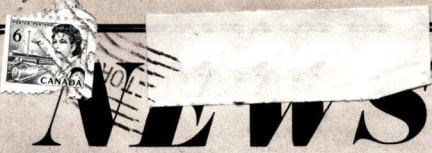


WAFFLE NEWS

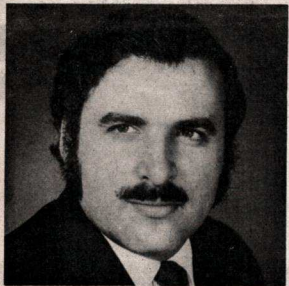


VOLUME 2 - NO 3

DECEMBER / 70

FOR THE NDP AND CANADA

"A FULL ALTERNATIVE..."



JIM LAXER

STRIKE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The long strike of General Motors of Canada workers (13 weeks by Waffle News deadline, Dec. 7) sharpened the debate in labour circles over the role of multi-national corporations and U.S. based unions in Canada.

Plant-level membership meetings in late November to back Canadian negotiators in their stand for U.S. wage parity revealed restiveness in the rank and file. Many openly asked if the Canadian strikers had been sold out when President Leonard Woodcock and General Motors reached tentative agreement in mid-November for U.S. workers.

The union hierarchy, meanwhile, strongly denounced suggestions that a deal to go out together and back together was broken by the American UAW. The strikes began Sept. 15.

Some Canadian negotiators said there had been an understanding that parity would be resolved at the bargaining table in Detroit.

But no concern was voiced during a UAW GC council meeting in Detroit to approve the agreement. Canadian negotiators said nothing while the Americans tore up their picket signs. "Sold out" seemed too strong. At worst, Canadian GM workers had been misled.

The company's first offer on major issues since before the walkout began tried to chisel the corporation's 24,000 Canadian production workers on almost every area of dispute. Base rates were typically 23 cents an hour less (nearly \$40 a month) in the proposal than in the American settlement.

Pensions were cheaper and the benefit supplementary unemployment benefit fund was still in the red.

Worry grew that strike benefits (\$30 to \$40 a week on right - not on need) would be cut off in Canada. But Woodcock arrived in Toronto Dec. 1, pledged full support to the Canadian struggle and promised benefits would continue-costing \$1 million a week.

Within days of the official announcement that JIM LAXER will represent the waffle in the NDP federal leadership race, our candidate had already travelled several hundred miles through the prairies--appearing on radio and television, meeting with riding associations, campus groups and also delegates to the National Farmers Union convention.

And that will be the pattern of this campaign. Jim plans to take the waffle movement, figuratively at least, to New Democrats in all parts of Canada. He expects to criss-cross the country at least four times between now and April 21st.

The Laxer candidacy has been approved by four recent provincial waffle conferences and endorsed by a number of provincial steering committees. Although an inner-waffle race was anticipated up until the November 8th deadline set by the national housekeeping committee, that committee's chairman John Smart found no provincial representatives opposed to the idea of Laxer being acclaimed as candidate.

Smart told the Ontario waffle conference of November 27-28 that Jim is in no way a leadership candidate by default, since the provincial waffle groups had been opposed to the re-opening of nominations mostly because they were quite satisfied with Laxer's candidacy and anxious to get the waffle spokesman on the road.

Jim, who is 29 and a lecturer at Queen's University, noted that his participation in the leadership race will be unique because it won't involve the traditional personal campaigning.

"The waffle campaign will be a collective campaign," he told the Ontario conference, at which he made his official announcement.

"Our decisions, our priorities and the programme we take to the convention will be arrived at collectively."

Although the waffle manifesto, of which he was co-author, successfully rallied the left within the party to become a powerful one, Laxer notes that the relevance of our politics is clearer today than ever.

"The critical events of the past month have cast into clear relief the real choices in Canadian politics. The Prime Minister and his government have been attempting to force the people of Canada to conform to their brand of federalism whatever the costs. To their well-known policy of selling Canada to American capitalists has been added the overt repression of democratic and left-wing movements in Quebec. The War Measures Act was not proclaimed to deal with a small group of terrorists, whose acts will never command the allegiance of popular movements in Quebec but to deal with the forces that the Prime Minister really fears in Quebec...

\$ NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL MEN & WOMEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE WAFFLE. NOW IS THE TIME TO FORK OVER!
We, all of us, collectively, must raise a minimum of \$5,000 for the national leadership campaign. The campaign is a serious undertaking which cannot possibly be effective unless we raise the necessary money. Plans are to have Jim Laxer do as much speaking across the country as possible. That means he has to fly, since he also has a full-time teaching load to meet. Literature, convention facilities etc. will also cost money.
This is a time for assuming support--either \$5, \$20, or \$10 monthly for five months. We need it badly & urgently
Send to: Waffle Leadership Campaign.

...we must not be content with opposing the War Measures Act important though that is. We must work to educate the people of English Canada to the realities of Quebec historically and today. We must not flinch from the fact that Canadian confederation has always meant two kinds of exploitation for French Canada: national exploitation due to the fact that the French Canadian nation has never received full recognition as a national collectivity, and class exploitation that stems from the fact that the overwhelming majority of French Canadians have always been workers or small farmers whose economy has been dominated by outside capitalists, whether Anglo-Canadian or American.... Pierre Trudeau and the Liberals have used the War Measures Act and the hysteria of the present crisis not only to pit English and French Canadians against one another, but to cover up the realities of the social situation in all parts of Canadian capitalism. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians are without jobs. This winter the working people of this country face the bleakest employment situation in ten years. The great American corporations that the Liberals have sold the shirts off our backs to attract here are laying off Canadian workers by the thousands. As Stanley Randall at Queen's Park hands out the people's money to induce the American giants to locate here, they show their gratitude by putting Canadians out of work.

