

Turn Left Virez à gauche

Voice of the NDP Socialist Caucus / Voix du caucus socialiste NDP

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NDP  NPD



Spring/
Printemps 2016

Our lives are worth more
than their profits



**CREATE PUBLICLY-OWNED
PHARMACARE FOR ALL**

Inside: Time for NDP Leadership Review

'Leap' Forward with Socialist Policies

Popular discontent with the status quo has an inspiring new voice. Sponsored by an array of Canadian cultural and political critics of the establishment, "The Leap Manifesto" is a sweeping indictment of the system.

Leap initiators include Bruce Cockburn, Charles Taylor, Clayton Ruby, Hassan Yussuff, David Suzuki, Judy Rebick, Leonard Cohen, Maude Barlow, Michael Ondaatje, Naomi Klein, Neil Young, Sarah Polley, Tantoo Cardinal, and Thomas King. Joined by over 30,000 endorsers, they decry "deepening poverty and inequality" and denounce "Canada's record on climate change (as) a crime against humanity's future."

They envision a society "powered entirely by truly just renewable energy", connected by "accessible public transit", and involving a transition designed to put an end to racial and gender inequality.

But the 'leap' they ask us to take carefully side-steps the issue of political power - who has it, and how to change it.

Sadly, the Manifesto doesn't name the problem. In that regard, its proponents fall short of the pronouncements of Catholic Pope Francis. He boldly calls capitalist greed "the dung of the devil."

The Manifesto's more reticent approach leads to a string of disappointments. Its demand that the rights of First Nations peoples be respected concludes with a limp plea: to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Its call for a shift to sustainable,

green energy is tied to a vague hope that communities will "create innovative ownership structures."

But how exactly would that put a dent in the capacity of Big Oil and Gas to obstruct change? How would that even begin to fund new energy technologies, build energy efficient homes or retrofit existing housing, much less pay for more high speed rail and mass urban public transit?

"The Socialist Caucus is pleased to support **The Leap Manifesto.** More than a single-issue campaign, the Socialist Caucus fights year-round for anti-austerity, socialist policies and actions in the unions and the NDP."

At the same time, where the manifesto rejects "austerity" it does offer a glimpse of a new path. It projects an end to fossil fuel subsidies, and the need to begin to steeply tax giant corporations and wealthy people. That is a very good conversation starter.

However, Leap is mum on how politically to wage the assault on concentrated wealth and power, much less how to sustain it. Ignored is the fact that a few super-rich families own the means of production, distribution and

exchange. History shows they obtained it by the dispossessing the original peoples of the continent and by the exploiting many generations of workers.

Obscured is the fact that a modern socio-economic aristocracy controls the state - which is poised to put down any serious challenge to the corporate agenda. Remember the War Measures Act? The G20 protests in Toronto? Government strike breaking? Killer cops and racial carding? Law C-51?

That's no reason to despair - just to prepare.

In other words, to truly Leap forward it will be necessary to make a social revolution. It will be necessary to win unions and the NDP to socialist policies, on the road to creating a working class movement that is capable of avoiding the snares of opportunism. Needed is a movement that can take the working class to power on the basis of work place and neighbourhood structures that will put Canada's superficial dollar-democracy to shame. Now that would be a Leap forward.

In the meantime, proponents of The Leap Manifesto should join with the NDP Socialist Caucus to educate and organize the three million NDP voters to fight for socialist change.

The Socialist Caucus is pleased to support The Leap Manifesto. More than a single-issue campaign, the SC fights year-round for anti-austerity, socialist policies and actions in the unions and the NDP. The result will be a broader base for the radical change that is so desperately needed. ■



NO RECONCILIATION WITHOUT JUSTICE

What will come of the massive report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which investigated the cultural genocide inflicted by the Canadian federal government on indigenous peoples? Will its 94 specific recommendations bear any fruit?

The TRC deserves praise for raising awareness of the horrendous suffering of the 150,000 indigenous children who were torn from their communities between 1883 and 1996 and placed in residential schools. As many as 6,000 of them died of malnutrition, tuberculosis, influenza and other diseases. Thousands were buried, forgotten, in unmarked graves. The survivors had to live with the painful memories of physical, emotional and sexual abuse that was rampant in the federally-funded, church-run schools.



By Elizabeth Byce

In 2008 then-Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized for the "great harm" caused by Ottawa's racist campaign "to

take the Indian out of the child", suppressing native languages, culture and identity.

The TRC justly demands much more than an official apology. Its call for "mutual respect" is embodied in the idea of a nation-to-nation relationship between Canada and 1.4 million indigenous peoples. That means honouring native land rights, and providing funding for health, housing and education. Fulfilment of those goals, not as an act of charity, but on a foundation of

indigenous self-government, faces sharp resistance from the Canadian establishment. Not only from pipeline companies, energy resource industries and mining firms, staunch resistance will come from the ruling rich as a class, and from the state that guards their interests.

Mass protest actions of the kind initiated by Idle No More put the issue of missing and murdered indigenous women onto the political agenda.

Many more such actions, in partnership with labour unions, social justice and environmental movements, will be required. In fact, the re-distribution of wealth and power necessary to end the present colonial arrangement entails nothing less than a revolution to abolish monopoly business control of the economy. ■

Turn Left • Virez à gauche

Published by the NDP Socialist Caucus

www.ndpsocialists.ca

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Produced by union labour

Learning from Mistakes and Moving Forward



By Sean Cain

The great Irish writer and socialist George Bernard Shaw once wrote that success doesn't consist in never making mistakes, but in

never making the same one twice.

Printed below is the front cover page from the Fall 2014 edition of **Turn Left Magazine**. The NDP Socialist Caucus has said for years that taking the NDP away from its democratic socialist roots will not only alienate our base of supporters and working class voters, but allow the Liberals to stake out our territory on the Left and win votes on our issues.

As New Democrats know all too well, this is exactly what happened during the 2015 federal election, and even the corporate media, from so-called "progressive" newspapers through to right-wing, business-oriented publications, are in agreement.

This has also occurred with social democratic parties throughout Europe that have followed the centrist, "Third Way" election model, and the results have been similarly disastrous. In several countries, these parties have been eclipsed by newly-formed left-wing parties and movements in membership, activism and electoral support. Several of them barely maintain a mere whisper of their former strength.

Yet in other countries, social democratic parties have learned from these hard lessons and have moved to the Left, forging alliances with social

movements and activists, taking up the causes of public ownership and economic democracy, and just as importantly, choosing leaders who represent working class, socialist values. This is the direction the NDP must take to remain relevant and win back power.

Being honest about the spending we plan to undertake in government, for example, on new programs like universal child care or pharmacare, must be accompanied by openly declaring where we plan to raise the money to afford them.

And this means not running away from talk about taxes and economics. It entails being straightforward – and proud – of wanting to raise taxes on the very rich and corporations, undoing three decades of wholly inequitable (and unproductive, for that matter) tax reforms by the Liberals and Conservatives.

But even these policies aren't enough. The party must engage activists and social movements like never before, and run aggressive, populist campaigns that challenge corporate power, growing inequality and the unjust structures of the capitalist system itself.

Besides being a political party, the NDP must also become a fully participatory movement, in Parliament, workplaces and the streets.

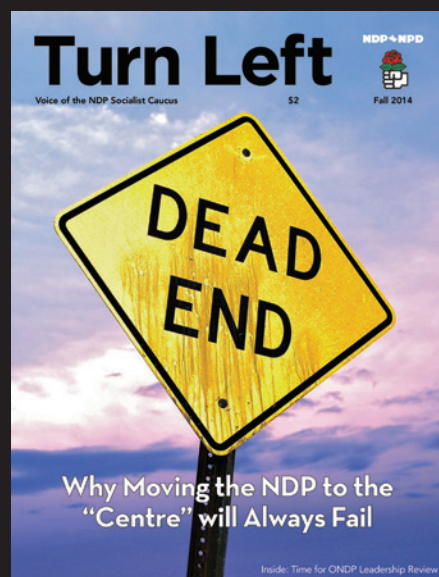
The NDP Socialist Caucus, along with Momentum, is presenting a team of candidates for NDP Federal Executive and Council, and we believe the policies and reforms we are running on will help the party move in that direction.

These include inviting more unions, community organizations and social justice groups to affiliate with the NDP and participate in party activities. They also entail making conventions more financially accessible to wage earners and the poor, with low registration fees. And at those conventions, a large majority of time should be devoted to policy debate.

