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STRUGGLE



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

NDP: Brick Wall for Women

The urgent task before all Wafflers is the decision: where do we go from here? The last year involved an all-out effort to prepare for the convention. With some significant successes there, the Waffle must now work to broaden its base. The decision for women is even more urgent, however, and will be more difficult.

If doesn't require a lengthy political analysis

It doesn't require a lengthy political analysis or even much insight to determine what happened to women at the convention. Women were completely smashed. Everyone who voted for Waffle policy did not vote for women's liberation policy. There is no justification for "a movement is growing" as far as womens liberation is concerned, not within the NDP.

Two debates took place on women--one around the question of special measure in the form of parity on federal council, and around a composite resolution on women prepared by the resolutions committee.

The parity question should have provided a base to discuss the nature of womens' oppression and the validity of special measures—measures designed to eliminate, at least in structural terms, generations of discrimination and exploitation. Here was the appropriate time to discuss women as political persons, especially within the party, to point out that men outnumber women seven-to-one in the NDP; that women play traditional "feminine" roles within the party, notwithstanding the rhetoric, performing everything from bake sales to the enormous clerical and secretarial tasks (every one of the people working on the registration tables was a woman) but taking no part in policy formulation and leadership. Instead, the most eloquent, and irrational speechas of the convention were heard, filled with heart-rending pleas to reject parity, because it was "undemocratic" and smacked of favofitism, and because

New Political Skills Needed.

There is no doubt that the waffle scored its most significant victory to date at the April leadership convention. Our very performance at the convention, however, leaves us facing a dilemma of some magnitude. We have consolidated the left-wing forces within the party and we can probably count on a solid base of one-quarter to one-third of the party from now on. But a real impasse has emerged. The waffle's opportunities for extending its base beyond that optimum one-third are, in my view, extremely limited, at least in the near future. On the Other hand, we are far too strong to be thrown out of the NDP by the right; such action would be tantamount to the virtual destruction of the party.

The answer, it seems to me, lies in organizing outside the NDP enegaging in direct political work with the exploited classes. Very likely many wafflers would agree; a number of delegates expressed that sentiment at the final caucus meeting in Ottawa. The realization of such a strategy depends, however, on dealing seriously with some very real

political problems.

To begin with, the waffle, appearances to the contrary, is not a particularly dynamic organization. Our past activity is characterized by a chronic inability to involve more than a handful of our most committed activists. In the absence of participation by the large number of supporters, decision-making has become more exclusively the prerogative of this leadership core. The role played by the majority of wafflers is minimal. One consequence of this process is that the waffle particularly in Ontario, meets less and less often and it becomes more difficult for new people to become involved.

IN TWO SHORT YEARS

by ken novakowski (CHAIRMAN OF THE WAFFLE CAUCUS MEETINGS DURING THE FEDERAL LEADERSHIP CONVENTION)

Two years of waffle politics in Canada, and the people are beginning to listen to what we have to say.

Two years as an organized left in the New Democratic Party and the members are beginning to accept what we have to say.

Over those two years, the waffle has grown from a handful of New Democrats across Canada who organized around the manifesto for an Independent Socialist Canada at the Winnipeg convention to a socialist movement which emerged at the last federal convention as the only alternative leadership to the present NDP establishment.

Before the Winnipeg convention, there was some doubt as to whether or not the waffle would even exist beyond that convention. Many had participated in the waffle as a one-shot deal. However, in the most important decision it was to make, the waffle caucus at that convention declared its intentions to form a permanent left in the NDP with the aim of challenging the existing leadership in the NDP and eventually winning it. That aim remains and the struggle to attain it continues. But, two years of growth have seen many changes in the waffle.

Although the manifesto at Winnipeg received support from a wide range of groups within the party, much of the organizational core was provided by the NDY. Caucus meetings were attended mainly by people who were interested in seeing what was going on and by those who wanted to know more about the waffle —— something only a small number of people seemed to know. Meetings were confusing, people were unclear as to where they were at and where they were going. There was a general concensus that the party must move to the left.

Over the year and a half between conventions, waffle groups organized across the country at provincial NDP conventions. Wafflers became active in constituency associations and constituency activists became wafflers.

PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE by jim laxer

It is difficult as yet for me to gain much perspective on the leadership campaign because of my intense involvement in it for five months. All I can do at this point is put down a few reflections on the campaign and what it means for the party and the waffle.

I think we succeeded in our objectives as set out at the beginning of the campaign. The programme adopted by the waffle at the Regina conference at New Year's proved capable of standing up to the scrutiny and debate of the campaign and the convention. On the issues of public ownership, resource industries, Quebec, women and agriculture, our programme set out the terms of debate for all the candidates.

It was the waffle programme around which the debate at the convention centered.

Two decisive and contradictory realities emerged from the convention. The majority of delegates opted for a continuance of the approach the party has taken for the past decade.

Within the advanced capitalist countries, socialist political arties are subject to almost irresistable pressures policies that will challenge the power structure of society and o adopt a less redical program that will curry favour with vested interests, a hostile press, and a suspicious electorate. ossibility of electoral success looms on the horizon these parties abandon their ideals and stake out a position just one noticeable difference from the pro-capitalist parties. In almost all countries the move toward the centre has been consistent, and until recently the NDP has followed the expected pattern.

