



# WAFFLE NEWS

SET FOR SEPT. 12

## CANADA-WIDE PROTESTS VS ENERGY DEAL

WAFFLERS WILL DEMONSTRATE OR HOLD RALLIES IN OTTAWA, EDMONTON, VANCOUVER, WINNIPEG, REGINA, TORONTO AND POSSIBLY OTHER CENTRES ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 TO STOP THE ENERGY RESOURCES DEAL.

WE HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT THIS QUESTION FOR SOME MONTHS AND THE TIME HAS COME TO ACT. THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT IS NOW CONSIDERING THE EXPORT OF 9 TRILLION CUBIC FEET OF NATURAL GAS TO THE UNITED STATES WORTH THREE BILLION DOLLARS OVER THE NEXT 20 TO 25 YEARS. THIS WILL LOCK US INTO A CONTINENTAL ENERGY ARRANGEMENT BECAUSE THE GAS AND OIL INDUSTRIES ARE INSEPARABLE. EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN ONE IS THE SAME AS FOR THE OTHER.

### WAFFLE NEWS --STAGE II

With pleasure, and a little awe, we note the (hopefully permanent) passing of the gestetnered waffle newsletter.

The increasing cost of that format, brought on by an ever-increasing mailing list and the expanding size of the newsletter itself, has forced us into the big time.

A communications session at the national conference decided that the editorial board for the newsletter be broadened to include three members directly involved with production of the paper as well as representatives from each province (who could be contacted for policy consultation).

A more crucial change, however, is the Toronto production unit's total reliance on provincial waffle groups for newspaper content. The national conference decided that each provincial group would elect one contact to be responsible for transmitting provincial coverage to the Toronto editors. Regular space should be allotted in the newspaper to each province. But, that implies that the editors be assured regular contributions from provincial wafflers. In fact, it is imperative that within the next week provincial waffle groups delegate at least temporary reporters to the national newspaper.

Names of provincial newspaper contacts, once elected, should be sent to Tracy Morey, 40 Hazelton Avenue, # 4, Toronto, Ont. Likewise, all articles, letters to the editor and assorted bits of cheery communication.

New names for the mailing list and address changes should be sent to: Krista Macgots, 509 MacDonnell Street, # 4, Kingston, Ontario.

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ONE DELEGATE TO THE NATIONAL WAFFLE CONFERENCE URGED THAT THE "WAFFLE NEWS" STRIVE FOR HONESTY IN ITS PRESENTATIONS. THERE IS ONE AREA IN WHICH WE NEED NOT FEAR DOING OTHERWISE. BECAUSE, HONESTLY, IT IS COSTING US \$195. TO PRINT AND MAIL THIS PUBLICATION TO THE MORE THAN 1,000 PEOPLE ON OUR MAILING LIST.

IF YOU HAVE MADE NO PREVIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAFFLE, WHY NOT CONSIDER YOUR FIRST DONATION AS A SUBSCRIPTION FEE FOR THE NEWSPAPER? MAKE CHEQUES PAYABLE TO: INFORMATION EXPENSES FUND, c/o Jim Laxer, 509 MacDonnell Street, Kingston, Ontario.

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Acute US concern with energy resources began in the Fall of 1969 when the Federal Power Commission produced a report which showed that for the first time in history the use of natural gas began to outstrip the discovery of new resources.

One half of Canadian production of natural gas already flows to the United States. A greatly increased export of Canadian natural gas will have the effect of driving up the price of natural gas for Canadian consumers. The fact is that natural gas is becoming more central to our energy future because it is the least polluting fuel. And yet, if the energy deal does go through, Canada will be limited in making use of this resource in its own industries as cheaply and on as vast a scale as we might wish.

By making natural gas a continental resource, which the cabinet plans to do in the immediate future (Trade Minister Pepin said on August 10, that it would be in the next few weeks), the government is initiating the continental energy resources policy on a piecemeal basis. We cannot expect one single spectacular deal. Each step of energy resource integration must be opposed as a component part of the energy deal. That is why the natural gas sale is so crucial. At the moment 82.6 per cent of the oil and natural gas wells industry in Canada is owned by American corporations—not only are we agreeing to long term vast sales of natural gas, we are also guaranteeing that the profits will go to US capitalists.

At the moment the Liberals make two assumptions in determining what our energy resource surpluses are: first, that Canada will always be relatively a hinterland of the United States; and secondly, that the short run desire for profit is and should remain the key determinant of the allocation of resources. The first assumption means accepting colonialism as a permanent status for Canada; the second assumption means the destruction of the natural environment of this and any other country where this policy is continued.

While a continental energy deal will provide Canadians with some jobs to put in the infrastructure of pipelines, tankers etc., this period of employment will be of temporary duration and of limited scope. Through the energy resources deal we lose the opportunity to make maximum use of our resources to develop and diversify the Canadian economy and to ensure our people jobs and control of their lives socially and politically.

While our resources have been the key to our dependency, they are also the key to our liberation. Canada's resources, the centre of our activity as a nation, historically, have also been the centre of our common experience.

