



ALL GREAT TRUTHS

-Doreen Kimura

(Doreen Kimura completed her undergraduate and doctoral studies in Physiological Psychology at McGill University in Montreal. She was a post-doctoral fellow for two years at the Montreal Neurological Institute, spent a year at the Otologic Research Institute at the UCLA Medical Center, then at the Neurological Clinic at the Kantonsspital Zurich, Switzerland. She subsequently spent three years in Hamilton, Ontario, appointed to the Medical School but working as a Research Associate in St. Joseph's Hospital. In 1967 she went to the University of Western Ontario, Department of Psychology, in London, Ontario, where she has remained ever since. She is a professor in Psychology, and has an Honourary Lectureship in Clinical Neurological Sciences. She is also the co-ordinator of the Clinical Neuropsychology Programme.

A **Freedom Party** member, she has published over 70 articles in scientific journals or books, and has just completed a book, *Neuromotor mechanisms in human communication*, published by Oxford University Press in 1993. She wrote a widely-read article on sex differences in brain organization for *Scientific American* magazine in 1992. Her work is highly cited in scientific journals. She is listed in *Who's Who in Frontiers of Science and Technology*, *Canadian Who's Who*, etc. Kimura has received numerous awards for her research. She was the 1985 recipient of the Distinguished Scientist award from the Canadian Psychological Association, she is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and in June 1993 was given an honorary Doctor of Laws degree by Simon Fraser University.

In addition to her scholarly activities, she helped organize and has served as founding president of the Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarship, a society dedicated to maintaining academic freedom and standards of quality in academic pursuits. She organized a conference in March 1993 on the topic "The University in Jeopardy", dealing with these issues.

The following is her Convocation Address, made at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, on June 3, 1993.)

Madam Chancellor, Mr. President, distinguished guests and graduates. I am pleased and honoured to be here today, and to be able to speak to you.

When I was about your age (many years ago), I went to McGill University in Montreal as an undergraduate, from my small hometown in Saskatchewan. Up to that point, it was the most exciting event of my life. McGill was at that time an intellectually active and stimulating place to be, with, I am proud to say, a very bad football team. I warmed to the fire of new ideas, lively discussions with fellow students and professors, and the sense of striving for excellence which was everywhere apparent. Within the limits of common courtesy, there was no bar to what anyone might say in the heat of discussion, and even the beginning courses in philosophy, english, political science, and so on were rich in argument and controversy.

I don't recall anything sexist about that era, there was no demeaning concern about a "woman-friendly" atmosphere, no one patronized me or other women in my classes, or made any special concessions to us as women. I was never insulted by an avoidance of topics which nowadays might be considered sensitive. There was no Women's Studies Programme, and no perceived need for any, since it was assumed that women, like men, had an interest in studying human

beings of both sexes. I had the same opportunity and means for gaining respect from my colleagues as men had, and nothing less was expected of me. I was, in other words, an equal.

I hope that you will later look back with similar pleasure on your years at Simon Fraser, but I am also frankly concerned that the quality of university education is now being seriously threatened by considerations which should be alien to an academic institution. I have therefore chosen today to say a few words on a topic dear to me, and, I think, important to the basic mission of every university. This topic is academic freedom. I choose this occasion, which of course is a happy one for all of you, because the torch is now being passed on to you, and the future of the university is in your hands. By alerting you to the problem, I hope you will be enabled to do something about it.

Most universities have in their mission statements a defence of the right to academic freedom, usually a statement from the Handbook of the Canadian Association of University Teachers. "Academic members of the community are entitled, regardless of prescribed doctrine, (this is very important, it means regardless of what the prevailing or popular opinion may be), to freedom in carrying out research and in publishing the results thereof, freedom of teaching and of discussion, freedom to

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To those who consent, no injustice is done

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criticize the university and the faculty association, and freedom from institutional censorship."

Why is it felt necessary to explicitly ensure academic freedom in a university? (And note that students are included in this academic community.) Again, the Handbook makes a reasonable case: "Academic freedom and tenure exist... in order that society will have the benefit of honest judgement and independent criticism which might (otherwise) be withheld because of fear of offending a dominant social group or transient social attitude."

Parents here today who have been to university many years ago may not be aware of the measures taken in recent years at most universities, which could significantly undermine this most essential principle. There has been an increasing tendency to become concerned with whether persons, as members of certain groups, might be "offended". I don't mean offended by a personally insulting remark, which of course we all agree is objectionable. I mean offended by ideas, or even by the airing of indisputable facts. Policies and tribunals aimed, for example, at eliminating sexual or racial discrimination, have been put in place, usually with the best of intentions. Very quickly, however, they have gone beyond questions of harassment or discrimination and have extended their mandate to the content of courses, the content of professors' research, and have even attempted to dictate how adults in the academic community should converse with each other. Clearly, then, they impinge on areas where academic freedom is absolutely essential if we are to maintain the ability to search for the truth, untrammelled by prevailing social conventions.

Now I have taught at a university for over 25 years, and I hope that in that time I have offended many students; in the sense that I have suggested ideas to them that they had not entertained before, and which they therefore found disturbing. George Bernard Shaw once suggested that all great truths begin as blasphemies. As a biological scientist, I elaborate in my classes, ideas founded in evolutionary biology, but which to certain religious fundamentalists might be disturbing. I do research on brain and behaviour, and the prevailing assumption here is that all behaviour is a function of the nervous system, not of an

immaterial soul. Some people might find that disturbing. I also do research on how individuals differ from each other in their special intellectual talents, and in the way their brains are organized. One of the contributing factors to both of those things is the sex of the person, that is, whether male or female. Some people do find that disturbing.

The capacity to disturb and offend is by no means exclusive to science. Professors of almost any discipline will, in the course of their legitimate research and teaching functions, potentially offend. Philosophers may question the very nature of our basis of knowledge and belief, for example; a professor in Political Science might dispute assumptions we make about the advantages of democracy. Yet both would be dealing

with the abstract truths and emerging ideas of their disciplines. Students may certainly argue with these ideas, they are generally encouraged to do so, but arguments must be based on reason or evidence.

I see the offending of students in an intellectual sense as a positive sign that coming to university has made a difference to them. In my own classes, students may argue the issues, and they are permitted to have their say. Whether they end up agreeing with my position or not, they have at least understood it by the time they are finished the course. I consider that I am doing my job best as a professor when I have opened the door to a point of view which has not been considered before. In the process, there may initially be some confusion and distress but I hope also, in many cases, excitement about ideas which are controversial. This is the only way to fulfil the mission of the university, which is to pursue and create knowledge, as well as to disseminate old wisdoms.

It surely would be a tragedy and a paradox if controversial or unpopular ideas could become censored by policies, which originally were intended only to protect individuals from unfair treatment or harassment; if a potential source of justice for some became a means of injustice to all. In fact if I were not a

woman, and a senior professor, I might myself in these politically correct times have suffered from institutional harassment. I unfortunately know of colleagues both within and outside my own university, who have had their courses invaded by members of special interest tribunals, merely because they were socially controversial. A professor at York University has had "observers" stationed in his class on a day on which he discussed the evolution of behavioural differences between men and women. A watchdog committee has been set up at University of Toronto to ensure that no reference is made in textbooks which could be construed as unfavourable to any minority, no matter how factual or well established such references are. These are not isolated events, but are commonplace now, at least in eastern Canada.

