

Consent is a journal of  
ideas and opinions  
on  
individual freedom.

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# Consent

## CAUGHT IN THE SAFETY NET

-Robert Metz

*(Robert Metz is president, leader, and a founding member of Ontario's Freedom Party. The following essay, in edited form, was originally published in the London Free Press, on March 20, 1992)*

"Too many doctors!" say Canada's provincial health-care ministers. Ridiculous. There's no such thing as "too much" of anything that people want or need. When supply exceeds demand, prices go down and eventually supply will find its optimum level accordingly. That's good. Unfortunately, under socialized medicine, the price of visiting a doctor or hospital is already zero and can't go down any further. That's bad.

According to the reported consensus of Canada's provincial health ministers attending January 1992's conference in Banff Alberta, Canada's national medicare system will be bankrupt by the year 2000. While their admission of this fact alone should wake up Canadians who believe that their governments can continue to provide "free" social services to all, given the ministers' "cures for an ailing health system", I doubt if it will last that long.

The scary part is that they say their "solutions" to saving the health-care system follow the conclusion of "20 years of intensive study on how to control the distorted growth of health-care distribution." This means, of course, that they've only been "studying" health-care costs from the frozen mindset of socialized universal health-care --- which was entrenched in Canada *before* their "study" began, and which is the very *cause* of the "distorted growth" in healthcare distribution. It also means that the ministers have not been studying health-care distribution from the perspective of rational, sane, free-market health-care where those who can afford to provide their own private health insurance, and where we only help those who can't help themselves.

If any proof were needed to demonstrate that politicians have been clearly more interested in getting votes than in providing "affordable healthcare for all," their support of *universality* is it. As a result we have a *universal* healthcare system that has been purposely set up not to

help those who cannot help themselves, but to appeal to a broad electorate that will vote for anyone who uses the word "free" and vote against anyone who uses the term "individual responsibility."

Perhaps it's time to stop for a moment to consider how utterly stupid, dishonest, wasteful, and tragic our political commitment to universality is. Under universality, we all lose. As tax-paying citizens, we get a myriad of social programs shoved down our collective throats, supposedly to "help those in need," or some variant of an argument that is coldly calculated to appeal to our natural desire to help others. Then, when the program is enacted, suddenly it's *universal!* --- *not just for those in need, but for everybody!*

What gives? --- universal healthcare, universal pensions, universal daycare... Small wonder that Canada's debt is starting to look pretty universal too! If astronomer Carl Sagan were suddenly to become an economist, he'd still be famous for saying "Billions and billions and billions and billions..."

The point is, how can we expect to help those in need when we commit ourselves to squandering billions on providing "free" government services to all? Who's holding up the "safety net" if the whole country's caught inside it? Clearly, *universality* is no friend of the poor, needy, or disadvantaged. Under *universality*, the needy get pushed out by the greedy. And to hide this fact from the rest of us, politicians have been forced to sell universality on fraudulent terms.

Remember the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP)? OHIP was a complete fraud. Under OHIP, "premiums" weren't premiums at all because they didn't cover the costs necessary to keep the "plan" viable. But then, the use of the word "plan" was equally fraudulent because there never has been any "plan" --- no actuarial tables, no investments, no fund --- just a "plan" to tax future

*To those who consent, no injustice is done*



taxpayers, the only part of the "plan" that still seems to be alive and well. Hardly surprising. Under OHIP, even the word "insurance" was fraudulent; after all, insurance is for *emergencies*, not for *consumption*.

## "Universality is the guaranteed way to destroy our ability to help those in need."

Though health-care in Ontario is now euphemistically being funded through the *Employer Health Tax* (EHT), this merely spreads the fraud to a broader base, since the EHT is really nothing more than an arbitrary *payroll tax* that eventually must come out of employee's pockets. Of course, health taxes have always been cleverly hidden and taken from the pockets of *all* Ontarians, rich and poor alike. For example, OHIP "premiums", when they existed, at best covered 12% of Ontario's healthcare spending. That meant that 88% of health care costs (not including deficits) were paid by provincial taxes -- income taxes, sales taxes, etc., -- taxes paid by everyone.

Worse, in 1967, the year before OHIP was fraudulently sold to a buying Ontario electorate, 82% of

Ontarians *already carried adequate private health insurance*, suitable to their needs and fully capable of sustaining most through expensive emergency healthcare. Only 18% of Ontarians remained uninsured in

1967: some by choice, some through neglect, and a few through a genuine inability to pay or through an inability to qualify for pre-existing health reasons. But instead of helping specific groups within this 18% of uninsured Ontarians, the government of the day chose to "help" *all* Ontarians under a *government-monopolized universal* health care system. *Universality* is the guaranteed way to destroy our ability to help those in need.

With their ideologies fully committed to the sacred cow of *universality*, it should come as no surprise that Canada's health care ministers have painted themselves into a funding corner with no options. As a result, they'll be forced to cut back on the number of

doctors allowed to practice medicine, and they'll be forced to begin the inevitable process of *rationing health-care* to the very citizens to whom they're still promising "universal access."

To add insult to injury, and to evade their own responsibility to the electorate, politicians will, of course, blame doctors and patients for the whole mess.

No matter how bad our health-care system gets by the year 2000, you can bet that politicians who support universality will still be trying to convince us that the only way we can help those in need will be by "saving" something they'll continue to call "a universal healthcare system." Meanwhile, as is already the

## "Who's holding up the 'safety net' if the whole country's caught inside it?"

case, actual healthcare accessibility to individual Canadians will continue to decline dramatically. This is a certainty that each of us had better start facing up to -- and doing something about.