At the founding convention in 1961, the ideals of the Regina Manifesto were cast into oblivion in a determined effort to eradicate the "red scare" and to create a happy marriage with organized labour leaders who demanded a moderate approach. Nationalization, socialism other tainted words were used sparingly, and the policies were muted to fit the image.

After the Liberals implemented the Canada Pension Plan & Medicare -- obscuring the just-noticeable difference between the NDP and the Liberals--the NDP searched frantically for additional welfare programs that would distinguish it from the other parties.

The Waffle movement was born out of a reaction to the "sleepy-sixties" policies. Much of the initial succes was spontaneous -- at the 1969 Winnipeg Convention, the Manifesto received about one-third support.

Successes at the Saskatchewan & Ontario provincial conventions finally alerted the party estabsishment to the Waffle's growing strength, and the real test was to come at the April leadership convention.

Well as we know, the Waffle came through with flying colors and made clear that it represents a strong and growing force within the party. There is little doubt that the Waffle movement has the support of one-third of the active party members at this point.

waffle success depends on a socialist labour BY jack quarter MOVEMENT

labour (as we know it now) accepts a socialist program that challenges power in Canada, the next leader will have to keep the party on its present course. The variation that organized labour leaders will tolerate at present is from a Schreyer to a Broadbent. A waffler cannot win and remain a waffler.

If by the time of the next leadership convention the Waffle has not established a power base, it is doubtful whether it will sustain itself as a counterforce within the party. The most commit-ted wafflers will stick with the ship, however the waffle's success so far has been due to attracting Wohblers--people prepared to support a centrist candidate. Once a young, new leader is elected many Wobblers will probably leave

As far as the waffle movement is concerned, the dye will be cast during the next five years. If a new labour movement develops that will sustain a socialist parliamentary party, then who knows? the NDP may become the NDPW -- an effective socialist force in Canada at last!!!

the waffle unless the party suf-fers an electoral disaster.

chairman, and the meeting is adjourned" declared Louis Lenkinsy, Executive Secretary of the Toronto Labour Council, an "impartial outsider". Knapp supporters walked out with him the Penner supporters stayed elected a new chairman, and openly and systematically checked out the voting cards.
(It is difficult to convey

the atmosphere of these meetings. There were not characterized by gentlemanly debates. Speeches on points of order loudly crescendoed upwards of hundreds of decibels, but left/right conflicts among the Italian members were seldom resolved verbally.)

Due to a hockey game, and a lack of commitment among the Knapp supporters, Penner finally won. Provincial Office ran the election.

The Penner campaign team has already begun planning--working quickly because of lost time. That they do not plan to run an ordinary "biography" campaign, goes without saying. The riding is being divided for canwassing by ethnic and income groups, rather than by geography. They plan to stress the more radical resolutions passed by the Ontario convention (public ownership of energy resource industries -- as it stood before interpretation-poverty, unemployment, women, housing) and will concentrate much effort on a specially written leaflet to reach the large Italian community. They also plan special riding educationals on the Italian community and their problems; and on women. The new Dovercourt NDP understands very well that you don't build socialism (or much else) in the space of one election campaign; and win or lose, they intend to continue working in the community... HEATHER PRITTIE the community...

The real question is--what happens now?

Success even in small does does not come without problems.

And this is true for the Waffle. Because Wafflers are concentrated in the riding associations, this in effect means that the waffle does not have a base of power. Organized labour leaders who supply funds, technical assistance, and mobilize union votes for the NDP during elections are openly hostile to the Waffle program. If by some fluke Jim Laxer was elected leader at Ottawa, either he would have had to modify his policies to meet the demands of the NDP power structure, or the party as we know it would have disintegrated. The active party members in the riding associations that sustain the Waffle movement are insufficient to fight an election.

As the NDP is structured at present, the Waffle can never be more than a counter-force within the party. For it to succeed a ne labour movementn must develop that will support a socialist party.

And the time for such changes to occur is running out.

Unlike David Lewis, the next leader of the NDP will be a younger person prepared to wear the mantle for a long time. And unless there is fundamental change in the power structure of the NDP, or the impossible happens & organized

TOOK THREE MEETINGS-BUT TORONTO HAS ANOTHER WAFFLE CANDIDATE.

Its no understatement to say that Steve Penner's nomination as the provincial NDP candidate for Dovercourt in Toronto was unique in the Ontario party's experience

On Sunday, May 2nd, after three meetings over a four-month period, he finally won a "war of attrition" against Bruce Knapp ("The Englishman" as he so aptly billed himself in a predominantly Italian working class riding) by a 45-35 margin. Mr. Knapp, convinced that his loss opened the door to even more "Trot-skyist tactics" and "Marxist antics" as he described theWaffle coalition supporting Penner, did not even shake the winner's hand, let alone make the nomination unanimous.

Dovercourt was the ultimate in the "paper" riding syndrome. It had a totally inactive membership, which the parachuted executive, led by Steelworkers rep. Lucky Rao, seemed to like just fine. Throughout the battle, he consistently refused to call a membership meeting for any

Penner's candidacy was supported by the "grass roots" elements in the riding -- the left activist Italian Democratic Association (ADI: affiliated to the NDP), members of the Militant Co-op (a caucus of left rank and file trade unionists), older CCF radicals and other Youth & Waffle people located in the area. Both sides, of course, began signing up new members. The "other" side was perhaps rather more exhuberant about it--they signed up 117 unemployed people with \$1 memberships. Upon investigation, something like eighty-five of those people turned out to be employed, and rumour has it that many of them were returning a favour to Lucky Rao (who had encouraged Penner to run before he discovered his politics) who handled problems with government bureaucracies for them in the past.

