

waffle news

DARE

TO

STRUGGLE

JANUARY -- 71



DEBATE ESCALATES

The battle lines have been drawn on Quebec and public ownership.

It is in these two crucial policy areas that waffle differences with other leadership contestants have emerged most clearly.

The waffle position, as enunciated by Jim Laxer, stands unequivocally for the democratic principle of the right of the Quebec people to self-determination up to the right to form an independent state, if Quebec so decides.

Other leadership candidates have interpreted waffle support of self-determination to be equivalent to promotion of separatism; wafflers believe that vocal recognition of this essential principle is the first step towards a new and more meaningful dialogue between socialists in English Canada and Quebec.

The other candidates say we "advocate separatism" yet when challenged they can point to nothing in our resolutions or statements which says or implies that. The press in Quebec, however, has had no difficulty understanding our position and several good articles and editorials (one of them is reprinted in this Waffle News) have conveyed our views to readers in Quebec.

We have declared that our policy on removing the economic and political shackles from Quebec and meeting the Quebec people as equals in a new dialogue is the only one that holds the promise of avoiding a complete break. Our route can lead to a vital political relationship between the two peoples, founded on equality and common needs. Trudeau federalism is, on

the other hand, tearing this country apart and the NDP's continued support for a variety of federalism will lose us credibility as a party of the left in both nations.

The desires of both English Canadians and Quebecers for economic and political independence can unite us in a common struggle against American imperialism. One precondition for such a joint struggle is the immediate cessation of all efforts by English Canadians to impose an oppressive federal structure on the people of Quebec. Common institutions must evolve out of common needs, and a strong support by both peoples of their mutual right to self-determination.

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waffle confrontation

PARTY EXECUTIVE POWER PLAY

"THE PARTY CLEARLY IS TRYING TO ADMINISTRATE THE WAFFLE OUT OF EXISTENCE" - John Conway

NATIONAL MEET

Members of the National Steering Committee and campaign team met at Regina for four days over New Year's to work on policy and strategy for the national leadership campaign and the convention. Wafflers came together from all four western provinces as well as Nova Scotia and Ontario.

Drafts of resolutions on energy resources Quebec, public ownership, regional economic development, economic growth and extra-parliamentary action were considered and worked into final form. Panels were held on the topics of women, labour and unemployment, and agriculture and small sub-committees set up to draft resolutions in these policy areas.



After adoption by local Waffle groups these resolutions will be printed up in booklet form and sent to all Federal riding associations early in February.

One evening session of the conference was devoted to a discussion of long-term perspectives on the Waffle. Most of the final day dealt with specific problems of organization and strategy for the leadership campaign. The Toronto Waffle group is to take responsibility for co-ordinating fund-raising nationally for the campaign.

Steve Penner has been hired as Waffle organizer in Toronto for the campaign period and a similar arrangement may be made for B.C. if funds and personnel are available. A co-ordinating committee of Wafflers in Ontario and Quebec will be set up to deal with specific jobs in the campaign -- convention management, publicity, literature, research.

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Wafflers found themselves in an unusual situation at the 2-day NDP Federal Council meeting held in Toronto, January 16th & 17th -- there were enough of them to pose serious and organized challenges to the party establishment.

Perhaps the most outrageous recommendation came from the Convention Planning Committee -- which presented for Council's approval a list of 56 people to sit on the Federal Policy Resolutions Committee -- only four of which were women.

Jackie Larkin, who moved the addition of a list of 48 women (to reach parity), termed the proposed committee "an insult to the women of this party."

"It's clear that the arguments used to oppose structural parity of women and men in this party -- that is, that women are always free to run for positions, and that reminders will generally prompt the inclusion of women -- simply fly in the face of reality."

She pointed out to angry Council members (some of whom felt that her "tactic" constituted a mockery of Federal Council) that there were easily five times as many New Democratic women equally as familiar with party policy and competent to sit on this crucial convention committee.

A noticeable lack of Wafflers as well as women on the proposed list prompted a challenge to the Council that the NDP recognize the existence and legitimacy of political groups representing ideological differences within the party, and deal with that fact fairly--especially on a committee such as the Resolutions Committee which is obviously a very political one.

Mel Watkins proposed the addition of 20 wafflers (a parity men and women list, by chance) who are well known in the party as serious and effective leadership people. Partly in reaction to these moves by and on behalf of the left, a multitude of other names were nominated by individual council members, notably trade union representatives such as Harold Thayer--who is known for his attempts to express the conservative conscience.

Typically, a motion to leave the entire matter to the Executive was moved. When this was amended to give ratification powers back to the Council, established Council members delivered indignant testimonials, affirming their faith and trust in the Executive: "What did we elect these people for, if not to make important and responsible decisions?"

Gord Cleveland (among others) replied to the effect that there was never a more obvious case of having democratic checks on Executive bodies -- since they had clearly made irresponsible decisions on the Policy Resolutions Committee matter. Another political point driven home?

...more on fed. council, p.3

THE JANUARY DEADLINE FOR WAFFLE NEWS COPY CAME AND WENT WITH NOT A PINCH OF MATERIAL FROM PROVINCIAL GROUPS OR INDIVIDUAL WAFFLERS.

SO THE WAFFLE NEWS IS LATE.