*Universality* is universal madness. Let's end the madness. <END>

# HOW TO DEAL WITH QUEBEC

-William Frampton

(William Frampton is past Metro Regional vice-president of Freedom Party who currently resides in New Brunswick.)

Since the demise of the Meech Lake Accord in June 1991, many observers, seem to have lost confidence in the country's ability to deal with Quebec's increasingly radical demands. The doomsayers claim that in any future negotiations Canada's position is weak, and that we must avoid another Quebec referendum at all costs.

The reality is far different than this bleak view suggests. In the game of constitutional poker now underway, our

hand is much stronger than many people realize. Quebec politicians -- *Liberal* and *Parti Quebecois* alike -- want to have it both ways. They want the power that goes with political independence and have the security of being attached to Canada. One example of this is the province's recent demand that the National Energy Board guarantee Quebec unconditional access to western Canadian oil and gas in the event of a worldwide oil shortage!

"Those who corrupt the public mind are just as evil as those who steal from the public purse."

--- Adlai Stevenson, Sept. 12, 1952



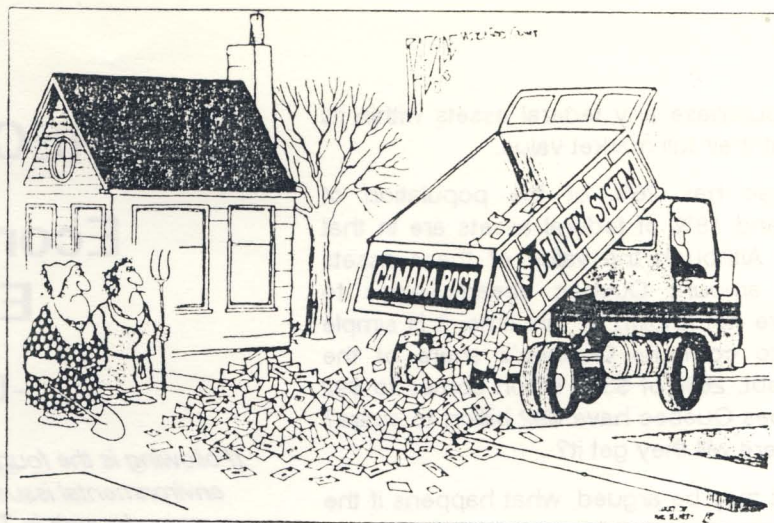
As a result, Quebec nationalists use the vague word "sovereignty" instead of the more easily defined term "independence." This allows them to give Quebecers an alluring image of greater power while making it appear that they won't rock the boat so much that it sinks. This means that even a "sovereign" Quebec would be dependent upon Canada's continuing goodwill and generosity.

However vague and undefined their goal, the separatists are suffering from a delusion. The Quebec government has no recognized power to take the province out of Confederation. The Constitution provides arrangements for the admission of new provinces, but does not provide any mechanism by which a province may leave. Therefore Canada is in a position to dictate all the terms under which we would consider allowing Quebec to become independent. The only question is how high we should set the price.

The alleged right to secede is supposedly based upon the principle of self-

determination of peoples. This principle was first enumerated by U.S. president Woodrow Wilson during the First World War. At that time it was clearly stated that this principle applied only to a large number of native inhabitants of distinctive language and culture who had occupied a particular area from time immemorial and who had been denied self-government.

Since Quebecers are relatively recent arrivals in the new world --- like the rest of us --- and enjoy self-government within Confederation, the principle of self-determination of



peoples cannot apply to them. And even if it did, it would have ramifications that undermine the separatists' goal. Simply stated, if Quebec can secede from Canada, parts of Quebec can secede from it.

In 1867 most of present-day Quebec, including the entire watershed flowing into Ungava, Hudson and James Bays, was owned by the Hudson Bay Company. Canada bought the land from the company two years after confederation. The territory was

to detach themselves from Quebec. Authors William Shaw and Lionel Albert (Partition: The Price of Quebec's Independence; Montreal: Thornhill Publishing, 1980) have determined that an independent Quebec could be left with a fraction of its present area, a strip of land along the north shore of the St. Lawrence river.

There is a strong precedent for such a partition. When Virginia seceded from the United States during the American Civil War, part of the

state remained within the Union as the new state of West Virginia. That territory has

**"Since Quebecers enjoy self-government within Confederation, the principle of self-determination cannot apply to them. Simply put, if Quebec can secede from Canada, parts of Quebec can secede from it."**

attached to the province of Quebec under agreements in 1898 and 1912 with certain conditions involved, including concluding treaties with the native inhabitants. The natives who live in that part of the province contend that the conditions have not been met and that they want no part of an independent Quebec.

Under these circumstances, Canada has every right to demand the retention of all areas of Quebec whose inhabitants want to remain. If self-determination of peoples is used to justify secession, it must also allow the English-speaking areas of West Montreal and the Ottawa River valley

remained a separate state to this day, even though Virginia and the other Confederate states returned after the war.

There are also serious financial aspects involved in any secession. Under Section 111 of the Constitution Act of 1867, the outstanding debts of the provinces were absorbed by Ottawa when they entered Confederation. Therefore, it is entirely appropriate that if any province secedes it should repay all loans outstanding to Ottawa --- such as money borrowed from the Canada Pension Plan --- and take on its full per capita share of the existing federal debt. It should also

**"Opportunities are usually disguised as hard work, so most people don't recognize them."**

--- Ann Landers



have to purchase any federal assets within its territory at their full market value.

Quebec has 26% of the population of Canada and 18% of federal assets are in that province. Although the value of these assets and the amount Quebec already owes to Ottawa are not known at this time, it is simple enough to compute Quebec's share of the federal debt. 26% of \$354 billion comes to \$92 billion. Does Quebec have \$92 billion to spare? If not, where will they get it?