The graduates of today will be too young to recall the reports of invasion of university classes by fascist partisans in Europe in the 30's, but some of the parents here today may recall such tactics. In fact, totalitarian regimes typically begin with the suppression of free speech. Can we honestly claim that there is any fundamental difference between the Communist or Fascist control of academia in the past, and the suppression of ideas which is spreading throughout our campuses today? Intimidation against speaking freely is reprehensible, whatever label we give it, and wherever it occurs. Alan Borovoy, head of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, has warned, "One of the most critical dangers to freedom of speech is the existence of laws that impel us to look over our shoulders for engaging in normal democratic discourse." Thought police have no place in a free society, much less in a university.

Infringements of free speech, of which academic freedom is a special case, generally operate out of

fear. But the basic assumption of a rational society is that we can hear and discuss opposing points of view and ultimately make intelligent choices. Surely, then, we have nothing to fear from the truth? But to ensure that the truth can be told, we have to allow a wide margin of error, sometimes suffering the expression of ridiculous or even repugnant ideas, in the certainty that if thoroughly discussed, bad ideas will fall by the wayside, and good ones remain. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the United States perhaps phrased it best many years ago when he said that

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"I have taught at a university for over 25 years, and I hope in that time I have offended many students."

"George Bernard Shaw once suggested that all great truths begin as blasphemies."

"We can easily forgive a child when he is afraid of the dark; the real tragedy of life is when men are afraid of the light." --- Plato

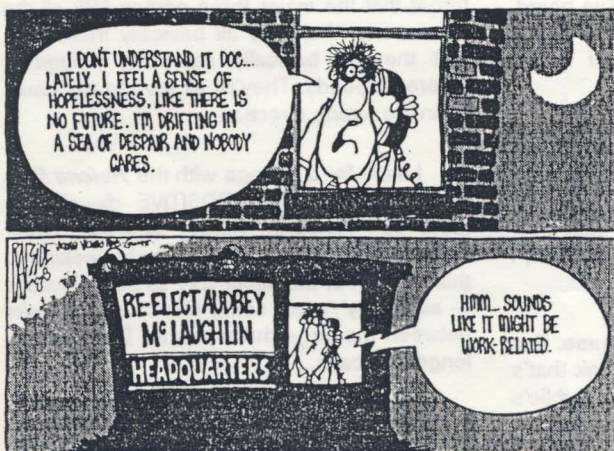
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freedom of speech means freedom not only to speak the things we agree with, but "freedom for the thought we hate". Remember that we are never called upon to defend freedom of expression for popular ideas. It is always for the right to utter unpopular ideas that we must be on guard.

My depiction of what has been happening in universities recently may sound rather negative, but I have taken the trouble to do this because I believe that the situation, although critical, can be reversed. And I believe that you can play an important part in doing so, because today you become alumni of this university, as well as citizens of the broader intellectual community. As alumni, you will be asked to contribute financially and in other ways to the maintenance of excellence at your alma mater. This gives you the opportunity to influence university policy for the better. Either as an individual, or through your alumni or other associations, you can express your concerns about the maintenance of impartial standards of excellence, and of academic freedom. University administrations do listen when money talks.

Today as you look back on the courses and professors you encountered over the past few years, I am sure there will be some that come to mind that initially outraged you, because of ideas that were new or even unacceptable to you at the time. If not now, then in the future, you may find that these were the courses that had the greatest impact on you, because you were forced to seriously rethink your values or beliefs. Whatever your ultimate conclusions, the intellectual and emotional challenge as you worked your way through should have been invigorating and instructive. This is the kind of educational experience you would want the next generation to enjoy, that you would want your children to have, and you can, and I hope you will, do something to ensure it.

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THE WINDS OF REFORM

In Conversation with Robert Metz & Lloyd Walker

("Two thumbs up" for the *Reform Party* in Election '93, say **Freedom Party's** Robert Metz and Lloyd Walker, though not always for the same reasons. Robert Metz is president, leader, and a founding member of the **Freedom Party of Ontario**. Lloyd Walker is **Freedom Party's** vice-president. The following conversation was recorded Monday October 4, 1993 and concerns the effect that the *Reform Party* is having on Canada's political scene.)

Metz: Well Lloyd, as you know, I've got a Reform Party sign on my lawn...

Walker: I don't. And I don't plan to.

Metz: Oh?

Walker: I guess we both know that it's obvious you're voting *Reform*, because you have a sign on your lawn. But I think the sign also implies that you're a **SUPPORTER** of the *Reform Party*. I'm going to suggest to you that I'm NOT a supporter of the *Reform Party*, even though I plan to VOTE for them.

Metz: That's an interesting distinction. So you're saying that you're not "supporting" the Reform Party by voting for them?

Walker: That's right.

Metz: Sounds a little contradictory to me. Could you explain that? Why the distinction?

Walker: Okay. First off, I guess you should know that LAST election, I declined my ballot. To me, that was the equivalent of saying "none-of-the-above". There was nothing there worth voting for.

Don't ever decline your ballot, by the way; they don't know what to do when you say you're doing that. Now that I've learned what they have to do, my experience will go to go to waste because this election I've discovered something worthwhile to vote for.

My 'X' will go beside the name of Mark Simpson, who's the *Reform Party* candidate in my riding. So, yes, I'm voting for the *Reform Party* and there's a lot of things I like about them. But I think that they also have some major flaws. The main thing I'm doing is voting for what I believe is going to be their legacy, because quite frankly, I don't believe they're going to get elected this time, but they will be remembered and I like what they'll be remembered for.

Metz: Obviously, you're feeling more reluctant than I to put a sign on your lawn for the *Reform Party*, but I can't say that I particularly feel guilty about saying that I "support" the *Reform Party*. I mean, here I am, leader of the **Freedom Party of Ontario**, openly displaying my support for a party with a different name and admittedly in many respects with a different platform on many issues. I suppose at the back of your mind you're thinking 'My God has he betrayed his political allegiances or principles?'

I certainly don't think I have. In the first place, there's no **Freedom Party** of CANADA. So I'm not "betraying" the party I represent. Secondly, although the *Reform Party*, I agree, is far from the ideal party in what we might be looking for in a political party, I still think that, as a federal option, its platform is closest to **Freedom Party's** in many significant respects.

Certainly we share a lot of economic and social objectives. We both lean to the free market and tend to target social spending. We both see the principle of universality in social spending as being wasteful and destructive, not only towards the economy, but even to the idea of maintaining a social "safety net".

As you know, we publicly supported the *Reform Party* back in June 1991 when Free-

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"The majority is made up of those who complain about their officials after they've let the minority elect them." — The *Country Parson*

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dom Party issued a media release suggesting that Preston Manning was a refreshing change on the federal scene. We welcomed his federal policies recognizing that, as a provincial political party, we would be able to work very well within the framework offered by *Reform*.