OUR ONLY METHOD OF NATIONAL COMMUNICATION IS BEING FRUSTRATED BY LACK OF CONTRIBUTION AND COOPERATION. ONCE AGAIN, WE HAVE TO PLEAD FOR COPY --- ARTICLES, LETTERS, NEWS PIECES. ANYTHING. THERE'S ALSO A GREAT NEED FOR PHOTOGRAPHS AND ART WORK TO BRIGHTEN UP OUR PRODUCTION.

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MATERIAL SHOULD BE SENT TO: TRACY MOREY - 40 Hazelton, #4 Toronto

DEBATE

To the extent that we, English Canadian socialists engage in a struggle for an independent socialist Canada, to that extent will we be credible to socialists in Quebec as a serious force against American control of our economy.

The analogy of divorce or abortion is useful here. To advocate the right to divorce or abortion on demand is not the same as to proclaim divorce or abortion as necessarily the most desirable outcomes.

Our support of the right of self-determination has already opened up new avenues of communication. The impressive coverage in the Quebec press (Le Devoir, for example, has reprinted in full our resolution on Quebec) is a reflection of a growing and unprecedented response in Quebec to initiatives by English Canadian socialists.

David Lewis pooch-poochs to waffle position by comparing us to the Conservatives in the last election with their "two nation theory" which did not succeed. First, the Conservatives never showed that they meant what they said because they never advocated the right of Quebec to self-determination.

After their long history of support for the oppression of French Canadians with Macdonald's hanging of Riel, enforced conscription in World War I, under Borden, and their strong advocacy of conscription in World War II--they had no credibility as would-be liberators of Quebec.

David Lewis' version of federalism is only a modified version of Trudeau federalism. This leave Quebec in an inferior position and without the choice of deciding its own future. It is true that David Lewis strongly oppose the War Measures Act much to the credit of the Party. But the ultimate logical of a refusal to recognize the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination is to send troops into Quebec if the Quebecois decide for example to elect a PQ ment.

Ed Broadbent differs little from Lewis on the Quebec issue. He says that all parties should support federalism, thus indicating no basic difference between the NDP and the Liberals and Conservatives on Quebec. Even if he advocates a rewritten federalist constitution, the question still remains as to whether Quebec has to accept this or can opt for separation of "divorce" if she wishes. Broadbent cannot go on hiding behind talk of a socialist Canada which includes Quebec and English Canada without facing up to this basic democratic right. He ignores a) the fact that Quebec is a nation, b) that nations have the right to self-determination, even by the U.N. charter, c) that democratic socialists do not impose socialism. Socialism grows out of the democratic struggle of people to build it. Quebec will build socialism in its own way. We believe that will be in partnership and equality with English Canadian socialists. "Socialist" domination or "socialist" imperialism is no better than any other kind of imperialism.

Frank Howard, enjoying the dubious distinction of a supporter of the War Measures Act, with its direct military intervention and wholesale arrests and oppression in Quebec, hardly needs any comment.

John Harney has tried to walk a tight-rope by saying he agrees largely with the waffle position on Quebec. But then he contradicts himself with the distortion that the Waffle advocates separatism (which is doesn't). He can't have it both ways. If the waffle advocates separatism then he should show there is does so, and disagree with it. However if he truly recognizes Quebec as a nation and its full right to self-determination he should say so unequivocally.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP --

Another major issue is that of public ownership of resources industries. With unemployment approaching the 800,000 mark--the highest in 10 years, with shut-downs, lay-offs, wage freezes and cuts, the sell-out by the Canadian elite is even more glaring than in the past. The Canadian government, the Ontario government and the Canadian corporate elite have in effect exported jobs to the USA, by allowing them to process our raw materials, instead of doing it ourselves in Canada. At the same time, we import unemployment to Canada when American and other foreign corporations shut down branch plants in Canada so that they can keep their plants working at home.

The need for resource industries to be taken over for the public interest is apparent if we are to serve national interests, to develop "the hinterland" industrially and create more jobs. In fact this is the only way to create more permanent jobs for Canadians. Yet when this issue was raised at the recent Federal Council, non-wafflers raised their hackles.

The right-wing was as usual horrified by the spectre of "public ownership" of resource industries, even though the Tories of Ontario accepted this in Ontario hydro some years ago. David Lewis has referred to public ownership of resource industries as "doctrinaire" as an outmoded viewpoint.

cont'd pg. 3



FEDERAL COUNCIL REPORTS cont'd

RESOURCE INDUSTRIES DEBATE

Lines clearly drawn.

A significant debate took place during the Saturday session at Federal Council, when Doug Rowland's policy committee moved in succession the acceptance of three different resolutions for approval by council to go to the Federal Convention.

First and most important was "A Natural Resources Policy for Canada." The resolution was both poorly worded and reformist in tone. A long debate ensued.

Opposition to it sprang up from a number of corners of the room. George Cadbury rose to move its referral back to the committee "...to add some socialist content to it"; more specifically to include a reference to the Canada Development Corporation.

Jim Laxer moved another referral motion, demanding the nationalization and democratization of virtually all of Canada's resource industries.

Party sharpshooters (notably Marc Eliesen, Federal Caucus Research director) narrowed in on the expense of buying back corporations, and the federal-provincial jurisdictional question.

Wafflers replied with equal ferocity.

Ed Broadbent, feeling the sense of the meeting, moved a compromise motion which would have the provinces work out steps toward nationalization of oil and gas industries. His motion passed; as did Cadbury's.

Although the debate was often rather cloudy, nevertheless, the lines were clearly drawn between those who favoured drastic steps to pull the economy under public control and those who were more hesitant.