But, it may be argued, what happens if the Quebec government doesn't like our terms and goes ahead with its proposed referendum? The answer to this is simple enough. Since the province has no constitutional authority to secede, such a referendum would have no legal force or effect, and we could (legally) simply ignore it.

Few Canadians realize that this entire question was decisively settled over fifty years ago. In 1933, the people of Western Australia voted to secede from their country, just as Quebec seeks to do. The following year, the state legislators passed an act to bring this about.

However, Western Australia was constitutionally prevented from doing what it had voted to do. When the matter was finally settled by the Privy Council in London, it ruled that the referendum and the state's resolution meant nothing, and the country stayed together. In the absence of any constitutional power of secession, this case provides a crystal-clear precedent to guide our courts in determining what any Quebec sovereignty vote is really worth.

The Americans and Australians have already been through and survived challenges to the very structure of their countries. There is no reason to suppose that Canada cannot or should not survive a similar challenge --- other than the moral cowardice of our leaders. All we need are leaders who are prepared to abandon the policy of constitutional appeasement and stand up for their country.

If the politicians in government today are not up to this task, it is our right and responsibility to replace them with those who are.

<END>

## RECONCILIATION

### Economics and the Environment

-Dr. Walter Block

*(Following is the fourth installment of Dr. Block's presentation on environmental issues to Freedom Party attendees at a Sunday morning brunch in Toronto on Oct. 29, 1989. Speaking as senior economist with the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute, Dr. Block's speech has been reprinted verbatim from taped transcripts. The entire presentation is available on video and/or audio tapes through Freedom Party. Inquiries welcome. **Part 1 - The Tragedy of the Commons** (the principle of private property vs the principle of the commons) and **Part 2 - Common Ownership, Common Problems** (Pollution and Acid Rain) appeared in **Consent #13** and **#14** respectively. **Part 3 - Privatize Everything!** (Species Extinction) appeared in **Consent #15**. Back-issues are available through Freedom Party.)*

#### Part 4 - The Third Drawer

We move on now to **oil spills**.

The *Exxon Valdez* dropped ten million gallons (of oil) into the Alaska harbour. This was a big deal in British Columbia because we were closer, but I imagine that the 'greenos' around here --- the 'pinko-greenos' --- aren't very happy about that. It's the third biggest oil spill in the history of the world. The second biggest was the *Amoco Caduz* off the coast of France which dropped 68 million gallons and the biggest one was an off-shore oil drilling rig off the coast of Yucatan in 1979 which spewed forth 155 million gallons.

It's really pretty yuckie. I mean, oil has the consistency of sort of black mayonnaise, and it just gets on everything. And I'm not one of these right-wingers who say "Well, what's a little oil

between friends?" Or they come up with these analogies that say "if you take the ten million gallons and divide it by the denominator of all the water on the earth, it's as if you dropped one little drop of oil into a big swimming pool. Namely, it's nothing." Well, I wouldn't want to swim around there.

But the point is that our proper answer is not to demean this (argument) and say "Well it's just the concern of the greenies. To hell with them. They're not us so whatever they say is wrong." I think the appropriate stance is to say that yes, this is a tragedy. All these birds are dying needlessly and all these shores are being polluted. (We) won't be able to fish or swim or use any recreation for quite a number of years. And, it's a violation of property

**"Inflation is the one form of taxation that can be imposed without legislation" --- Milton Friedman**



rights.

I don't think we have to welcome this (kind of pollution) and be indifferent to it and say that it's a great thing or anything. Now, let's get into the causes of (it). The causes as you can imagine were not "capitalism,"

## "Human beings are the mistake-making animal. There will be oil spills."

were not "free enterprise," were not "markets." The causes were government interventions. *Prior* government interventions.

No, it's not the fault of the "drunken skipper." Some people say that it's was *Exxon's* fault if they didn't fire the drunken skipper. The point is that drunkenness has been made a handicap in the United States. (*Exxon* was) not *allowed* to fire him. It had no incentive to keep a drunken skipper.

What *airline* has an economic incentive to keep a drunken pilot? It's because of these laws that require "minorities have rights." "Drunks have rights." They have a right to be behind the cockpit?!? Well now, that's lunacy. But that's the proximate cause.

But there's more to the story than just that, that proximate cause. Other problems are that the admiralty law as I understand it right now limits the

(liability of the company). Even if we didn't have a drunken skipper --- accidents occur. We're human beings. There've got to be accidents. Human beings are the mistake-making animal. There *will* be oil spills. (This case involved) drunkenness, but that's just a side issue.

But the rule of the admiralty law is that the limit on the limitation of liability of the company is the value of the boat, the oil, and

the cargo. Now what kind of nonsense is that? Surely, the responsibility of the person (who pollutes) is not limited to the value of the stinking boat and the cargo but rather to the *damage* he does. That would be a much more rational way of dealing with it.

Fishermen have no right to sue because we don't recognize... "We", that is, our government (I shouldn't make that equation) does not recognize fishermen's rights to anything in the ocean. Because they don't *own* it, they can't sue.