Likewise, the main themes and priorities for each NDP election campaign should be drawn from the policies debated and adopted at those conventions.

This is what the NDP needs to do to regain progressive voters lost to the Liberal Party, or to not voting at all. It can't just be a party, but a participatory, activist movement that stands for one day establishing a socialist democracy and a cooperative commonwealth.

Now where have I heard those last two words before? ■



Profit is the disease, not the cure. It's time to fulfill the original vision of Tommy Douglas and once and for all, create a universal, publicly-owned Pharmacare program.

In a 2004 CBC poll, Tommy Douglas, former NDP Premier of Saskatchewan and father of Medicare, was voted the Greatest Canadian - a reflection of the esteem with which most Canadians hold our public health care system.

Douglas, though a pioneer and visionary, was also considered to be a pragmatist. He inaugurated public Medicare in Saskatchewan, which spread to the rest of Canada in a gradual manner. But the question today is: Are we sitting on our laurels a bit too much?

Little has been done in the last fifty years to improve the comprehensiveness of our health care

By Candidate for NDP Executive John Orrett

system. In fact, just the opposite. Doctors are extra billing, services are being de-listed, and privatization of our hospitals is a growing trend. Perhaps our greatest failing is the lack of a national pharmaceutical plan within medicare. Canada is one of the few industrial countries with a national health service without a drug plan.

There can be no universal comprehensive health care system in Canada without a pharmacare plan. Prescription medications are the fastest growing and the second most costly component of health care in Canada, costing 14% of expenditures (\$29 Billion). One in ten Canadians annually do without the medications

they need simply because they are not covered by the Canada Health Act, they do not have any workplace health insurer, or the drugs they need are just too expensive.

This situation was addressed in the 2015 Federal Election when Tom Mulcair and the NDP proposed a pharmacare policy that would eventually cover and pay for all prescription drugs for Canadians. The plan called for an expenditure of \$2.6 billion over four years and included the goal of central drug purchasing for all provinces and territories.

This is a good start. But the policy failed to address the major problem associated with skyrocketing drug expenditures -- the excessive profits made by Big Pharma, the international drug companies that have the highest profit margins of any

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"Our lives are worth more than their profits"
PUBLICLY-OWNED PHARMACARE FOR ALL



NDP IDENTITY CRISIS DEEPENS OVER “WHAT WENT WRONG”

By Barry Weisleder

Following a disastrous federal election campaign in which the New Democratic Party lost over a million votes and sixty per cent of its parliamentary seats, Leader Tom Mulcair disappeared for two weeks. When he re-surfaced, he launched an internal enquiry into “what went wrong.”

A short questionnaire sent by the federal office to members across the country was slanted towards reaffirming yesterday’s worn out campaign slogans. It provided little space for critical input on policy or principles. Annoyingly, a fund appeal was part of its pitch.

“We will be taking time in the months to come to analyze what happened,” Mulcair told a news conference in early November. “I’ve asked party president Rebecca Blaikie and national director Anne McGrath to start that process immediately.”

The NDP leader said he wanted a “top level panel” to conduct the inquiry, including outgoing MPs, like Paul Dewar, and party elders. No socialists were involved in the exercise. The Socialist Caucus, the organized left in the party whose anti-war, free university tuition, secular schools, and mass public housing policies have been adopted by party

conventions, received no call from the “top level panel.”

As Toronto Star columnist Chantal Hebert wrote on November 14, “It is as if the NDP’s establishment is determined to keep a lid on the post-election discussion and a de facto leadership review.”

The effort appears to be in vain. A growing chorus of prominent members is decrying the party’s “crisis of identity.”

Charlie Angus, the Timmins-James Bay MP, told the Globe and Mail “We have to start a complete rebuilding of the party, the brand and our identity.”

Cheri DiNovo, an NDP member of the Ontario Legislature, is quoted in the December 1 Toronto Star: “Blaming the mainstream media and the Liberal strategists is a little like farmers blaming the weather... The only entity we can change... is ourselves.” The change proposed by DiNovo is that the NDP reclaim the values of democratic socialism. It needs a vision in which “socialism” isn’t a four-letter word. “We have to remember who the hell we are. And honestly, Canada is waiting.”

Sid Ryan, former President of the Ontario Federation of Labour, called for a change of Leader.

The depth of the crisis was revealed in a Forum Research opinion poll published shortly after the October 19

federal election. It showed that a staggering 72 per cent of NDP voters surveyed were satisfied with the election outcome. What does that say about the educational value of recent NDP campaigns when so many NDP supporters seem to see so little difference between NDP and Liberal Party policies that they are comfortable with a Liberal majority government? Remember, they said this just after the NDP was poised to win government, as recently as up to seven weeks prior to the election.

Thus far, few NDP MPs have pledged to support four more years of Mulcair in the top job. Many are being coy. Charlie Angus said his vote on the leadership review issue at the federal convention, in Edmonton, April 8-10, will depend on the ideas Mulcair puts forward for a rebuild.

The NDP Socialist Caucus contends that the problem is much deeper than who is the leader. It insists that a clear break with pro-capitalist policies and undemocratic internal practices is required to save Canada’s labour party. At the same time, only a move to force a leadership change will galvanize the party and labour union ranks to rise up, to articulate their demands, and to take control of the process. ■

“

The NDP needs a vision in which “socialism” isn’t a four-letter word. “We have to remember who the hell we are. And honestly, Canada is waiting.”

Paris Et Pipelines : La Pression S'intensifie Sur Trudeau



PAR AURORE FAURET
(tiré et abrégé du journal
Alternatives, janvier 2016)

À Paris, Trudeau a déclaré que le Canada était de retour comme acteur constructif pour limiter le réchauffement climatique mondial et pour faire respecter les droits des Peuples autochtones.



Pourquoi, alors, après s'être engagé à une cible de 1,5 C, vouloir construire des oléoducs favorisant l'expansion des sables bitumineux quand Paris exige que nous laissions les combustibles fossiles dans le sol ?

Pour le Canada, cela voudrait dire faire le choix ambitieux de laisser plus de 80% des réserves pétrolières de l'Alberta dans le sol — un impératif établi par les scientifiques pour rester sous le seuil de 2 C. Mais le gouvernement fédéral propose plutôt une « approche nuancée » pour permettre aux ressources canadiennes « d'accéder aux marchés internationaux ».

Trudeau a déclaré que « la croissance et la prospérité ne tiennent pas seulement à ce qui se trouve sous nos pieds, mais surtout à ce que nous avons entre les oreilles ». On décèle ici

une timide proposition. Au lieu d'un plan ambitieux, crédible, et juste pour mettre notre économie sur les rails de la transition énergétique, on voit plutôt Trudeau essayer un jeu d'équilibriste pour sauver une industrie en déclin.

Luttes contre les oléoducs

Le plan albertain ne suffit pas pour respecter nos engagements. Il est toujours question de développer les énergies fossiles à l'heure où on sait qu'on doit en arrêter l'exploitation.

Tant sur les plans de la sécurité environnementale, et du climat qu'à cause des résistances des communautés affectées et des Nations autochtones, les oléoducs se heurtent à un mur d'opposition d'est en ouest.

Tout d'abord, (il y a) le rejet définitivement (de) l'oléoduc Keystone XL, résultat des années de mobilisations par un vaste mouvement social.

À l'ouest, les audiences finales de l'Office national de l'énergie (ONÉ) pour l'oléoduc Trans-Mountain de Kinder Morgan en Colombie-Britannique se poursuivent sans qu'il n'y ait eu aucune réforme appliquée aux règles établies par Stephen Harper pour faire approuver les oléoducs. Les actions et prises de positions se multiplient à Burnaby

; le refus du projet et l'illégitimité du processus ne pourraient pas être plus clairs. Pour sa part, l'oléoduc Northern Gateway essuie aussi des revers depuis l'élection d'octobre dernier : la Cour suprême de Colombie-Britannique a jugé que la province a failli à son devoir de consultation avec les Premières nations pour le projet et le premier ministre Trudeau a exprimé son intention d'instaurer un moratoire sur le trafic pétrolier le long de la côte nord, là où Northern Gateway aboutirait, ce qui pourrait mettre fin au projet.