The resource question touches all of us individually and as a people. Canadian resources, if owned and developed by the Canadian people for the benefit of the Canadian people, provide us with the material basis for an economy that is directed toward the satisfaction of human needs both at home and abroad, rather than an economy that maintains us as servants of corporate capitalism and American military power around the world.

We are not interested in 51 per cent ownership of our resource industries for Canadian capitalists, we demand people's ownership of the resource industries.

On Saturday, Sept. 12, the Waffle will begin its campaign to stop the energy deal through public ownership of our resource industries. The hour is late and we are the only organized political grouping in the country in a position to give leadership on this question. We must make it clear that we will not accept any deals made in the name of the Canadian people.

We must inform the Canadian and American governments and capitalists that when socialists take power in Canada, any continental resources deal will be undone. Our action on Sept. 12 is only the beginning. We must take the issue to the people most directly affected--the people in the resource producing areas and the unemployed of Canada. We must organize a campaign all across the country.

At the national conference of the Waffle, we planned a series of meetings, teach-ins and rallies to take place on the energy resources question beginning at the end of September. The demonstration of Sept. 12 will kick off this campaign and will lead to meetings in a number of centres a couple of weeks later. Every waffler should help to organize the demonstration in his or her local community. A vital issue for the achievement of independence and socialism is at hand and we must act on it now.

---Jim Laxer.

GET IN TOUCH WITH THE CONTACT PERSON IN YOUR AREA, SO THAT YOU CAN HELP

ORGANIZE THE DEMONSTRATION.....Vancouver: Harold Steeves,  
353 Steveston Highway,  
Box 519, Vancouver, B.C.  
277-4898

Toronto: Edna Laxer,  
68 Castlcknock Rd.,  
481-2057

Edmonton: Ken Novakowski,  
10827 - 114 St., Edmonton.  
423-3769

Kingston: John Smart,  
228 Johnson St.,  
542-4268

Regina: Lorne Brown,  
2865 Retallack St., Regina.  
584-5046

Ottawa: Melody Corrigan,  
250 Kent Street,  
237-5133

Winnipeg: Cy Gonick,  
127 Osborne Street,  
284-5046

For National Information: JIM LAXER, 509 MacDonell Street, # 4

Kingston, Ontario.

544-0267

# WOMEN IN THE WAFFLE

The women's caucus at the national waffle conference voted to set up a permanent women's liberation committee in the waffle and elected Krista Maets of Kingston to chair the group.

Other committee members are to be chosen by waffle women's groups at the local and/or provincial levels. Women in cities from Vancouver to Halifax should meet before November to pick their representatives, who will then be contacts when decisions have to be made and policies formulated relating to women's lib.

The committee idea arose from discussions about the problems faced by women who had served on the former national housekeeping committee of the waffle. These women had tried to operate both as members of the general committee and as spokespersons for the liberation movement in the waffle. But there was no organized group of waffle women to give direction and support, and the individuals who tried to formulate demands and policies did so on an ad hoc basis.

It was pointed out, for example, that there were no women on the national conference panels, excepting the panel on women's liberation.

The women's committee is to be a grouping which will pay primary attention to the needs of women, in and out of the waffle. It will work out demands for changes in party structure, write resolutions, collect information and do minimal research, attempt to come to grips with the relationship between women's liberation and the anti-imperialist struggle, encourage organizing of women into a socialist political force, and evaluate the activities of formal women's groups within the party.

The women's caucus met several times during the national conference, to plan the format of the women's lib panel and to work out a formula for the participation of women in the elected structures of the national waffle. It was decided that 50 per cent of the national steering committee members chosen at the con-

ference should be women, and at least three of the 10 leadership campaign committee members.

The five women elected to 10 conference positions on the steering committee were Sue Abella, Toronto; Caroline Brown, Regina; Tracy Morey, Toronto; Krista Maets, Kingston; and Maija Crane, Regina. The rest of the steering committee members will be elected at the provincial level, and it was expected that the same principle of 50% participation would apply there whenever possible.

The women chosen as members of the leadership campaign committee were Jackie Brown, Toronto; Kelly Crichton, Toronto; and Sheila Kuziak, Winnipeg. Two Saskatchewan people were to be chosen later, to complete the 10-person committee, and it is possible that other women will be picked for these two spots.

The names of local contacts and members chosen for waffle women's liberation committee should be sent as soon as possible to Krista Maets, 509 Macdonell Street, # 4, Kingston, Ontario.

# NAT. CONFERENCE ANALYSES

THE WAFFLE NEWS HAS ASKED STEVE PENNER OF TORONTO AND MEMBERS OF THE SASKATCHEWAN WAFFLE TO COMMENT ON OUR FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE— OTHERS ARE INVITED TO DO KEWIS FOR FUTURE EDITIONS

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The following is an attempt by some Saskatchewan delegates to draw together an over-all assessment of the National Waffle Conference. Although the phraseology is that of the authors only, we feel that the attitudes expressed represent the general sentiments of Saskatchewan wafflers attending the conference.