There is strong evidence to suggest that U.S. firms in Canada are cutting back production and laying off people on a higher scale than is true for the rest of the economy. Our economy has become an arena in which U.S. companies can expand and contract production depending on the general state of the U.S. economy. Right now, during a period of hard times, U.S. companies appear to be cutting back production in Canada to preserve a higher level of activity for their home operations in the U.S.... and as if branch plant layoffs and deliberate government promotion of unemployment were not enough, the government is pursuing a resource policy that will lock this country into permanent high rates of joblessness. In the last few days the Canadian government has entered phase two of the continental energy resources deal. Naturally, Canada's Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources

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LAXER SPEECH (CONTD)

...Premier Bourassa, of one hundred thousand jobs fame, left Quebec during the early days of the crisis to raise money in New York for the development of a hydro-electric power resources in northern Quebec. Naturally, instead of industrializing the province he wants to sell the power to Con-Edison of New York so that U.S. industry will be more productive, thus allowing the people of Quebec to buy back manufactured goods from the U.S. Bourassa, Greene and Randall, the holy trinity of Canadian resource extraction, cannot understand why as they busily give the country away, supposedly to create jobs, the unemployment rate climbs. It is interesting that the lay-offs at DuPont, Canadair, Chrysler and Canadian General Electric wiped out as many jobs as the building of the gas pipelines involved in the gas sale of September will create in any one year.

"It is tragic that the crisis in Quebec has made it difficult for Canadians to see the importance of the new oil deal or for Quebecers to give more of their attention to the long-run implications of Bourassa's resource policy. I will hazard the guess that in 20 years historians looking back on the year 1970 will regard it first as the year of the crucial energy deal and only secondarily as the year of the FLQ and the War Measures Act.

"It is significant that as the energy deal is being made parallel developments are taking place in Canadian agriculture. Last spring the government task force report on agriculture advocated a large scale conversion of prairie wheat lands to grasslands for the raising of feeder cattle. These feeder cattle are to be exported to the U.S. to be finished there and then Canadians are to buy back the beef from the United States. This is a direct extension of the government's resource policy. We export a semi-finished good and buy back the final product. And, of course, the conversion of prime wheat land to grassland means a much more extensive form of agriculture with a lower yield per acre. The raising of feeder cattle can be carried out with much less manpower than is needed for wheat farming. The government scheme, if carried out, will speed the process of de-population of the rural areas of Saskatchewan and in the cities that are dependent on the rural economy.

"As a political movement and as members of the New Democratic Party, we must organize comprehensively and concretely to make possible a full alternative to the shambles of Canadian capitalism. This means working within the party to evolve a party program that spells out in specifics how a socialist economy would work in Canada. We must work out the means of brining about public ownership of the

large corporations in the key sectors of the economy. We must evolve a plan of balanced regional development in Canada as an alternative to the present imperial structure of the North American economy so that the resource producing areas can acquire a balanced economic base. If we fail in achieving this in Canada we know that the vast bulk of the Canadian population will end up living in a few congested and inhuman areas with the rest of the country de-populated. J.J. Greene, denies that the sale of 6.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas to the U.S. at the end of September and the announcement of a few days ago of a lift of the U.S. quota on Canadian oil are related to events in a developing continental energy package.

"As far as Mr. Greene is concerned the prospect of increased oil sales in the U.S. is a great breakthrough for Canada. What he doesn't bother to mention is the fact that 82.6 per cent of the oil and gas wells industry in this country is foreign-owned, so that the profits from the sales go out of the country.

... "As well as espousing long-term socialist objectives, we must come to grips with the immediate social crisis in employment, housing and cost of living which faces the Canadian people. It is not good enough for us to say that all these problems will be solved through socialism. People need jobs housing and a higher standard of living--NOW. And we must begin to organize, now around a concrete program to relieve the burdens that will be felt by the working people of Canada this winter. It is interesting that the Prime Minister said last weekend that to hold out the prospect of great social improvement and to raise expectations is more dangerous than bombs for our society. Because his business-dominated government is not capable of pursuing policies that will create jobs for Canadians and that will solve the housing crisis in this country, Trudeau brands those who advocate such policies as subversives. According to the new Trudeau doctrine, it is now subversive to advocate an end to unemployment, or to advocate people's control of the economy or to advocate independence or socialism for Canada. Well, Mr. Prime Minister, that is exactly what we intend to advocate. We will work this winter with workers, poor people and tenants to demand as a start a massive public housing program that will provide people with jobs and incomes that will help get the economy rolling again and that will solve the very great housing problem of the Canadian people. And yes, Mr. Trudeau, we will demand the building of the 2 million houses that are needed in this country over the next five years, even if you brand us as subversives for doing so...."

NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

December 31st, January 1, 2, and 3 are the dates for a meeting in Regina of the National Steering Committee and National Campaign Comm. The purpose of the meeting is to finalize resolutions and to determine the overall thrust, direction and organization of the leadership campaign. Each provincial waffle has been working on preparing resolutions. They are to be discussed as fully as possible within the provinces before final ratification by the meeting in Regina. If possible, they should be forwarded to John Smart, 228 Johnson St. Kingston, for pre-Regina distribution. Within Ontario the date for final submission to the Ontario steering committee is Dec. 15.

There are plans for a travel pool for the Regina meeting. Steering committee members should contact John Smart for further details.

GM STRIKE (CONTD)

Meanwhile, GM was having start-up problems below the 49th parallel. About one-quarter of the 400,000 UAW members were still on strike over local plant issues. The union's decision not to continue their strike benefits (an academic question really, since the \$121 million pre-strike contingency fund was broke and \$30 million in debt) served to pressure the men back to work stimulating the corporation's gradual return to normalcy and full production.

Woodcock's goal of using the same index - the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics consumer price index - for computing cost-of-living bonuses in both countries took the corporation by surprise.

The U.S. index idea is a mischief-

ous posture. For years Canadians have suffered the woes of U.S. Vietnam-stoked inflation (high interest rates, over-priced exports).

Now the UAW found a way for Canadian workers to benefit by American inflation. The plan also would subvert anti-American feeling in the Canadian ranks, which the union hierarchs claim, was trumped up by political opportunists. Could Canadians demand U.S. wages without an American union?