So that's another problem. But I think the ultimate cause of the problem is that the oceans are owned in common. They are owned by no one. There's this U.N. law of the sea treaty that I think Canada signed. Happily,

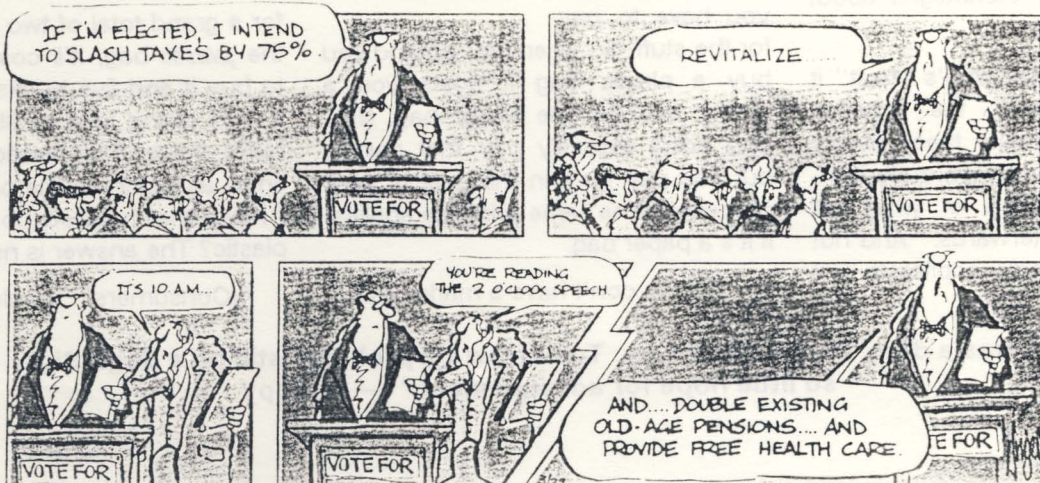
the U.S. didn't and the U.S. counts for more than Canada on this one and on many other things. They're saying that everybody --- you know, some guy in the jungle --- should have the same rights to the ocean as everyone else even though they don't do anything to earn it. This is being applied to the moon and to Mars or what have you, that it's the "common heritage of all mankind. We all own it in common, not those who homestead or do something with it."

The answer again is to *own* bits of the ocean. I know if I owned a bit of the ocean and I got rents from fishermen and stuff, I would want to keep the oil (tankers) clear. I might insist on double hulling.

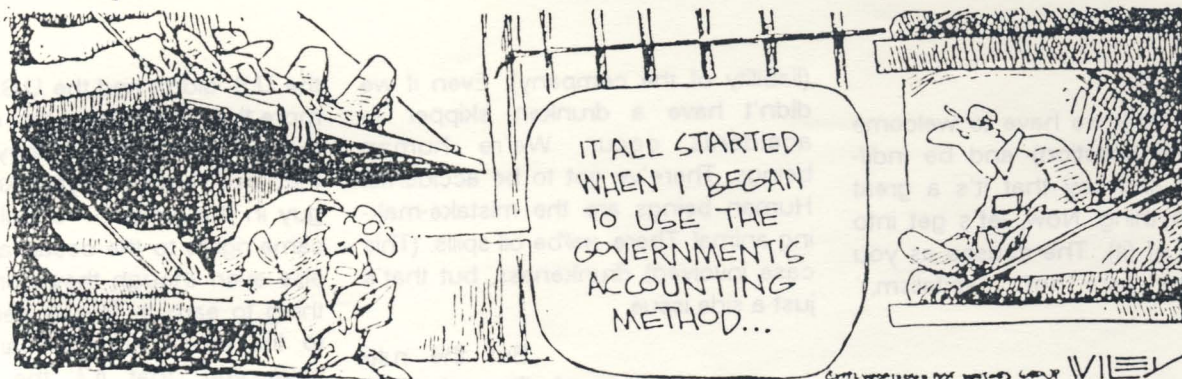
Now there's a *political* process where they've tried to get double hulling but the political process failed for the usual reason of the different

## "The answer is to own bits of the ocean..."

concentration ratios. Namely, the oil company was in a much better position to bribe the commissioners than were the possible victims who were too disparate and spread out. You see, it might cost us a lot all together --- billions --- but it costs *each* of us a nickle and why should we get excited for a nickle? Whereas with the oil companies it only would save them *millions*, but *they've* got the great







incentive to make sure things go their way.

Well, I know that if I owned a bit of the ocean, I would insist that you double-hull, or if you don't double-hull your rates of transport quadruple, or something. You see, once we privatize (the oceans) we'd have less pro-

(it's) this "unholy alliance between the greedy capitalists and the uncaring consumer" who buys these things, who goes to the shopping mall and just puts his stuff in a plastic bag and doesn't think about it. This is the way the greens see the problem.

And I agree with them. This is a problem. And people are acting irresponsibly.

Granted, that when you try to recycle this stuff, or you try to put it in the earth, it

ruins the earth. I think we *do* have an over-optimum amount of money in styrofoam and plastics but my explanation for this problem is *not* because of "greedy capitalism and uncaring consumers"; it's rather, because of government.

The reason for it in my analysis is because we have markets. The supermarket is a market. We have markets -- you have to pay for the stuff. So when you go and you buy a plastic bag it costs you a penny, say, for one plastic bag. Now you don't explicitly pay that penny, but you pay for it in the cost of your groceries. (The same principle applies) if it's a paper bag.

But we don't have a market in the

*disposal* of it. Who disposes of it? *Government* Government disposes it. What government does is say, in effect, to us: "Yes, worry about the cost of producing it, but forget about the cost of disposing it. We'll do it. Not for free. With your tax money. But we'll do it. You don't have to be concerned (with) disposing it."

Now suppose that the economic situation were as follows: It costs a penny to make a paper bag; it costs a penny to make a plastic bag. It costs a penny to dispose of a paper bag and it costs five bucks to dispose the plastic bag. I'm just picking five bucks out of the air -- but it costs *more* than a penny. Okay?

Well, now the choice to the consumer is very different. The consumer says to himself "Well, if I take this *paper* bag it'll cost me a penny to produce it, a penny to dispose of it,

**"In effect, governments tell us 'forget about the cost of disposing. We'll do it --- with your tax money.'"**

for a grand total of two cents. If I take the *plastic* bag, it'll cost me a penny to buy it and five bucks to dispose of it for a grand total of \$5.01. Now do I really value this plastic bag at 250 times as much as the paper bag? Am I really that hopped up about having plastic? The answer is no."

