitutional terms.

Conway explains the sensitivities and humiliations underlying the nationalism of the once conquered and occupied, the erstwhile cheap labour force made to 'speak-white'. But he goes beyond the stereotypical and updates us also with the modern interests of a largely emancipated Quebec, entrepreneurial, now corporate in its own right, and shaping a vibrant culture and economic identity of its own - in contrasts to the immutable, domineering Anglo corporate class.

Like Jack Layton, Conway is convinced, and I quote: "The Quebecois nation has the will to seek a

reconciliation. It always has. Indeed the last forty years have been characterized by increasingly urgent appeals from the Quebecois... But it cannot be on English Canada's terms as it always has been in the past.

The reconciliation the Quebecois seek insists that we in English Canada accept the fundamental legitimacy and correctness of their historical grievances.... English Canada must now yield to the Quebecois nation the powers it needs to protect, strengthen and enhance that nation. To do otherwise... to threaten and bully... with the use of legal technicalities and superior federal power, will provoke an uglier confrontation at the next eruption of Quebecois nationalism and sovereignty. The Quebecois nation does not believe we have yet paid our [historical] debt. Nor do many of us. We can pay them now, or we can pay them later. But pay them we must." ■

Union leaders of the Ontario Public Service, auto workers, steel workers, postal workers, and Catholic teachers have recently given way to concessions in bargaining. Elementary and secondary public school teacher leaders caved to the Ontario Labour Relations Board ruling banning a one-day political strike. Now all teachers are forced to live under the thumb of undemocratic Bill 115. Labour brass rhetoric aside, concessions

to defend workers publicly. She focuses her criticisms on the financial costs to be incurred by government in defending the legality of the actions of the big business parties against labour. Needed now, more than ever, is a working class fightback in the NDP, to push the party to the left to challenge austerity, and to embrace more democratic and socialist principles.

There are good examples of effective protests against austerity. The Occupy movement, under the slogan “We

leadership.

Unions would be in a better position to fight and win by launching mobilization efforts months before the beginning of bargaining, through bulletins, guest speakers at local events, and regional educational conferences on what capitalist austerity is, and how to fight it. Our unions should focus on a clear message, such as “no concessions,” or “we didn’t create this crisis, and we won’t pay for it.” Members require the

CONCESSIONS CRIPPLE LABOUR’S STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALIST AUSTERITY

bargaining is now the norm, not the exception, impacting most harmfully on youths, women and immigrant workers.

Also lacking is any serious attempt to work in a common front against the austerity agenda. A recent example is the true sectarian fashion in which the Ontario Public Service Employees Union organized a separate protest to occur at the Ontario Liberal leadership convention early in the morning of January 26, 2013, denying members from outside Toronto the opportunity to participate in the Ontario Federation of Labour afternoon protest demonstration and rally (because they would need later bus transportation back to their regions across the province). The OFL rally was planned months in advance. It spoke for the majority of the labour movement with its more than 20,000 members present at the event.

Today, much of the labour leadership has virtually abandoned the fight against the capitalist austerity agenda. The labour-based New Democratic Party has likewise played a pathetic role, shying away from taking a strong stand for workers and against austerity. Ontario NDP Leader Andrea Horwath has failed

are the 99%,” showed for the first time in a generation that there is a class struggle, that working people did not create the economic crisis, and should not pay for it. The massive and persistent Quebec students’ strike in 2012 is another excellent example of a fightback against

tools to fight back. That is what unions should provide.

By accepting concessions, the labour movement signals to the ruling class that it will tolerate the austerity agenda – in effect making working people pay for the economic crisis we are enduring.

Statements such as “the government/employer would not budge” are a very poor excuse to accept concessions. If the bosses don’t budge, why should we collapse?