Walker: I agree. I think that one of the plusses to the *Reform* stand, incidentally, is that they want to be a **FEDERAL ONLY** party. They believe that having a provincial AND a federal wing leads to the playing of politics between governments, rather than the cooperative spirit that you would hope would exist between a federal and provincial government.

Reformers believe that you can get a lot of the politics out of the situation by being federal only. So you'd never have the situation of Audrey McLaughlin trying to divorce herself from Bob Rae, or Kim Campbell trying to make Ontario look bad. Reform wants to get out of that. That's one of the things that I liked. A big plus.

When they voice what they believe, I agree that Reformers are the closest party to **Freedom Party** of all of the federal parties.

There's only one problem. I'm going to say quite frankly that what *Reform Party* BELIEVES, given one of its key policies, MEANS nothing.

Metz: In what sense?

Walker: Well *Reform Party* representatives have stated categorically that they will do **WHATEVER** the majority of the public tells them to do. So I see a big problem.

For example, I love their 'Zero-In-Three' program. I think it's a great concept. But I think that if they got into power and started implementing some of their spending cuts, six months to a year down the road, all the people who felt a little bit of the pinch (and everybody's going to feel some of it), are going to scream and a "majority" is going to say "Whoa, back off on those changes!" Under those conditions, I'll bet that the *Reform Party* could not come up with 'Zero-In-Three' if its life depended on it.

Metz: Come on Lloyd, you know as well as I do that the line "we'll do what the public wants" is basically a bunch of doubletalk when it comes right down to it. In fact, I know locally that all the candidates of all the parties who appeared on an open-line talk show, when asked whether they would vote with their conscience or vote the way the "majority" wanted if it came down to that choice, that ALL of them said they'd vote with their conscience.

When your son was born, you wanted to give him everything your lifestyle had afforded you and more. So you gave him a gift that will last his lifetime...



...one he'll remember you by forever.

This debt is brought to you by the good people in government and the Me'generation.

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Walker: Well, I guess this is the thing that disturbs me. It bothers me when I hear the campaign manager for a candidate stand up and say that *Reform Party* candidates sign a form that says they will vote with the **MAJORITY** of their constituents -- even if it goes against what they personally believe...

Metz: I wouldn't worry about it. Consider the contradiction. I mean, if they get voted in, then by virtue of that majority vote they have the sanction by which to say that they're doing what the "majority" of the people want. I think

six months, let alone to what you're suggesting...

Walker: Actually, I also think it's hypothetical, because I don't think that they'll get elected.

Metz: You couldn't be suggesting that the *Conservatives*, who are saying 'Zero-In-FIVE', have a better chance? What's the difference?

Walker: I think part of the difference there is -- and part of the reason why I wouldn't vote *Conservative* -- is that the *Conservatives* have proved over and over that 'Zero-In-An-Infinite-Number-Of-Years' is not within their capabilities.

"I'm voting for Reform's legacy, because I like what they'll be remembered for."

that it's only in unannounced policies that weren't discussed during the election campaign, that a situation like that could even arise. Even there, I think that a lot of what Reformers are saying, at least what I've heard, is that they commit to a certain plan of action on which they base their ideas of recall, referendums, and the like.

Walker: I see what you're saying. But quite frankly, when I ask Reformers flat out "How can you say that you are going to do 'Zero-In-Three' given that the 'public' may say, six months to a year down the road, stop it!", I get no answer.

Metz: Given that scenario, of course. But it's an unfair question and I don't think that's going to happen. I don't think that the public's in a position to even react to any emergency in

Metz: ...nor within their platform. I think we have to keep reminding ourselves, since we're skirting around a lot of the issues, why should we vote Reform? We forget that the major three parties ARE all the same party, that they all basically think alike, that they all basically act alike, though at different speeds. They're all moving our country in the wrong direction.

I think for a change with the *Reform Party* we've actually got a **POSITIVE** direction to move in. However, having said that, Canadians by and large still seem to be looking at this election in the same way as past elections -- as if they've got some choice still to make between the large three parties. But that's no longer the case...

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"History supplies little more than a list of people who have helped themselves to the property of others."

--- Voltaire

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Walker: ...especially when you consider that one of those three "large" ones, the NDP, is now fifth in the polls.

Metz: That's true.

Walker: But you're right. The mental picture is still there: the big THREE. Whether it's automakers or government parties, everybody knows who they are.

Metz: And they're all leading us down the road to debt, high taxes, continuing deficits. But I don't think it matters WHO gets in at the top, whether *Liberal*, *New Democrat*, or *Conservative*, because I think that the government we have in Canada for this next term is going to be faced with the same crisis and situation as Ontario's NDP party. So to me it seems more logical for the voter to put his vote behind somebody who supports deficit reduction as a matter of PRINCIPLE, not as a matter of expedient panic at the last minute when it's too late to do anything.

Walker: Absolutely.

Metz: The big three parties are still sticking their heads in the sand; they're not acknowledging what's going on. For the first time in over half a century, there's finally a voting choice for Canadians that's actually for a change in the direction that the country's heading in.

Walker: Actually, I think you've hit on the key. Whoever is elected from the major three parties are all heading the other way. It's probably the main reason I'm voting Reform. The biggest thing the *Reform Party* will leave after this election is the legacy of their 'Zero-In-Three'.

"Conservatives have proven over and over that 'Zero-In-An-Infinite-Number-Of-Years' is not within their capabilities..."

Metz:

Would you agree with me that in the ridings where a *Reform Party* candidate would not get elected, that if they got a large constituency voting for them, that that alone would carry a significant amount of weight with the future government?

Walker: Absolutely. That's why I'm voting for them.

Metz: And that's why I have difficulty with people who say, "well, I'm going to vote

Conservative to keep Jean Chretien out." I SHARE their concern. Jean Chretien would be Canada's worst nightmare in the making. If he got into power, his whole platform of spending to create jobs -- never mind the economic silliness of it, and the proof we've had for years that this does not work -- he's going to literally drive this country into the ground with his policies and his LACK of concern for the deficit. It's not as though we can keep racking up deficits the way the Liberals were doing it in the '60s. We've already got a huge debt around our necks.

Walker: When Chretien was finance minister, with his buddy Pierre, that was when the deficit actually took off. This is something a lot of people should remember. But I think you're right. The biggest legacy (of voting Reform) is going to be the influence. It's just like over the last few years we have never had an NDP government federally...

Metz: ...Thank God...

Walker: ...but they sure managed to influence Conservatives and Liberals alike, especially when you look at the social programs and all the things that have come out of the NDP originally. Quite frankly, even though I think that the *Reform Party* may fail in installing the 'Zero-In-Three' policy, I believe a lot of their economic points are going to stand out after the election. Then, when everybody sits back and asks "How could we have gotten more votes?", they're sure going to be looking (either over their shoulders or possibly right in front of them) at what the *Reform Party* did and that there's a large number of people out there seriously concerned about (things like)

deficit reductions. This is the crown jewel of the *Reform Party's* platform.

Metz: Remember that the *Reform Party* also received the endorsement, with respect to its deficit reduction plan, of the *Globe and Mail*...

Walker: ...and the *C.D. Howe Institute* and the *Fraser Institute*...