The first meeting didn't get as far as nomination speeches-- Penner supporters complained that the membership agreement between the candidates (refereed by Provincial office after some pressure) had been broken by Mr. Knapp, and the nomination was called off.

There was a strong wish by the meeting to continue that day with a general membership meeting, but Lucky Rao ignored the vote in favour, declare the meeting adjourned and walked out.

Voting actually took place the next meeting, but it was declared invalid, after a discrepancy was discovered between ballots cast and registration at the door. (Penner had won 49-48, but since the Executive handled the balloting, it was unlikely that the extra votes were cast by Penner people.) It would have easily been possible to straighten out the mess and re-ballot on that day, but yet another chairman amended democratic procedures: "I'm the

Quotables from J. Laxer's Mail

CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND THE THRIVING WAFFLE, FANTASTIC. (VANCOUVER, B.C.)

I AM INTRIGUED BY YOUR DOCTRINES AND POLICIES (BURLINGTON, ONTARIO)

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR IMPRESSIVE EFFORT AT THE CONVENTION IN PRES ENTING A REAL SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE.
(EDMONTON, ALBERTA)

I BELIEVE THAT IN EVERY POLITICAL PARTY THERE SHOULD EXIST, AS THEY CALL IT, "THE PURIST GROUP", OTHERWISE THE DRONES AND THE PARAS-ITES WILL DESTROY THE PARTY FROM WITHIN, I WISH YOUR GROUP SUC-CESS, AND IT WOULD BE TOO BAD (FOR THE PARTY) IF THEY MADE YOUR GROUP TO DIS-BAND, (OTTAWA, ONT.)

Close to panicing vorkers vorkers Stophen Lewis didn't stop Vziffle smas Lapalr as Company of the people rule sepond of the sep

YOU ARE A YOUNG MAN OF TWENTY-NINE; I AM SEVENTY-ONE, BUT YOU HAVE SAID THIS MORNING WHAT I HAVE THOUGHT AND BEEN SAYING IN MY OWN WAY FOR A LONG TIME. (LAKESIDE, ONTARIO)

THIS IS A YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORLD. MY GENERATION CREATED THE CURRENT CONTRADICTIONS THAT SPELL WORLD DISASTER IF NOT CORRECTED GUICKLY. KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK AND WHEN THE CHIPS GOME DOWN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, YOUTH WILL TURN TO US FOR HONEST LEADERSHIP, NO COMPROMISE MEANS ULTIMATE SUCCESS. (BIBLE HILL, NOVA SCOTIA)

FIRST, IT WAS UNTHINK-ABLE THAT ANYONE OTHER THAN DAVID LEWIS WOULD WIN: WITHOUT HIM THERE NO DOUBT WOULD BE NO NDP PARTY IN CANADA
TODAY, SO HE WON-AND
WE ALL REJOICE! BUT I
HAVEN'T LIKED TO SEE THE NDP PULL MORE AND MORE TO THE ESTABLISH MENT SIDE, NOTHING CAN EVER BE ACCOMPLISHED TO ADDING STILL ONE TO ADDING STILL ONE MORE PARTY TO THIS, ALSO, THE OLDSTERS (& I MAKE IT VERY CLEAR IT AM ONE OF THEM: I'LL BE 64 NEXT MEEK; MY HUSBAND IS ALREADY 7/D) HAVEN T MADE THAT GREAT A SUCCESS OF GREAT A SUCCESS OF THINGS: RATHER THE RE-VERSE, I BELIEVE OUR ONLY HOPE LIES IN EN-TIRELY NEW THINKING AND THE ADOPTION OF NEW WAYS...MY CON-TEMPORARIES ARE SCAN-DALIZED BY IT ALL, AND I'M CLEARLY ODD MAN OUT" IN MY POLITICAL OUT IN MY POLITICAL
THINKING, FOR MY AGE
GROUP, OH, YES-EXCEPT
FOR ONE THINS-I HAVE A
SON AND I HAVE A DAUGHTER, AND THEY, IN TURN,
HAVE CHILDREN, SO WHEN ONE CASTS A STONE INTO THE WATER-YOU JUST NEVER KNOW-JUST NEVER KNOW!!! (KELOWNA, B.C.)

MAYBE THAT YOU WILL NEVER READ THIS LETTER; MAYBE THAT ONE OF YOUR SECRETARIES WILL SEND ME A READY-MADE ANSWER. HOWEVER, THE WORD "DEMOCRACY" STILL HAS A MEANING FOR ME, AND HERE IS MY OPINION ABOUT THE PROPOSITION OF THE WAFFLE GROUP IN THE NDP. IT SEPMS TO ME THAT IT IS THE FIRST TIME IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS...THAT A POLITICAL PARTY OF CANADA RECOGNIZES THE SPECFIC CHARACTER OF QUEBEC NOT ONLY IN WORDS — WE HAVE MEMORY — BUT IN ACTS. IT IS THE MERIT OF YOUR GROUP.