The Canadian strikers were waging their own parity battle again for themselves and for Leonard Woodcock. UAW membership in the States could fall sharply if the auto industry were allowed to make cars and components cheaper in Canada than in the U.S. The

Americans, as the UAW in this country knows well, have a vested interest in parity.

GM, meanwhile roosted snugly in Detroit and much of the rest of the world. Despite a 10-week shutdown in the United States, it answered the company would be geared up sufficiently by January to match its first-quarter production record of 1.4 million cars. (Canadians made about 500,000 cars and trucks last year for the North American market)

The lessons of the GM Canada strike are not yet clear. The Canadian wing of the union is only a mirror-image like so many other U.S. based unions of the branch-plant economy of the entire country. The rules are GM's and so is the board and all the pieces.

**'Random Thoughts on the
Need for Conceptual &
Strategic Clarity'**

-- ALLEN MILLS
Toronto

'...Socialist power can appropriate the private capitalist and create in this way the premises of workers' liberty; but if the organisation of production in the enterprise and in the total economy remains bureaucratized with a rigid system of centralized decision-making, then the workers will continue to experience social production as an alien process and will find themselves in a subordination in certain ways similar to that in the capitalist countries.' (Quoted in A. Gorz, *Strategy for Labour*, p. 39.)

'...The first task of the working class movement today is to elaborate a new strategy and new goals which will indivisibly unite wage demands, the demand for control, and the demand for self-determination by the workers of the conditions of work. The only way to unite and mobilise a differentiated working class at present is to attack the class power of the employers and the class power of the State; and the only way to attack the class power of the employers and the State is to wrest from each employer (and from the State) a vital piece of his power of decision and control.' (Ibid, p. 43.)

The Waffle exists to help build an independent and socialist Canada. Integral to such a goal is the task of helping to develop in Canada a trade union movement that will be in the forefront, if not at the head, of those calling for independence and socialism.

**IT SHOULD BE,
YOU KNOW,
COLLECTIVE**

IN THE INTEREST OF OBSTRUCTING ELITISM, THE WAFFLE NEWS STAFF IN TORONTO HAS BEEN EXTENDED TO A GRAND SLAM TOTAL OF ONE HALF DOZEN SOULS.

BUT IT'S A KEEN HALF DOZEN--THAT WILL NO LONGER TOLERATE THE LACK OF COOPERATION FROM PROVINCIAL GROUPS, THAT WE HOPE IS NOW PART OF WAFFLE NEWS HISTORY.

TO DATE THE PHILOSOPHY OF THIS PUBLICATION HAS BEEN THAT OLD NEWS IS BETTER THAN NO NEWS. IT'S MADE FOR STALE, AND OFT IRRELEVANT, NEWS AND FEATURE ARTICLES.

THE TORONTO PRODUCTION CREW INTENDS TO SET UP CONTACTS IN ALL PROVINCES IN A WAY THAT WILL PROVIDE FOR REGULAR AND QUICK COMMUNICATION (HOPEFULLY SEVERAL CONTACTS COULD BE MADE IN EACH PROVINCE SO WE MAY BE IN CONSTANT TOUCH IN THE AREAS OF LABOUR, WOMEN, INNER-PARTY ORGANIZING, ETC.)

MORE THAN EVER THE NATIONAL WAFFLE NEEDS A FORCEFUL AND EFFICIENT ORGAN FOR INTERNAL COMMUNICATION AS WELL AS GENERAL CONTACT. THE TORONTO PRODUCTION CREW IS COMMITTED TO THAT END. BUT IT'S A DREARY PROSPECT WITHOUT THE ASSURANCE OF ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

THE NEXT DEADLINE FOR THE WAFFLE NEWS WILL BE JAN. 13, 1971. NEWS ITEMS AND FEATURE

ARTICLES SHOULD BE SENT TO: Tracy Morey, 40 Hazelton Avenue, #4,
Toronto, Ontario.

NOW FOR THE GOOD NEWS!

NOVA SCOTIA REPORT

Up until this fall there was no Waffle "organization" in Nova Scotia, only scattered individuals who supported the Manifesto.

A "Teach-In on Americanization and Atlantic Underdevelopment" in Halifax on October 30 and 31, attended by Mel Watkins, Gil Levine, Robin Mathews, Laurier Lapierre and Gordon Cleaveland, among others, provided the impetus for the formation of the first Waffle group in Halifax. The people who constituted that first group (about 20 in number) were immediately faced with the problem of the N.D.P. Provincial Convention, only two weeks away.

Individual Wafflers drew up resolutions which they felt to be consistent with the Waffle perspective on the issues of Atlantic Underdevelopment, Housing, Women, Universities, Pollution and Extra-Parliamentary Activity.

Although not presented to the convention explicitly as "Waffle" resolutions, their tone and their presentation by Waffle spokesmen made them readily identifiable.

Waffle resolutions gained the support of other groups at the Convention, particularly the delegates from Local 1064 of the United Steel Workers in Sydney. The Waffle delegates also supported the resolutions put forward by Local 1064 since they were seen as consistent with Waffle policy.

There was a Waffle caucus on the first evening of the Convention; with sympathetic people from Cape Breton and elsewhere in attendance, at which time Mel Watkins clarified various questions people had concerning the Waffle. At this caucus it was decided that the Waffle would not confront the Convention as an organized body, since an insufficient amount of explanation of the Waffle's position had been done in Cape Breton, and it was feared that the name "Waffle" would alienate socialists who in fact do have the same attitude to politics as does the Waffle.

In the end, it was difficult to define the support gained from the Convention at large for two main reasons: 1. the difficulty of getting clear-cut votes on policy, given the attempts by people to refer long resolutions (which most of the Waffle resolutions were); 2. in the Convention's attempt to cater to everyone, some Waffle resolutions were co-opted through combination with other resolutions or by the passing of conflicting resolutions.