(Consumers) would spurn the

**"We have markets for making plastic bags. But we don't have markets for the disposal of them."**

blems. Still, we'd have oil spills. We're not trying to get *no* oil spills; we're trying to get an optimum number of them and the optimum number I'm convinced is far fewer than we now have.

(Our next area of discussion) is **recycling**. Now this is another fetish. Everybody is saying, you know, "you've got a styrofoam cup; you're evil; you're an environmental 'pervert' or something. You're using a plastic bag; you're no good; you're not ecologically friendly..." or something. People are having campaigns about this.

And again, guess who's "fault" it is? It's *capitalists* --- the "greedy capitalists" who "make these plastic bags and these styrofoam cups without any consideration of what will happen to them afterwards." And not only is it the greedy capitalists but

**"Yesterday I was a dog. Today I'm a dog. Tomorrow I'll probably still be a dog. Sigh. There's so little hope for advancement." --- Snoopy**



plastic bag and take the paper bag and *the recycling problem would be solved*. Because the only people that would be using the *plastic* bags would be people for whom it really *is* worth 250 times as much as the paper --- namely hospitals, or certain technical processes --- I don't know who, I'm

were green and sort of gooie, and that their arms were falling off at the elbow and... Yes, I know I'm exaggerating a little. But if you were living in *Love Canal* and you thought it was due to capitalism, it would turn you on to socialism forever.

something on the condition that you don't open the third drawer --- ever. And you know: you're opening the first drawer, the second, the fourth, and then one day you say "I wonder what's in there" and you (open the drawer) and something springs out.

**"Landfills and garbage collection should be privatized. Not only because it'll save us money, but also because it will solve the ecological crisis."**

an economist, I'm not a manufacturer. But I presume that there are certain people for whom the plastic would be very important and they would use it, but there would be far fewer (plastic bags) than there are now.

So this whole problem is a sum total of the fact that the government not only monopolizes garbage collection, but dumping. Landfills and garbage collection should be privatized. Not only for the reason that it'll save us bundles of money because they'll do it more efficiently (that goes without saying), but also because it will solve the ecological crisis.

So when people say McDonalds is "evil" --- you know, they had this picture of McDonalds with this styro-foam here and this styrofoam there and people won't eat there and they say that the market isn't responsible --- it's because there is no 'market', because of the "mixed" part of the mixed economy, not because of the laissez-faire part.

That's it for recycling; now we move on to **hazardous wastes**.

The most famous case of hazardous waste was the *Love Canal* situation. And again, this was really yukkie. People were noticing that their nerves

But the reality of the situation is that the *Hooker Chemical Company* was involved in certain toxic wastes, I forget what. What it did was bury (the waste) very carefully in concrete,

in barrels, etc. Then the *Hooker* company *got expropriated*. That property got expropriated by, guess who? It begins with a 'G'. The *government* expropriated the *Hooker Chemical Company's* (property) and gave it over to a public school. *Hookers* said in their bill of sale that whatever you do, don't mess around (the toxic waste sites). It's sort of like these horror movies where somebody sells you

So to make a long story short, guess what (the government) did? A public school was put (on the *Hooker Chemical* site) and they opened the "drawer" and the (buried) chemicals got into the *Love Canal* and started seeping around.

And this again is (called) a "failure of capitalism."

The obvious answer is that we shouldn't be expropriating property, and if we *do* expropriate property and (the former owners) tell us not to "open the third drawer", then *don't open the third drawer*.

So I don't think too much of the "hazardous waste" case against the market.

**Next issue: The Reconciliation continues...**

## CAPITALISM: HOST OF THE PARTY

-by Robert Metz

*(Robert Metz is president, leader, and a founding member of Ontario's Freedom Party.)*

In the wake of its dismal record in office capped by London South MPP David Winniger's public statement that "morals and ethics" should not be a consideration in the establishment of government-run gambling casinos, there has been much doubt expressed recently in the media about whether or not the NDP has betrayed its "socialist principles."

Far from it. In Fact, Winniger's

statement is possibly the best evidence one could ask for to demonstrate his deep commitment to socialist principles. Winniger, like socialist University of Western Ontario law professor Rob Martin, a former NDP candidate whose April 29 London Free Press editorial accused the NDP of abandoning its commitment to "eradicating capitalism", are so far removed from the concrete reality of their own beliefs that one cannot help but be amazed by their inability --- or refusal --- to see the obvious.

**"Can you buy friendship? You not only can, you must. It's the *only* way to obtain friends... Everything worthwhile has a price." --- Robert J. Ringer**



Under any social system where the ends justify the means --- as is particularly the case with socialism --- morals and ethics simply don't count. Socialist "principles" demand that morals (freedom of choice, individual responsibility) and ethics (honesty, values, standards of conduct) be

## "Socialists hate admitting that socialism is completely dependent on capitalism for its parasitic existence."

abandoned. After all, under socialism, the "common good" --- or some other variant of a politically-defined collective purpose --- is what counts. When self-proclaimed socialists like Rob Martin try to convince us that the NDP has "mislaid its socialist principles", what they're really trying to do is distance themselves from the obvious and inevitable consequences of their own philosophies.

If the primary purpose of socialism is, as Martin insists, to "eradicate capitalism," then socialism isn't even a "system" at all; it's institutionalized anarchy. And if one supports the "eradication of capitalism," then one must, by definition, support the eradication of private property, the eradication of free enterprise, the eradication of economic competition, the eradication of personal choice, and the eradication of virtually every principle on which a free society is based. Should it be at all surprising when David Winniger says that he doesn't think "ethics or morals should enter into

it?"