Saskatchewan delegates felt that it was valuable to bring together for the first time participants from all provincial waffle groups to outline strategies and make decisions on national issues. Both the leadership and the resource questions demanded a national waffle position and the discussion and decisions relating to these two issues now form the basis for a continuing national Waffle program in the coming year.

One of the weaknesses of the conference was the failure to organize the specifics of the workshops into concrete proposals for action in the future. Since we attempted to attend and participate in most of the workshops in order to share information from them, many of us were disappointed when the discussion and recommendations arising out of the workshops were never adequately covered on the floor of the convention. Rather, the plenaries seemed to centre on a great deal of theoretical, academic debate in which only a few people were able to participate. This was particularly disappointing since a great deal of the discussion which took place in the workshops was probably more valuable of the convention and could have led to many more fruitful recommendations coming out of this conference. This was particularly evident in the lack of adequate planning on the energy-resources issue, which was thoroughly discussed in the workshop;

but since, it will hopefully be a national rallying point should have merited more discussion in the plenary, including the detailing of a specific strategy for the campaign to block the sell-out of our resources.

Another considered weakness was the time used dealing with problems not of national application. Two of the more contentious debates at the conference centered around what were essentially the internal problems of the Ontario waffle and could have been dealt with better at the provincial level. These debates concerned organized labour and the unorganized poor. Most of an evening session was wasted by subjecting the delegates to a lengthy, repetitive and bitter attack on the waffle for its failure to relate to organized workers. This was carried on by a faction of trade unionists (though not all trade unionists at the conference) and members of the NDY, under the guise of a report from the Labour workshop. These attacks bore no

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The national conference of the waffle failed to come to grips with the critical questions facing our movement. A great deal of rhetoric was expounded in re-affirming our critique of this society's capitalist structure and their primary role in serving the American empire--as if we have to keep reconciling ourselves. Very little attention was given to the crucial problem of developing a serious strategy to challenge those structures.

I'm not suggesting that we should not take seriously the development of our analysis. The problem is that we are so pre-occupied with intellectual debate that the very debate is taking place in a vacuum where questions of strategy, of organizing effective action around our policies are hardly considered. We lack a sense of praxis--the creative give and take between revolutionary ideology and radical action.

It is not enough to inform people about the Americanization of Canada, we must be prepared to fight it. For example, the federal government has just announced a multi-million dollar grant to an American computer company to establish a plant in Toronto. A similar outright gift of public money was given to IBM to establish a plant in Quebec. Trudeau not only has the nerve to openly subsidize these huge corporations in taking over our country, he's accomplishing it without suffering one public criticism for doing so. Surely the waffle is capable of organizing a fairly dramatic action to expose such crude continentalism.

Similarly we must not only speak against the Americanization of our universities, of the media and so on--we must begin to act

against it. And we must attempt to develop as broad a base to take part in that struggle as is possible, NDP members and students alike. The waffle's only national strategy move to date is the planned campaign against a continental resource-sharing deal. This campaign will be a real test of the waffle's ability to translate its rhetoric into significant action.

If we had developed praxis during our first year, the waffle probably would have a clearer perception of the cold realities of power in Canada. For despite all our criticism of social democratic parties we are falling into the same kind of trap as they have in failing to recognize that parliament is not the centre of power in a capitalist society--especially one of such clearly colonial status.

At our conference the seizure of power within the NDP was put forward as the main immediate goal of the waffle. Far more interest was shown in the federal leadership campaign and convention than in any other question. I am not postulating that we should not be running for leadership, but simply that the leadership question appears destined to have top priority for our limited financial and manpower resources.

The plenary discussion of "Building a Mass Movement" for instance, was postponed several times and then cut off by elections, a press conference for the leadership candidates and a variety of procedural hassles that almost outdid an NDP convention. A report on what the waffle could be doing to organize the unemployed and the poor was cut off after three minutes because of the pressure of time.

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## PENNER ANALYSIS CONT'D

When a hastily formed "poverty caucus" was able to have the question briefly re-opened by putting forward a resolution--that the waffle hire full time organizers --it was then tabled. (Admittedly the form of the resolution tended to confuse the issue at stake.)

One of the main arguments presented against the waffle undertaking a national campaign to organize the unemployed was that we should not be organizing directly but rather should press the NDP and the labour movement to do the job. The reform caucus tried that approach by putting forward a resolution at the CIC convention that greater effort be undertaken to organize the unorganized and the unemployed. The resolution passed overwhelmingly, but nothing has been done. The UAW did plan a march of unemployed workers on Ottawa, and then cancelled it because it couldn't arrange an interview with cabinet ministers!

Meanwhile there are 750,000 unemployed in this country as a result of Trudeau's blatantly anti-labour "war on inflation". There will be well over a million unemployed workers this winter--which when coupled with the number of people on welfare amount to almost the number of organized workers in Canada-- What issue is of more immediate importance to the Canadian working class?

I don't deny the significance of a waffle leadership candidate being able to win a great deal of public exposure for our movement and its ideas. And convention politics can be useful if they are seen more as a tactic

than as being central to our over-all socialist strategy. Few people can be won to the cause of socialism by well-written papers and inspired speech-making alone. The necessary approach to building socialism has shown its emptiness again and again.