I AM A MEMBER OF THE PARTI QUEBECOIS, AND STRATEGICALLY, I BELIEVE THAT THE FIRST STEP TOWARD A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT IN QUEBEC, IT IS TO HAVE AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT. IT IS MY HOPE THAT LE PARTI QUEBECOIS WILL BE A SOCIALIST PARTY; IT IS DIFFICULT FOR HIMSELF TO SHOW SUCH A TREND FOR ELECTORAL REASONS, BUT THE EVENTS WILL INDICATE THIS PATH. ACTUALLY, THE NUP AND THE PO SPOLLED THEIR BRERGY IN QUEBEC, BECAUSE IT SERVIS THAT A SOCIAL IST PARTY COMING FROM THE OUTSIDE OF QUEBEC HAS LITTLE CHANCE HERE. MOREOVER, WE FIGHT EACH OTHER WHEN WE HAVE THE SAME GOALS IN THE END, AND IT IS NOT ECONOMIC FOR THE PROSCRESSIVE GROUPS IN CANADA — AT LEAST WE BELIEVE THEY ARE, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE POUR THE LEFT WING OF THE NOP AND THE P.O. TO MAKE AN ALLIANCE...THUS WE COULD FIGHT TOGETHER RATHER THAN AGAINST EACH OTHER. (ST. JEROME, P.O.)

PROGRAM TO TRAIN WOMEN AS ORGANIZERS?

THE IDEA HAS BEEN RAISED BY FRED AND CAROL GUDMUNSON OF SASKATOON, THEIR IDEA IS FOR SIX-WEEK TRAINING PROGRAMS AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT WOMEN IN THE WAFFLE, THEY'D LIKE COMMENTS AND IDEAS FROM OTHER SOURCES.

PLEASE SEND YOUR THOUGHTS TO: 701 - 1524 RAYNER AVENUE, SASKATOON, SASKATCHEWAN,

********* jim laxer (cont'd)***

At the same time as the majority of delegates rejected the radical ideas of the waffle, it became clear in the votes for left resolutions and left candidates that the left emerged from the convention as a powerful and growing bloc in the party from coastto coast.

In the federal NDP, we are now in the position of having an establishment that is in firm control of the policy and executive machinery of the party. At the same time there now exists a left that cannot be ignored or shunted aside.

Following the federal convention in Winnipeg in 1969 it was said that the support for waffle ideas was ephemeral in the party. The Ottawa convention proved this to be untrue. This time it was impossible to charge that wafflers sought delegateships from unsuspecting riding associations whose members did not agree with them. The battle for delegateships to this convention was fierce. In many

places, such as Toronto and Regina, so-called "unity slates" of delegates were run against wafflers. The wafflers who got to the convention got there because of their roots in the party and because of support for their ideas.

In looking at significant developments during the campaign two stand out in my mind. The first s the new course charted by the Quebec NDP at its February convention. The victory of a leftwing coalition firmly committed to the struggle for self-determination for Quebec is a profoundly important event in the history of the NDP. Let us hope it will bear fruit as the basis for the "new alliance" between English Canadian and Ouebec socialists wafflers called for in their Quebec resolution.

The other significant develop-ment was the evolution of a waffle labour group. For the first time in its history, an organized group of

trade unionists played a significant part in the waffle group both before and during the convention. Following attacks on the waffle by such labour leaders as Dennis McDermott and Larry Sefton, it was waffle trade unionists who led the counterattack. The fate of this labour group over the next few years will certainly have an immense impact on our efforts to transform the NDP and to broaden the socialist movement in Canada.

On a personal level, let me say that my stint as waffle spokesman during the leadership campaign was the greatest experience of my life. I am tremendously impressed by the people who make up this movement across Canada, by their capacity and their dedication. The campaign covinces me that what we have done in the past two years is only the beginning, an encouraging beginning of a movement that can play a significant role in the history of Canada.

on farmer-labour unity

In the wake of the federal NDP convention and the show of support for Waffle policies and leadership, Saskatchewan party members are doing a quiet reassessment. As longtime supporters of membership control and left-leaning policies, which they felt were reflected in the leadership of Woodrow Lloyd & Tommy Douglas, they were more than a little disturbed by the convention steam-roller tactics of David Lewis and the labour brass.

As delegates began on Wednesday to consider the convention resolutions, they saw that the 60-man resolutions committee (appointed by the Federal Council) had watered down, amended, or replaced constituency resolutions to the point where everything which came to the floor was conservative in tone, vague about specific long-range commitments, and generally "safe" for the party to adopt. According to the rules of procedure, no amendments were possible, and the only wav the convention could change resolutions presented was to refer them back to the resolutions committee with instructions to add or substitute in certain

This situation made things easy for Lewis forces. Since the resolutions committee had screened out anything "dangerous", the automatic position of right wing delegates was to crush all referral motions and consistently support the resolutions presented by the resolutions committee.

This meant that all referral motions presented by minority groups within the convention, groups within the convention, including farmers, women, the Quebec party, and the Waffle were automatically and consistently defeated. This was despite the fact that in many cases, such as on the agriculture and womens resolutions, the overwhelming thrust of the debate was in thrust or favor of referred the convention chairman the convention chairman the convention chairman the conventional was schafer, Ave.

Oxbow, Sask.