P.O.W. calls for 1/3 women

The Participation of Women Committee (POW) reported to the Council in the form of a resolution, which although it contained a grab-bag of acceptable reforms (in the areas of divorce, birth control, abortion, primary school textbooks, etc) was a hastily prepared and poorly thought-out document, containing little analysis, and far too much positive response to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. They called for the appointment of a Federal Cabinet member (apparently, not necessarily a woman!) to expedite the report's implementation.

The resolution was devoid of socialist content--there was certainly nothing mentioned about the connection between the oppression of women and the structure of capitalist society.

The amazing proposal in this report (drafted by a committee which clearly represents those who opposed women's liberationists at the Winnipeg convention--the latter group refused to recognize the committee as it was an attempt to thwart the sentiments expressed on women's questions) was the one suggesting the amendment of the constitution to ensure that one-third of the executive, and two of the five vice-presidents, be women.

It is precisely the same kind of structural change which women's lib people (both waffle and non-waffle) fought long and hard for -- against the angry opposition of those who subsequently deflected the issue with the establishment of the POW committee.

Some minor disagreements on the divorce section and on their unconditional support of the unenforceable Equal Opportunity Act sent the resolution back for re-drafting. A call for quorum adjourned the meeting before waffle women had a chance to move an amendment to the motion to bring up women's representation from one-third to one-half.

FEDERAL POLICY RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Here is the final list of the Policy Resolutions Committee. It has nearly one-third women (out of sixty), and a smaller although substantial number of Wafflers.

Mel Watkins, Peggy Prowse, Dave Barrett, Mary Eady, Joyce Nash, Jackie Larkin, Russ Bell, Don Taylor, Gordon Flowers, Gord Cleveland, Gerard Marotte, Richard Comber, Alf Gleave, John Burton, Jeremy Akerman, John Boyle, Fred Binding, Grant Notley, Ron Duncan, Donald C. MacDonald, Des Morton, Grace MacInnis, Huguette Plamondon, George Cadbury, Norma Meyer, Allen Schroeder, J. A. Richardson, Vic Skurjat, Doug Rowland, Marc Eliesen,

Roland Morin, Rene Toupin, Eleanor O'Connor, Grace Hartman, Una Decter, Sheila Kuziak, Marina Novakowski, Paddy Gallagher, Sandra Lewis, Jim Renwick, Giles Endicott, Fred Petruic, Thorá Wiggins, Linda Tate, Eileen Dailly, Julien Major, Andy Andras, Ray Haynes, Paul LePage, Jane Bigelow, Terry Meagher, Bill Haiko, Gaetan Boisvert, Don Auger Boyle, Bruce Kidd, Cy Gonick, Don Mitchell, Morden Lazarus, Lynn Williams, Frank Quinlan.

Ontario: high gear for policies & delegates

The Waffle is moving into high gear in Ontario to achieve three immediate objectives. First is the drive for new policies in the NDP. Second is the election of as many delegates as possible to support the waffle's candidate, Jim Laxer, who alone among the candidates supports these policies. Third is building the movement of the unemployed and poor for jobs and basic redistribution of wealth and power.

Since the main objective of the waffle group is to transform the NDP into a militant socialist force in the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary spheres, we are beginning with an attempt to convince riding associations that waffle policies for the federal convention should be supported. Our chief resolutions are in the following areas: public ownership (resource industries, and major sections of the economy), Quebec, Extra-parliamentary struggle, women's liberation, unemployment, labour (workers' control), and agriculture.

Winning support of these resolutions is an important part of the drive to move the party to the left. This is the first step. The next is to convince people that our candidate for the national leadership is the only one enunciating such policies in the many meetings being held by the party; and that it is essential to register maximum support for Jim Laxer at the convention if we are to increase the chance of putting these resolutions into practice.

Meetings of Waffle groups have been and are being held in Toronto, Kingston, Hamilton, Oshawa, St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, Welland, Ottawa, Brantford, Kitchener-Waterloo, Guelph and London to organize for these objectives.

The Toronto meeting at which Jim Laxer spoke was attended by over 150 Wafflers. This is apart from Northern Ontario and centres

like Peterboro where meetings are being planned. It is too early to make predictions of delegate strength but we have a convincing set of policies to work with and wafflers are gearing up for the convention, and to help in the Ontario NDP election campaign.

Wafflers have been very active in the movement of the unemployed and the poor people with demonstrations in Toronto, Hamilton, St. Catharines. They will continue to give support to this developing movement and to try and get the trade union movement behind the struggle.

Wafflers have also been active in the movement for student-faculty parity in decision-making bodies of the University of Toronto campus and in the strike movement which has developed. The Waffle on the U. of T. campus is participating in a petition campaign for an 85% quota for Canadian faculty.

RESOURCES

Following a page-and-a-half preamble the Waffle program on Public Ownership of Canadian Resource Industries outlines the following five resolutions:

1) The NDP will work for the nationalization of Canadian resource industries, including the petroleum industry (oil and natural gas wells, pipelines, refineries and petrochemical industries), coal, uranium, the forest products industry and the hard metal mineral industries and related smelting.

2) The NDP will undertake an immediate public campaign of public education and protests to mobilize the Canadian people against the sell-out of their resources. And NDP government will not be bound by the deals which the old-line parties are making in the name of the Canadian people and will undo them upon achieving office.