Côté est, la Ligne 9 d'Enbridge acheminant du pétrole de l'ouest vers Montréal a été mise en service en plein milieu de la COP21. Le projet voit cependant un recours judiciaire de grande importance être porté en Cour suprême par les Chippewas de la Thames.

Quant à Énergie Est, il est clair que la pression se fait sentir pour le projet qui serait le dernier rempart de l'industrie. En plus du refus de la Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, l'opposition au Québec avait aussi entraîné l'annulation du port de Cacouna au printemps dernier, et au Nouveau-Brunswick, dans la communauté de Red Head où Énergie Est implanterait son

a continué à la page 9

...Pharmacare, from page five

industrial sector. In fact, five of the world's largest drug companies had profit margins of over 20% in 2014. Novartis reported a profit of \$47B, Pfizer \$45B, Roche \$39B, Johnson and Johnson \$32B, and Eli Lilly \$17B.

Pharmaceutical companies spend more than twice as much promoting and marketing their products than they invest in research. Experts in the field claim their promotion of drugs has come at the expense of adequately reviewed clinical trials, and involve downplaying or denying the dangers of side effects. This is no exaggeration. Huge fines totalling billions of dollars have been levied by the U.S. Department of Justice against Big Pharma for fraudulent marketing practices and failing to report safety data.

In December 2015, Martin Shkreli, the former CEO of Turing Pharmaceuticals was arrested for securities fraud. Shkreli, after buying the manufacturing rights for Daraprim, a drug used to combat AIDS/HIV and malaria, raised the price of one pill 5,000% from \$13.50 to \$750. But he was not charged with price gouging; the price raise was legal.

In a similar case in Canada, Valeant Pharmaceuticals purchased Isuprel from Marathon Pharmaceuticals, a drug used for cardiac arrest and bronchospasm,

and bought Nitropress, which is used to control blood pressure, and immediately increased the price of each 212% and 525% respectively.

It often seems like Big Pharma is promoting and marketing illness. The medical parameters for conditions like Attention Deficit

drug plan that takes private insurers out of the equation. It replaces the expensive patchwork of public and private plans that now exist. This will save billions of dollars. The next step is the establishment of centralized bulk purchasing of pharmaceuticals: after all, many drugs are not produced

“To really get drug costs under control, we need to set up a crown corporation to fund all university and hospital research... the provision of health care services should be exclusively in the public domain.”

Disorder (a 700% increase in diagnosis in the 1990s), high blood pressure (a new and lower BP diagnosis called prehypertension), and bi-polar disorder (supposedly affecting 50,000 people per million), have been a God-send for drug sales.

Just watch some American television to see how viewers are bombarded with drug-promoting advertisements. Quite simply, society is being over-medicated at the expense of preventative medicine and the promotion of a healthy life style. This is costing our health care system plenty.

So what is the solution? It begins with a single-payer public

in Canada.

But to really get drug costs under control we need to set up a crown corporation to fund all university and hospital research in Canada. Remember Doctors Banting and MacLoed? They won the Nobel Prize for the discovery of insulin in 1922 at the University of Toronto. Within this corporation we should create an open source data bank that would streamline and improve this research work.

This crown corporation should also build bricks and mortar drug manufacturing facilities across Canada where generic copies of drugs made by Big Pharma could be produced when patent rights expire. The medications would then be distributed through our new pharmacare plan at cost.

A necessary corollary to this plan is that the federal government must not be partner to any trade deal like CETA that promotes or extends drug patent rights for Big Pharma. To the contrary, Canada's international trade representatives should push for the reduction of drug patent rights wherever possible.

Drugs are an important and growing part of health care. The provision of health care services should be exclusively in the public domain, not subordinated to the pursuit of private profit. Medical drugs, like health care in general, should be considered a human right, and NDP policy ought to be guided by this basic principle. ■

PRIVATIZATION:
Paving the way to poverty

Private child care
Ornge Air Ambulance
Cancelled gas plants
Private health clinics
Highway 407
Hydro One

With privatization, you always pay more and get less. In Ontario, privatization schemes have cost billions that could have been used to create good jobs, provide quality public services and reduce poverty.

CUPE-SCFP
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ALBERTA'S NEW ENERGY POLICY

BY ELIZABETH BYCE

Despite all the fanfare, the new energy policy of Premier Rachel Notley's Alberta NDP government is more a 'marketing triumph' than a substantial effort to tackle global warming.

According to media reports, Alberta's overall carbon emissions will be allowed to grow. There are no hard targets for emission cuts, only the vague pledge that they will begin to fall below today's levels by 2030. Alberta coal plants will gradually be shut, but they were slated to be closed anyway.

The new cap on dirty oil emissions is so high that the tar sands will be able to grow another 43 per cent, roughly until 2030. Presently, they emit 70 megatonnes per year. With an annual cap of 100 megatonnes, there's plenty more damage to the environment in store.

Alberta's proposed carbon tax will hit consumers in the pocket book, regardless of ability to pay. It will cost

an additional 7 cents a litre at the pump, and it will cost workers and the poor in other ways too as prices on related commodities rise.

The carbon tax would apply to all sectors of the economy and be phased in by January 1, 2018 to \$30 per tonne. When fully in effect, it would take in \$3 billion a year. Notley promised that all the money would be invested in green initiatives within Alberta, including research and public transportation.

But it won't keep the carbon in the ground. It will transfer wealth to the private sector firms that will get the contracts. And by polishing the image of Canada's most polluting province, it will profit the biggest polluters on the planet. It will breathe new life into their schemes to build more pipelines, including east through Canada, and south through the USA.

Does that explain why oil industry giants were happy with Rachel Notley's plan -- even before she

announced that there will be no increase in royalty fees the giants must pay?

At the Fall news conference first announcing her policy, in the company of several other big oil executives, Suncor CEO Steve Williams said, "This plan will make one of the world's largest oil-producing regions a leader in addressing the climate-change challenge." We're not holding our breath.

But even increasing royalties isn't enough, and won't break the enormous power and decades-long political influence of the oil barons.

What Premier Notley and the NDP Government of Alberta should be advocating for is public ownership and democratic, workers' control of the oil industry, with significant citizen-participation in economic decision-making, so that its short-term revenues can be used to divert additional investments into green initiatives like renewable energies and public transportation. ■

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terminal d'exportation, les résidents ont fait converger près de mille personnes pour s'y opposer, du jamais vu.

Si la résistance aux oléoducs ne donne pas signe de fatigue, les appels pour un arrêt plus global des énergies fossiles se multiplient et unissent les communautés. Le premier ministre a fait face à quatre jours de sit-in devant sa résidence avec 200 personnes réclamant un moratoire sur l'expansion des sables bitumineux et à la plus grande marche pour le climat organisée à Ottawa pour exiger un engagement à une économie 100% renouvelable.

Le consentement libre, préalable et éclairé des Premières nations est indiscutable et indissociables des impacts entraînés par les projets d'infrastructures sur les territoires autochtones.

La mobilisation doit continuer

Le danger a toujours été qu'après Harper, tout politicien moindrement

plus progressiste serait applaudi comme vecteur de changement, avec l'effet démobilisateur que d'autres ont historiquement connus dans de pareilles circonstances, comme après l'élection de Barack Obama aux États-Unis.

Il revient à nous de faire tenir les promesses au gouvernement, à l'heure où l'urgence d'agir est impossible à ignorer et que l'injustice des changements climatiques est déjà en marche, avec les communautés les plus vulnérables, pauvres et côtières les plus gravement touchées.

C'est aussi à nous de définir ce qu'un leadership en matière de climat veut dire, et quelles en sont les conditions. Pour que l'engagement de 1,5 C à Paris et autres promesses ne soient pas des vœux pieux, il nous faut aller vers des demandes ambitieuses pour garder les combustibles fossiles dans le sol.


Nous agissons aussi de la redéfinition de nos priorités économiques vers un modèle équitable et fondé sur les énergies renouvelables, et qu'une justice envers les peuples autochtones débutera avec le respect des traités et la mise en

oeuvre complète de la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur les droits des Peuples autochtones. ■



Greater Toronto Area Council Conseil du Grand Toronto

A forum for OPSEU activists to network on issues faced by members, the union and the broader labour movement, providing a framework for locals and activists to work together to educate, mobilize and organize.

 www.opseugtac.com

 [GreaterTorontoAreaCouncil](https://www.facebook.com/GreaterTorontoAreaCouncil)

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CONTRACT ACADEMIC FACULTY AND PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT



Debra Chapman is a professor of International Development Studies at St. Mary's University

Precarious employment is the 'new norm' in Canadian workplaces, including universities. While many may think that university professors all have tenured jobs and make \$80,000 plus annually, nearly half the professoriate have no job security and are paid poverty wages. Here is a comparative analysis of the situation at one Ontario University.