So while steadfast advocates of socialism like Rob Martin anxiously await its arrival, socialism has already run its course in Canada. Says Martin: "Our economy is in worse shape than for nearly 60 years. Our manufactur-

ing sector has been dismantled, our social system is being shredded, our political institutions have lost much of their legitimacy and our federation may disinte-

grate."

Sounds very much like another great failed socialist experiment better known as the Soviet Union. And, like Canada, the Soviet Union has its own fair share of 'Rob Martins' who apologize for socialism by arguing that the government of the day "just didn't do it right." It was Lenin's fault, you see. Leninism wasn't what Karl Marx had in mind.

Maybe not. But socialism is force, and the only guaranteed outcome of its use is the very "poverty and oppression" that socialists falsely believe can be "eradicated" along with capitalism. Socialists love telling us about their wonderful plans to do away with capitalism. What they hate admitting is that socialism is completely dependent on capitalism for its parasitic existence.

If it weren't for capitalism, there

would be no "profits" to tax (i.e., take by force), no wealth to "redistribute" (i.e., take by force from Peter to pay Paul). As the capitalist base in Canada has been eroded by socialists of all parties, we have now reached the point where the parasite is killing its host.

Increasing taxes, increasing deficits, increasing poverty, tax revolts, cross-border shopping, increasing bankruptcies, businesses leaving the country, underground economies, constitutional dilemmas, a break down of law and order --- these are just a sampling of the kinds of problems socialist nations the world over have had to contend with. And now Canada, which has become far more socialist than capitalist, must contend with these problems too.

It seems to me that Bob Rae is doing an excellent job of "eradicating

## "If and when capitalism dies, so will socialism. But then what?"

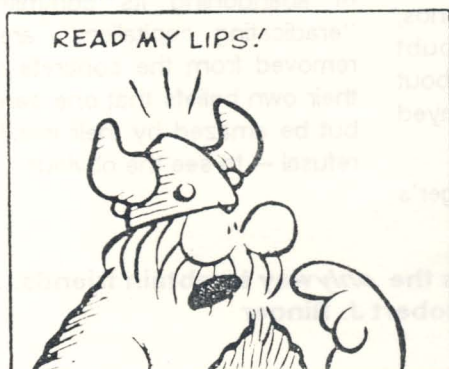
capitalism," so let's not criticize him for failing to do that. But let's not give him all the credit, either. His socialist soulmates in municipal, federal, and provincial governments --- from all major parties --- have done more than their fair share in helping to "eradicate capitalism" from the Canadian mosaic.

About the only 'good' thing that could be said about the death of capitalism in Canada is that if and when capitalism dies, so will socialism.

But then what?

<END>

HAGAR





# COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE

-Peter V. Catlos

*(Peter Catlos is a Strathroy businessman. His following essay originally appeared in the London Free Press on February 10, 1992)*

Most teachers do not seem to understand that an "objective comparison" of teachers' realative worth must be based on performance in a competitive setting. Qualifications, diplomas, degrees, hours of work and working conditions may influence teachers' expectations, but have nothing to do with their worth.

## **"Qualifications may influence teachers' expectations, but have nothing to do with their worth."**

What bugs people who are critical of our high school education is not teachers' salaries, but the way their unions are fighting any attempt to introduce basic elements of performance evaluation and competition into the system dominated by liberal educational reformers who had their heyday and blew it. They failed miserably.

The high dropout rate and low test scores, and an ever-increasing demand for remedial and adult classes, are an unanswerable indictment of a system that has become irrelevant. Do we hear any mea culpas? Have any of the progressive educators recanted? Not on your life! We see teachers "victimized by the campaign of misinformation" on the defensive, looking for our sympathy.

Seeing high school graduates sweat and struggle with a two-page job application form tells us that we are dealing with rejects who will end up floating around in the workplace in their potentially most productive years, making child-like mistakes in

simple spelling, pronunciation and arithmetic, unable to read instructions, consigned to seek moronic jobs and endure personal humiliation.

It is as if manufacturers were flooding the market with defective merchandise which carries no warranty. It is obvious what would happen to any business run on such a principle, but the school system goes on and teachers prosper.

In every effective enterprise and organization there must be a system in place to evaluate and measure performance. Who is testing and grading teachers? When are incompetent teachers fired? They remain in the system, getting payraises and continuing to teach poorly.

How are exceptional teachers rewarded? They are not. They become discouraged, cynical and sink to mediocrity. A few principled ones quit. The system lacks the discipline of mind and commitment to basic tenets of education -- keen interest in and love of knowledge and acceptance of basic moral values and virtues.

We need higher standards of performance for students and teachers, more homework, more hours spent in school, an extended school

year, and strengthening of the basic curricula in English, mathematics, and sciences. We need a commitment to excellence. We must accept failure as well as success.

We must reclaim our schools by giving parents and students options of alternative school choices in order to make them more serious and orderly and to make them conform to our values. This does not take great globs of taxpayers' money.

We have to ditch the excesses of liberal education of the past few decades: curricula designed to conform to the educational establishments' most up-to-date research on methodology; course content in social studies changed to reflect the liberal sympathies of every social movement that came down the pike; courses watered down to accommodate concerns for ethnic, gender and every mercurial sensitivity of adolescents, just to hold and maintain student

## **"There must be a system in place to evaluate and measure performance. Who is testing and grading teachers?"**

enrolment levels; dress codes dropped for students and teachers; a complex legal framework for disciplining habitual trouble-makers; powerless local school boards; principals without authority; a swelled education bureaucracy.