3) An NDP government will reinvest profits made in publicly owned resource industries in the resource producing areas of Canada to establish processing and manufacturing in such areas. This programme will be aimed at

establishing long term balanced development of resource producing areas and will guarantee employment for people in such areas in a wide range of occupations.

4) And NDP government's policy on resources extraction will be based on the long term well being of the country and will not countenance methods of extraction in locales which will result in the destruction of the ecological system.

5) The NDP will evolve a socialist plan for Canadian resources are genuinely surplus to Canadian needs. The NDP will seek world-wide trading relationships in Canadian surplus resources with a view to international development. An NDP government will refuse to engage in trading patterns which make Canadian resources available only to rich countries which are already exploiting much of the world.

EXCERPTS FROM THREE MAJOR FEDERAL RESOLUTIONS (finalized by nat. steering committee meeting in regina)

AGRICULTURE

Present agricultural policy, and that projected by the Canadian government through its 'Task Force on Agriculture' supports the trend towards centralization, continentalism and rural depopulation. We in the New Democratic Party not only reject this trend, we support and will create through public policy an alternative of a revitalized and expanded rural Canada.

An effective policy for agriculture must go beyond the surface reforms of acreage payments and commodity subsidies to basic changes in the structure of the Canadian economy. We must retain more productive wealth from agriculture and resource industries in the region of production. Through public ownership in these key areas we can create a decentralized industrial economy in rural Canada. By reversing the flow of capital, population and skills we can avoid further subordination to the United States and the pitfalls of mass urban society. Failure to respond to the present challenge with a strong and positive socialist program will see the last vestiges of rural life committed to degradation and poverty while urban Canada becomes strangled by higher unemployment, industrial pollution and slums.

The objectives of our program then are: 1 - The planning of integrated rural communities which retain the farm family as a basic social unit in a larger community structure.

11- The establishment of democratic control by farmers and workers in agricultural industry over all facets of food production.

11- The establishment of democratic control by farmers and workers in agricultural industries over all facets of food production.

111- The planned development of rural Canada around farming, agriculture and resource industries.

The resolution goes on to outline a five point program for a) Rural Planning and Rational Food Production;

- b) Stabilizing Farm Income;
c) Low Interest Credit Based On Need;
d) Democratic Control Beyond The Farm;
e) National Planning and Trade Policy.

QUEBEC

Our goal is the building of an alliance between English Canadian and Quebec socialists. Toward that end, be it therefore resolved that:

1. The New Democratic Party will continue to struggle against the War Measures Act, the Public Order Act and all similar substitute legislation. We demand the immediate release of all persons arrested under such legislation.

2. The New Democratic Party supports the right of the people of Quebec to national self-determination up to and including the right to form an independent Quebec state.

3. The NDP will begin an intensive educational program throughout English Canada to make known the national and class oppression that the Quebec people have experienced.

4. The primary responsibility of the New Democratic Party must be to build a relationship between English Canada and Quebec socialists to prevent future disastrous interventions by the federal government in Quebec. By far the worst option for Canada's future would be the use of military force to prevent Quebec from deciding its own political future, and the events of 1970 revealed the dangerous potential that lies in that direction.

5. At this moment, the task of New Democrats is not to puzzle over constitutional formulas but to begin building a peoples's alliance between English Canadian and Quebec socialists. We believe that such a relationship can result in the evolution of many elements in a common political program. We believe further that to the extent that the people of English Canada and Quebec come to share common purposes it is appropriate that they share common political and economic institutions. A lasting solution to the relations between our two peoples can only be determined when popular representatives from both sides sit down and negotiate on the basis of the principle of equality of the two nations of English Canada and Quebec. We believe that full national equality can be achieved between English Canada and Quebec only through socialism.

RE - QUEBEC

-- PAT SMART

DEAR ED:

Following is the text of a telegram sent by the Sask. Waffle to Premier Ed Schreyer of Manitoba on Sunday, Jan. 10, after hearing on W-5 (CTV) the announcement of the takeover by the Man. government of the Churchill Forest Industries and the three other companies connected with the integrated forest industries development in The Pas:

Right on!

national meeting report cont'd

It was decided that the Waffle would select its candidate for the national presidency of the NDP before the convention opens (by the same process as the leadership candidate was chosen). Decisions about other executive positions will be made by the Waffle caucus meetings at the Convention.

Responsibility for the political direction of the campaign will lie with the national campaign team set up in August. Bruce Archibald (Nova Scotia), Ken Novakowski (Alberta), and Harold Steeves (B.C.) were added to the campaign team by the Regina meeting.

Wafflers at Regina were generally optimistic about the potential support in their areas for waffle resolutions and our leadership candidate. There were no illusions about the amount of work involved. The Regina meetings served well as a means of focussing on the problems ahead.

-- John Smart

The Waffle campaign for the federal leadership of the party has already begun to arouse discussion and enthusiasm among Quebec socialists, judging from press coverage in Quebec newspapers and from the reports of Montreal NDPers.

In Kingston on the weekend of January 9-10, about 20 party members from Montreal discussed waffle prospects in Quebec with members of Jim Laxer's campaign committee.

An important step in the communication of waffle views to Quebecers was an interview with Jim Laxer in LaPresse (Dec. 21). In the interview Jim explained the waffle

position on Quebec's right to self-determination and suggested the possibility that, in view of the fact that most Quebec socialists support the Parti Quebecois provincially, the Quebec NDP should consider withdrawing from provincial politics.