Dave York, 40 South Howard St. Burnaby 2, B.C.

Sue Prior, 66 Cassandra, #3 Don Mills, Ont.

Ken Novakowsky, 10180 - 119th St. Edmonton, Alta.

John Smart 228 Johnson St. Kingston, Ont.

Jane Anne Summers 1905 London House Calgary 1, Alta.

Grace Moores, 595 Femhill Blvd. Oshawa, Ont.

Tracey Morey 40 Hazelton, #4 Toronto, Ont.

Richard Comber 3831 Girouard Avenue Montreal, P.Q.

Carolyn Brown 2865 Retallack St. Regina, Sask.

Bruce Archibald, 1545 Oxford St., #47 Halifax, N.S.

THE STRENGTH OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN SASKATCHEWAN LIES IN THE ABILITY OF THE FARM MOVEMENT AND ORGANIZED LABOUR TO DEVELOP A COMMON STRATEGY AGAINST BIG BUSSINES AND THEIR SO-CALLED "FREE ENTERPRISE" GOVERNMENT. THIS AULIANCE HAS BEEN AND ALMAYS WILL BE ATTACKED AND DISCREDITED IN THE EYES OF SOME BY THE ESTABLISHMENT PRESS. BY THE REACTIONAIRES WHO MAKE UP THATCHER'S GOVERNMENT, AND BY BUSINESS SPOKESHEN DIRECTLY. OUR TASK IN THE NDP IS TO EXESTST THOSE ATTACKS, TO STRENSTHEN THE BOND BETWEEN WORKERS & FARMERS & TO DEVELOP PROGRAMS WHICH PROTEST ALL OF OUR PEOPLE &LEAD US TO POSITIONS OF

IT IS BECAUSE I FEEL FARMER-WORKER UNITY TO BE SO IMPORTANT THAT I MADE WHAT I HOPED WOULD BE POSITIVE CRITICISM ABOUT THE STAND OUR CAUCUS TOOK A FEW WEEKS AGO IN FAVOUR OF THE USE OF BINDING ARBITRATION AGAINST THE BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS. THIS POSITIVE CRITICISM HAS BEEN POORLY RECEIVED BY SOME WHO ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT PARTY UNITY AS WE APPROACH THE ELECTION. (TO THESE PEOPLE, I SUGGEST IT WAS THE CAUCUS STATEMENT WHICH CREATED DISUNITY.)

federal convention: Sask. reaction

both stories by DON MITCHELL

always rely on a majority of delegates to cut short a debate by calling for the question at any time and would always be sustained by a majority against any challenge by a delegate to a ruling from the chair. It was therefore very easy to steamroller any opposition either to policy matters or matters of convention procedure. And it happened frequently, especially the first day when Eamon Park cut off the agriculture debate after only 20minutes of a sched-

uled hour.

It was only persistance & determination by the party's left wing which forced debates on the major issues of Quebec, resources industries and women. Although in each case we lost the vote on motions of referral, we clearly won the debates and gained support from those delegates open to per-suasion. This included a large section of the Saskatchewan delegation.

Many of the 250 or so who went to the convention from Sask. were partially committed to David Lewis as the choice for leader. He was, after all, Tommy Douglas' right-hand man and Deputy Leader of the party. But many of these people, upon seeing the Lewis machine in action, responded negatively. The Waffle group, which they had previously understood as the ultra-nationalist intellectual left faction out to wreck the party, now appeared to them as a broad socialist grouping of far-mers, trade unionists, youth & professionals who were seriously attempting to move the party left on pressing issues.

In the leadership they discovered Jim Laxer's socialism was more reminiscent of the Regina Manifesto than anything David Lewis said. Ed Broadbent was making a last-ditch effort to maintain some sense of balance on a crumbling centre. And John Harney appealed to the delegates as a sort of TV revolutionary with a speech

My criticism has been well received by others who are essentially pro-labour and recognized the caucus position as a betrayal to the union involved and to party policy.

As we head into a provincial election unity is important, especially on the issue of labour and labour rights. For that reason I want to appeal to both party members and our spokesmen on the Executi ve, Council, and caucus to unite behind our convention program and avoid further statements which can only be used to divide workers from farmers.

A month ago I resigned from the Legislative Advisory Committee when I felt the caucus stand on the railway dispute contradicted party policy and betrayed the union in-volved. Since that time I have been told by the party President, Gordon MacMurchy that I was no longer eligible to sit on the committee anyway because I had been replaced in March as a New Democratic Youth representative on the provincial Council of the party, the body which elected me to the advisory committee. It therefore seems inevitable that my resignation will be warmly received and accepted by the party council when it next meets, whether they agree on this issue or not.

But some questions for the party membership and our elected provincial council remain. What is the party policy with respect to compulsory arbitration going to be? What is the general situation of Labour and why is the arbitration issue important? How can we relate the issue to farmers and farm problems? Who

decides policy?
The Saskatchewan Labour move ment is small and struggling. Wage level's are low in comparison to other provinces and only 25% of the work force is organized. Workers are located primarily in the public sector and retail service industries and are subject to immediate cont'd -- p.6

> that, although very impressive seemed staged and artificial. Frank Howard was to the end the strong man, the ordinary guy personified, and the embodiment of an honest conservative nocompromise position on Quebec.
> Laxer's strong finish

remains a tribute to the people in the NDP who understand the choices we have as socialists.
Evidence since the convention suggests that thousands in Sask. are now prepared to opt for the socialist road and the leadership of the Waffle group. Another six months of organizing could make the next provincial convention very interesting.