There are two PhD professors, "working full-time at their jobs. Each teaches four courses per year, does extensive course preparation, research and writing, and performs service to the university and the wider community. They both have [published] books and... [academic journal articles], have ongoing research projects and...present papers at conferences."

One of them "is a permanent employee, has an office and is paid when not teaching." His/her remuneration is between \$80,000 and \$150,000, plus medical, dental and eye-glass benefits, and research and travel money of over \$2,000 a year. The other one is considered a contract academic faculty (CAF) member and is paid about \$7,000 per course (\$28,000 a year; as low as \$20,000 in the Maritimes), has no benefits, shares office space (with up to 10 people), no job security (must apply for teaching every year) and receives approximately \$100 a year for research and travel (Peter Eglin, *Intellectual Citizenship...*, 2013: 40).

CAF are not paid for the month before teaching begins even though they are required to order course books and submit a completed syllabus well in advance.

Contract academic work has come to be a life-sentence where years of experience and quality of teaching do not lead to permanent employment.

Universities justify this by refusing to acknowledge the research, course preparation and service components of contract faculty work. Precarious employment of university faculty makes a mockery of doctoral education. We

know that nearly 60% of undergraduate students graduate with debt over \$25,000. While most graduate students receive funding to help offset expenses, many go further into debt to complete their PhD in hopes of landing a tenure track position when they are finished.

According to a 2013 study, PhDs take 5 to 7 years to complete on average while securing funding for four years only.

Tenure-track positions are fewer as universities cut programs, grow class sizes (in order to hire fewer course instructors), and increase the ratio of 'part-time' to 'full-time' faculty (by replacing tenure track faculty positions with contract faculty positions). It might surprise you to learn that depending on the university, anywhere from "33 to 50% of courses are not taught by scholars in permanent jobs" (Robinson 2015: <http://www.academicmatters.ca/2015/06/a-personal-perspective-of-contract-instructing-in-ontario/>).

As is evident from the comparative data above, there is a clear violation of 'equal pay for work of equal value'. That is, of course, if we agree that whether students are taught by contract faculty or tenured faculty the value of the grade is the same, and that an academic journal publication by a CAF member is as valuable as one published by a full-time faculty member,

etc.

While higher education is a provincial responsibility the federal government transfers funds to the provincial governments under the Canada Social Transfer (CST) for post-secondary education and other social services. None of the CST revenue is specifically earmarked for higher education.

Universities, however, have come to earmark the money they receive from the provincial government to hire university administrators and construct new buildings. According to data collected between 2005 and 2010 at one Ontario university, there was an 18.5% increase in student enrolment, a 48% increase in the hiring of university managers and a mere 13% increase in faculty hirings.

According to a recent public opinion poll conducted by the Ontario Coalition of University Faculty Associations:

- 88 per cent want part-time professors to be converted into full-time positions.
- 85 per cent want part-time professors to receive fair pay and
- 84 per cent believe part-time professors should have the same access to benefits as their full-time colleagues.

The federal and provincial governments need to take public opinion seriously. They should act now to protect post-secondary education as places of free inquiry! An adequately compensated and securely employed workforce will ensure greater student/faculty engagement, less turnover, and a more appealing option internationally, not to mention adhering to basic economic and social rights! ■

BY JASON BAINES

For nearly 25 years, the upper class and neo-liberal theorists triumphantly claimed the end of socialism, and even of social democracy, as a viable alternative to so-called free market ideology. Politics, allegedly of the “centre”, but in reality a right wing economic agenda coupled with social liberalism, became the dominant trend in social democratic and labor parties. They declared the end of history and even the end of boom-and-bust cycles.

With the advent of the economic crash of 2008, and the disastrous Middle East and North African wars, new movements emerged that challenged the rightist shift in social democratic parties.

Tony Benn, emerged as the token left candidate for Labour Party leader.

Few, including himself, thought he would win. However, “Jez” spoke to large numbers of people about the banking crash, austerity, and the need for Labour to become a social movement. His policies for re-nationalization of Rail, Post, and Energy really struck a chord with ordinary workers angered by Tony Blair’s wave of privatization. The latter amounted to public subsidies for the super rich, including his Third-Way billionaire friends, like Richard Branson.

Corbyn also wanted to scrap the Trident nuclear programme and get submarine nuclear warheads out of Scotland. He pledges “people’s quantitative easing,” which means

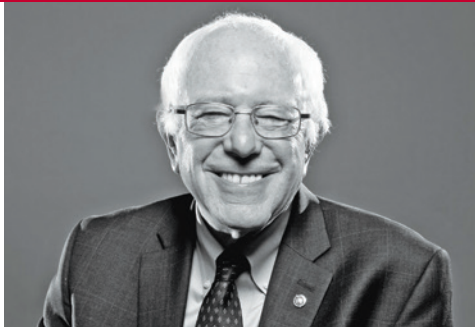
socialist stance of Corbyn, who now leads in British opinion polls.

And it appears we are.

In the first party leadership election since Justin Trudeau’s federal election sweep, Nova Scotia New Democrats shocked the political establishment by electing a socialist, United Church minister who isn’t even a sitting MLA.

“Gary speaks to socialism like a duck takes to water,” said one endorser of Gary Burrill’s victorious campaign. Burrill in his own words is an “egalitarian, a progressive, a socialist and a redistributist.” He defeated the more conservative candidate Dave Wilson, who finished last, and Lenore Zann, who ran as an opponent of austerity. Both defeated candidates are sitting MLAs; one is

Nova Scotia NDP Elects Socialist Leader Gary Burrill in the Era of Sanders and Corbyn



Increasingly now, these parties are moving away from the crudely pro-business, pro-war, pro-austerity agenda.

South of the border, there is excitement around Bernie Sanders’ insurgent campaign. He uses radical phraseology. He calls for a political revolution against the billionaire class, and for expansion of the welfare state and free post-secondary education. He has forced the billionaires’ favoured political family, the Clintons, to move left, albeit only rhetorically.

In Britain, barely able even to meet the criterion for nomination, literally five minutes before nominations closed, Jeremy Corbyn, a student of socialist and labour hero

massive public expenditures on public works, and to provide free university and universal childcare. Opposition to Britain’s foreign military adventures is another key facet to this new direction for Labour. Corbyn even launched Momentum, a new socialist organization committed to returning Labour to its socialist roots.

Corbyn received 59.5% of first preference votes. Tony Blair’s candidate received a mere 4%. Labour Party membership more than quadrupled. Labour is on target to be 6 to 10 times the size of the Conservative Party by the next general election in 2020.

It is important for New Democrats to learn from the authentic

a former NDP government Cabinet Minister.

Burrill’s first order of business as NDP leader was to organize picket line solidarity with striking workers in Halifax. He seems to be continuing the kind of grassroots organizing that fostered the movement that led to his election.

As the federal NDP embarks on a discussion about leadership and direction, there are plenty more lessons to be drawn from the gains of Burrill, Corbyn and Sanders that rocked the political establishment.

Jason Baines is an activist with Momentum – the NDP’s Left Alternative to Austerity



Le NPD laisse tomber les travailleur(e)s et les étudiant(e)s du Québec

Photo: Kunal Shah

PAR ROBBIE MAHOOD

Ces derniers mois au Québec ont été marqués par la lutte du front commun des travailleur(e)s du secteur public contre la camisole de force imposée par le gouvernement libéral de Couillard au nom de l'austérité. L'automne et le début de l'hiver ont été ponctués par une série de manifestations et de piquetage à travers la province, culminant par une journée de grève générale de 400 000 travailleur(e)s le 9 décembre 2015. Plus de 50 000 manifestants ont défilé dans les rues de Montréal et 20 000 à Québec, réunissant enseignants, travailleur(e)s du système de santé et autres fonctionnaires ainsi que leurs sympathisants.

Les sondages ont indiqué un revirement de l'opinion publique en faveur des grévistes. Les revendications des enseignants ont été perçues par bon nombre de citoyens comme des mesures visant à défendre l'intégrité du système public et un soutien particulier est allé à la main d'œuvre la moins bien payée, en majorité féminine, qui assure le fonctionnement des services gouvernementaux, des hôpitaux aux services de garde.