This was one of the main handicaps of the procedure which we were forced to adopt. On one hand, we were unable to get clear debate or to clarify our strength, but, on the other hand, the Waffle presence was definitely made felt: rhetoric shifted left somewhat, and the Waffle in Halifax made contact with a significant number of potential Waffle supporters in Cape Breton and the rest of Nova Scotia.

Finally, several Wafflers were elected to executive positions in the Party: Sandra Lewis to the Federal Council, David Lewis as a Vice President on the Nova Scotia Provincial Council, Bruce Archibald as a Provincial Council member and subsequently David Allen was elected as a Provincial Council representative from Halifax Cornwallis constituency, Robert Schwab from Antigonish, and Colin Stuttard from another Halifax constituency.

At the present time, our numbers have expanded to approximately 45 in the Halifax-Dartmouth area, with contacts in Truro, Lockeport, Sydney, Antigonish, and Pictou. The Halifax group is now having fairly frequent meetings.

The Halifax Waffle has decided that its priority is to involve the Waffle and the N.D.P. in extra-parliamentary activity to a much greater extent. In the immediate future this will mean getting involved with the present ferment in Halifax's welfare rights groups, tenants' associations and other peoples' groups. In a longer-range sense, it is necessary to make contact with sympathetic labour people in Nova Scotia since in the past the union "brass" has been extremely conservative.

The Waffle also plans to take a stand on a long-range area planning proposal arrived at undemocratically by the Halifax City Government and the Nova Scotia Provincial Government.

Presently, plans are in the works for a demonstration against the Temporary Measures Act, to be co-ordinated with the actions of the Emergency Committee to Restore Civil Liberties which has Waffle support elsewhere in the country.

Bruce Archibald
David Allen

REFLECTIONS ON :

a wasted weekend...

Is the waffle so convinced of the fallacy of liberalism that it views progress as undesirable? In the last year I have seen no development in the thought or action of the waffle; indeed the consensus on fundamentals is weaker now than at the beginning of the year.² At the teach-in at the U. of T. at the beginning of 1970, the message from the platform was strong and appealing; the waffle manifesto was clear; and the Ontario convention at Easter was productive.

But since then I have not seen any meetings of the waffle which have been productive. There have been satisfying moments: the Mitchel campaign in Saskatchewan (which I understand was largely run by a few women) the Ontario and Manitoba conventions, and the energy campaign led by Jim Laxer. But nothing has come from the general meetings, the steering committees, or anything arising out of the democratic process.

Unfortunately a large part of our message is democracy³ and if we cannot ourselves demonstrate that it works, we have no right to continue with our rhetoric.

How are decisions made in the waffle and how can we get anywhere? I believe that we must arrive at a consensus, accept it and build on it.⁴ The continual questioning of our foundations has progressed to such an extent that I can no longer say what the waffle believes.

I do not know where decisions are made or how people are influenced in the waffle, and I see no compassionate shoulders on which to weep, so I am using this medium to plead that something might be done to make it worthwhile to attend a waffle meeting.

I think that if the following points were accepted the situation might improve.⁵

1. We must accept our roots and our role in the NDP.

a. All waffle members must also be NDP members.

b. Let us support the NDP strongly where they deserve it.

c. We must remain sufficiently aloof that we can make that judgement.

d. Let us make clear that we believe in achieving socialism through Parliament.⁷

2. We accept the waffle manifesto.⁸

3. Once a decision has been reached and ratified by a general meeting we must accept it, and not continue the same debate at every waffle meeting.

--William R.C. Prior

FOOTNOTES

1. I am going to assume for the remainder of this article that we do wish to progress in our understanding of the ways in which Canada can become independent and socialist.

2. During the recent convention in Ontario the only productive event took place 160 miles away in Kingston in the middle of the night.

3. Perhaps, since I no longer have confidence that the waffle believes in anything.

4. Certainly revisions will be necessary sometimes. If this becomes evident it should be presented as a resolution and considered.

5. I have no political experience and only joined the waffle since it appeared to be of a completely different nature from the other parties, including the NDP. Hence, one should realize that I write as a disillusioned idealist, and am still very naive.

6. I joined the waffle before the NDP but I felt that to be useful I should also join the NDP. I was not convinced of the necessity of this for others until this weekend. Now it is clear that the Toronto section has attracted people who only want to use the waffle to air their own views.

7. Some wafflers seem so enamoured with radicalism that is no longer clear where they draw the line.

8. I feel like an Athanasian discussing the Incarnation but we have attracted socialists who are not nationalists and vice versa. We must maintain the balance.

...and the fire committee

In the days before the Great Fire there existed a self-appointed Fire Committee that took upon itself the most arduous and intoxicating task of planning how to behave after the Great Fire started and how to bring that bloody day closer.

Sitting high on stacks of fingered books which explained various intricate patterns of actions, legs hanging toward but never touching the ground, they conferred, inferred, referred, considered and sighed about the Plan of Action.

"All will escape," one said.

"All who are clean and qualified," another corrected.

And this was followed by cries such as "The doors will be opened wide" "Each will make way for the next" "The tall will consider the short".

And then a most learned escapist would speak for days of how the weak could escape through doors in the ceiling. More difficult perhaps, but purer!

When one huddled beneath the table whispered, "When?" a chief would roar "QUIET" and accent it with a kick.

When a harsh voice from the corner pleaded "I want to go out now" a tabled one would shout "We're talking words... don't disturb the flow."

(There were, of course, key--but they were lost.)

Sometimes between the tangled rhetoric there could be heard a sigh, or a groan or the scraping of one voice against another. And too soon the lack of oxygen was felt. "We need oxygen for the Great Fire" cried a planner.

"You in the corner--give to the cause, quit breathing."

Those who didn't understand words were confused. They naively feared that at the time of the Great Fire things would be the same and they would still be last in line. And one or two crouched near the door dreaming of a key imagined that they heard the crackling of flames between the roars of hearty rhetoric.