THE EAST IS...

getting it together!

"more power to the people" ...in Central Nova

Wafflers who attended the recent federal convention will remember Allan Marchbank as the first speaker in general debate at the convention.

The Nova Scotia farmer-mechanic led off the agricultural debate. A waffler, he is the first Nova Soctian to run for federal parliament under the leadership of

Allan, his wife and their three children, live on a 1,000-acre farm 60 miles from Halifax. They are caught in the same squeeze as many farmers - either go capitalintensive and make farming a full-time operation (and worry about the bank debt) or farm part-time with Allan working in town to supplement the family

income. They have chosen the latter.

Allan is a member of the Nova Scotia Sheep Producers Association and president of the Colchester County Woodlot Owners Association . Previously, he was actively engaged in union organizing within the CBRT. The three-week campaign with a bbudget of about \$1,500 is running under the slogan "More Power to the People".

Gordon Flowers, our new provincial secretary, is working full time on the campaign. The Nova Scotia waffle is providing support, financial and leg-work, but the main work force comes from the Pictou -New Glasgow area. This is a good working class community, which should be one of the more promising areas for the NDP in the future.

The Tories previously held this seat and have Robert Stanfield stomping the hustings for them, while the Liberals are really pushing for it. They have many cabinet members brought into the constituency and are r to be spending \$100,000. The Social Credit also have a candidate and Real Couette has been campaigning in Nova Scotia.

Waffle endorsement and some assistance was given to the Halifax Anti-War Committee in organizing the April 24 International Day of Protest.

By far the most significant strength in the province, however, has been the Canso area fishermen's dispute. Wafflers have given their assistance on many fronts: by contributing articles for distribution in a national magazine; by membership in the Committee for a Free Vote for Fishermen; by travelling to Canso and Sidney to organize people and to disseminate information leaflets; by pushing for NDP resolutions in support of the fishermen and by financial contributions.

Within the sphere of the NDP itself the waffle is presently assisting in the campaign of Allan Marchbank, a waffler running in a federal bye-election for the Central Nova riding. We are doing a door-to-door canvass in several towns and have given a donation from our funds.

Waffle women are now considering the idea of a national women's conference and may soon be organizing an initial meeting of all local NDP women.

At the last waffle meeting in Halifax May 20, Lynn Allan and Tim Hennigar were elected as Nova Scotia members to the national steering committee. They join Bruce ARchibald who was elected in August at the national waffle conference.

For the near future, the waffle is working on articles for the Nova Scotia NDP newsletter and also planning to begin educational meetings to discuss waffle resolutions and more general political theory. There is even the possibility of a weekend retreat for this purpose. david allan

CONVENTION SPURS GROWTH

The last four months in Nova Scotia have been a time for the waffle to "get itself together"

At this point we seem to have settled down to a relative "dynamic stability". Being almost entirely Halifax-based at this time, we have a core group of about a dozen people who are committed and hardworking. Beyond these there are several part-time wafflers who are not as active.

The result of the national convention has been a great reassurance for all of us. Especially encouraging was the stand taken by Paul MacEwan, MLA for Cape Breton Nova, who came over to the waffle at the convention and publicly praised us to the sky (on national TV).

We are now beginning a province-wide recruiting effort which has already shown good responses from unlikely quarters.

We have extended offers to all of the provincial constituencies to send wafflers to speak regarding policy.

In just the past month there have been several issues of an extra parliamentary nature in which the Nova Scotia waffle has engaged. Some of us have assisted the newly-formed Halifax-Dartmouth Union of the Unemployed in leafletting to publicize their meetings and their demands.

Others have manned picket lines with Halifax Welfare Rights Committee to protest welfare cut backs. We have also acted as liaison between the Welfare Rights Committee and the provincial NDP leader to help give the demands of this organization voice in the legislature,

sandra lewis

STRUGGLE FOR A UNION: the nova scotia fishermen As with many other aspects of life in the Maritimes, the anachronistic laws governing Maritimes, the anachronistic laws governing Maritimes, the anachronistic laws governing

fishermen have long been an affront to the dig-

nity of these workers.

Until March 1971, fishermen had the status of "co-adventurers" and equal partnership with fish companies, originating in legislation passed in 1947 as a result of company action to over-turn the union certification already given to trawlermen by the Nova Scotia Lab-our Relations Board after the strike of that year. As "co-adventurers" the fish-ermen were entitled to a proportion of the catch, but not to participate in the grading of the fish. So they had no control over the evaluation of their catch and no guarantee of an

equitable return for their labour.

Under this legislation, fishermen had no legal right to bargain collectively and could negotiate with the fish companies only when granted voluntary recognition. Such recognition was widely obtained by the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union in British Columbia, but was staunchly opposed in the Maritimes, particularly by the foreign-owned companies of Acadia and Booth Fisheries in Canso, Mulgrave and Petit de Grat, Nova Scotie.