While strongly critical of the PQ policy on American investment, Jim pointed out that such a withdrawal would allow the NDP to broaden and strengthen itself on the federal front by joining forces with socialists now working with such groups as FRAP municipally in Montreal, the Parti Quebecois provincially and the labour movement.

The reaction to this suggestion was immediate, and in the case of NDP leader Roland Morin, violently opposed. M. Morin attacked the waffle as "paternalistic" for taking any position at all on Quebec, suggesting that if Quebecers do choose indepen-

dence they have no need of permission from English-Canadians to do so. Morin had no comment on Jim's statement that the 8% of Quebecers who voted NDP in the last federal election were mainly English-speaking Montrealers, who frightened by the possibility of independence, have since transferred their support to the Liberal party.

In a long editorial in Le Devoir, Claude Lemelin supported the waffle position as the most realistic and coherent position on Quebec ever to come out of English Canada. According to Lemelin the present political strategy of the NDP in Quebec (federalist social democracy) has no hope of success. Lemelin questioned Morin's political judgement in opposing the waffle position, especially in view of the fact that many Quebec NDP members, as well as a number of socialists outside the party, have expressed great interest in it. "More than ever before," writes Lemelin, "Quebec needs a federal political movement that will contest the dry puritan and antisocial doctrine of federalism that the Liberals are trying to force down the throats of Quebecers. To avoid disaster, a political program must be articulated that will make possible the realization of the collective aspirations of both nations in Canada.... the suggestions outlined by Jim Laxer and the waffle group could turn out to be the only way to maintain fraternal links and an intimate and fruitful cooperation between the two nations in Canada."

text of a recent editorial in LE DEVOIR:

The rise of the waffle group in the NDP has seriously compromised the somewhat self-righteous intellectual comfort of the old guard of the party.

And fortunately so. This minority group, made up of perhaps 1% of active New Democrats, contains some of the most vigorous intellectuals in English Canada. It is fairly loosely structured, both on the level of ideas and of political action.

The waffle has undoubtedly breathed new life into the NDP. It is constantly reminding the wishy-washy, watered-down social democrats in the party, who would prefer to forget the Regina Manifesto, of the basic principles of democratic socialism; and reminding the party and the trade union establishment of the values of political involvement that make a party into something more than an election machine.

To the implicit continentalism of those who, under the pretext of stressing social issues, ignore the national dimension of Canada's problems, they propose a progressive nationalism which is in their view a necessary condition for the establishment of socialism in a country dominated by foreign capital.

THE TWO NATIONALISMS

Now through its spokesman Jim Laxer, candidate for the NDP leadership, the waffle is questioning the party's official position on Quebec. That position is vague and has been politically unfortunate for the NDP. Two years ago, the New Democrats, who have always been centralizing federalists, vaguely began to talk about an as yet undefined "special status" for Quebec. It was easy for the Liberals to point out the constitutional ambiguities of such a position, with the result that NDP support decreased in English Canada without increasing in Quebec. It must be admitted that their failure was deserved. The NDP old guard really has no alternative to Trudeau's federalism; and the Quebec wing of the party has avoided the question of Quebec nationalism, with the obvious result that Quebec socialists have supported the Parti Quebecois.

The waffle leadership candidate feels the party should face up to this situation. Wafflers are forced by the logic of their nationalist position on English Canada to recognize the legitimacy of French-Canadian nationalism, of which the Parti

Quebecois is the main vehicle. So far the PQ has stayed out of federal politics, leaving the way clear for the NDP federally. But wafflers feel that provincially there is no future for the NDP in Quebec, since any position taken by the Quebec NDP that would satisfy the left in Quebec would alienate New Democratic support in the rest of the country. This being the situation, left New Democrats feel the party should dissolve itself provincially in Quebec.

Jim Laxer has proposed only that the party withdraw from provincial politics in Quebec; other eminent wafflers wonder whether the party should confine itself only to English Canada. This withdrawal would create a political vacuum that a truly Quebecois party with the open or implicit support of the Parti Quebecois could move into.

In either case, such a move on the part of the NDP would be equivalent to a recognition of the Parti Quebecois, which has a solid social democratic wing, as Quebec's privileged spokesman. From there it would be a short step towards concluding an alliance, and Jim Laxer's other proposal would make that step possible.

For, in the view of the waffle candidate, the NDP should resist the temptation of proposing any solution for Quebec. After clearly recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination, the NDP should wait until Quebecers make their choice and support the majority.

The two "nationalist" parties in the country could then negotiate the terms of the alliance between the two nations and determine what common institutions might exist between them.

This political strategy has the merit of being coherent and of taking into account better than any other position which has ever come out of English Canada the reality of Quebec nationalism. There is some doubt as to whether the withdrawal of the NDP would really make possible an opposition movement capable of competing with the Liberals.

But certainly the present political strategy of the Quebec NDP, which attempts to win Quebecers over to a program that is both federalist and socialist, can never succeed.

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KNOW THY ENEMY: INTERNATIONAL OIL PRICE WAR

The business pages of daily newspapers can be invaluable sources of information to a socialist, but they are too often ignored. The name of the game is "know thy enemy" and the business pages are a good place to start.

A few news items from the last weeks indicate that monopoly capitalism is moving along quite well, thank you, that the interests of the state and monopoly corporations are becoming more and more integrated around the world, and that the small business man is getting rapidly squeezed out.