--a member of the Fire Committee.

ontario conf.

LABOUR: concentration needed

Possibly the most useful suggestion coming out of the discussion around the waffle's strategy for labour at the Ontario waffle conference of November 27-28, was that workshops and panels contained in a general-purpose weekend seldom produced more than rhetoric and generalities. It was recognized that concentration on this key and difficult subject was easy to avoid when there were many other things to be decided. The Ontario waffle now hopes to set up weekend meetings in the major cities to work exclusively on this question.

However, at this conference, there was a panel of three wafflers involved in labour who related their suggestions about what the waffle ought to be organizing around. Dan Heap, an active Toronto unionist, mentioned two areas he considered crucial--organizing the unorganized, and providing strong and active support to picket lines. Andre Bekerman, a hydro-worker in CUPE, expressed the popular opinion that it is the job of unions to organize the unorganized, because workers are not like to do something "just because a group of socialists tell them to." He felt that joining picket lines was a useful contribution to the workers involved in them, but it certainly should not be seen as a key to provoking their interest in helping the waffle to develop its labour policies.

Bruce Moores, a member of the striking Oshawa UAW local talked of the need for education to confront worker apathy--a condition which frustrated him in his attempts at political action in Oshawa. He noted that General Motors workers are beginning to resent the fact that their counterparts in the U.S. went back to work before Canadian demands were met despite promises to the contrary. He reported that many people with whom he worked knew that GM was quite happy to have the Canadian section not producing--to allow full production in the U.S. during the present economic squeeze.

Andre Bekerman felt that the workers Bruce spoke of were only likely to be receptive to education when motivated by issues, such as the ones Bruce mentioned, which concerned them closely.

Calls for "Canadian unions for Canadian workers" he suggested, "won't get us any closer to socialism" because such demands were undeveloped and must be related to the reasons why...He pointed to the militancy developing in the St. Therese GM plant, where workers are fighting for the right to speak their native French on the job and to select their own (French-speaking) foremen.

During discussion after the panel, Bret Smiley responded to the chairwoman's call for concrete strategy suggestions by noting that although the working out of an analysis might better develop through our practice, we were hampered by the lack of consensus around theoretical assumptions and by our unclear role in the NDP. We were also "hung up", he said, because the working class "has not been in motion since World War II, while other groups who don't fit into our theories are in motion.

He suggested that we combat the irrelevancy of our habitual forum for talking about labour (that of conventions) by encouraging a labour caucus in the Waffle, and by making contacts with militant caucuses in trade union locals, which he felt were part of the Ontario trade union structure. He saw the waffle's role as a supportive one in terms of action: offering materials, speakers, etc.

Bret emphasized the need for wafflers to engage in self-education about the labour movement, both in theoretical terms and in pulling together recent trade union history and information.

guess who?

"I subscribe to the belief that socialism is not about the public ownership of the means of production, but about the public ownership of power," he said. "That means democracy."

He also made it plain to his audience that he does not believe NDP government in Ontario will mean a gulf between the world of business and government.

He admitted he had put an extra amount of time and effort into the speech, which was designed to calm the fears of the business community that an NDP government in Ontario would mean massive nationalization and stringent controls on private enterprise.

answer pg 6

ONLY FOR YOUNG & BRAZEN? toronto women's report

Although Ontario women's liberationists organized themselves in the spring of 1970 for the recent Ontario convention, the group more or less survived only long enough to agree upon resolutions and make physical arrangements for women's caucuses, etc., for the convention. Among other problems, there had been no previous opportunity to make effective contact with women outside of Toronto in the Party, and the majority of the women involved were already committed to women's liberation and therefore involved in other women's groups in Toronto.

However, the convention proved to be a successful ground for making first contact with New Democratic women as yet "unliberated" and many signed the mailing list at the literature table and participated in convention women's meetings.

The group in Toronto now attracts 30 to 40 women per meeting, and an interesting situation prevails. A sizable minority of the women are middle-aged--surprising to those of us who are organizing the group, as women's liberation has been widely held as a movement for the young and brazen.

The first meeting was a general discussion of "why-are-we-here, and what-do-we-want-to-do." The older women suggested that calling ourselves "women's liberation" would alienate a large majority of older and sophisticated women, that the name would raise visions of "screaming, chanting women" chained to chairs in the Parliamentary galleries.

Other women objected to the "foul" language they had encountered in the literature they had bought at the convention.

But they did come and were obviously political women, keen on seeing women's role in the NDP as something more significant than tea-pouring at fund-raising events.

It was clear, however, that they lacked an understanding of socialist women's politics and had perhaps not questioned the role which they played in their own family situations, the kinds of jobs they performed, and the relation between the conclusions they might draw from that to the economic and social system under which we live.

Although keen for action, the new women agreed that before our group could make any demands, we had to discuss our political differences thoroughly. We have since begun a series of educationals, which will hopefully orient the new women to the general analysis adhered to by feminists in the socialist movement. After two educationals (on "Socialization of Children" and "The Family") some of the women from suburban Toronto are still as anxious as they first were to set up their own groups to enable more community-and-house-bound women to become involved.

If we are successful in pulling women older than we are a little closer to our politics, a truly broad base of women in the Party may develop, and will hopefully give the women's movement credibility where credibility ought to exist--in the minds of working class women, many married with children, who have experienced oppression longer and are less resilient to the well-established discriminatory mores of the society they live in.

--Heather PrITTLE (for the Toronto group of the NDP Women's Liberation Movement.)



WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

(held up by male chauvinist)
-- aged 2 weeks

The chairwoman of the waffle women's committee regretfully admits she has produced little in the past six weeks, excepting her new infant.

She hopes to rectify the situation within a month by getting in touch with waffle women in each province to see what they think can and should be done on a national level to aid local groups in their organizational and educational efforts. As no provincial women's group has yet sent in names of contacts, the first letter will be mailed to people in each region who attended the women's caucus meetings at the national conference in August.

Proposals arising from these communications will be published in the newsletter.