Une tentative d'entente annoncée avant Noël a été rejetée par une partie importante du front commun, bien que, au moment de la rédaction de cet article, il se peut que

cela passe.

Une augmentation de 2% en moyenne sur une période de cinq ans est jugée inadéquate par bon nombre de syndicalistes, et à juste raison, après tant d'années de gel de salaire. Au beau milieu des négociations avec le front commun le gouvernement a eu le culot de donner une augmentation de 34% aux médecins de la province en plus du 1.7 milliard donné au géant Bombardier!

Plusieurs actions menées par les syndicats, dont la mobilisation massive du 9 décembre, n'ont pas été rapportés au Canada anglais. Marque de manque d'intégrité journalistique des médias contrôlés par les corporations, mais cela n'est pas surprenant.

Plus choquant encore a été le refus du NPD de se prononcer sur cette importante lutte des travailleurs ordinaires pour la défense de leurs conditions de vie et de travail.

Quelques néo démocrates peuvent se satisfaire de l'excuse qu'un parti fédéral devrait rester en dehors des affaires de la province. Mais, la lutte contre l'austérité n'a pas de frontières, ni nationales, ni internationales. La croisade contre l'austérité des gouvernements provinciaux découle des politiques menées par Ottawa pendant les trente dernières années et jusqu'à nos jours.

La chefferie du NDP se

démarqua par le même silence lors des manifestations estudiantines de masse de 2012. La jeune génération du Québec se demande quelle est la position du NPD sur les augmentations des frais de scolarité, l'endettement massif et toujours croissant des étudiants et l'objectif de la gratuité scolaire post-secondaire.

Alors que de nombreux membres du NPD soutiennent les travailleurs et les étudiants, nos dirigeants, eux, restent silencieux.

Nous savons que Tom Mulcair, comme d'autres dirigeants du parti, veut que le NPD renonce au socialisme. Mais, ils maintiennent leur discours en faveur de politiques plus justes et plus progressistes. Cependant, quand les étudiants, les travailleurs et autres citoyens se battent pour la justice et l'égalité, ils ne reçoivent pas un seul mot d'encouragement de la part de nos leaders.

Comme dans le cas de problèmes vitaux tels que les oléoducs, la dépendance aux énergies fossiles et le réchauffement climatique où le parti tergiverse, les travailleurs et les jeunes du Québec reconnaissent l'hypocrisie qu'ils ont devant eux.

Sous sa direction actuelle, le NPD doit s'attendre à une récolte amère dans tous les domaines y compris celui électoral. ■

TOM MULCAIR'S PLEA FOR REDEMPTION

By Barry Weisleder, Socialist Caucus Candidate for NDP President

His February 10 open letter has an air of desperation about it. And a touch of remorse. But it is severely lacking in political transparency and the identification of damaged principles.

For New Democrats who consider electoral prospects paramount, it is enough to know that Tom Mulcair will not lead the party to victory in the next federal election to conclude that he must be replaced as Leader as soon as possible.

But there are other, better reasons that lead inexorably to the same conclusion.

The first is the status of the much-vaunted Interim Report of the Campaign Review Working Group, chaired by party president Rebecca Blaikie. The document remains in the shadows. It is bad enough that the hand-picked Review group included no one to the left of the establishment. Worse is that its findings are not intended for release.

Why were they not attached to Mulcair's plaintive written plea for redemption? How can the party ranks properly appreciate the "insights" of the

review if it is not unveiled well before the April convention? According to Blaikie, the Report summary will go only to the incoming federal executive and council. So much for transparency and the promises from on-high to improve communication and decision making.

Core social democratic values? It might be good to make a list of these, if only just to see how close they come to meeting human needs. Sadly, the letter does not.

"We fell short." That admission puts Mulcair in the global derby for understatement of the decade. Yet the "short"comings evidenced were not primarily due to what he cites as faults of "preparation and execution". The campaign content was dead wrong, and the super-centralized enforcement of its pro-capitalist message was decisively fatal.

Lapses? Cautiousness? Were those really the problems that impeded the vision – or was it the vision itself?

In his open letter, Mulcair asserts "our commitment to balancing the budget overshadowed our social democratic economic vision which saw new government revenues generated through higher taxes for corporations, closing CEO tax loopholes and a

crackdown on tax havens."

No, it was not a matter of overshadowing. It was a case of contradiction. Any attempt to balance the budget with such tiny moves on the revenue side was a prescription for soft austerity -- not unlike what social democratic parties have offered or have implemented in Europe for years – and which is why many of them have been superseded by populist forces of the left and right.

And what about new pipelines? Is an NDP that condones, much less favours, the proposed Energy East line compatible with a vision of a rapid shift to green, sustainable, public energy -- the last hope of civilization now at the brink?

While socialism is increasingly the watchword in Britain, even in the USA, why does Mulcair try to re-warm the left-over soup of the 2015 campaign, regurgitating the vague "goal of a fairer, more progressive Canada"?

"Respect between the Party and Caucus, and specifically respectful dialogue, will make us stronger." Now this looks like an opportunity for frankness. Exactly how was this respect lacking? And what about respect owed by the

continued on page 19

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SOCIALISM IS INCREASINGLY THE WATCHWORD IN BRITAIN, AND EVEN IN THE USA... WHAT'S REALLY NEEDED IN THE NDP IS POLICY DECIDED FROM THE BOTTOM UP, WITH PLENTY OF TIME FOR DEBATE AT CONVENTION, AND ADHERENCE TO PRIORITIES DECIDED BY THE MASS MEMBERSHIP.

A Guaranteed Annual Income: Who Benefits?

By John Wunderlich

The Canadian social security net fails too many people. And those who do receive support do so at an immense cost to their dignity, privacy and ability to achieve some form of fulfilment. People on the the left and right have argued that a guaranteed annual income (GAI) can address these and other issues.

Given that, it would seem that providing a basic income to all is something that any progressive would want to support. But, like any social policy tool, the impact of a GAI very much depends on who implements it, and in whose interests.

Manitoba, 1970s

For what may be the only actual instance of a GAI, we can look to the NDP Schreyer government in Manitoba that ran a pilot minimum income program

called MinCome in the 1970s, with funding support from the Federal Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau. The pilot was shut down by the Lyon Conservatives without a final report.

Since then, University of Manitoba economist Evelyn Forget has analyzed some of the results from that time period using health system data. Her analysis reveals an 8.5% reduction in hospitalization based on a strong reduction in mental health complaints. She also found that while some people withdrew from the workforce, it was mainly mothers who were able to stay home with young children, or teenagers who were able to stay in school until graduation. In both cases, the overall impact was likely a net economic positive.

Ontario Today

In Ontario, the 2016 Liberal Budget says that the “government will work with communities, researchers and

other stakeholders in 2016 to determine how best to design and implement a Basic Income pilot.”

The Liberal budget refers to a growing view that a basic income can provide more consistent support in the context of today’s dynamic labour market. This proposal is part of the social assistance section of the budget.

Activists know this government’s record of failing to address poverty. It seems likely a Liberal basic income pilot would be designed to use a low level basic income as a method to maintain the precariat and keep pressure on the unions in the province.

Final Considerations

Proponents on the right, including libertarians, see a GAI as a way to reduce government and costs. Some of the arguments for such an approach include a reduction of bureaucracy because of the simplicity of delivery, the elimination of multiple social support programs, and an argument that no one will ‘fall between the cracks’.

These arguments tend to ignore that social programs deliver many more supports than just cash, and that efficiency could look similar to abandoning the poor to social ghettos. As H.L. Mencken said, “For every complex problem there is an answer that is clear, simple, and wrong.”

At one level, the problem of poverty is simple - people don’t have enough money. But in reality poverty and income inequality are symptoms of an economic system that naturally redistributes wealth and power upward.

Seen in that light, providing a basic income for the poor is a type of ‘trickle down welfare’ that has the potential to lock generations into poverty, unless it is accompanied by a transfer of real social power to the poor and to working families.

A progressive vision of a Guaranteed Annual Income will need similar universal programs for mental health, pharmacare, free education and social housing in every corner of the country. Beware Conservative and Liberals sounding as if they actually care for the poor, the working poor and their allies. ■

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Our 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 “NDP Socialist Caucus” in the search bar, and you'll find us. Become a member of the group and join in the discussion.