On the petroleum front, a major battle is underway between producer and consumer countries over world oil prices. This happens every few years but this time is marked by a few differences. The producer countries (Iran, Kuwait, Libya, Algeria, etc) are much tougher in their demands for higher percentages of profit, reflecting a change in the world demand/supply pattern. Apparently the glut of oil on the market is declining rapidly. With the political turmoil in the Middle East, the closing of the Suez Canal, and a shortage of tankers, the consuming nations are feeling an energy squeeze. This could have important implications for new uses of Canadian energy were we not so totally colonized.

In case anyone thinks there is still a free competitive market in oil just watch how governments are backing up with respective countries. Secretaries of state are whizzing around the world; the Nixon administration has waived anti-monopoly laws to permit eight major oil companies to negotiate as a bloc in the dispute.

But some lessons are being learned in the whole ordeal. The Shah or Iran has discovered that "raw materials are being sold to consuming countries at low prices, and they in turn sell their products to developing countries at higher prices. This has resulted in constant deprivation of poor nations and greater wealth for advanced nations." Sounds familiar.

••SASK. WOMEN GET PARITY••

At a provincial meeting of the Saskatchewan Waffle held November 28, 1970, a two-hour period was devoted to a discussion of parity for women in the Saskatchewan Waffle, and a resolution was ultimately passed, with few dissenting votes, granting women parity on the provincial steering committee, or local executives, and on other committees established within the Waffle.

Jeanne McGuire, a member of the Saskatchewan Waffle Women's Steering Committee, presented the case for parity on behalf of the women's committee.

Following is the text of her statement:

"In the past, a discussion of the issue of parity for women on steering committees, executives and other committees within the Waffle, has always taken place around the specific demand by women as the election of such committees comes up. This process has been unsatisfactory for two reasons:

- 1) Women feel, or are made to feel, they are ham-stringing the progress of the meeting with trivia (mumbles of "oh, God, here we go again") and more importantly,
- 2) A debate around the principle of parity never takes place. Men do not express their doubts or opposition and those who would be hampered by time--again the feeling that the progress of the meeting is being interrupted. The motion for parity passes (who is going to oppose it in a vote?); doubts and oppositions are not discussed or resolved and women feel they have achieved parity without any corresponding increase in understanding or acceptance of the demand.

I assume that we all agree that the history of women is one of oppression--an oppression which results in the conception, shared by both men and women, that women are less intellectually, rationally and politically competent. We reject the idea that this incompetence is inherent, but we must recognize that a historical belief becomes an actuality through a combined process of believing and socialization to develop conformity to the belief. Women become, in fact, less intellectually, rationally and politically competent.

The point then is, not to condemn the process or the belief, nor to deny prejudice on our part, but to engage in practices which begin to reverse the process. That is, the employment of practices which create women who are competent. The notion of equality is entirely meaningless if it is not accompanied by the physical and social conditions to ensure it--a fact we readily admit when it comes to oppressed minorities. However, this reversal in our case is necessary not only to fulfill our beliefs in equality but as people seeking political change, it would be wasteful, if not subidal, to refuse.

The problem then, is how to reverse the process. It could be argued that the reversal must start in the home, in education, in the media, or in any of the other contributing factors. But as far as I am concerned, that is a cop-out. Granted, we as a group must work to change the socializing conditions that create inequalities, but it also is our duty to ensure we do not contribute to or maintain those inequalities within our group. Statements of beliefs, condemnations of the society or other such pious outbursts do not fill this need. Nor does tokenism.

We must develop the conditions within the Waffle which reverse the process for those involved. That means structural changes, in fact, 'positive discrimination' to counteract a socialization that constitutes negative discrimination. We must ignore the reality of who is best fitted for a position (reality being a male) and enforce positive discrimination through structural means--one such means being parity. (Some of the women present were not prepared to admit that they were less fit for the positions being demanded than the men in the group. Thus, there was some debate on this point among the women. Ed. note/)

The argument that groups such as the Waffle are engaged in work which is too important to risk through practicing positive discrimination (an argument which seems equally justifiable to medical schools, research groups and mainstream society in general) ignores two factors. Its work will not seem 'too important' to 5% of the population if its practice does not meet its rhetoric of equality. And if the waffle can't recognize the need for positive discrimination internally, any similar demand which it might make externally sounds pretty feeble.

I would like to deal with only one other argument which is sometimes used against the demand by women for parity. The argument goes that the demand for parity will be accepted by the men and that women will thus be co-opted. It is true that in the past the demand has been accepted without, we feel, any real acceptance of the idea--a problem which we are hoping will be rectified here today. But to suggest co-option implies a conflict of interest, an implication which I reject. I assume that my comrades do not want to co-opt me to some point-of-view which they hold and which is counter to my interests, but rather that they want to work with me to arrive at a socialist alternative to capitalist society.

SASK. WAFFLE WOMEN

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SOME ONTARIO WAFFLERS ARE KICKING AROUND THE IDEA OF A TWO-WEEK SUMMER CAMP FOR LEFTISH FAMILIES AND SINGLE PEOPLE.

IF THERE IS WIDE ENOUGH SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA, WE MIGHT TRY TRACKING DOWN A LODGE OR SET OF CABINS SOMEWHERE NORTH OF TORONTO. ANYONE INTERESTED SHOULD CONTACT:

KRISTA MAEOTS,
509 MacDonnell St.,
Kingston, Ontario.

