

calls for more freedoms for people

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legislation is virtually near enforced."

Most of the corporations thus induced to establish plants in New Brunswick are foreign owned "which means that benefits that should come to the local communities are drained abroad." The New Brunswick owned corporations are no better than the foreign-controlled corporations.

"Our own Frasers Ltd. clear-cuts, pollutes, and throws people out of work (through plant shutdowns) with the best of them. The Irving empire controls the size of the welfare rolls in Saint John...."

Irving's control of the English language media in the province is also mentioned in the manifesto.

"This system of corporate capitalist control over people's material existence (and even, to some extent, over what they read, hear, observe and think) must be replaced by socialism - that is, the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange under workers' control with production for need rather than profit. The present is intolerable in the way that it brings men together primarily as buyers and sellers of each other, in the way it subordinates human need to material gain for a few, in its fetish for uncontrolled growth and the consequent rape of the natural world...."

The middle section of the manifesto speaks of the NDP as a vehicle through which these changes may be brought about. The change in the power relationships and the creation of socialism will require a struggle, a political struggle because it is not in the interest of those who hold the power to give it up.

The New Brunswick Party, as a socialist party, can lead this struggle by providing a base of organization for the movements of workers, farmers, women, native people, Acadians, tenants, poor people and young people which have already emerged, as well as those which may emerge in the future in resistance to oppression and exploitation."

If these goals are to be achieved, the New Democratic Party cannot confine its activities to mere electioneering but must extend its activities to work in co-operation with a wide range of groups such as farmers groups, tenants unions, student groups, etc., which are organizing for social change.

The NDP should keep in mind its long range goals and not dissipate its energies seeking "a series of largely unrelated reforms." However valuable these reforms may be they will not change the overall structure of society.

The concluding paragraph of "For a Socialist New Brunswick" sets out a systematic group of demands as goals for a socialist movement. "A socialist party must present a coherent set of interrelated demands aimed at the kind of root change it seeks, a program that lays out our political tasks as socialists in the transitional period from the present capitalist order to a socialist one. In that spirit our transitional program makes the following demands:

"(1) immediate common ownership, without compensation, and under workers' control, of all major means of production, distribution and exchange. This would include all resource industries, manufacturing industries, agribusiness, food distribution chains, insurance and financial institutions.

"(2) Immediate common ownership, without compensation, of all media - newspapers, publishing, radio, television and telecommunications - under worker's co-operative ownership.

"(3) Immediate socialization of law and medicine, i.e., all medical services to be free of charge and universally acceptable.

"(4) Immediate common ownership, without compensation, of all large scale rented property; immediate control of rents and all other powers of landlords, with security of tenure for tenants and recognition of tenants unions; massive public housing and co-operative housing, with local democratic control of all housing and all environmental planning.

"(5) An agricultural land bank, with an immediate freeze on agricultural land transfer and sale; establishment of co-operative farms with workers' co-operative ownership; a farmer-government pricing board; encouragement of family farmers to join co-operative enterprises; reversion of all family farm holdings (other than subsistence) to the land bank as soon as possible after family proprietor dies.

"(6) Establishment of women's rights, including (a) equal pay for equal work, with working, contract and job offer conditions equal to those of men, free twenty-four hour user controlled day-care centres and maternity leave with full pay; (b) complete legal equality in all marital, fam-

ily or property matters; (c) free abortion on demand, with ready access to all information and devices/medicines for birth control and contraception.

"(7) Full fraternal support of all workers' struggles against capital and any of its collaborators; full support in organizing the non-unionized, the unemployed, welfare recipients, tenants and oppressed minorities.

"(8) Abolition of virtually all compulsory education with state financing and full democratic control of all educational institutions and services, either by equal participation of students, teachers and people's representatives, or through workers' co-operative ownership; elimination of all procedures and structures which contribute to competitive evaluation, or oppression on the basis of class or sex.

"(9) Full fraternal support of all self-determination movements in the provinces, of (for example) Acadians and native peoples, and solidarity with the movements for Quebec self-determination, the struggle for an independent socialist Canada and all national liberation struggles across the globe, including the Vietnamese and other Third World peoples."