We must begin to see socialism as a process which evolves from a long term and broad based struggle by the people to win effective control over those institutions which directly affect them--factories, schools and so on, rather than the end result of legislation by a socialist party. Liberation cannot be handed down from above as the failure of most so-called socialist governments has shown. I am convinced that the waffle's basic problem--its failure thus far to broaden its base from a small university-educated, middle class group and its inability to involve more than 75 to 100 active members across the entire country--relate to its uninspiring and unrealistic strategy for bringing about radical change.

Both the waffle and the reform caucus reform caucus developed in the vacuum left by the insipid, conservative social democratic leadership of the NDP and the labor movement.

The waffle and the reform caucus both did far better than anyone expected. However, a great deal of work needs to be done by all of us to create an effective, solidly based socialist opposition which will have much greater relevance and vitality than the left wing Fabian society, which we are in danger of becoming.

---Steve Penner.

relationship to reality as far as the Saskatchewan waffle is concerned, and no doubt the same is true for other provinces. They reflected a serious cleavage within the Ontario waffle based more on style than ideology and probably resulting from elitism on the one hand and paranoia, coupled with romanticism, on the other. The whole debate on this question was more a waste of time than it was destructive.

The debate initiated by supporters of Toronto poor groups on the last day of the conference was in an entirely different class (the discussion being carried on in a reasonable and civilized manner), although it, too, was inappropriate for a national conference. This group produced a resolution which demanded that the national waffle hire, within a month, three full-time organizers to organize the poor. Some members of the Saskatchewan delegation voted against even discussing the motion, mainly on the grounds that this kind of

thing should be dealt with at the provincial level or even the city level, i.e. Toronto; and that many waffle groups are already working among the poor, which include many, perhaps a majority, of Saskatchewan farmers and the great majority of the people in some areas such as the maritimes. What would have

## SASK. ANALYSIS CONT'D

been more productive at a national conference would have been an exchange of ideas on the tactics, strategy and political significance of organizing the unorganized poor. Provincial delegations could then go back to their constituencies with perhaps some new ideas and could, if they deemed it valuable, hire organizers etc. on the provincial level.

The Saskatchewan delegation felt that there was some legitimacy to the charges, made by the NDY (though not justifying some of their attacks and paranoia) of elitism in the waffle, and was somewhat concerned that this trend not be allowed to continue. In this respect, most delegates were pleased with the decision, made by the conference with the full support of the Saskatchewan delegates, that the ten members of the National Campaign Team not be allowed to run also for the National Steering Committee. This move prevents an unhealthy concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals and helps to ensure that a situation similar to the one described in Ontario of "elitist activity for the few and passivity for the many" will not develop at the national level. Hopefully, when provincial representatives are chosen this principle will be adhered to.

Women delegates from Saskatchewan strongly disapproved of the fact that two male "heavyweights" were invited to participate as representatives for Saskatchewan on Sunday night in a strategy meeting of the National Steering Committee, which made significant decisions concerning the leadership. What this in fact meant in the case of Saskatchewan was that women were not invited, and moreover, the decision about who should represent Saskatchewan at this meeting was not, in fact, made by the Saskatchewan caucus.

To end more optimistically, Saskatchewan delegates were impressed with the quality of the leadership campaign team and the concept of running a collective campaign which will concentrate exclusively on political issues and avoid the cult of personality which often develops during leadership contests. The campaign team will be generally representative of the waffle in terms of geographical representation and differing emphasis on the waffle program. Hopefully, the team will continue to play the major role in the leadership campaign after the final choice of our candidate in November. It is also to be hoped that the national campaign to stop the sell-out of Canadian resources will act as a rallying point which can increase the anti-imperialist consciousness of people throughout the country.

---Marilyn Hindmarch,  
Maija Crane, Lorne and Caroline Brown and Pat Gallagher.

# )) NAT. CONFERENCE REPORTS ((

THE WAFFLE NEWS' INITIAL COVERAGE OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE INCLUDES -- THE PRESENTATION, MADE BY DON MITCHELL OF SASKATCHEWAN AT THE END OF THE THREE-DAY CONFERENCE, ASSESSING THE WAFFLE'S POSITION AS A MASS MOVEMENT;

--REPORTS ON THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS WHICH DEALT WITH LABOUR; WOMEN; AND THE LEFT IN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. THE WAFFLERS WHO REPORTED ON THESE SESSIONS WERE NOT PROHIBITED FROM INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SESSIONS IN QUESTION.

## THE WAFFLE AS MASS MOVEMENT -DON MITCHELL

I think our first priority is to become a serious movement. Serious in our discussion and approach to the problems we face together. Infantile debates on procedural questions such as we saw this afternoon are a distraction to a serious movement. People tend at conferences such as this to get caught up in the dynamic of the conference in an artificial way and forget about the day-to-day political work in their own community. They operate on the strength of their emotions rather than reason. Hence we see emotional appeals for the hiring of three waffle organizers to organize the poor without recognizing that we almost no resources; that such a program, to be meaningful, would have to be supported and carried out at the community level; and without trying to relate it to the broader objective of building a socialist movement to defeat the causes of poverty.