In 1967, the UFAWU came east to organize despite the 1947 law. Repeated attempts by the fishermen to negotiate improvements in pay! and conditions were rebuffed by the companies to the point where in March 1970 the fishermen

susan & colin stuttard

recognition of the UFAWU and the right to collective bargaining.
The UFAWU threw its support behind the strikers, picket lines were honored by the fish

plant workers (Canadian Seafood Workers Union) and help came from affiliates of the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour and the Nova Scotia NDY.

A section of the latter subsequently formed the East Coast Socialist Movement, intensified its backing of the strike and recently received some assistance from members of the Nova Scotia waffle.

In October, Deep Sea Trawlermen's committees were formed to negotiate with the companies under the supervision of the Conservative government to bring an end to the strike. In their provincial election campaign, the Liberals were ask-

ing for legislative chanes to bring fishermen the Trade Union Act and allow them union rights. Following the election victory of Oct. 13, the Liberal Attorney-General introduced Bill II as promised. However in February 1971 while Bill II was on route through the assembly, the Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union, a branch of the Chicago-based Amalgamated Meat-Cutters and Butcher Workmen, entered the Canso area to back the ranks of the CFAWU and the UFEWU with the blessing of the CLC president Donald MacDonald: Shortly before Bill II received royal assent and without any consultation with the fishermen, Acadia signed a

cont'd. page 6

The three-member NDP r meeting at which Jim Laxer was guest speaker. The local provincial candidate and party members organized so well that 75 residents of the Tory stronghold came out. Twenty of them later signed membership cards.

cutbacks when the region faces an economic slump. The issue of strikes and labour disputes has never been serious in terms of the effect on our economy. Thatcher would have us believe Saskatchewan labour was creating havoc. According to Department of Labour statistics only 2% of all contract negotiations in the past 10 years have ended in strikes. Man hours lost because of strikes in Saskatchewan are 1/6 of the national average. These disputes have only been serious and crippling to the people involved. Hospital workers in Estevan for example who waited over a year for their contract, saw management reject a conciliation offer, and then finally went on strike.
These people were scamety above minimum wage, making less in some cases then they could draw on welfare, and when they organized a strike to back their demands, Thatcher introduc ed Bill 2, for-cing them back to work. An arbitration board settled on a lousy 4% increase.

In compulsory arbitration a three-man committee of representatives is named from labour; management and government. The award always tends to favour management because the interests of management are always closer to government. This is especially obvious in the public sector such as hospital workers where the government is paying provincial grants. So all management does in negotiating contracts is sit tight, force a strike and wait for the government to intervene with procedures weighted on management's side. This is precisely the situation the railway workers found themselves in last March.

Our party set out its opposition to compulsory arbitration in the labour rights statement adopted at our provincial convention last July. It was a restatement of existing policy which opposed compulsory arbitration in a general way and then specifically outlined our opposition to Bill 2, pointing out that free collective bargaining and the right to strike must be protected. It is a clear statement of principle. It has been on the the basis of this principle, that our caucus has fought Bill 2 and the series of amendments which con-tinue to widen its powers. Why they seemingly contradicted this position by calling for the federal government to intervene in a national dispute by compulsory arbitration -- precisely the same tactic as Thatcher is using provincial -- is unclear.

The Caucus felt apparently that the rail strike was definitely on. They were also convinced that Thatcher was about to call an election imediately - in part on this issue - and that the

ONT. LABOUR REPORT -- harry greenwood

Ever since the leadership con-The three-member NDP riding vention in Ottewa, waffle suppor-association in Glengarry (Cornwall ters, encouraged by the showing of Ontario area) has 20 new members Jim Laxer, have expressed a need this month following a public for the continuance of the group in an effort to strengthen support socialist ideas within the NDP. On Sat. May 15, a meeting was held in the UAW #199 Hall St. Catharines and was well attended by wafflers, with trade union-ists from Oshawa, Hamilton, Sud-bury, Toronto, Windsor, Brampton, Jim Laxer reported on meetings he has had since the convention &

> results in rural Saskatchewan would be disastrous. Rather than supporting the union's altimate right to strike, and attacking the CPR and CNR management for negotiating in bad faith, they in effect turned on the union thru a telegram to Pierre Trudeau.

> This position aroused anger & bitterness from the union involved (a meeting of 450 railway workers in Moose Jaw sent a stronglyworded protest), from the SFL executive, and from party members such as myself. More seriously, perhaps, it reinforced growing anti-labour feelings among farmers who support us. Instead of challenging the false notion encouraged by the Thatcher government that labour & labour disputs are responsible for far-mers' problems, in this instance we reinforced it and weakened our opposition to Bill 2.

My concern is that we not carry this position into the election campaign. If we reinforce the false division between workers & farmers we will not only undermine the bargaining power of unions involved in negotiations, we will enable the CPR to increase freight rates in the fall by attributing the costs to labour. We will be preparing public opinion to support more profits for corporate management.

of more immediate concern is how Thatcher will use the caucus stand on Bill 2 in the election. I think we must develop positive arguments in support of labour rights. We can illustrate the position of working people as it parallels the position of farmers. Both are fighting to sustain an income & job security against the greed of corporations who are draining wealth & profits out of the region. Both are victimized by inflation which is caused not by labour costs which are going down, but by profits which continue to rise. Bot suffer under present government spending priorities, where subsidization of foreign resource industries with general tax revenues is standard procedure, while basic community services such as health and education suffer badly.