Metz: ...and the *National Citizens' Coal-*

tion, I believe.

Walker: Not bad...

Metz: Not bad, I suppose, for a policy that you don't think will work.

But there are a lot of other reasons why I'm voting Reform, aside from what we've discussed already.

First of all, I really admire Preston Manning, the individual. He comes across as honest and straight-forward. I think he's got a lot of common sense, and he's CONSISTENT.

He understands the issues. He always gives the same answers to the same questions. He doesn't change the answer to suit the occasion.

I can certainly see some problems and difficulties with the *Reform Party*. A lot of those problems relate to their grass roots supporters. For example, they have had difficulty dealing with unsubstantiated charges of racism, which were inevitably going to be levied against a party that's NOT racist by those who ARE. Reformers have to be able to handle that issue a little better and learn, for example, why it's the parties in power who are advancing racist agendas.

Certainly, Reform is not a party that's going to be elected in the majority sense. After the election, there's going to be a certain sense of disillusionment within Reform ranks and we're going to see the wheat separated from the chaff, in terms of who the long-term committed people are within the movement.

But these are minor considerations when looked at in the over-all context of this election. I think again that certain values and principles are shared by both the *Reform Party* and *Freedom Party* on a lot of the social and economic levels, like dealing with the justice system, free markets, etc.

I would say on the issue of personal liberties, we may have some differences. Issues like abortion, drug prohibition, censorship, Sunday shopping, prostitution and others perhaps -- a lot of the issues that in and of themselves are not crimes, but could be related to crime usually because of bad legislation that encourages the "crime" or causes an activity to be considered a crime, by

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"Charity is injurious unless it helps the recipient to become independent of it." --- Anon.

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virtue of the fact that it has been declared illegal. I think this approach to justice and law enforcement creates more problems than it solves, however...

Walker: I honestly don't believe that the *Reform Party* HAS a policy on those issues...

Metz: ...of course it doesn't. That's why its "policy" is "referendum".

Walker: I think that's one of the scariest things when it comes to the issue of civil liberties. What we may be talking about is supporting a party that can't tell you where it stands because it doesn't know. That's a scary issue.

Metz: If you think that's scary, what about this? Here's something even scarier: the other parties don't tell us where they stand, but continually legislate against our civil liberties. In fact, I think if there's one overriding reason to never ever vote LIBERAL, NEW DEMOCRAT, or CONSERVATIVE again it's **Bill C-114**. All three of these parties conspired together to make it more difficult for the *Reform Party* to run. They practically knocked some other parties out of the ring. And they wanted people and groups who are not federally-registered political parties to be limited to spending not more than \$1000 on advertising their views during a federal election. This was a direct attack against the democratic process, supported and abetted by all three parties. And they got most of what they wanted. They got their \$1000 deposits raised for the candidates to supposedly clear up the "cluttered" ballot.

When parties are in such a bad position that they start changing electoral laws immediately prior to an election -- to rig the election in their favour -- we know we're talking about parties that are in big trouble with the electorate.

Walker: What they refer to as "clutter" we refer to as CHOICE.

My particular vote is NOT a choice between Liberal, Conservative, NDP, or Reform; it's a choice between Reform or declining my ballot again. Without Reform, I still could not support those other parties. So the fact that

they're potentially just as horrendous on civil issues as the *Reform Party* might be, is not really pertinent to me, in deciding my vote.

One other thing that I want to point out that I like is that the *Reform Party* is multicultural. Their approach to the multicultural issues envisions Canada as a "melting pot" concept, as opposed to the "hyphenated Canadian" concept.

Metz: I certainly agree with that stand. In this respect they're handling the so-called racism/discrimination issue on the proper level.

But let's get back to the inevitable. The in-

evitability of government restraint. The New Zealand experience tells us what even a socialist party has to do. I think Ontario's experience is telling us that. I think in many respects we have to recognize, which the *Reform Party* does, that "Atlas IS Shrugging", and that we no longer have the tax base from which to pull higher taxes and increased continuous deficits.

Compare the platforms. I remember reading a headline not too long ago when the Liberals released their whole platform package: "Liberals Take Big Risk". Even though it was the same old destructive "let's spend ourselves into prosperity" approach to fiscal policy, that risk has paid off for them, whereas the Conservatives appear to offer nothing but promises of what they might do. But the *Reform Party* gives a detailed, ambitious, and sensible platform -- parallel to what has to be done. Not what's against what has to be done (and then they do it after the election). Chretien talks a lot about spending, but has said nothing about his stand on taxes.

Walker: Well, he has, but it's amounted to nothing.

It's great how the *Reform Party* has presented its policy, which a *Globe and Mail* editorial referred to as the only deficit reduction plan that we've seen. Shortly after that, the Conservatives came out with 'Zero-In-FIVE'.

I attended a *Reform Party* meeting during this election campaign, where they actually took about twenty to twenty-five minutes going through a series of 'over-heads' that outlined the 'Zero-In-Three' program. It was an absolutely fantastic display that I think everyone should see. I think that anybody that sees it will just be blown away by it and they'd be compelled to go Reform.

Metz: I'm surprised then, by your cynicism towards that program. It's not a cynicism I share, because I believe it's possible.

Walker: Oh no, don't misunderstand. I do too. I believe that the 'Zero-In-Three' program is possible if somebody stands up and says that we are going to DO this -- but doesn't on the other hand, turn around and say that we'll "do whatever the public wants". It may be a silly pitch to the public to make them comfortable or whatever, but I think quite frankly that it's a little hypocritical. It dooms them to failure if they do what they say on the "whatever the public wants" policy. But if they said that "we are going to do the 'Zero-In-Three' policy, and we know it's going to hurt and people will complain" that that would be worth supporting.

I'll support it anyway.

Metz: People may ask how 'Zero-In-Three' can work. I think that, for example, targetting social programs towards people in need rather than having universality, and placing the responsibility for social programs back on the provinces rather than having the federal government look after those things, are all moves in a positive direction and which make the goal possible.

When it comes to the political "sacred cows" of healthcare and education, people do not have to feel that anything is threatened

because they're voting Reform. What they MUST realize is that if we keep going down the road we're on NOW, that's the formula for killing everything we have.

Walker: I think a lot of people WILL feel threatened by Reform's 'Zero-In-Three'. And I think they're going to feel it RIGHTLY SO. But it's still better than the alternative.

'Zero-In-Three' is going to mean some belt-tightening in various areas. There's no question of that. And I think that's something many will feel uncomfortable with.

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"If there's one overriding reason to never vote Liberal, New Democrat, or Conservative again, it's Bill C-114..."

"A lot of people will feel threatened by Reform's 'Zero-In-Three' --- and rightly so."

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Metz: How about New Zealand's unplanned plan? 'Zero-In-One-Day'?

Walker: That's just it. *Reform Party* has presented a whole program. Although I didn't have any pet programs that they were cutting, I'm sure there are people who are saying "well I like the 97 things that they're going to cut there, but that ONE, I'm not too sure of". But the whole package makes it quite palatable to a large number of people.

Like you say, the alternative to 'Zero-In-Three' may be 'Zero-In-One-Day'. That's where the Liberals or NDP would take us.