The question of building a mass movement or how to build it

could probably be discussed and debated in the abstract for the next few hours. What I suggest we need however is a realistic understanding of what we are now in terms of being a mass movement, what are our strengths and weaknesses, and what should we be doing differently.

The Waffle movement is a group of people with widely-differing experience and interests known previously as the "left" of the NDP. Now united on the basis of work within the party, we see as our broad purpose the building of a socialist movement around an anti-imperialist strategy.

Though this meeting is not truly representative of the waffle groups across the country, most of the problems we face have been raised here to some extent. The reports from the provinces give us insights into the situation locally, and the workshop discussions provided suggestions of the activities which we should be involved in.

What I hope to do as briefly as possible is relate in some realistic fashion what we are and what we must do. Our strength in numbers is probably less than

100 active hard-core people who are to a very high degree left academics and students. In addition we have 1,200 or so committed supporters who are broadly representative of the party membership and include trade unionists, farmers and the traditional old left of the CCF.

On a national level our program must consist of united work within the federal party organization and at conventions--challenging, exposing and moving the party to the left. This in a sense, though not easy, is the easiest task we have. It is low as a priority in building a people's movement, since the federal party at present is a very elitist expression. Our work in the federal party should be to provide a platform to reach the rank and file party members. If advance and follow-up organizing work is not done, this superficial expression at the federal party convention means little. The last convention served to bring together existing left sentiment in the party. The next one will have to extend the left and draw in new people. This is not easy.

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## THE LEFT IN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

The can of worms was spilled and out crawled Reformism, Fabianism, Apocalyptic Adventurism, Dilettantism and Co-option.

The topic was the "role of the left in social democratic parties".

"Wafflers have failed to respond to the logic of being in the NDP," said panelist John Smart of Kingston, one of four main speakers during this closed session at the national waffle conference. The party has a life of its own, he said, and wafflers must be a part of that life in order to influence it.

Smart feels that not enough wafflers are active in riding association, working on executives contesting positions and generally willing to work at the constituency level. This must be a key area of activity in the coming year, he said.

Manitoba MLA Cy Gonick outlined his theory of "revolutionary reformism", condemning "grandiose apocalyptic visions" on the one hand and "the evolutionary, nitpicking approach of social democracy" on the other.

Any political party, with some gap, reflects the economic and spiritual conditions of the times, he postulated. Thus, after World War II, most left parties in western countries responded to prosperity and optimism about capitalism by becoming the vanguard advocates of the welfare state. The NDP, born of the CCF, emerged in these times, and it seemed for some time that the new

pragmatists in the new party were destined to take over party leadership. But times changed with the Vietnam war, rebellion against materialism and competition, discovery of authoritarianism in schools and factories, rediscovery of the continuing poverty, pollution and re-emergence of serious unemployment. As in the 1930's when the CCF was formed, the whole social system was being challenged and the people groomed to take over the NDP leadership had become obsolete.

The waffle in this context is the only relevant force for the 70's in the NDP, and must demonstrate the obsolescence of the social democratic analysis. Gonick said wafflers must form NDP groups, for instance, among teachers, social workers and other professionals. They must speak to the concrete needs of the people, as seen by the people, putting forward "revolutionary reforms". Auto insurance legislation means transferring money from the private to the public sector, and can become more than a single-province struggle with implications for more than the single industry involved.

Lorne Brown of Saskatchewan started with the assumption that the left has always failed in social democratic parties, e.g. the British Labour party and the CCF in British Columbia. These failures can be attributed to lack of definition of goals, poor organization, and 'soft' attitudes to the parties involved, among other things. He warned against the Fabian streak in the waffle and said pushing manifestos and passing resolutions will not change the

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## MITCHELL REPORT CONT'D

It appears from the provincial reports that some of the organizing and education work is being done, with varying degrees of success. I think it's important that the study-action groups which people mentioned and the Teach-in activity be extended. The first should be aimed at party members, and the second at a broader concerned public.

Study groups serve the purpose of drawing in party members who are genuinely concerned about issues and who will move to a stronger position and a deeper commitment if they have the information and insight which active wafflers can provide. These should, I think, be Party activities, where possible, working with the existing membership is strong and not hopelessly reactionary. And working and organizing new members where the constituency organization is hostile or where the party is weak. For instance, in New Brunswick it seems likely that the waffle could define and organize the party from beginning as a grass-roots expression of people. Here I think local issues and involvement in school board and civic elections as well as trade union activity could gain the trust and support of new people.

All of these activities should be followed up by a canvass to bring active contacts into the party organization and into discussions on socialism and socialist alternatives.

It is obvious that the techniques of building the movement through local activity will vary from place to place, and I won't try to suggest all the variations here.