The manifesto concludes with a colorful but sincere flourish of rhetoric. "We call upon all the oppressed and exploited people of our province to join with us and our sisters and brothers elsewhere in Canada and throughout the world in this struggle for a government of the working class. Its achievement will be a world in which the domination of the many by the few, that blight of all times past, is ended."

This manifesto, which should not be confused with the Waffle Manifesto written by Mel Watkins, passed by a close margin of 41 to 40 votes with 4 abstentions. Immediately after the result of the vote was announced, several labour representatives and some other delegates walked out of the meeting, causing a loss of the quorum. The ensuing confusion ended when the party president called a provincial council meeting to determine a course of action to settle the apparent split. The council decided to reconvene the convention in Fredericton on the sixteenth of October.

Several questions remain to be settled at that meeting. How serious is the apparent split? Will the labour representatives withdraw from the NBNDP? What are their objections to the manifesto?

Those who spoke in opposition to the manifesto and the accompanying resolutions at the convention voiced two main objections. One of these was a question of substance; the other, a question of language.

Several speakers objected to the provisions that specify that no compensation is to be given for property that is nationalized. They felt that some compensation should be given for industries that have been developed by a good deal of effort and struggle on the part of industrialists.

One speaker suggested that compensation take the form of long term bonds. The supporters of the manifesto argue that the effort of the entrepreneur is considerably less than the work done by the employees of the operation. The energy of the capitalist is directed at exploiting the workers. The resources of the province belong to the people of the province, rather than to any one individual. The dispute over compensation in the strongest point of contention between the waffle group and the other delegates. Several possible solutions might be achieved to this problem.

Compensation in the form of long term bonds or a combination of cash and bonds would likely satisfy those who feel that compensation should be given. Acceptance of compensation, even in this form, would represent a major compromise on the part of those who feel that ownership and control of industries and resources by a few constitutes unjustified exploitation.

The other point of contention is the excessive rhetoric used in the manifesto. Numerous delegates approached the microphone on the convention floor to object that the use of phrases such as "the exploited and powerless masses" would prevent many non-party members from considering the points expressed by the manifesto.

Speaker after speaker began his remarks by stating "There is much here that I can agree with, but..."

The division is serious but few people doubt that it will be resolved. The labour representatives indicated that they were unhappy with the outcome of the vote but suggested that they would be back at the next convention to contest the outcome. It is not known if they will attend this the continuation of this convention which will be held on the sixteenth of October.

The thrust of the program is aimed at large scale business

and economic domination. The institution of private property provides a means whereby one person can exert control over another. Small businesses such as those owned and operated by the members of a family and the family farms are not important means of control. Subsistence farms are not the target of nationalization, but agribusiness, large integrated farming and distribution networks are. Privately owned homes are not the target of the program; large apartment complexes controlled by individuals are. The manifesto does not make this as explicit as it might.

The feeling of the waffle supporters is that no one, not even children, should be subject to arbitrary confinement against his will.

Basic literary and mathematical skills are needed for getting along in society. These skills open the doors to further learning, but if the child does not wish to pursue academic endeavours why should he be forced to if it is against his wishes? Forced study will most likely not be very productive any way. For these reasons the manifesto calls for "abolition of virtually all compulsory education". In conjunction with this abolition the authors of the manifesto envisage implementation of wide variety of educational services different from the traditional classroom kind of learning situation. Ready access to a variety of educational opportunities at no charge should make learning available to all members of society in a more pleasant atmosphere than the traditional rigid classroom setting.

What will be the long range effects of the NDP's passing of this program? The program will most likely stand as party policy for at least a year. To reconsider the manifesto at the October meeting would require a two-thirds majority vote.

Some sort of compromise is possible at the 1972 convention, but the program of the NBNDP is going to be likely to be to the left of the national policy for some time to come. At present it is to the left of the national waffle. Cy Gonick sums up the socialist's position in a CANADIAN DIMENSION article. "The socialist argues that material interest is only one of many possible motivations that can guide men's behaviour; that it is the very structure of capitalist society that makes material interest, the primary interest, the deepest motive."

The Manifesto "For a Socialist New Brunswick" a program to change the structure that puts men's relations with one another on a cash basis.