Metz: I agree. It really bothers me to hear people say they're going to vote Conservative just to prevent a Liberal government, or whatever else. I figure that if you're going to think like that, you might as well vote NDP and get the destruction of our economy over with quick.

Walker: It's funny. You say "vote NDP and get it over with quick". Well, people voted NDP in Ontario, and I thought that would have got it over with quick...

Metz: ...but it has.

Walker: It did, but the Ontario government has also suddenly realized: "My God, there IS a bottom line!" Admittedly, they're acting in panic, but at least they suddenly realize that they have to act.

Metz: But that's an inevitability, isn't it Lloyd? I mean, when the bank account suddenly runs dry, how can you NOT realize what must be done?

Walker: Well voting Reform might give us the potential to deal with the alternatives POSITIVELY, I suppose.

I think, once again, that the legacy of the *Reform Party* in this election will be its 'Zero-In-Three' policy. Regardless of all the other issues we've discussed, when it's all over voters will look back and say that the *Reform Party* stood for 'Zero-In-Three' and look at how many votes they got" and that's going to have a BIG influence on the parties that get into power and into opposition. That's why I'm voting Reform.

Metz: I think there's a little more to it than 'Zero-In-Three'. Like *Freedom Party*, the

Reform Party supports lower taxes, free trade, scrapping official bilingualism, targetting social spending, and the entrenchment of property rights in our constitution. Small wonder that a lot of *Freedom Party* supporters are also *Reform Party* supporters.

Walker: One of the best ways to learn what the *Reform Party* stands for is to either read the book by Preston Manning or get the *Reform Party's* 'Blue Sheet' which lists the principles, policies, and election platform of the *Reform Party*. It is well worth reading. If there's one thing I suggest you AVOID, is a lot of the misinformation in the media.

CONCLUSION: We applaud Preston Manning and the *Reform Party* in their efforts to reform the irresponsible spending habits of the socialist parties now in power. *Freedom Party* has been carefully analysing the platforms and policies of the *Reform Party* since it emerged on the federal scene, and we have been particularly impressed with Preston Manning as its leader. The *Reform Party* is not just a Western-based party with a narrow political agenda. For the record, we welcome the *Reform Party* and applaud its courage in offering solutions, not just for the west, but for every region of Canada. <END>

SOCIALISM DIES --- ANTI-CAPITALISM LIVES

-Kenneth H.W. Hilborn

(A *Freedom Party* member, Professor Kenneth H.W. Hilborn teaches courses on totalitarianism and 20th Century international relations at the University of Western Ontario, London.)

War, famine, disease and socialism --- these frequently interrelated evils have been the deadly scourges of mankind in the 20th Century.

War, famine and disease had been with us since the beginning of recorded history, and indeed before. In this century medical science made important progress against disease, and improved communications made timely famine relief more feasible; but these gains were counterbalanced by the increased killing power of weapons used in warfare and by the appalling calamities inflicted on vast populations by socialist regimes.

Socialism (along with a related collectivist movement called fascism) was our century's unique contribution to human misery. Although it developed as a doctrine in the 19th Century, socialism as an operational economic and political system came into existence only after Lenin's seizure of power in the Russia of 1917.

Beginning with this act of violence and the Red Terror that Lenin quickly launched, the tragic socialist "experiment" claimed the lives of more than one hundred million people in countries as diverse as Cambodia, Cuba, Hungary and Ethiopia, but especially in the Soviet Union and mainland China. Far larger numbers were forced to live as prisoners behind guarded frontiers, enduring cruel repression and unnecessarily low standards of living.

Socialism is inherently incompatible with both prosperity and freedom. That is true because the principles of socialism collide head-on with the realities of normal human nature.

Given the freedom to do so, many people will seek to acquire private property and become richer than those around them. If the system prohibits them from pursuing that ambition, they will want to change the system. Thus, to preserve socialism, the rulers must

stamp out political liberty. To condition people into giving up their desire for freedom and the right to own property, the ruling party must set out to reshape human nature --- an enterprise that leads inexorably to the pervasive control over society that we call "totalitarianism."

The socialist principle of state control over the economy not only rules out economic freedom but provides a powerful means of suppressing political freedom as well. Under capitalism, newspapers and other news media can be independent of government; but under strict socialism, they are owned collectively --- that is, by the state, the ruling party or perhaps the "workers," organized in a body that serves as a front for the state or party.

Even if granted an exemption from collective ownership, the media could not be independent in the way that they are in capitalist societies, because all sources of equipment,

(SOCIALISM... cont'd on back cover)

"Death and taxes may always be with us but death at least doesn't get any worse." -Quote

MEDIA ETHICS: NO CONSPIRACY

-Kenneth McDonald

(Kenneth McDonald's service in the Royal Air Force included wartime flying in Bomber Command and two tours of duty as an exchange officer with the RCAF in Canada. He was a member of the Directing Staff at the RAF Staff College and later commanded the RAF's main base in the Far East at Changi, Singapore, during the Malayan "Emergency". He retired at his own request in the rank of group captain to settle in Canada and was a director of sales at Canadair Ltd. in Montreal for a number of years before retiring again to write.

He contributed regularly to the *Globe and Mail's Report on Business* from 1974 to 1987, when ROB ceased taking freelance material. His articles have appeared in leading Canadian journals and, in the USA, in the *Freeman* and *Chronicles*. He initiated the weekly column for the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, and edited the National Citizens' Coalition's newsletters from their inception in 1976 until 1987.

In 1974, he and Winnett Boyd formed BMG Publishing Ltd., and in the next five years published eight titles all of which sold more than the 10,000 copies that rank as Canadian best-sellers. (McDonald's Red Maple and Green Maple together sold 30,000 copies and are still circulating in libraries.)

A **Freedom Party** supporter, he has broadcast CBC's Commentary, appeared on national TV, and addressed various business and political associations. He is the author of *Keeping Canada together*, which has sold over 6,000 copies so far, and is co-authoring a book about simplifying the Canadian tax system.

The following was his address to the Canadian Institute of Certified Administrative Managers in Toronto on May 28, 1993.)

Two weeks ago when the Canadian Labour Congress, the Action Canada Network and other activists of the political Left mounted a mass demonstration in Ottawa, the journalists of Ontario's leading newspapers were urged by their union leaders to join it.

This bias to the left merely confirmed the findings in 1985 by Peter Snow of Western's School of Journalism when he examined the make-up of Ottawa's Parliamentary Press Gallery. The largest group -- 37% -- felt closest to the NDP, 17% were Liberals and 11% Conservatives. But 43% saw themselves as in the political centre and 42% as left of centre; only 4% as right of centre.

Much the same applies to the electronic media, with this difference: that private radio and television sometimes give the rest of us a voice through talk shows; a trend that Ross Perot is strengthening in the United States and that I think is the most hopeful development in thirty years.

However, I should emphasize that bias in the media is by no means a conspiracy; it is as natural as breathing. Journalists who learn their trade from tenured professors will absorb the product not of minds bent to the creation of wealth but of minds bent toward its distribution, and this again is entirely natural. A university, after all, is a forum for ideas. Although some of the faculties are concerned with wealth-creating functions such as engineering or agriculture or business, those are rarely the choice of aspiring reporters or commentators; their spawning grounds are the social sciences and the humanities, all good things, but all concerned with the generality of people, with mankind in the abstract rather than with Tom and Dick or Jane and Sally in their daily rounds.