### PROBLEMS AND CRITICISMS THAT SHOULD GUIDE US

Elitism and Infantile Politics: Some of the sentiment expressed during the labour discussion was aimed at the middle-class and academic bias of the waffle. This may to some extent be valid but I think a more crucial criticism in terms of organizing and growth is the elitist tendency of the left and the dangers of planning and choosing actions and issued which do not have broad appeal or of using language which is either stilted and academic or patronizing--a sort of "talking down to the masses" approach.

We can't afford to be another sectarian group which is pure in socialist rhetoric but irrelevant to the majority of working people and farmers.

Even though most people in the waffle realize this, it is sometimes difficult to change unless and until we are actively involved in discussions and organizing with real people. It's a good experience for a lot of people to take on organizing projects, even canvassing for the NDP which would take them away from their own group, culture and politics in order to understand the present consciousness of working people on issues which concern them. Taking on organizing jobs with unions, tenants associations, groups of unemployed and so on are important choices for radicals in the waffle to make, not only for the work they can do but for their own experience. For example, in Saskatchewan we have had a number of people working with the Farmers Union as full-time organizers.

So the first problem is to smash elitist politics in our own movement so that we can more effectively smash it in the party.

Women in the Waffle: This is an area which I believe we must deal with differently but I'm not sure exactly how. Our position in terms of support for women in their changing relations in the NDP or in terms of demands for equality in the work force or family and cultural demands I think is clear. But we spent very little time in discussing those areas of program in terms of organizing a socialist movement. We had problems integrating discussion on

women into the conference because of the ambiguous attitude towards women in our own group. We somehow failed to come clean on the question and deal openly with women's position within a number of areas such as trade unions, the poor and unemployed, or the structures of the waffle itself.

As a result of this problem (whether real or imagined, and I think it was real), women caucused throughout the weekend on literally every major decision. If this caucusing is necessary, future meetings and conferences should facilitate that need by allowing more time for caucuses. If it isn't necessary and is caused by narrow and chauvinist attitudes on the part of men on the left, then the problem should perhaps be confronted more directly and within the total group. In any case the situation this weekend was not adequate. Trade Unions: The criticism was made yesterday that the waffle was not closely identified with organized labour. A variation of the criticism is that the waffle is not closely identified with the problems and consciousness of working people.

I think this is a long process and should be urged as a priority concern of local people. There is nothing of significance we can do at the national level to strengthen the labour expression in the waffle until local trade union people and unorganized workers are drawn in by activities at the local level.

Dave Yorke in his comments in yesterday's labour panel had some excellent suggestions on how waffle people who are trade unionists can work to build left caucuses in locals and how non-workers can give meaningful and genuine support to workers struggles in some situations.

In all cases the involvement of rank and file trade unionists in the party constituency organizations (where they tend not to be involved), or in waffle study groups is key to building a strong left-labour expression at the national level.

Rural Community: Almost nothing is being done at the national level to raise consciousness about the destruction of rural Canada and the conditions of the people and communities involved. This issue, as part of the metropolis-satellite-hinterland chain, must somehow be raised for discussion among people in urban areas as well as in rural Canada.

In terms of organizing, nearly all waffle activities at the local level are urban-oriented, even in the prairies where much of the population and most exploited people live on farms and in smaller urban centres. This should be changed. The national steering committee should be given direction to include the hinterland destruction as part of a nation-wide campaign on energy and resources. Basically it is an issue of economic survival for communities dependent on agricultural and resources industries.

For instance, the movement of branch plant refineries, milling companies, and mining operations has destroyed the economic base of communities in British Columbia, the prairies Northern Ontario, and the Maritimes. We should do research on the recent effects of capitalist planning and feed that information into discussions at public teach-ins and so on in these areas. Some of this research can and should be done locally and fed into a central research team.

Relations with Youth: A conflict has become apparent at this conference between the expression of the New Democratic Youth and the waffle. My feeling is that the waffle should concentrate on discussion and education with party members on "youth" issues.

This would mean a low priority for waffle organizing among students and youth on issues such as education. At the same time we should encourage development of autonomous NDY locals. The NDY, which many of us are involved in, should in my view give critical support to the waffle as the only means of moving the NDP closer to the youth's own socialist perspective.

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# NAT CONFERENCE REPORTS

## LEFT IN SOC. DEM. PARTIES...cont'd

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party unless the personnel who run the organization are defeated and replaced. If the party cannot be transformed, people must be prepared to consider leaving, said Brown.

West Coaster Brett Smiley, now in Toronto criticized wafflers for a lack of serious analysis re- the nature of the party. Some are trying to rebuild the CCF; others see the party as the historical voice of the people; while others see it as the political expression of the Canadian working class because of its affiliation with trade unions. All these views have some truth in them, but the correct elements must yet be identified and synthesized.

The NDP plays an objectively reactionary role, said Smiley, because it maintains a "social democratic hegemony" over the people. The party provides opportunity for left organizing but its

history and potential must be critically re-examined. It is useless to move back to what the party used to be because the NDP-CCF was never any more than a "parliamentary movement with a socialist rhetoric". Smiley sees two options for the waffle: it can become a forum for "professional parliamentary radicals", or it can attack the party's social democratic hegemony and move people to a revolutionary analysis.