Typically, union bureaucrats lack confidence in the membership, which is why there is little if any talk of mass strike action, even in the face of vicious attacks by the business elite in the workplace, parliament and the media. The idea that labour will turn things around “when the economy recovers,” or that a struggle against management will occur without the union rank and file challenging the union bureaucracy, are grand delusions. Class struggle opposition in

each union is no abstract ideal. It is an urgent necessity to avoid an accelerating descent into labour hell. ■

Julius Arscott is an OPSEU member, Socialist Caucus activist and Federal NDP Council Candidate



austerity. Striking Quebec students rallied public support for universal access to quality post-secondary education, and hastened the defeat of the governing Quebec Liberal party and the reversal of the tuition hike. This shows what is possible when there is progressive

Socialist Caucus Public Forums at NDP/NPD Federal Convention

Friday, April 12
At lunch break, room Room 513C

"Quebec and the NDP," and
"Why Quebec Students are in the Streets Again"

Speakers:

Andre Frappier is official male spokesperson for Quebec Solidaire, a former NDP/NPD federal election candidate, and a former executive member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

Adam Szymanski is a Socialist Caucus candidate for NDP Executive. He has worked as a union steward, radio show host and regular contributor to the Western New Democrats publication L.E.F.T. (Liberty Equality Freedom Truth).

Saturday, April 13
At lunch break, in room Room 513C

"Canadian Military Intervention in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean - Where Does the NDP stand?"

Speakers:

Raymond Legault is an anti-war activist and one of the spokespersons for "Echec a la guerre", a coalition created in 2002, when the US was preparing to invade Iraq. He teaches Computer Science at College Ahuntsic.

Barry Weisleder is the chairperson of the NDP Socialist Caucus, and editorial board member of Turn Left, secondary school teacher, and organizer of Toronto Substitute Teachers' Action Caucus.

Suite de la page 19

que les conservateurs dévoilent l'offre définitive aux Canadiens avant de soulever une objection reviendrait à verrouiller les portes de l'écurie après que les chevaux ont pris la fuite.

Raison supplémentaire pour le NPD de dénoncer l'entente et de révéler sur la place publique que nous sommes dans la mélasse. Exposer l'entente de libre-échange avec l'UE comme Déclaration des droits de l'entreprise n'a rien d'alarmiste, c'est au contraire dire la

vérité sur le pouvoir des entreprises. Ce ne serait qu'exprimer des valeurs qui ont propulsé le NPD à un sommet historique à l'élection de 2011.

Pour les quatre millions et demi d'électeurs du NPD et les millions de plus que le parti espère gagner à sa cause, la propension à mettre en sourdine ses propres valeurs ne dénote pas des qualités de chef inspiré. Si le passé est garant de l'avenir, voyons un peu du côté des libéraux. Ils ont appris par la méthode forte que lorsque vous oubliez ce que vous êtes censé représenter, plus

personne ne met ses espoirs en vous.

J'admire la confiance que Mulcair s'est attirée auprès des Canadiens grâce à son style d'opposition fondée sur des principes à la Chambre. Lorsqu'il est question d'une entente portant sur le commerce international qui place l'intérêt des entreprises avant l'intérêt public, les Canadiens s'attendent à la même probité. Le NPD doit saisir l'occasion d'offrir une alternative visionnaire pour le commerce qui soit durable, équitable et juste. ■

Foreign Policy, from page twenty one

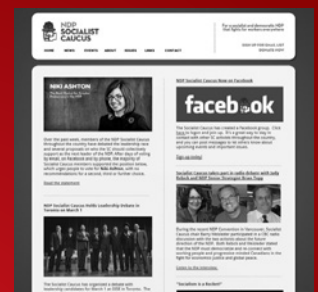
Today, any government in the world that increases resource royalty rates or nationalizes extractive industries is a threat to Canadian mining interests. Yet, these types of reforms are often the first pushed by governments and social movements resisting neoliberalism. A July 2012 Globe and Mail business headline described the phenomenon this way: "In Latin America, nationalism stumps Canadian [resource] companies" while that same month an Embassy headline noted: "Canadian mining firms confront new wave of Latin American nationalization."

Put simply, Canadian mining profits are closely tied to maintaining, if not expanding, a particularly rapacious form of "free" market capitalism. This reality has pushed Ottawa towards a more aggressive international posture. ■

LOG ON TO OUR WEBSITE AND SIGN UP TO OUR FACEBOOK GROUP

Our newly designed website includes articles from SC supporters and information about past and future events. www.ndpsocialists.ca

Don't forget to sign up to our Facebook group. Just type "Socialist Caucus" in the search bar, and you'll find us. Become a member of the group and join in the discussion.