PLEASE DONATE TO THE SOCIALIST CAUCUS

The Socialist Caucus devotes its resources to publishing editions of *Turn Left*, issuing literature to promote SC candidates for executive, promoting public forums, and producing 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.



WHEN "WITHDRAWAL" MEANS ESCALATION

**By Julius Arscott, Candidate for
NDP Vice President (Labour)**

As if in a dance of the seven veils, the Liberal government of Justin Trudeau is sequentially exposing its false election promises, revealing an agenda that increasingly resembles that of the widely despised Conservative predecessor regime.

For starters, an immediate and meaningful increase to the Canada Pension is now off the table. Re-settlement of Syrian refugees is well short of the early, and even the revised target figure. Promised amendments to the repressive Anti-Terrorism Act – at least to hold police accountable for spying, arrest without trial, and disruption of legal organizations — were not even mentioned in the government's Throne Speech.

And the latest example of a major breach of faith is on the war front. Trudeau campaigned to withdraw its six CF18 fighter jets and pledged that Canadian Forces would play no combat role in Iraq and Syria. The six CF jets have been removed from action -- but only after they dropped tons of payload during an intensification that Trudeau never

hinted he'd do.

And here's another wrinkle. The CF jet that re-fuels mid-air bomber jets from the imperialist alliance is still in action, indefinitely.

More importantly, the Trudeau government pledges to increase troops on the ground, to operate under the rubric of "trainers". It appears that the pre-election 69 "trainers" will soon number in the hundreds. Given their location very near the front lines of the fight with ISIS, a combat role will (continue to) be in effect.

The Conservative Party and major media outlets applaud the bombing and argue that the planes should stay. They want them combined with a dramatic increase in "trainers" inside the combat zone. A telling point the war hawks make is that the Liberal government has given no concrete reason why it plans to removed the fighter jets.

Sadly, they're right. Instead of saying, honestly, that western military intervention has outraged the peoples of the region and promoted the rise of ISIS, instead of admitting that Ottawa and its imperialist allies have no legitimate reason to intervene in Iraq, Syria, or for that matter in Afghanistan, Somalia, Libya

or elsewhere, Trudeau espouses a contradictory policy. It is based on a shallow and muddled sentiment – which paves the way for a betrayal of the public opinion that forced the Liberal withdrawal pledge in the first place.

The policy of the NDP is only somewhat better than Trudeau's. It advocates removal of all troops and weapons.

Unfortunately, the NDP leadership has failed to assert clearly the principle of self-determination for the indigenous peoples – that the future of Syria is for the Syrian people to decide.

Moreover, it neglects to express sharp opposition to the corporate agenda of resource plunder. That agenda is behind the actions of the U.S., Canada and allies which sought regime change, and the installation of more compliant governments across the oil-rich Middle East. The resulting destabilization – and due to the absence of a major progressive working class military force — opened the door to ISIS, Al-Nusra, Boko Haram, Al-Shabaab and other off-shoots of Al-Qaeda.

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Dirka Prout is a consulting geotechnical engineer and former President of London West Federal NDP Riding Association



In March, we celebrate International Women's Day, then get caught up in speculation about the content of the federal budget. As a consulting civil engineer, I eagerly await the promised stimulus of infrastructure spending.

However, as a female engineer, my desire is for balanced infrastructure spending. In November 2015, a significant political milestone was achieved when a record fifteen female cabinet ministers were appointed to the federal cabinet. In addition to effective promotion of honest government and a solid commitment to peace building, the Washington, DC-based National Democratic Institute (NDI), observed that women contribute to political development in two other key ways by their:

1. High commitment to promotion of policies that tackle the socio-economic and political challenges facing women, children and disadvantaged groups; and
2. Strong links to positive

developments in education, infrastructure and health. As a politically active female engineer, I decided to explore how this infusion of women into the highest levels of democratic governance, could influence how infrastructure funds are spent.

Much of the conversation on infrastructure spending focuses on the physical type, such as bridges, roads and buildings. Admittedly, infrastructure spending in areas like public transit is important for poverty reduction and social development. However, physical infrastructure projects are fantastic for the male dominated fields of engineering and construction, but only benefits 7 to 22 per cent of female workers, according to a 2010 analysis carried out by the Canadian Federation of University Women.

What sort of infrastructure spending should be expected if our fifteen female cabinet ministers act as change agents and realize the outcomes from increased female political leadership predicted by NDI? Investment in social infrastructure is the answer.

First on my wish list is investment in affordable housing. Research by the Canadian Nurses Association and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities has shown that provision of stable, adequate and affordable housing will increase national outcomes in health, quality of life, employment and job retention. As the City of Medicine Hat has recently found, it is easier and most cost effective to deal with the underlying causes of homelessness if people are housed first.

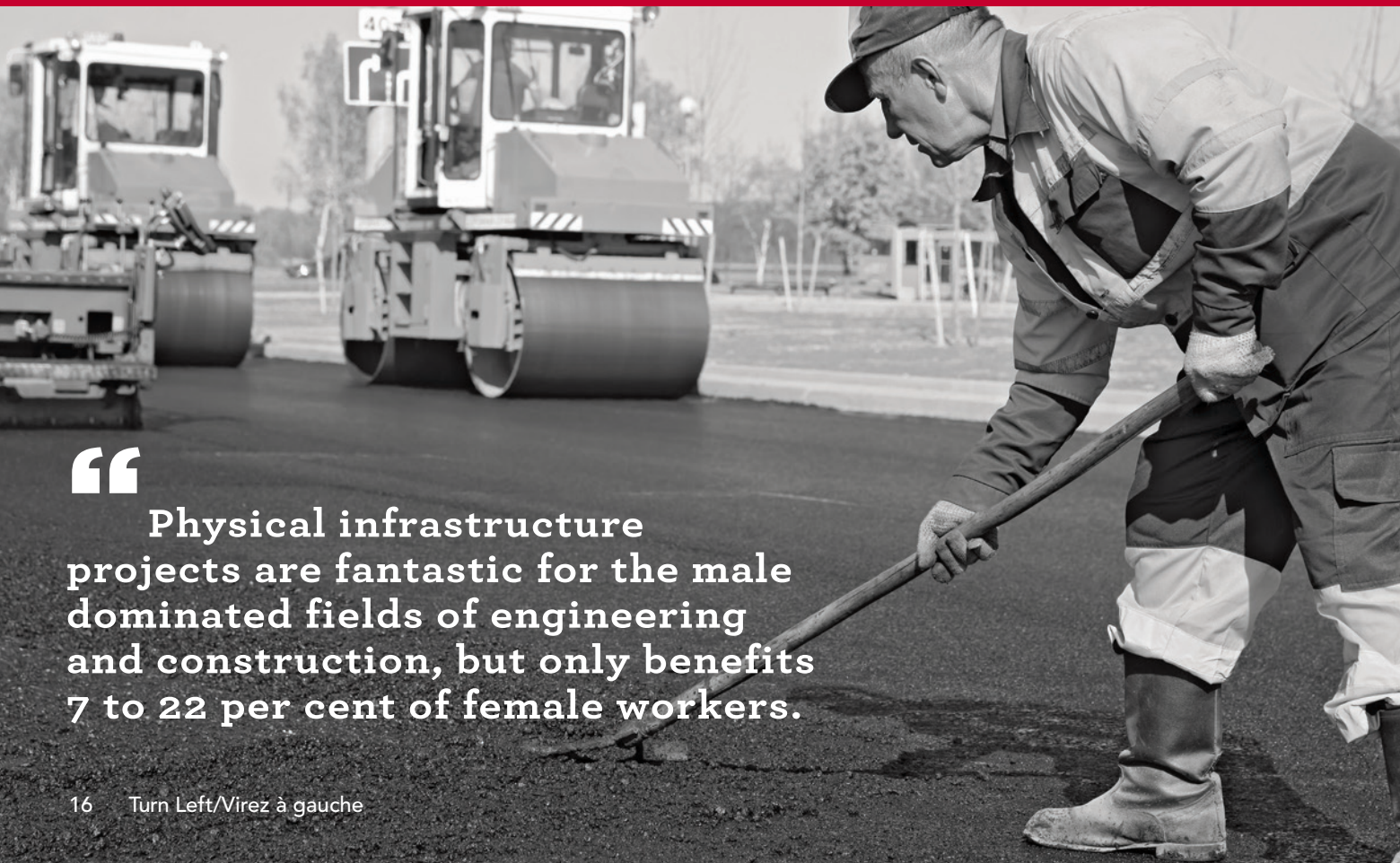
Next up would be strategic expenditures in the health and education sectors. Such investments will directly benefit women since the workforce participation rate for females is high in these sectors; in health services it is in the range of 80 per cent. Additional investments in aboriginal education and mental health care are sorely needed.