Possible national initiatives include: Distribution of relevant articles and papers on women's liberation to local groups; discussion of strategies for in-party work and convention initiatives; organizing a national conference on women's lib.

Suggestions should be sent to KRISTA MAEOTS, 509 MacDonnell, #4, Kingston, Ont.

Stephen Lewis, leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party.

MILLS-----cont'd

To bring presently privately-owned corporations under public ownership would be to bring our economy directly under democratic control.... All public enterprises must be run in such a way as to give control in decision-making to workers and the community...

Across Canada we desire a new set of social and working relations in which people themselves actually decide local issues in the factory, office, neighbourhood and school. Socialist democracy means both the control of the larger provincial and national communities by the people as a whole. (p. 3.)

However, on occasions and in situations when the Waffle position must be simply put, our spokesmen seem drawn almost by some form of rhetorical determinism to represent the Waffle's position as one of advocating public ownership and/or nationalisation. Somewhere along the line mention of industrial democracy or workers' control is either not made or given little emphasis. It is significant that, at the recent Ontario NDP Convention, the Waffle caucus in proposing the subsequent

ly successful resolution on energy resource industries did not talk in terms of democratising or decentralising control of these industries by those working in them; rather the resolution called for their nationalisation. Certainly this was the understanding of the intent of this resolution held by both party delegates and the media. Again the impression is easily put abroad that the Waffle is primarily interested in setting up in Canada some form of state socialism.

The Waffle is responsible for mistaken impressions that it knowingly creates in the minds of the Canadian people. Perhaps we do not even realise that we are communicating with the Canadian public in such a way as to distort our political position. When the Canadian public hears mention of such things as public ownership or nationalisation, they derive their understanding of such things from the history of the theory and practise of nationalisation, public ownership and crown corporations in Canada and the United Kingdom. This understanding is I think replete of images of bureaucracy, statism, de-personalisation, authoritarianism, etc. (And surely the Canadian public is correct.) Certainly

HUELGA ENCORE

WATCH THE LABEL!

Incredible as it seems, Cesar Chavez of the United Farmworkers organizing committee has been jailed. Jailed until he calls off the boycott vs lettuce which is being produced on the land of agribusinessmen who will not halt years of exploitation of thousands of farmworkers in California.

At this time the farmworkers aren't just working vs private capitalists; they are working against "Bud Antle" produce growers, a subsidiary of Dow Chemical. Perhaps that's why (after a massive and powerful grape boycott) it took the lettuce issue to land Chavez in jail.

But, thousands of workers are being wiped out in California because bosses either refuse to engage in contract negotiations or won't even recognize union affiliation for their "serfs".

So the farmworkers are organizing again in Canada, where they made significant inroads in terms of the grape boycott. All they need now are people who are unwilling to patronize outlets which sell scab lettuce and people who are willing to make a fuss in areas where grocers buy and sell the produce of California's "bossmen supreme".

DON'T BUY NON-UNION LETTUCE (and little American lettuce coming into Canada during these winter months is union-lettuce)

SUPPORT THE FARMWORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE--
112 Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario.

FROM ottawa...

The Ottawa waffle has decided to organize itself around constituency work. The mailing list has been divided into the six ridings and those students who are already involved at Carleton University. One or two members from each constituency has agreed to take on the responsibility on an Ottawa steering committee. There is also a central information number where information about constituency work, community activities are to be reported. They can then be phoned to the various contacts in each riding.

The steering committee consists of volunteers including the contact from each riding and anyone interested in a particular issue or activity. We intend to try to work through the constituency wherever possible, setting up educational, involving ourselves in community action, doing campaign and membership work and in writing resolutions for the Federal Convention.

To encourage more participation by wafflers and those interested in the Waffle, we intend to send out a bulletin announcing General Meetings and an outline of the types of activities in the community for the winter.

We intend to set up a committee to organize support for Jim Laxer in the area and eat green beans every other Thursday!!!

Canadians do not believe that nationalisation and public ownership would be likely to bring about industrial democracy, human community, self-creativity, and individual autonomy, values that we correctly assert as the likely condition of the work-place in a democratic socialist society. It is not so much that either the Waffle or its would-be constituency is in error in its respective appreciation of democratic socialism; it is rather that each is talking past the other.

If the Waffle believes that the essence of democratic socialism is industrial democracy plus the socialisation of ownership, then it should say as much rather than talk of public ownership and nationalisation, concepts that are suggestive of variants of state socialism.

It is thus axiomatic that the Waffle must effectively communicate its theory of democratic socialism both to the members of the trade unions and those sections of the working class in this country who are presently non-unionised. My concern is with the quality of our communications. Put briefly, I believe that we are confusing a lot of people outside the membership of the

Waffle group by our ambiguous and unsystematic usage of such terms as 'public ownership' and 'nationalisation'. While it may be true that members of the Waffle understand the conceptual and theoretical implications of such terms, the same does not necessarily hold for the Canadian public at large. If ordinary people were asked about the distinctiveness of the Waffle's position on policy matters, one suspects that the answer would be to the effect that the Waffle primarily espouses the policies of public ownership and nationalisation. Of more concern is the manner in which the average citizen understands the theoretical implications of such terms. It is true to say that the average Canadian understands the notions public ownership and nationalisation as parts of a more fully-blown theory that we would identify as state socialism.

The Waffle is partially justified in arguing that we have been misrepresented by the opinion leaders of the media since the manifesto, *For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada*, is somewhat specific as to what is connoted by democratic socialism:

CAUCUS CALLS THE SHOTS: **manitoba convention**

When the NDP wins office, who calls the shots--the caucus or the convention? This was the all-pervasive question at the Manitoba NDP's first annual convention since taking office in July, 1969.