To an observer of mankind, who sees that some people are poor while others are rich, it may seem obvious that the rich should share some of their wealth, and if they are reluctant, surely a just society would require them to do it. From this seemingly natural inclination has sprung the idea that is central to the political Left and to the philosophy called socialism.

Fifty years ago, a prominent Fabian socialist asked: "If the economic system is in urgent need of reform, and if the maintenance of democracy is an essential condition of social justice, how can the one be used to secure the other?" The answer was by using the power of the State, but to do it gradually, by democratic means, that is, by persuading growing numbers of people to vote for policies that promised them material benefits.

This brings us to the distinction between government, which serves justice by securing our inherent rights to life, liberty and property, and the State, which misuses the law to impair those rights. In other words, it is government as referee that makes the game worth playing, but the State as player that spoils the game for everyone. Failure to make that distinction, and to stop the State's relentless growth, led tens of millions to their deaths in this century, yet because the Canadian State presents a tolerant and welcoming face to the world, Canadians believe themselves immune to its malignant influence.

Ask yourselves this question: If you were a reporter or commentator, and you were told by the State's statisticians that when the total of

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**"The trouble with most people isn't so much their ignorance, as knowing so many things that ain't so." ---
Josh Billings**

(cont'd from prev pg)

Canadian families was divided into five quintiles, the highest got ten times as much income as the lowest, and that the top two quintiles together got two-thirds of all income, would you not think that something should be done to even things out?

The truth is that if you also subscribed to the individual Canadian's inherent right to freedom under the law and to the enjoyment of property, you would admit that whatever was done must be done voluntarily. But then you would not be a socialist.

Socialism attracts because it appears to combine charity with justice. Journalists and commentators who would no more think of robbing their neighbours than of breaking their windows, persuade themselves that it is OK for some neighbours to be rewarded at other neighbours' expense so long as it is done at second or third hand by the impersonal agencies of the State.

Statistics is a great leveller. We all know the fate of the statistician who set out to cross a stream which had an average depth of five inches --- and drowned himself.

Even though statisticians have also come to our aid by showing that forced redistribution of wealth and incomes doesn't work, that in fact it adds to the rich group without doing much for the poor, it is still illusory because it ignores what happens to the individuals of which the groups are composed. Some move up, some down; every living soul is different and unique and intrinsically defiant of statisticians.

Even though the collapse of collectivist regimes in Eastern Europe and of welfare states in New Zealand and Sweden has punched holes in the socialist balloon, our home-grown socialists are determined to patch it. It may have collapsed in those countries, but that was because "they didn't follow the instructions."

The truth is that those countries did follow the instructions, and that was why it collapsed. It harnessed the arbitrary power of the State to force people to do things they didn't want to do, plundered the enterprising to subsidize the lazy, and diverted unsustainable portions of the national wealth to the State and its agencies.

Once started, the growth of the State is not easily reversed, and this brings us back to the media. For some years I have kept a file called Culture and Advertising. At first sight,

the two topics might appear to be distinct. In fact, they are closely linked by the power of the State. Consistently over the past many years Canadian governments have been the country's largest source of advertising. Print and electronic media depend upon advertising for revenue. They also keep an arm's length relationship with commercial advertisers; that is, so long as ads meet certain standards of propriety and reasonable accuracy, they'll be printed or aired, and the advertisers are indifferent to the publishers' editorial opinions.

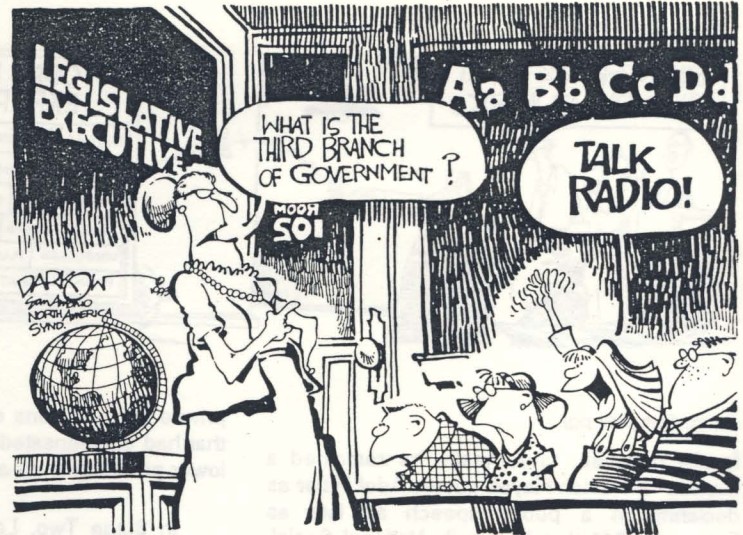
But when the State advertises, that's another story. Not only is it the largest customer, it also sets the rules that affect the publishers in a myriad ways: tax policy, regulations of every kind, subsidies and grants, customs and excise, trade.

This doesn't necessarily mean that editorial comment will support or oppose the State's policies. What publishers will do all the time, day in and day out, is publish what the State's spokespersons say and do and write.

"Socialism attracts because it appears to combine charity with justice."

A study by a veteran journalist in 1990 revealed that "official" news or institutional news made up 93.2% of the content of the Toronto Sun, 84.5% of the Toronto Star, and 80.2% of the Globe and Mail."

Now feed in the fact that the State's share of Canada's economy has risen from 20% in 1960 to 30% in 1970 to 40% in 1980 to beyond 50% now --- that's growth of 150% --- and we see how successful the Fabian approach to socialism has been in the hands of Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments stealing the clothes of the NDP --- and getting its approach faithfully reported by the press.



As we shall discover in a minute or two, the media applies biases of its own. But they merely reinforce the leftward bias that comes from reporting the doings and sayings of politicians who speak with one voice for a continual growth of the State.

It is the paradox of so-called reporting in Canada that the leftward bias is so encompassing that most of the media is unaware of it. In my file are examples upon examples where reporters describe people or activities as right-wing, or ultra-right-wing, or neo-conservative, or even neo-Nazi, but never as left-wing, or ultra-left-wing, or neo-communist. To be of the left is so much the norm as to be equated with the centre.

Yet I believe that most Canadians, given half a chance, would reject the opinions and political stances of extremists from left or right. That extremists of the left are not regarded as extreme, while extremists of the right are stigmatized, merely emphasizes how dangerous it is to label anyone. Because the left is never labelled it becomes the norm; the centre is on the left.