In the floor and workshop discussions which followed, several people emphasized that it is too early to know whether the NDP can indeed be transformed into a socialist party. Now is the time, however, to evaluate whether the waffle's policies and informal structures will contribute to resisting co-option.

--Krista Maeots.

## WOMEN

When the National Steering Committee made up the agenda for the August 1-3 waffle conference, the session on Women's Liberation was left open in order that the women themselves could determine the content. At two caucus meetings before Saturday evening the women discussed the role of Women's Liberation in the socialist movement and their position in the waffle. They decided to have an open meeting. There were mixed feelings among the women about the level of understanding that waffle men had on the subject of Women's Liberation and its relation to socialism and day to day life.

The less optimistic and perhaps more realistic women prevailed resulting in what was to be a general educational session with one main speaker. This decision proved wise as it was obvious during the evening discussion that there are some wafflers who are uncertain as to the relevance and immediacy of the problem.

Krista Maeots opened the meeting with an outline of the history of Woman in Socialist Theory presenting a critique of writers from Engels, through Simone de Beauvoir and concluding with Juliet Mitchell. Krista pointed out the four aspects of the struggle for women's liberation--sex; reproduction; socialization and production. She emphasized that all four are important and that to change only one will not result in a valid change in the woman's role.

Lissa Donner spoke about the revolutionary aspects of women's liberation, pointing out that as socialists women don't want equality with men under the present capitalist but rather that both men and women be liberated from their present roles. Lissa noted that the abortion caravan had brought to light the basic question of women's self-determination and therefore implied a threat to the present family structure.

Pat Smart spoke about women in the waffle, pointing out that even in a socialist movement women were not equal--a situation for which the women themselves are partly to blame. The women are forced to caucus between other sessions and have a heavy work load.

Consciously or not, they are oppressed. The type of remarks and the mood of the discussion that followed the woman speakers was proof of the necessity for such discussion and of the long struggle ahead.

It is obviously not easy for women to speak at public functions. For example, the women's caucus discovered it extremely difficult to find willing spokeswomen in a room of intelligent, dedicated socialists.

Women haven't been socialised to assert themselves or to articulate in the accepted jargon. As Pat Smart said, the social processes and women's position in society have resulted in women having a different way of looking at things and expressing their ideas.

This kind of analysis among the women themselves gave them a very serious approach toward Saturday night's session on women's liberation. However, the meeting was unique at the conference in its tendency towards levity or, more crudely put, towards laughter and bravado.

I was still naive enough to be astounded at the hisses and giggles that greeted some men's backward comments. Others more versed in such meetings assured me later that the reactions at the waffle session were a regular phenomena. This is not to suggest that the majority of the speakers were against the idea of women's liberation. Some were for the movement on the grounds of expediency. As one man put it: "Women comrades are useful, if we don't compromise on something we'll lose them, which will leave us with a pretty puny left."

The struggle for personal liberation is a thorny one because it cannot remain a battle of merely theory. It affects us all on the home front. If we, as socialists, do not begin to grapple with the problem in our own lives and in the waffle, as difficult as this may be, our theories of socialism are only puffs of vain empty rhetoric.

It would be hypocritical and ineffectual to attempt to raise the public consciousness about self-determination and meaningful alternatives to the capitalist system if we do not examine our own lives and struggle to live and relate to others in a manner which we mouth as valid.

--Melody Corrigan.

## LABOUR

It is axiomatic that the bulwark of a socialist movement is the working class. The issues under discussion by the labour panel at the waffle conference are (were) important because they served on one hand to emphasize how weak both the NDP and waffle link is to the working class, and on the other hand, how much work must be undertaken in the future to politicize workers and to forge a link between them and a revolutionary socialist party. We must view the brief discussion on labour at the conference as no mere accident, for in a very real sense it is a reflection of the fact that the base of support for the waffle-at the moment- is not in the working class. In the future, the base of support for the waffle (or any other serious socialist party for that matter) will become of

paramount importance. We are working through a contradiction in which the waffle, if it is to survive as a serious socialist group, must either expand its base into the working class in order to maintain its program or expand into the middle-class if the waffle is to expand, through electoral politics in which case it would be forced to dilute its socialist program (like the NDP or the BLP)

The Labour panel at the waffle conference, comprised of three unionists, was able to concentrate on a number of issues and programmatic considerations facing both the workers and the waffle. The issues discussed were: 1. The nature of the organic link between the NDP and organized labour. In order to eliminate the existing arrangement between the NDP and the unions where a mutually re-inforcing bureaucratic relation-

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ship has evolved to limit rank and file participation in socialist politics, it was suggested that open debate and voting on the issue of local union affiliation with the NDP be undertaken. While the option of "contracting-in" was viewed as being too radical a step at the moment to rejuvenate the NDP-labour relationship, it was recommended that the issue of local affiliation with the NDP be reconsidered every two years and that at least  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the delegates to a federal or provincial convention from an affiliated union be on-the-job workers.