The Cabinet and the party establishment were determined that the two-day convention (Oct. 30-Nov. 1) be little more than a cheerleading exercise for the government team. Aware that the Waffle group would try to use the convention as a means of changing the nebulous government priorities, Cabinet heavies were never far from the mikes to plead that the convention not "tie the hands" of the government. A short conversation at the Economic Development panel to illustrate: Finance Minister Saul Cherniack had amended a motion demanding the government cease aiding private enterprise in the province to read that the government be "urged" to cease such aid. The chairman was reading the amendment before calling the vote.

Len Evans, Industry Minister: Point of order, Mr. Chairman, wasn't the amendment "urge to consider" rather than "urge?"

David Orlikow, MP (to Evans): "Urge to consider at its discretion? heh, heh..."

Evans: "When convenient...heh, heh."

In short, the caucus wanted independence from the party of which it was part. The Convention could urge the government to consider policies "at its discretion" within the next century but it could not run the government. Only the business community could do that. This time around, the government was victorious--mainly because, as the Evans - Orlikow interchange shows, it was dishonest with the convention.

But the heavy-headed interference of the Cabinet was, in many ways, a God-send to Manitoba's Waffle. Those delegates who were dubious of the cautious rhetoric and non-radical performance of the government's first year recognized that only the Waffle had any policies to offer. The Waffle was the only group that was doing anything more than applauding the empty speeches of the Cabinet members and the party executive.

The majority of the delegates, in the crunch, were not dissatisfied enough with Schreyer and company to give the media the picture of a deeply-divided party. And--as many

events by the end of the Convention showed--Cabinet members could change hundreds of minds with a few words. On the key votes the Waffle was defeated by a margin of 5 to 2.

The convention was barely an hour old when the Waffle was the centre of controversy. The executive had ruled that no literature tables would be allowed. Wafflers had asked the convention for a repeal of this decision. Magnus Eliason, Winnipeg Alderman and old-time right-winger, moved that Waffle and Women's Lib not be allowed tables. Waffle was a "party within a party", he charged, and Women's Lib had no place in the party. The Waffle made its position on the party clear and Eliason's amendment was defeated all but unanimously. Resources Minister Sid Green argued that it was incorrect to deny free speech to any one group in the party and therefore NO tables should be allowed. The delegates accepted his peculiar logic as they would several times before the convention was over.

All eight panels debated a number of Waffle resolutions which the old guard tried to amend out of existence. Chief tactic of the Cabinet ministers was to tell delegates: "Everybody in the party wants the same thing. We agree with the intent of this resolution but it would be unwise to be dogmatic and to straight-jacket the government." Yet, in most panels, the government had only tiny majorities on its moves to amend Waffle proposals.

In the Labour panel, tough Waffle resolutions that would place the NDP government solidly on the side of labour during strikes, make unionization easier, and place the threat of expropriation over companies planning to leave the province passed, despite vigorous disapproval from Labour Minister Russ Paulty and Kildonan MLA Peter Fox--both unionists. In Economic Development the two ministers present would have lost on their amendments except for Mr. Orlikow's adeptness in finding people from other panels to come in and vote at crucial times. Only in Northern Development where Sidney Green, the party's most devastating debater, held reign, did the Waffle suffer a rout.

A Waffle meeting, announced to a half-empty convention due to a dragged-out constitutional session attracted 120 people--many from rural and northern ridings where the Waffle previously had no contacts. Discussion at the meeting made clear that both committed Wafflers and delegates interested in the Waffle agreed that the caucus did not want direction from the convention and was more interested in holding office than in seriously challenging Manitoba's economic power structure. A slate for executive positions was selected, and a decision was made to concentrate on a constitutional amendment that would bind elected members to to convention policy.

The amendment was easily defeated Sunday. First, Magnus Eliason told the delegates that the constitution already tied elected members to convention policy. And depending on how one reads it, it may. But Sid Green didn't read it that way. In his best debating style, he told delegates that to vote for the amendment was to vote non-confidence

BC. WAFFLERS IN

CIVIC POLITICS

Civic Elections

In Vancouver, there was an intense debate in the summer and into the fall on the entry of the NDP into the December civic elections. Waffle members were deeply involved in that debate, although not always in agreement themselves. The final decision was to run a half-slate under the NDP banner. Among 8 Waffle supporters who won NDP nominations were Dr. Harry Winrob, John Stanton, and Hilda Thomas for aldermen. Others were nominated for the School Board, Parks Board, and for Campaign Manager.

Wafflers were also involved in civic politics in other B.C. municipalities. In Burnaby, several Waffle supporters are running under the banner of the Burnaby Citizens' Association. A Richmond Waffle member of the B.C. steering committee, Harold

Stevens, is running for re-election as alderman.

Although heavy commitment to civic elections is cutting into Waffle activity as such, it is felt that the Waffle will emerge in a stronger position as a result of the experience.

Forums

The Political Education Committee has started a series of open educational discussions aimed at getting Wafflers and others involved in discussion of issues, and developing a basis for Waffle policy in B.C. They will be held once a month, and so far planned are a panel on Tenants in November, a discussion on Workers' Control in December, and a larger seminar on the Resources issue in January.

Quebec

Individual Wafflers have

been active in the two committees that have arisen in Vancouver, one to oppose the War Measures Act and any substitute legislation that removes political rights, and the other to spread information about Quebec, and support its right of self-determination.

Conference

A major Waffle conference has been scheduled for December 12 (after the civic elections), and will deal with proposals for restructuring the Waffle, elect new committees, and start debate on federal policy resolutions, as well as discuss future Waffle activity in B.C. An attempt will be made to involve out-of-town people in this, as a major weakness of the B.C. Waffle has been a lack of participation by people outside the Vancouver area.

COLONIZED--GONICK

American capitalist control of Manitoba was brought up to date in a recent press conference by provincial M.L.A. Cy Gonick.

Industrial takeovers in the dairy and funeral industry headed the list and were followed by references to the Boeing Corporation's recent establishment in the province as well as that of CFI, whose American based senior partner Technopulp has transformed one half of northern Manitoba into its own fief.

The recent announcement of negotiations for the sale of electric power to the U.S. confirms Manitoba's status as a developing resource colony, Gonick said.