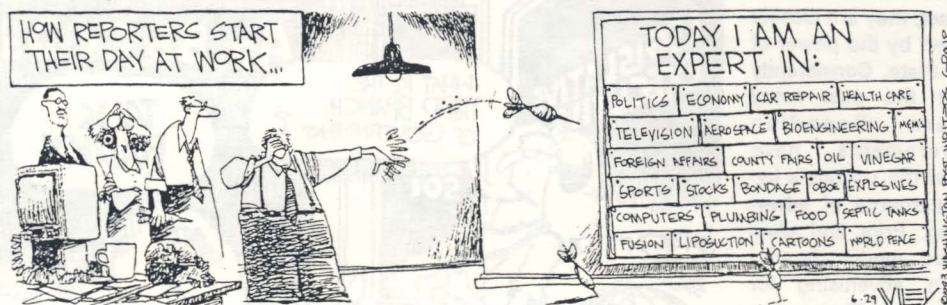
In reality the political centre must be somewhere between liberals' desire for peaceful reform and conservatives' inclination towards precedent and order, and if both support individual freedom under limited government, it follows that any to the left or right of them must be moving towards an extreme.

In Italy before 1922 and in Germany before 1933, communists and fascists or Nazis competed for the same type of mind. Benito Mussolini has been described as "a reluctant

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"Advertisements contain the only truth to be relied on in a newspaper." --- Mark Twain

NON SEQUITUR — BY WILEY



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fascist because, underneath, he remained a Marxist." Friedrich Hayek quotes Adolf Hitler as declaring in a public speech as late as February 1941 that "basically National Socialism and Marxism are the same."

Whether the means are revolutionary or gradual, ideologues of the Left seek the same ends. In 1941 the chairman of the Fabian Society made this crystal clear. He said: "Communism is indeed only socialism pursued by revolutionary means... Communists, like other socialists, (1) believe in the collective control of the vital means of production and (2) seek to achieve through state action the coordinated control of the economic forces of society."

The fact is that Canada's political elites have shifted the locus of State action from a modest 20% to a commanding 51% in one generation. For those of us who lived through that shift, it might have seemed gradual, but set against a preceding century of democratic capitalism under limited government it is clearly revolutionary. Not revolution by the governed, but revolution from the top down, using the appearances of democracy to bring about radical change. Fabian socialism.

Let us examine the way it was done and who the revolutionaries were.

In Stage One, Lester Pearson caved in to the Seaway workers' demand for a 35% raise in one year to give them equality with their American counterparts. His personal mediator awarded them 30%. Soon afterwards the postal workers threatened to strike if they didn't get 39% before Christmas, and Pearson gave federal civil servants the right to strike, and a leap-frogging process by public and

private sector unions destroyed the wage gap that had compensated for Canada's inherently lower productivity vis-a-vis the United States.

In Stage Two, Lester Pearson was persuaded by Al Johnson and Tom Kent to subvert the Constitution by establishing health care standards that provinces must comply with if they were to get the 50% of costs of a universal health scheme that Ottawa held out to them. This sucked provincial governments into spending programmes they couldn't afford but were happy to fund with money that Ottawa borrowed for them on the public credit of Canada.

In Stage Three, Lester Pearson set up the Bi and Bi commission to appease malcontents in Quebec, and changed the immigration rules to discriminate in favour of applicants from the Third World. Both things were done without consulting the electorate, and both expanded the power of the State.

Stage Four saw the elevation of Pierre Trudeau to what Pearson called the near-dictatorial office of prime minister. Portrayed by the media as a run-of-the-mill Liberal, when all his writings, published in the same year he took power, proclaimed his commitment to Fabian socialism, Trudeau used his office to centralize political power in Ottawa, to impose official bilingualism and to change our system of government.

He knew that his Official Languages Act of 1969 was merely statute law that could be amended or repealed by a later sovereign

Parliament. Therefore, he set out to change Canada's system of government from the English style, in which Parliament was supreme, to the French style which gives ultimate power to unelected judges putting their own political spins upon a rigid unamendable charter.

I should mention that representative government, and the supremacy of Parliament, will work so long as the principles of individual freedom under limited government are accepted --- and defended --- by the elected representatives. Laws and judgements that are made in the circumstances of one century are superseded by others that fit the circumstances of later centuries. Thus for Canada's first century the evolutionary Common Law constituted the framework of our social order. Even the near-dictatorial power of the prime minister's office was subject to the pressures of public opinion and elections.

But to a committed socialist and revolutionary, who said in retrospect that "we embarked upon an exercise to change the constitution fundamentally", that was precisely why the parliamentary --- and evolutionary --- system had to be changed.

What would be the point of making fundamental changes to the Constitution if a later Parliament could change it back again?

Thus the 1982 Charter was not only imposed, it was also made virtually unamendable, and Parliament's supremacy was handed over to unelected judges. By entrenching in it the politics of redistribution, the Charter delivered Canadians bound hand and foot into a collectivized welfare state in the socialist mode.

"Representative government will work so long as the principles of individual freedom under limited government are accepted --- and defended --- by the elected representatives."

Between 1969 and 1984 the federal debt increased tenfold from \$20 billion to \$200 billion. By

1991, an average prime rate of 10.46% had compounded the debt into \$400 billion regardless of efforts to control spending.

What Mr. Justice Willard Estey called "an organic change", and UBC Professor Alan Cairns called "a profound wrenching transformation" was imposed from the top down upon a supposedly free people without consulting them either through a general election or a national referendum.

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"Thinking is like loving and dying. Each of us must do it for himself." --- Joseph Royce

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None of this finds its way into Canada's print or electronic media. Articles or letters to the editor that allude to it are as effectively banned by editorial rejection as are similar views from radio and television talk shows whose hosts either shut participants off or ridicule them before hand-picked panels.

Macaulay's fourth estate has long ceased to report the news; by selective reporting it controls it.

To Toronto's newspapers, to Saturday Night and Maclean's, to the CBC, and to most of Canada's print and electronic media, the One Hundred and Fifty Per Cent Revolution was not news at the time, nor is it news now. The unprecedented growth of the State accords with the views and aims of journalists and commentators who have shifted the centre to the left.

In 1973, Watergate was on Canada's front pages, yet Richard Nixon had not subverted the Constitution, he had not required Americans to seek proficiency in a second language if they aspired to work for their federal government, nor had he, an admitted practitioner of deceit, used deception to change the American system of government.

Where were Canada's reporters when Britain's foremost constitutional authority, Enoch J. Powell, spoke to the Canada Bill in the British House of Commons of March 3, 1982? He said: "We are obliged to deduce that the Canadian Government, by inducing the Canadian Parliament to make this request in this form, were engaged in deceiving one or more important interests in Canada about the result of that Constitution being placed first on the statute book of Britain and then being patriated to Canada... We are being used as a tool to produce political results in Canada that could not have been produced without that form of deception."

In 1981, the Rt. Hon. Bora Laskin said: "After the Canadian Bill of Rights we had twenty years of good jurisprudence. I predict that after the proposed Charter of Rights and Freedoms we will have fifty years of dissent."

Last month Mark Starowicz, who is perhaps the CBC's most influential personage, gave a lecture at the Canadian Embassy in Washington in which he said: "In the television

revolution, a nation will be either an aggressive player or a cultural victim. Governments will eventually realize that television production is like steel or aeronautics. You're either in the game or you're not --- you're just an importer.

"The so-called disappearance of public space will probably have its most profound effect in the United States... And will, I think, created a moral imperative for the United States to assure that free basic television, television which serves the public agenda, is preserved and enlarged in the face of electronic segregation of knowledge and information."