2. Workers control of industry. A direct challenge to the idea of management rights-a rejection of the notion that certain class has a "right" to expropriate profit. It was clearly pointed out that we must demand workers control, not just "co-determination" at the work place. The idea of workers control is potentially one of the most radical and volatile issues because it simultaneously links and challenges the existing political economy, the conservative bureaucratic leadership of the NDP and unions and is above all important to workers because it affects their day-to-day lives.

3. The issue of women in the labour force; The discrimination against women with respect to wages, employment opportunities and conditions of work. It was stressed that the exploitation of women workers was based on three factors with respect to their status in the labour force: being women, being unorganized and being workers. A corollary to this is the issue of organizing the unorganized. It was suggested that special organizing drives be undertaken to organize women and that trade unions must vigorously fight discrimination against women workers. In dealing with the unorganized sector of the working class, it was recommended that the CLC create a national coordinating committee to head a massive organizing campaign, and that local organizing committees be established in urban areas to concentrate on white-collar workers.

4. International unionism. The issue of international unions was approached within the context of the existing imperial relationship between Canada and the US. The struggle of Canadian workers within their unions for their interests, workers control and women's rights must be viewed in the broader context of the domination

of Canada's economic, cultural and political life by American corporations. In keeping with the program of the Reform Caucus within the CLC, it was stated that: 1) Canadian workers should have full control over strike decisions and contract negotiations effecting them; 2) all union dues collected in Canada be subject to control by the Canadian membership for strike funds and research; 3) all officers working in Canada be elected by the Canadian membership; 4) the right to merge with other unions and jurisdictional structure and the other unions in Canada to rationalize the the union and jurisdictional structure and the right of the Canadian membership to autonomy in its affairs, including the right of any Canadian section of an "international" union to secede, should be determined by a majority vote of the Canadian membership.

While the labour panel in particular came forth with rechant insights and programmatic recommendations the waffle conference as a whole was derelict in not confronting one major issue pertaining to labour. That issue is (was): What has been the historic world-wide experience and relationships of labour in the context of social democratic party politics? It can be argued that social-democratic politics have, literally and figuratively been a death trap for the working class aspirations; that social democratic parties have, historically done nothing more than stabilize and rationalize a dying capitalism at the expense of the working class while the working class supported that party and found itself to be electorally trapped in that arrangement.

Socialists must develop within the labour movement three ideological elements of enormous importance. One is the awareness of the necessity for social change; the second, the posing of the socialist alternative to the existing political economy and its daily contradictions and third, the conviction that revolutionary change will ultimately come about. It is only by convincing workers that there is an alternative, a socialist alternative, to the present social and economic relationships that working people can be set in motion to free the working class and carry through a socialist transformation of Canada.

--Rick Deaton

## MITCHELL . . . . .

There are a number of apparent difficulties raised in provincial reports which might be mentioned here. For instance, in MANITOBA, the point was made that in working with a precariously situated government party, it is difficult to get many left thinking people to identify with the waffle. Understandable, and it is probably important that the waffle group in no public way create the impression of a split in the Manitoba NDP. This not for Schreyer's sake, but for the sake of the future expansion of the left base in Manitoba among people who can be reached. The priority should be for principled struggles for party nominations and selective work in the election around left candidates and socialist program.

In SASKATCHEWAN, the priority is to follow-up the leadership convention by drawing in those contacts made during the campaign and to establish study-action groups in as many ridings as possible. There will be some pressure to co-opt and accommodate the left on the eve of a provincial election which must obviously be resisted. Priority is on rural organizing where our potential strength lies.

In BRITISH COLUMBIA, the waffle is caught between the Vancouver Liberation FRONT and the centre-left forces of D'Ve Barrett within the NDP. The choice of growth or extinction probably centres on the ability to attract a larger number of left trade unionists into active work in the party.

In ONTARIO where the waffle has mainly been a group unto itself doing some good educational work, the need seems to be to work more with constituency associations, to enlarge the left base. There are only a few areas, such as Kingston and Brantford, where this seems to have a conscious strategy. There also should be an extension of the work begun with trade unions in the Toronto area.

In the Maritimes and Alberta the waffle is in a position to organize the party itself as a socialist vehicle. This possibility, though perhaps more exciting than having to fight reactionary social democrats, is nonetheless difficult in political climates as conservative as these areas.

With all of this it seems obvious that while we are not yet a mass movement there is a good work going on all across the country and much more of it to do. As a national group I think our priorities should be as follows:

1. The extension of communications and exchange on local issues and programs through a national newspaper fed by regional correspondents. This includes a conscious effort to use the paper locally and expand the mailing list.

2. The national campaign on energy and resources feeding into local actions where possible.

3. The leadership convention which requires organizing across the country for waffle spokesmen to constituency functions, the distribution of policy statements in advance of the convention, and organizing to elect delegates to the convention from as many areas as possible. (Financial aid to distant wafflers may prove necessary to getting adequate representation outside of Ontario.)

4. More involvement across the country on a selective basis in community issues. These should be chosen with a view to helping people and building trust and contacts among working people, while at the same time raising the level of awareness about socialist alternatives.