DONATE TO THE SOCIALIST CAUCUS

The Socialist Caucus spends its resources publishing editions of Turn Left, issues literature to promote SC candidates for executive, promotes public forums and produces SC posters, stickers, buttons and more.

If you can give, now is the time. We can make a real difference in creating a more democratic party. Please send a cheque to: NDP Socialist Caucus, 526 Roxton Rd. Toronto, ON. M6G 3R4.

Socialist Caucus Candidates for Federal NDP Council

The Socialist Caucus is presenting a team of candidates for the Federal NDP Council at Convention on April 12 to 14. Let's build a more democratic, socialist and participatory NDP. Please support our candidates.

John Orrett for Treasurer

District Chief with the Toronto Fire Services, John has been a member of the NDP for 40 years and is presently the Federal President for the Thornhill Riding Association. He has an Honours BA in Political Science with credits in economics and international affairs. He calls on your support to help build riding associations that are active with local issues and will create a stronger NDP.



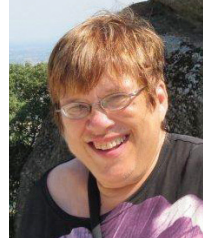
Adam Szymanski for Quebec Rep.

Adam Szymanski is Vice-President of the Teaching and Research Assistant union at Concordia University, where he is working on his PhD. Adam is the spokesperson for the Concordia Graduate Student Association's Boycott, Divestment and was a CLASSE congress representative during the Quebec student strike. Adam worked as a union steward, student journalist and radio show host.



Judy Koch for Disability Com. Rep.

Judy is a long time social activist, is a member of the NDP Socialist Caucus federal and Ontario steering committees, and is on the Toronto Danforth NDP executive. A frequent visitor to revolutionary Cuba, Judy also attended the World Social Forum in Caracas, Venezuela in 2006. Her campaign for executive is centered on building a more democratic and inclusive party ready to take on corporate power.



Julius Arscott for Ontario Region Representative

The Vice President of OPSEU local 532, Julius has worked in the Ontario Public Service for over ten years. Currently in the Ministry of Environment, Julius has worked in several OPSEU campaigns, including the anti-wage freeze initiative. Julius is also active in the anti-war movement and has been a long time environmentalist and outdoorsman.



Evan Engering for Labour Vice-President

Evan is a labour activist, member of the Socialist Caucus steering committee, and member of ENDPProhibition, the anti-prohibitionist wing of Canada's NDP.



Yasin Kaya for Visible Minorities Rep

Yasin migrated to Canada from Turkey to pursue a PhD degree in Politics at York University. He is a member of CUPE Local 3903, NDP Socialist Caucus, Socialist Action-Canada, and Workers' Solidarity Party in Turkey.



Tyler MacKinnon for NDYC Representative

Tyler is a Ryerson University student in Politics and Governance and a former member of the ONDY executive. He is the Etobicoke Centre NDP delegate to convention, and is a supporter of the NDP Socialist Caucus.

NDP Socialist Caucus

The NDP Socialist Caucus is a group of party members who believe that in order to survive, the New Democratic Party must move to the Left and join working Canadians and their allies in the struggle for socialism, democracy and freedom.

Founded by NDP members in Toronto in 1998, we believe that the struggle for peace, women's rights and environmental sustainability is central to the creation of a better world. The Socialist Caucus also believes that the NDP must become more democratic and allow for greater debate and bottom-up participation in the party and at conventions. We invite you to join us.

Le Caucus socialiste NPD

Le Caucus Socialiste du NPD est un groupe de membres du parti qui croient que, dans le but de survivre, le Nouveau Parti démocratique doit se déplacer vers la gauche et rejoindre les travailleurs et les travailleuses canadien-nes et leurs alliés dans la lutte pour le socialisme, la démocratie et la liberté.

Fondé par des membres du NPD à Toronto en 1998, nous croyons que la lutte pour la paix, les droits des femmes et la durabilité de l'environnement est essentielle à la création d'un monde meilleur. Le Caucus Socialiste estime que le NPD doit devenir plus démocratique et permettre une plus grande participation et un débat de la base au sommet dans le parti et aux congrès.