"For every job it provides for Manitobans, it exports 100 more to U.S. factories that use Canadian energy resources."

"The government of Manitoba has yet to develop a coherent policy on American ownership. It is not enough to say that it would be nice to have more Canadian investment but that Manitoba is poor in dollars and has to take capital from wherever it can. Manitoba is not poor in dollars...it has borrowed over \$150,000,000 which it then loaned to foreign controlled companies through the Manitoba Development Fund."

Viable economic enterprises can be established under the control of the people of Manitoba with the mobilization of Manitoban and Canadian capital, Gonick said.

His 10 point program to halt the Americanization of Manitoba includes:
 --establishment of a vast text book publishing company to publish text books for all the school boards in the province and for other provinces as well;
 --conversion of the Manitoba Development Corporation into an agency for the creation of new Manitoba controlled co-operatives and Crown corporations and give a public undertaking not to loan public funds to American-controlled companies.

--establishment of a "massive research and exploratory agency to develop new technology and new products, to discover new mines -- all of which information would be used in support of new and existing public enterprise".
 --public take-overs of the Greater Winnipeg Gas Company; the International Nickel Company operations in northern Manitoba, (the annual profits of which are probably in excess of \$25,000,000 yearly); Modern Dairy (a firm that controls about 80 percent of the province's dairy industry and has just been bought out by a huge American conglomerate).
 --establishment of a crown drug industry and co-operative funeral homes.

BC VIGNETTE

Waffler: Would you like to read about the energy resources sell-out, M'am?

Little Old Lady: Oooh. Now which group are you?

Waffler: We're from the Waffle movement in the N.D.P.

L.O.L.: Oooh. You're the ones that are making all the trouble.

Waffler: If we can make trouble for the people that are selling our country out and keeping Canadians unemployed, blah, blah, blah....

L.O.L.: Oooh. I agree with what you think about the Americans and all, but it just isn't Canadian to make a lot of trouble.

manitoba continued . . .

In the party's elected members. His verdict was accepted. The convention had voted itself powerless. After that point it really didn't matter what motions passed since the government was only bound to consider the policies and not necessarily bring them into being.

The Waffle was nevertheless determined that the convention be shown the gap between party wishes and government actions. The opportunity came after an excellent speech by Tommy Douglas before the morning session broke up. Douglas won thundering ovations as he explained why he and most of the federal caucus had taken the politically unpopular step of opposing the War Measures Act. He spoke of a visit to Germany in 1933 where social democrats and trade unionists had attempted to justify to him the actions of Adolf Hitler. Schreyer, who had supported the Act with insignificant qualifications, sat uncomfortably during Douglas' speech. So did Joe Borowski, who had suggested Cy Gonick be jailed for his opposition to the Act.

As the afternoon plenary session began, the Waffle moved that first consideration be given to a resolution supporting Douglas that had easily been passed in a panel the day before. Since the resolution was in panel seven and the convention was running far behind schedule, the motion could otherwise never reach the floor. The Waffle idea was to unite the party behind Douglas on the Act so that the early statements of Schreyer and Borowski would not be left in the public mind as the stand of this Manitoba NDP. A two-thirds vote was needed to change the order of resolutions. A show of hands gave the Waffle perhaps 80% of convention support. The Schreyerites however, wanted a count. The count was 135 to 99--12 short of two-thirds, a dubious count considering there were over 400 people in the room. The Waffle called for a standing vote and was confident of winning. But Sidney Green got up on a point of privilege and blasted a Waffler who had, with rather little tact, chided delegates who voted against the agenda change as opposing the stand of the national leader. Green, acting again as the government's chief hatchet man at the convention, said those who wanted to change the agenda were arrogant and promoting divisiveness. The motion would be debated in its place, he argued loudly in his usual rat-a-tat-tat style, knowing the opposite to be true. Green's diversionary tactic worked--the standing vote reversed the convention's willingness to stand up for Douglas.

But the Waffle attempted once more to get the resolution on the floor. Sheila Kuziak explained that Green had mis-

interpreted the content of the resolution: the idea was to unify the party behind Douglas, not divide. Schreyer, visibly perturbed, rose to say he could not understand why Kuziak was making a personal attack on Sid Green! What she had said that could be construed as an attack on the cunning Resources Minister, only the Premier can know. Schreyer then deliberately distorted the resolution by suggesting that no-one was challenging Mr. Douglas' leadership in the "broad sense." But, of course, the resolution had nothing to do with Mr. Douglas' leadership; it dealt with his stand on the War Measures Act.

Although the convention had been bullied by Green not to discuss the W.M. Act, it did in fact get to vote indirectly when Schreyer made the party leader's speech later that afternoon. There was deafening silence while Schreyer spoke about the Act. He received only polite applause when he had finished. Compare that to the four long standing ovations Douglas' speech received and the delegates' true feelings become clear. Schreyer equivocated on the Act as he is wont to do on all issues. He also pleaded that the party remain united and remember that if certain wings of the NDP were to leave, reactionary forces would have an easier task in regaining office. It was a pathetic speech. Schreyer seemed confused. It was perhaps a worried man, somewhat uncertain of his control in a party that he was taking in a rightward direction, who equivocated in front of the convention.

After Schreyer's speech, the convention was effectively over. Panel resolutions not discussed in plenary will be discussed at a policy convention in January (the results of which do not bind the caucus, of course).

Some general observations about the convention and the Manitoba party: first, caucus supremacy was, for the time being, confirmed. The result can only be that the party, already inactive, will become more inert. This of course gives the Waffle group the task of reactivating very much on its own a party that has been turned into a supportive chorus for the government. If the government continues to do as little for workers, farmers and the poor as it has done thus far, support for Waffle positions will grow.

Waffle's partial success in the election of the executive (four of the ten elected were Wafflers; one other is partially sympathetic to the Waffle) will also mean a less sycophantic relation between the executive and caucus than has existed for the past year. -- AL FINKEL.