DIRTY JOKES

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On the issue of wages, prices and inflation, the emperor and his tailor (Trudeau and Benson) have had their pants down for months, hoping no one would notice the bare facts.

Disregarding exclamations of shock and protest from the opposition, they have tried to sell the idea that rising wages have been a major factor in inflation.

But no one is buying this particular brand of pornography these days--not even the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

The OECD, composed of 22 nations of the fearsome 'free' world, has revealed all in its eighth Economic Outlook publication. The report notes that wage rates in Canada are lagging three years behind increases in production and corporate profits.

This recent development suggests the emperor and his tailor had better cover up again. No one's pretending anymore.

Second and third prizes in January's Tell-It-Like-It-Is Contest go to Time magazine and Newsweek.

Rumor has it that it was the honest intimacy of a group therapy session that inspired Time's advertising men to lay it on the line in their Dec. 21 issue, hoping that we would love them anyway:

"Editorially (except for the special Canada section in the front of the magazine), this issue of TIME is the same in Sao Paulo, Montreal and Tokyo. And in New York, Paris and Sydney, as well.

"The advertising varies, however. This is, what the editors say to each of TIME's other readers around the world, is identical to what they say to you. But different advertisers are apt to say different things to the people who read TIME in different places."

Don't worry TIME. We love you just as much as we did before you revealed your wee foible.

le devoir editorial cont'd

In the light of these facts it is hard to understand why Roland Morin, the leader of the Quebec NDP, has rejected Jim Laxer's proposals so categorically, especially as many party members in Quebec are seriously examining them and plan to raise them at the next provincial convention.

A few weeks ago, Mr. Morin was congratulating himself on the support the NDP has picked up in Quebec due to the courageous position taken by New Democratic MPs on the War Measures Act. But the Quebec wing of the party is not going to profit from that position unless it stops clinging to sterile ideas inherited from the past. The recent crisis, following on the disappointments of the Trudeau experiment, should on the contrary, encourage every political movement and all involved citizens to revise their positions, to re-examine their convictions.

More than ever before, Quebec needs a federal political movement that will contest the dry, puritan and antisocial doctrine of federalism that the Liberals want to force down the throats of Quebecers. To avoid disaster, to save what must be saved, a political program must be articulated that will permit the realization of the political aspirations of both nations in Canada. The Quebec NDP can help define, not the "solution" but the "option" Quebec needs on the federal level.

But to do so it will have to break out of its abstract and old-fashioned ideas about federalism. The suggestions outlined by Jim Laxer and the waffle group could turn out to be the only way to maintain fraternal links and an intimate and fruitful cooperation between the two nations in Canada. ---Claude Lemelin.

Newsweek writers, rumored to have attended the same therapy session, lashed out at us with all their frustrations in a cover story this fall.

"To those who do not know the country, there has often seemed to be something faintly irrelevant about Canada," says Newsweek.

"A minor power militarily, an appendage of U.S. economically and of limited interest culturally, it was one nation that seemed destined to live out its days in boring tranquillity."

Then came the FLQ, etc.

Hit us again, Newsweek, and you too may get special privileges from the Canadian government.

The last but not least prize in our Tell-It-Like-It-Is Contest has been awarded to Walter Gordon for his reply to a high school student who suggested that the only way to keep Canada Canadian is by nationalizing all industry. (January 13)

Gordon cautioned against this. "The idea of nationalization doesn't offend me," he said, "but we've got to keep the issues of independence and socialism separate."

While we're on the subject of independence and socialism, let's have a look at the frivolous antics of our friendly neighbourhood multinational corporations.

The corporations have been entertaining us this fall with their latest rendition of the disappearing job act. It works like this: you've got a job. you blink your eyes. it's gone.

Where, oh where, has it gone? Chances are, it's slipped over the border.

A recent report tells us Canadian workers are being used much as women are used, as a reserve labour force. When times are good, you hire. When times are bad, you fire. And Canadians get fired first.

But the multinational corporation does not always discriminate in favour of its own American workers, either. With humanitarian generosity it distributes jobs abroad to low-wage countries such as Taiwan, Korea, Mexico Spain and Turkey. Since 1966, American workers have lost 400,000 jobs to foreign plants

Back in Canada, statisticians tell us that 11,500 permanent jobs have disappeared in Quebec during 1969-70 as a result of plant shutdowns and personnel cuts at large firms.

And surveyors with the Technical Service Council tell us that the number of white-collar jobs open in Canada dropped 29 per cent in the last 12 months, while the number of professionals seeking employment rose 14 per cent.

The 'what's here today, is gone tomorrow' philosophy preached by the corporations can work for us too, friends.

Bolivia and Chile have recently come up with a new routine, the disappearing company act. Now you have it. Now you don't.

Chile has announced plans to nationalize the coal mining industry, all private banks, and the giant U.S. owned copper mines. They're compensated with long term, low interest bonds. The U.S. has lost three Chilean military bases to boot.

CONT'D - P8

GAG ON RANK & FILE

David Lewis has raised the basic issue of the right of rank and file NDP members to get together to discuss their views on party policy or to make their positions known publicly.

Once again he has raised the spectre of the waffle as "party within a party". The reason is the we meet as members of the party to hold open meetings (open to all NDP members) to discuss how to move the NDP to the left and how to restructure it so that there is more rank and file and less top brass control. Apparently it is legitimate when the right-wing establishment meets in caucus to decide how to maintain tight control over the party. It is legitimate for the federal caucus of the party to issue statements on behalf of the party without consultation with elected councils of the party.