An effective stimulus plan would add more workers to tax rolls. A national day-care plan will permit more women to participate in the workforce, hopefully earning equal pay for equal work. Alternatively it will free them up to learn the skills needed for a knowledge-based economy.

In the realm of peace building,

continued on next page

Women, Democracy and Infrastructure



“

Physical infrastructure projects are fantastic for the male dominated fields of engineering and construction, but only benefits 7 to 22 per cent of female workers.

THE “S” WORD IS BACK IN FASHION

BY DENNIS RAPHAEL

Ten years ago, I gave a presentation at the University of Washington’s Department of Health Sciences on the adverse health effects of income inequality and poverty brought on by the neo-liberal driven decline of the welfare state.

Indeed, Statistics Canada reports an excess of 40,000 Canadian deaths a year can be attributed to differences in living conditions between the rich and the rest of us.¹ My Canadian-born host lauded my talk but warned me to avoid ever using the S-word (socialist) in front of American audiences, I reminded him that this was not the case in Canada where labour leaders and the NDP constitution had no such hesitancy about its use.

How times have changed! Bernie Sanders energizes American youth as a democratic socialist and the NDP scrubs the word from its constitution. And we all know how well that worked for the NDP in the last federal and Ontario elections. Notwithstanding the death-bed confessions of Thomas Mulcair and Andrea Horvath, there is no evidence

that the NDP leadership has learned any lessons from these electoral disasters.

But we have, and so thankfully has Ontario NDP MPP Cheri Dinovo. In a recent article in the Toronto Sun newspaper, she has “belled the cat” by stating the obvious²:

- “The NDP are democratic socialists.”
- “Many social democratic countries have double our corporate and wealth taxes.”
- “Yes, child care, not in eight years, now.”
- “Yes, a \$15-an-hour minimum wage, but not just for federal employees, for everyone.”
- “It wasn’t the NDP talking about taxing the 1%. It was the Liberals (who of course won’t follow through), and it cost us an election.”

When was the last time we ever heard any of this from a NDP leader during an election? Or for that matter, between elections? Do you honestly believe that any of our present leaders will ever do so?

As DiNovo states: “Quite frankly, there’s no place to go but Left. We’ve tried

centrism - no one’s buying it anymore. That’s why the Liberals used our language to win.”

And a final word from DiNovo: “We must hold leadership accountable. When you lose a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, more than half our seats and plummet in the polls from 41% to 14% – someone needs to say something.”

It is time to clean shop.

Dennis Raphael is a professor of health policy at York University. He is co-author of Social Determinants of Health: The Canadian Facts, which can be downloaded from thecanadianfacts.org.

1. Raphael, D. and Bryant, T. (2014, Nov. 25). The Health Effects of Income Inequality: A Jet with 110 Canadians Falling Out of the Sky Each Day, Every Day, 365 Days a Year. Upstream. At www.thinkupstream.net/health_effects_of_income_inequality

2. DiNovo, C. (2016, Feb. 3). NDP Need to Embrace the Left. Toronto Sun. At www.torontosun.com/2016/02/03/ndp-need-to-embrace-the-left ■

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NDI noted that reconciliation efforts are more quickly adopted if women are involved. In this context, some infrastructure spending that supports the Calls to Action in the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada report are obligatory. The report states that “Reconciliation... is necessary to resolve the ongoing conflicts between Aboriginal peoples and institutions of the country.”

A proper balance between physical and social infrastructure investments will be crucial in ensuring that the stimulus funds aid the broadest range of Canadians citizens. In the lead up to the 2016 Federal budget, there was much discussion on where to focus the spending, and rightly so. The last infrastructure stimulus focused on ‘shovel-ready’ and typically smaller projects that do not result in long-term economic gains.

It is also important to avoid politicization of project selection and

pork-barrelling. According to NDI, women are effective at promotion of honest government. Honesty in a democracy demands more than avoidance of corruption. It requires accountability and implementation of transparent, evidence-based policies as advocated by groups such as Evidence for Democracy during the 2015 federal election. Projects should be selected based on urgent needs and greatest benefits rather than ideological leanings or political whim.

The large cohort of female cabinet ministers has the opportunity to change the socio-political and economic landscape of Canada. However, they can only do so if patriarchal models of leadership are dispensed with and they are given the freedom to devote their talents to areas where women are particularly influential. We on the left must remain vigilant to ensure that we reap the benefits of gender diversity in our highest democratic institution. ■

Socialist Caucus Resolutions at Convention

29 Resolutions were approved by the Federal NDP Socialist Caucus Conference in Toronto in December 2015, on a variety of economic, social and environmental issues.

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 convention floor.

TPP: Renegotiating NAFTA By the Back Door

BY JIM STANFORD

From progressive-economics.ca

For years, trade and justice activists have proposed renegotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement to address some of the deal's most damaging features: for example, by removing the anti-democratic investor-state dispute settlement provisions of Chapter 11, linking trade benefits to genuine protections for human and labour rights (all the more important given the deteriorating democratic situation in Mexico), and establishing a continent-wide strategy for auto investment and production.

We were always told that renegotiating NAFTA was a pipe dream: it would not be possible to open the text and get all three countries on board with reforms, no matter how legitimate the concerns.

So imagine our collective surprise to see that the Trans-Pacific Partnership talks, behind closed doors, jumped right into the deep end of NAFTA: undertaking a wholesale renegotiation of what is by far Canada's most important trade relationship.

The TPP includes 12 countries, several of which Canada already has free trade agreements with. For Canada, the most important new free trade relationship is with Japan. Opening up bilateral free trade with Japan poses many risks to Canada, similar to issues critics have raised regarding the CETA and the bilateral FTA with Korea. Our bilateral relationship with Japan starts from a position of deep quantitative and qualitative imbalance: we incur chronic trade deficits with Japan, since our imports of high-value manufactured goods vastly outweigh our exports to Japan (which consist mostly of natural resources).

Bilateral tariff elimination with Japan will therefore boost our imports far more than our exports (since our



imports are bigger, and our resource-based exports do not face large Japanese tariffs). The working of Japan's state-directed economy, reliant on nuanced and multidimensional

interventions to support and protect strategic domestic industries, and boost net exports, will not be fundamentally altered by the restrictions of a trade deal. So liberalization with Japan can only reinforce Canada's structural disadvantage as a resource supplier. This point has been made in previous critiques of the former Harper government's free trade strategy.

“ I hope that the current debate sparks Canadians to take a much harder look at this agreement, which — by renegotiating the NAFTA — will have a much bigger impact on our economy than “just another trade agreement.”

The TPP, however, opens a Pandora's box that is potentially much worse than simply the expansion of free trade to include Japan (an expansion which would, itself, be significantly damaging to Canada). Because it would include all three members of NAFTA, the TPP rules would in effect supplant NAFTA's rules on all sorts of issues: from rules of origin, to dispute settlement, to intellectual property.

The TPP therefore amounts, in practice, to the complete renegotiation of NAFTA. TPP-inspired changes to NAFTA's rules could have major impacts on Canadian trade, investment, and employment outcomes, quite separate

from the effects of the TPP experienced via new trade partners (like Japan).

The auto industry could outsource approximately one-quarter of the value of its existing value-added activity to jurisdictions outside of the TPP, yet still preserve its made-in-the-TPP trade preferences. Applying the lower of these two weighted-average calculations (24 percentage points) to Canada's existing automotive manufacturing footprint (and assuming that the dislocation for Canada's industry is only proportional to the overall North American shrinkage, an assumption which is probably optimistic), allows us to generate an estimate of the potential scale of economic loss if the U.S.-Japan rules were implemented.

Canada could lose 24,600 jobs (ie. 24% of existing automotive manufacturing employment), \$6 billion in parts shipments, and a large chunk of its assembly footprint as well. This loss would be experienced over several years, as automakers and suppliers alike adjusted their investment and location decisions to take advantage of the new freedom afforded them under the watered-down content rules.