If an unfriendly foreign power had inflicted on us such mediocre educational performance as we have today, we might consider it an act of aggres-

**"Try not to become a man of success but rather try to become a man of value."**

--- Albert Einstein



sion. Unfortunately, we will not make much headway in solving the problem of ruinous schools until we answer the riddle of who has done it to us.

I blame the government for mandating compliance with trendy programs at the expense of basics, the "educators" for putting more emphasis on teaching techniques and gimmicks at the expense of sound teachers' knowledge, the unions for resisting any attempt to expose poor teachers to public scrutiny, and parents as well as employers for having put up with the situation this long.

In the meantime, teachers and their unions are fair game. With every teachers' strike, they will get a little more money and a little less respect.

<END>

## THE LAST COMMUNIST



AND IN CONCLUSION, MISTER SPEAKER, LET ME SAY QUITE EMPHATICALLY THAT THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS NOTHING AGAINST FREE ENTERPRISE, PROVIDED THAT IT'S CONTROLLED...

# NO MORE AID FOR AFRICA

-George B. N. Ayittey

*(George Ayittey, a Ghanaian, is associate professor of economics at the American University in Washington, D.C. His book, Indigenous African Institutions, was published by Transnational in the summer of 1991. The following essay originally appeared in the Wall Street Journal on Oct. 18/91.)*

African leaders are pressing for more aid and loans at the World Bank/International Monetary Fund convention in Bangkok this week. Their pleas should not be heeded.

For decades, Africa was coddled and cradled by a West that felt burdened by guilt for colonialism and slavery. The continent has collected more than \$300 billion in aid since the early 1960s. In the 1980s, Africans, who constitute about 12% of the developing world's population, were receiving about 22% of the West's development assistance. Foreign aid per individual African amounted to \$26, as against about \$9 per Latin American, and \$6 per Asian. Omit the Arab countries of North Africa, and the figure was even higher: \$46 per person in black Africa between 1980 and 1988.

In poor, small countries, these sums loom very large. The \$8.6 billion poured into Tanzania between 1970 and 1988 is more than four times that country's 1988 gross domestic product. Relative to the size of the economy, it would be as if some kindly donor had given the United States \$20 trillion, or four times the value of all of Saudi Arabia's proven oil reserves. The \$9.6 billion given to Sudan over that period is only slightly less than one year of that country's annual output. The \$5.8 billion that Zaire, Mozambique, Niger, Togo and Zambia each received were equivalently huge amounts.

But all that Western aid failed to spur economic growth and lift Afri-

cans out of grinding poverty. Sub-Saharan Africa is littered with a multitude of "black elephants" (basilicas, grand conference halls, show airports and new capitals) amid institutional decay, deteriorating infrastructure and environmental degradation.

Above all, Africa's leaders used aid to finance Swiss bank socialism. But while Africa's leaders got rich -- Zaire's Sese Mobutu is said to be worth \$10 billion, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda has been accused of looting up to \$6 billion -- Africa's people have sunk deeper into poverty. Per-capita income in black Africa has steadily dropped through the 1980s; by 1988 in Tanzania, to cite one of the starkest examples, it had dropped to \$160, lower than at independence in 1961.

Western sympathy for demands for aid is premised on the naive presumption that helping African governments necessarily helps the African people. It is more true, as a Lesotho chief says: "we have two problems -- rats and the government."

Free enterprise, free markets, free trade and government by consensus were the norm across indigenous Africa. Self-sufficiency and independence were cultural imperatives. "If you rely on somebody for food, you will go without breakfast," says a proverb of the Fanti people of Ghana.

Even today, Africa could find within itself the resources it needs to progress. African governments manage to spend \$12 billion per year to import arms and maintain their

"The function of socialism is to raise suffering to a higher level." --- Norman Mailer



militaries. Elite *bazongas* (raiders of the public treasury) are able to siphon billions of dollars into foreign bank accounts. The cost of the damage done by Africa's wars is incalculable, but must amount to billions more.

In Bangkok, on October 17, 1991, the World Bank cautioned that financial assistance to Africa will be cut unless economic

reforms are carried out. But, though vital, economic reform alone is not sufficient. Events in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and elsewhere have now demonstrated that, without better governance and a viable democratic political structure in place, economic reform is an exercise in futility.

Cameroon, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Morocco, Nigeria, Kenya and Togoland have at one time or another been described as "African economic success stories." But their economic prospects faded under institutionalized looting and stiff official resistance to democratic reform. In Liberia and Somalia, the gains achieved by economic reform under authoritarian regimes were wiped out in revolutionary convulsions. Their ex-leaders' bull-

headed refusal to yield to popular demands for democratic reform was to blame.

Even where the economic reform process was not interrupted by political upheaval, the overall achievements in Africa were scarcely spectacular.

## **"It is a naive presumption that helping African governments helps African people."**

(Botswana has been the only exception.) In the 1980s, the World Bank provided about \$24 billion in loans to 36 African countries for structural adjustment toward a market economy. But only Ghana and Tanzania were deemed "successful performers." In fact, the World Bank itself concluded in March 1990 that "adjustment lending appeared to have been relatively less successful in sub-Saharan Africa."

Even in Ghana and Tanzania, however, the sustainability of economic reform is under question. Investment, both foreign and domestic, has sagged and economic forecasts have been revised downward. In both countries, the commitment to reform has been less than sincere. Of

Ghana's 195 state-owned enterprises, fewer than 40 have been privatized, as have fewer than 10 of Tanzania's 400-odd.