But when rank-and-file, younger members of the party are critical and try to discuss how to make the party more relevant, this is "factionalism". Let it be clear that there have always been groups, in and around social democratic parties interested in theoretical, policy issues, socialist publication and education. This happened with the League for Social Reconstruction in the 30s, whose leading members wrote the CCF Regina Manifesto in 1933; the Woodsworth Foundation and now the proposed Douglas-Coldwell Foundation in and around the NDP.

If the "right-wing organizes, it is a "caucus" or an informal gathering to help the party. When the socialist left meets in the waffle it becomes a "faction" or "a party within a party".

Let the record show that the waffle does not desire a party split and will do everything within the bounds of socialist

DEBATE -- -- CONT

Since when have socialists given up the need for the people to assume power over their economic and political life? And how else do we take power from the American and Canadian corporate elite, except through depriving them of the economic power they exercise through private ownership? If public ownership is "doctrinaire" then what is private ownership of resources industries but a continuation of the age-old power and rule of the elite? Since when has private ownership replaced public ownership as an article of socialist faith and as the wave of the future? Since when is American and other foreign ownership of our economic life preferable to public ownership by the Canadian people?

In the debate at the Federal Council Ed Broadbent acted as the "conciliator" by moving to limit public ownership to energy resource industries, thereby excluding other resource industries like nickel, paper and lumber, coal, copper and other metal mining.

The waffle's effort to get the Federal Council on record for public ownership for resource industries (at least in the energy field) was partially successful. This really meant catching up with the waffle-initiated resolution adopted at the Ontario Convention of the NDP.

and democratic principle to avoid it. David Lewis has begun a witch-hunt against those who are critical of his 35-year domination of the CCF-NDP.

This is issue is now broader than the waffle or the Lewis group...it is becoming an issue of democracy within the party. Let all those who want democratic discussion within the NDP speak out on this issue.

But it should be clear to those who want the NDP to become a really socialist party that it is not people who take half the teeth out of socialist resolutions but wafflers who will be the major force to bring this about.

The one thing that Lewis, Broadbent and Harney have in common is that they all attacked the Waffle Manifesto at the Winnipeg convention for its socialist content and its position on Quebec.

It will not advance the cause of a leftward movement within the party to support any candidate who claims he is more "left" than the establishment, but who advocates "functional socialism" or industrial democracy with an owner-worker co-management slant.

The best things for the party to move it to the left is to register maximum vote for our candidate on the first and subsequent ballots, that will make the maximum permanent impact on the party and the future of the left movement within it. Those who are playing games with 1st, 2nd, or 3rd ballots are falling into a trap which can only weaken the leftward movement within the party and its impact.

For the struggle to move the party to the left, the most important factors are: 1) How far we can get the party to move on resolutions and party policy at the April convention?

2) How many votes we register for our candidate, Jim Laxer, on all ballots.

Our two big tasks therefore are: 1) Help educate the NDP membership on our policies and resolutions and press to have them passed in your riding. 2) Try to convince as many NDP members and delegates as possible to support Jim Laxer for the national leadership.

DIRTY JOKES continued

In Bolivia, the government of President Juan Jose Torrez has nationalized an American mining company as "a gesture to the Bolivian people".

We could use a few gestures like that in Canada.

But do not despair, friends...a new anti-imperialist movement has risen to the challenge in the Arctic, with the aim of out-foxing the oil exploration crews on Banks Island.

The guerillas are chewing up the cables, oblivious to fuel oil or any other chemical used to discourage them, and have succeeded in producing as many as five breaks in a single day, with each break taking six hour to repair.

They call themselves the Arctic foxes, and they can obviously teach us a thing or two about resistance.

Talking about resistance, remember the big bully who lived on your block when you were a kid and wouldn't play ball unless he could win? Well something similar happen at the United Nations the other day.

The U.S. and Britain withdrew from the General Assembly's special committee on colonialism because they were losing all the arguments to the militants, who maintained that colonialism is a crime against humanity and a violation of the UN charter.

The British claimed colonialism is just a result of history.

True, true---but so is anticolonialism, so watch out GB and U.S.

This warning also applies to the International Hockey League, which has several

subsidiaries in Canada. William Jennings, head of the IHL's finance committee, told us the bitter truth this month: no more branch teams for Canada. We're too small to be profitable.

Mr. Jennings predicted that hockey will overtake football, baseball and basketball in popularity among U.S. sports fans. Hockey may even become the official international sport of the American empire.

There's a rumor circulating that this popular sport actually originated in Canada. There's no evidence to support that claim, however, so we shouldn't get too excited about it.

The most popular competitive sport in Canada these days is called Takeover. The score for the decade is 1,000 established domestic enterprises, bringing the total number of Canadian companies under foreign control to more than 8,000.

It's a game we're getting good at. In fact, we've set a world record.

To end on an irrelevant irreverent note, a former nurse and social worker contributed these thoughts to the debate on abortion in a letter to the Toronto Star this month:

"No girl in the history of our world was more in need of an abortion than Mary, the mother of Jesus. If she had rebelled in her role, all would have been lost for Christians.

"This teenage of Nazareth was expecting a child when she married and was asked to believe all would be well in good time.

"It is history how she accepted her destiny!"

The question that comes to mind is: Would the writer apply the same argument to the mother of Judas?