Of course, there are many other problems with the TPP, and indeed other concerns relating to the auto industry (including the need for protections to ensure that automotive trade with Japan and other TPP countries becomes meaningfully two-way, and measures limiting the use of active currency manipulation as a means of achieving advantage in trade competition).

The auto content issues have suddenly made TPP a political hot potato, however, because of the vocal opposition of important industry leaders in all three NAFTA countries. I hope that the current debate sparks Canadians to take a much harder look at this agreement, which — by renegotiating the NAFTA — will have a much bigger impact on our economy than “just another trade agreement.” ■

...Mulcair, from page 13

Leader for adopted policy, and for the right of Bank?

We're told "The campaign lacked an overarching narrative that could easily communicate our progressive proposals." The truth is that a campaign theme was not lacking. It was clearly present and plainly reactionary. A balanced budget. No major new taxes. Incentives to big business, and a foreign policy to match. Mulcair's brain trust offered the Trudeau Liberals a bar so low that it was easy for the latter to hurdle it, however disingenuously. Canadians wanted a sharp break with the hated Harper regime.

Newly appointed officials in the Leader's suite, however super-enthusiastic they may be, won't make a dime's worth of difference if they are cut from the same cloth as their predecessors.

What's really

needed is policy decided from the bottom up, with plenty of time for debate at convention, and adherence to the policy priorities decided by the mass membership. Really required is a Workers' Agenda, socialist policies and new leadership. A so-called "strong role for government" just won't do, up against a violent, wasteful, and irrational system dominated by gargantuan greedy corporations and banks. The problem is capitalism, not mismanagement of the deck chairs on the Titanic.

The importance of the Leader should not be exaggerated to the detriment of other factors. Let's keep in mind that big change almost always comes from the bottom up. But in order to open the doors and windows to a more democratic and socialist process, there is no choice now other than to vote for Leadership Review at Edmonton in April. ■

...Trudeau, from page 15

Jihadi terrorism could be quickly stopped. The imperialist powers need only insist that client regimes, like Saudi Arabia and Turkey, stop funding the recruitment and arming of Salafist-inspired fighters, and stop buying ISIS-controlled oil. Instead of demonizing, arresting, or excluding Muslims and Arabs, domestic and foreign, the western powers could target poverty, racism and youth alienation at home.

Meanwhile, every bomb dropped by Canadian, US and French jets on Iraq and Syria recruits a village to ISIS. Each assault on the east attracts dozens of discontented young westerners to the Islamic terrorist brand. Joining a reactionary sect is a horribly misguided

response to growing inequality and injustice.

Indeed, it bolsters the state terrorism of the West. It diverts attention from the misdeeds of the imperialists, which dwarf the crimes of ISIS. The biggest crime going is resource plunder for profit. Western rulers pursue their aims with a variety of tactics. They exercise a division of labour.

Justin Trudeau's unctuous "sunny ways" rhetoric, his posturing as a peace-loving humanitarian is camouflage for a widening war of intervention in the East. It must be confronted with principled opposition to the war. United front mass demonstrations against Ottawa's plan to increase its involvement are urgently needed. ■

THE CANDIDATES FOR THE CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM IN THE NDP

The Socialist Caucus and Momentum are proud to put forth a team of candidates for Federal NDP Executive and Council.

Please see the other 12 candidates on the next page

COME AND MEET OUR CANDIDATES

You are warmly invited to come and meet our 16 candidates at convention. Ask them about their plans for reform to build greater democracy inside the NDP.

Friday, April 8

At Adjournment Room to be Announced

Saturday, April 9

At Lunch and Adjournment In Room 4

TYLER MACKINNON NDYC Representative

Tyler is a recent university student in Politics and a former member of the ONDY executive.



At the 2013 Federal NDP convention in Montreal, he led the fight for free post-secondary education. Tyler is also a passionate activist who has campaigned to improve working conditions.

CHRISTOPHER MAH POY NDYC Representative

Christopher is a recent graduate from Mount Allison University with a degree in political science.



Originally from Alberta, he has been a self-described "Prairie" social democrat and social justice advocate from an early age and a New Democrat since the day he could vote.

HENRY EVANS-TENBRINKE Ontario Provincial Rep.

Henry has been a member of the NDP for over 30 years and serves as an executive member of the Hamilton Mountain Riding Association.



He was also an active member of CUPE for three decades in the health care sector, and is committed to human rights and fighting racism worldwide.

CHRIS GOSSE Atlantic Regional Rep.

Chris is a technician and craftsman, and has seen first-hand what anti-labour legislation does to communities.



Chris strongly believes in democratic transparency inside the NDP and the union movement, with strong membership representation and participation.

The Campaign for Democracy and Socialism in the NDP

The Socialist Caucus and Momentum are presenting a team of candidates for Federal NDP Executive and Council. Let's build a more participatory NDP that fights for socialist policies everywhere.

BARRY WEISLEDER **President**

Barry is a teacher, union organizer, writer, and a member of the NDP for 47 years. He has been a delegate to almost every Federal and Ontario NDP convention since 1971. As President, Barry wants the NDP to become a bottom-up organization that fights for socialist policies.



JULIUS ARSCOTT **Vice President (Labour)**

Julius is President of OPSEU local 532 and has worked in the Ontario Public Service for 16 years. A vocal proponent of OPSEU affiliation with the NDP, Julius is also active in the anti-war and Palestine Solidarity movements and has been a long time environmentalist.



VANESSA MILLER² **NDP Women's Commission**

Vanessa is a labour and political activist from Nanaimo, British Columbia. Vanessa is currently the young worker coordinator for the Public Service Alliance of Canada, BC Region, as well as for the Canada Employment and Immigration Union - BC/ Yukon Region.



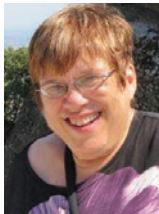
ALAIN CHARBONNEAU **Vice Président (Francophone)**

Alain a travaillé avec Jamie Nichols à Vaudreuil-Soulanges avant de déménager et de devenir le secrétaire de l'association de circonscription de LaSalle-Émard-Verdun, avec Hélène LeBlanc en tant que députée. En février, il a été élu président de l'association.



JUDY KOCH **Disability Caucus Rep.**

Judy Koch is a long time social activist and a member of the Toronto Danforth NDP executive. She is a strong advocate for workers' rights people with physical and mental challenges, and an active member of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty.



SYED HYDER ALI¹ **Alberta Provincial Rep.**

Syed came to Canada as a landed immigrant in 2005, and has been active in the NDP since 2007. Syed wanted to stand as a candidate for the party in the 2015 federal election, but his candidacy was rescinded for speaking out in favour of Palestinian rights.



PETER D'GAMA **Visible Minorities Caucus**

Peter is currently President of the Etobicoke North Federal NDP and has worked on countless elections for the party. Peter wants to see the NDP work alongside equity-seeking groups to fight racist discrimination, poverty and injustice.



JOHN McNAMEE **Treasurer**

John has been involved with socialist politics since joining the anti-war movement in the 1960s. He has also been a longtime NDP riding executive member. John wants the party to connect more with social justice movements seeking equity.



JOHN WILSON **LGBT Caucus Rep.**

John has been involved in the NDP and its predecessor party, starting with the Ottawa CCF youth club in 1954. Involved in gay/queer liberation since the early 1970s, John is a founding member of Queer Ontario and is presently on its steering committee.



CHAD McKINLEY¹ **Prairie Regional Rep.**

Chad is a concerned union activist working to change the direction of the Federal NDP. He has worked for years in various ways to help bring about the progressive renaissance in Alberta, and has been a member of the Teamsters Union (Local 987) for 15 years. Support Chad for a truly rank and file NDP.



JOHN ORRETT **Ontario Regional Rep.**

Former District Chief with the Toronto Fire Services, John has been a member of the NDP for over 40 years. He has an Honours BA in Political Science with credits in economics and international affairs, and is currently President of the Thornhill Riding Association.



DOCK CURRIE¹ **BC Provincial Rep.**

Dock is the Bennett Scholar for the Doctoral Liberal Arts and a PhD candidate in Political Economy at York University. His interests are in advancing a democratic and socialist program within the New Democratic Party and recalling its socialist and social democratic traditions.



¹ Members of Momentum - The NDP's Left Alternative to Austerity. ² Independent candidates endorsed by Socialist Caucus.