Africans are getting fed up. Last month, President Robert Mugabe was stunned during a speech when a black Zimbabwean stood up and declared: "Ian Smith was better!" The crowd reportedly cheered the bold heckler as he was dragged off to jail for insulting the president. Across the border in Zambia -- where a state of emergency has been in effect for the past 24 years -- a crowd in Lusaka pelted a car carrying the president with garbage, chanting "Kaunda walawala" ("Kaunda is dead").

"People everywhere are demonstrating that they will not tolerate the one-party system (and military dictatorship)," said Babacar N'Diaye, president of the African Development Bank, a multilateral lending institution headquartered in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. The West needs to heed this resentment sweeping Africa or find itself on the wrong side of the continent's second liberation struggle. <END>

## **THE CONTINUING THREAT: MARXISM**

**-Kenneth Hilborn**

*(Professor Kenneth Hilborn teaches 20th Century international history at the University of Western Ontario, in London. A Freedom Party member, he is also a member of the President's Council of the National Citizens' Coalition.)*

Last year the Pennsylvania State University Press published a book that should inflict great damage on its status as a reputable academic publisher. Entitled The Revenge of History: Marxism and the East European Revolution, it illustrates the continuing danger of leftist intellectuals' illusions about Marxism.

The author, Alex Callinicos, sets out to convince readers that the ideas of both Marx and Lenin were essentially sound, and that Lenin's revolution in 1917 led to

evil consequences only because it fell victim to "Stalinism."

According to Callinicos (who teaches politics at a university in England), Lenin and his Bolsheviks were true Marxist socialists, whereas Stalin was a counter-revolutionary whose system represented a "variant of capitalism." Thus, the fall of European "Stalinist" regimes brought a transition not from socialism to capitalism, but merely from one form of capitalism to another. Genuine Marxist socialism, based on rule by workers' councils (soviets), Callinicos portrays as still a viable alternative.

The author's belief that "a qualitative break separates Stalinism from Marx and Lenin" is impossible to defend without massive suppression or distortion of relevant

**"We are most likely to get angry and excited in our opposition to some idea when we ourselves are not quite certain of our own position, and are inwardly tempted to take the other side."**

--- Thomas Mann, 1903



information. In his book Intellectuals, the British historian Paul Johnson maintains that everything in "Stalinism" was already foreshadowed in the conduct of Marx -- a man violent in his language, barefaced in his lies, fiercely intolerant towards all who disagreed with him, and determined to dominate everybody with whom he associated.

Callinicos makes no attempt to refute the evidence that Johnson summarizes; he simply ignores it. For him Marx is the supreme authority. He repeatedly deals with issues not by examining facts, but by telling us what Marx said on the subject, though Marx has been dead for more than a century and often misrepresented the realities even of his own time.

In his efforts to conceal the conspicuous continuity between Lenin's regime and Stalin's, Callinicos displays a dismaying indifference to the historical record. For example, though he mentions the decision of the Communist Party's Tenth Congress in 1921 to prohibit "factions" (pluralism) within the organization, he puts this development in the context of Stalin's ability as General Secretary to "control party congresses." In fact, Stalin did not become General Secretary until the following year, and it was on Lenin's initiative that the Tenth Congress acted against "factions."

The author also creates an impression that the Soviet secret police (originally called the Cheka) was founded in response to the pressures of civil war, whereas in fact Lenin's regime created the Cheka in December 1917 -- months before the civil war broke out. Callinicos says nothing whatever about Lenin's enthusiastic

advocacy of ruthlessness and mass terror, nor about his role in inaugurating the system of camps that developed into Stalin's notorious Gulag.

On the other hand, the author makes no attempt to deny Lenin's

## "The threat to freedom is especially great when revolutionaries seek equality for all..."

responsibility for the decision in 1918 to suppress the Constituent Assembly. Conceding that the Bolsheviks had won only a quarter of the popular vote in the Assembly elections, Callinicos questions whether the outcome at the polls "accurately reflected the balance of social and political forces."

Perhaps recognizing that this point provides no adequate justification for a losing party's use of force to nullify an election result, Callinicos places more emphasis on the distinction between what he calls "two kinds of democracy" -- the "bourgeois" parliamentary form based on territorial constituencies and the "proletarian" or "soviet" form based on the workplace. Even with universal suffrage, he argues, parliamentary institutions -- such as the Constituent Assembly -- tend to result in the defeat of workers' revolution. As a Marxist, he assumes that revolutionary "workers" have a democratic right to rule even if they cannot win a majority of the national electorate as a whole.

Callinicos prudently avoids discussing the question of what percentage of the population would be excluded from the soviet "democracy" that he advocates. Participation in the soviets is apparently to be restricted to "wage-labourers," though on one occasion Callinicos refers in passing to a "new middle

class of professionals, managers and administrators occupying an intermediary position between wage-labour and capital." He says nothing about a political role for these people, for the self-employed, for retired persons, or indeed for anybody who either receives no wages or lacks a "workplace" as a "focus of collectivity."

The most ominous passage in the book is one in which Callinicos cites the precedent of wartime Britain to justify use of such measures as "detention without trial and extensive censorship" in defence of "socialist democracy." Marxist doctrine blinds the author to the difference between emergency measures by a constitutional parliamentary government acting in the interests of a nation under foreign attack and superficially similar measures by a revolutionary government acting in the (supposed) interests of one social class against the rest of the population.

The threat to freedom is especially great when the revolutionaries seek an objective, equality for all, that is inherently unattainable. Since inequality is a fact of normal life, any effort to achieve equality requires continuing enforcement, and to perform their function the enforcers must be entrusted with great power -- a power that allows them to establish themselves as a new privileged caste.

If academic propagandists like Callinicos can succeed in convincing gullible readers that a future Marxist experiment would have better results than those in the past, the 21st Century may suffer as much as the 20th from the disasters to which utopian dreams have so often led.

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