Now those words are very disturbing. Television is an immensely powerful medium. Mr. Starowicz's so-called free television

which serves the public agenda is serving the monopoly of the State's arbitrary power that your Chief Executive Officer and I went to war about fifty-four years ago.

What Al Ballantyne's and my contemporaries look upon as "our war" was a struggle for individual freedom against the State's arbitrary power that culminated in the Nazi tyranny.

Mr. Starowicz spoke in Washington two centuries after two Americans saw things somewhat more clearly than he does. George Washington said: "Government is not reason; it is not eloquence; it is force. Like fire, it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master."

James Madison warned of the need for "a constant diffusion of power, for in no man or government does great power safely reside."

I think the CBC's president Gerard Veilleux is a good man but this is what he said last March: "The CBC is a vitally important national institution. If we don't protect it, it's not only the CBC but our national identity which is in danger."

I had the good fortune to meet many Canadians during the three years of RAF service before I was posted to Canada as an instructor in August 1939, and I had no difficulty in detecting a Canadian identity. I saw

qualities that were merely confirmed on arrival and ever since: polite, but still blunt when necessary; practical and down to earth; independent yet ready to help (but not to interfere); not class conscious.

Canadians are as different from Americans as they are from the English or French, or for that matter from Australians or Kiwis, and I believe the distinguishing features derive chiefly from the land itself. The pioneers who shaped the land and brought civilization to the wilderness were shaped in turn.

Canadians know who they are and the most compelling evidence is the transformation, at the second generation, of immigrants from a multitude of places and cultures into Canadians.

Contrary to the fears of Mr. Veilleux, that natural process is under attack from the State-funded groups whose interest lies in creating division and hostility, and who constitute part of the public agenda that Mr. Starowicz is so keen to propagate.

Tomorrow morning four of us who represent the Bomber Harris Trust will be meeting with legal counsel to finalize our Statement of Claim in an action against the CBC, the National Film Board and others to rectify the distortion of historical fact and counter the denigration of Canadian Aircrew by the film DEATH BY MOONLIGHT: BOMBER COMMAND of the CBC's 3-part television series The Valour and the Horror, first broadcast in January, 1992. (Editor: The Class Action suit was filed in Ontario Court (General Division) on July 12, 1993.)

**"George Washington said:
'Government is not
reason; it is not elo-
quence; it is force.'"**

Which allows me to end this somewhat unhappy story on a more cheerful note. Despite the revolutionaries' chicanery, Canada is

still a democracy. Our collectivized welfare state is collapsing like the others. The electronic revolution will do to our home-grown dictators what it did to their political soul-mates in Eastern Europe. The intrinsic bias of the media will be blind-sided by electronic town hall meetings and referendums on major issues of policy.

In short, there is a growing consensus for the practical, down-to-earth attitudes that are inherently Canadian. Democracy works its way through in time; it just takes patience --- and a freer press.

<END>

"To some, freedom means the opportunity to do what they want to do; to most it means not to do what they don't want to do." --- Eric Hoffer

(...SOCIALISM cont'd from pg 7)

paper and advertising revenue would be in the hands of the regime. Secure freedom of the press depends on economic pluralism — on the existence of numerous and diverse non-government enterprises, interested in selling their respective goods and services rather than in supporting the policies of those in power.

In the short run, state control over the economy strengthens a socialist regime politically. In the long run, however, the economic controls prove ruinous. Socialism destroys itself, but it takes a great deal with it.

Why is socialism inevitably self-destructive? By its very nature, a state bureaucracy stifles individual freedom and initiative, impeding technological innovation and therefore economic progress.

Innovation implies change — the rise of new industries that often threaten old ones with the prospect of decline and eventual death. Think of what the introduction of transistors did to the manufacturers of those once-familiar vacuum tubes. Destruction of the old goes hand in hand with creation of the new.

Such changes shift wealth and power from one industry to another. In a capitalist system that happens spontaneously, through competition. In a socialist system it requires not only bureaucratic approval but bureaucratic initiative. Officialdom normally resists ideas for innovation; the bureaucrats responsible for an endangered industry defend their turf, and they probably enjoy more seniority and wield more authority than the would-be innovators. Obviously, if an industry is in its infancy or not yet born, no bureaucratic empire can yet exist to advance its interests.

Facing no competition, the entrenched bureaucrats in charge of established indus-

tries have no incentive to try anything new. Innovation is risky, and if a bureaucrat committed resources to a project that failed, his career would suffer. If the project succeeded, a superior would probably step in to claim the credit; certainly the official responsible would not be allowed to reap the personal profit that capitalist entrepreneurs can hope for as a reward for the risks they take in business.

If a bureaucrat is tempted to take risks at all, he will choose those that do offer him financial reward; he will accept bribes. A controlled economy leads easily to a corrupt society; the more extensive the controls, the

"I have said nothing about 'democratic socialism,' and for a very good reason. No such thing has ever really existed."

greater the human urge (and need) to evade them, and thus the greater the opportunity for well-placed officials to enrich themselves illegally. Bribery makes possible an underground "second economy" — an economy in which free-market practices prevail, and which can therefore meet needs neglected by state planners. Such a "second economy," along with the associated corruption, became long ago a major feature of life in the Soviet Union.

So far I have said nothing about "democratic socialism." and for a very good reason. No such thing has ever really existed; it is a contradiction in terms. People called "democratic socialists" (like Canada's New Democrats) have managed to remain democratic only by being much less than fully socialist.

Any reduction in state ownership reinforces freedom and allows private enterprise a wider scope. Conversely, any increase in state ownership is a step in a dangerous direction.

But even when they achieved temporary power over a nation, as they did in Britain at the end of World War II, "democratic socialists" never extended state ownership sufficiently to put basic political freedoms in imminent jeopardy.

State ownership, along with centralized economic planning, is now so thoroughly discredited that most "democratic socialists" no longer display any enthusiasm for it. But the collapse of the socialist dream has not put an end to anti-capitalist emotions, which remain virulent and dangerous.

In statements reflecting knowledge that the rational side of his mind thrusts upon him, Premier Bob Rae has publicly conceded the virtues of markets and entrepreneurship. On the other hand, his emotional distaste for capitalism has led him to criticize the quest for individual financial gain in which entrepreneurs engage. He has complained about the wealth and power of capitalism's "unelected elite," though in fact everybody trying to survive in a competitive marketplace is constantly facing "election" by consumers free to take their business elsewhere.

Socialism of the sort attempted in the Soviet Union and other Communist-ruled states purported to offer a constructive alternative to the capitalist system. By contrast, the anti-capitalism of the New Democrats has no alternative to offer. Using such weapons as "employment equity" schemes and other manifestations of "big government" (meaning excessive state intervention in society), high taxes, and labour legislation biased in favour of unions, politicians like Bob Rae inflict damage on our capitalist economy without even attempting to replace it. It doesn't take a genius to figure out what that means for Ontario's (and therefore Canada's) global competitiveness, on which the people's standard of living ultimately depends.

<END>

CONSENT

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FREEDOM PARTY OF ONTARIO

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