Only by recognizing our comm on burden can working people and farmers organize together for common solutions through socialist planning. Labour rights are central to a socialist program & must be recognized and supported by farmers. Whatever position our caucus takes, we as party members must build and maintain this solidarity.

I ask for your support in resolving this discussion in the councils of our party.

it appeared quite obvious from his remarks that the waffle must remain firm in its aims for a socialist Canada. Members present expressed their opinions on What is needed and where do we begin" Important topics discussed included the involvement of members of the trade union movement and the riding associations; gathering support for waffle candidates and our full involvement in supporting all candidates in the forthcoming provincial election. Ten of the trade unionists present were appointed on a temporary basis to the waffle steering committee--which olds its next meeting June 12 in Hamilton. The Mext open waffle meeting will be held in Hamilton on Saturday, June 26.

FISHERMEN cont'd

In October, deep sea trawlermen's committees were formed to negotiate with the companies under the supervision of the Conservative government to bring an end to the strike. In their provincial election campaign the Liberals were offering legislative changes to bring fishermen under the Trade Union Act and allow them union rights. Following the election victory of Oct. 13 the Liberal Attorney General introduced Bill 11 as promised. But while the bill was en route through the assembly, the Canadian Food and Allied Workers Union, a branch of the Chicago-based Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen entered the Canso area to back the ranks of the CFWU and the UFAWU with the blesming of CLC president Donald MacDonald Shortly before Bill 11 received royal assent and without any consultation with the fishermen, the committee signed a voluntary recognition ("sweetheart") agreement with the CFAWU in which concessions gained by the Deep Sea Trawler men's Committee, such as the right to tie up un-seaworthy boats, were surrendered

and a closed shop was instituted.

Acadia immediately enforced the closed shop and on March 13 began to fire 81 UFAWU members who refused to join the CFAWU. At that time Acadia employed 107 trawlermen. The subsequent battle for recognition before the Labor Relations Board saw the UFAWU present documentary evidence of membership of 89 Acadia trawlermen in their union, while the CFAWU merely claimed to represent 59 with no substantiating evidence. The Labour Relations Board and the Nova Scotia government ignored calls for a

free vote among the trawlermen to establish which union had majority support an provided for in an amendment to Bill 11. The LRB upheld recognition of the CFAWU with no reasons given. In efforts to redress this obvious injustice a committee for a Free Vote for Fishermen was established along with a "blue ribbon" committee of prominent citizens to carry out the vote This was done on May 3, 1971 and resulted in a 66-3 vote in favour of the UFAWU. Despite this additional evidence in sup port of the UFAWU, further official action is still awaited. Meanwhile decisions on 75 claims of unfair labour practice vs Acadia have been repeatedly postponed by the same LRB.

It is quite apparent that Booth and Acadia Fisheries, local arms of multi-national corporations. which have been heavily subsidized with public monies, and on whose operations the livelihood of whole town depends, are being aided in their exploitation of the workers by labor and government officials who purport to represent those very workers. Never was there a clearer case for public ownership of the fisheries and control of their operation by the workers involved.

Bbret smiley CONT'D FROM P.12

Another is the development of a "leadership cult" around our public "heavies." One of the prerequisites of more sustained political struggle must be the demo-cratization of the waffle, in terms of both leadership and dec-Ision-making.

We have un-tapped resources within our own ranks. There are dozens of talented speakers, writers & organizers in the waffle. Because of the internal dynamics previously described, many-of them have never been utilized. Whether or not they are in the future will be one measure of our success or fail-

Directly related to the question of elitism is the lack of internal political debate. This problem finds its most pertinent and disturbing expression in the confus-ion and ambiguity with which the waffle views the NDP, and its re-lationship to the NDP. There seems to be no conscious analysis of the way that social democracy, thru both the NDP and the CLC, has enheld back class strugveloped gle in Canada. It is obvious that this subject must be least least openly discussed if not resolved, If we are to begin to organize working people independently of the

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TO MANY OF US THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION WAS THE PROTEST AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT THE PROJECT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT
HELD ON PARLIAMENT HILL.
THE UPPERMOST PICTURE SHOWS THE
EVENT'S HIGHLIGHT -- WHEN THE LAPALME TRUCKDRIVERS FROM MONTREAL, WHO HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATING CONSISTENTLY FOR NEARLY A YEAR, JOINED OUR GROUP IN RESPONSE TO CALLS FROM MANY WAFFLE PEOPLE IN THE CROWD TO ASK ONE OF THEM TO SPEAK, THE NDP CAUCUS HAS NOT TAKEN THEIR FIGHT INTO PARLIA-MENT (THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BEING MANAGEMENT IN THIS STRUGGLE)
APPARENTLY BECAUSE "LES GARS DE
LAPALME" WISH TO BE REPRESENTED BY A C.N.T.U. UNION RATHER THAN BY THE

> **PHOTOS** MICHAEL J. CARLEY KINGSTON

We must also deal with the fact that "community organizing" as it has been practiced in Canada has been a flop. An extra-parliamentary for the waffle means the development of a new set of political skills and tools that we now lack.

That factor, plus the largely middle-class character of the group indicates that the road will be long and hard.

Finally there is the hostile & often sectarian attitude with which some wafflers view independent

leftists outside the NDP. There are valid criticisms to be made from both sides, but the arrogant insistence that socialists work-

ing outside the NDP are irrelev ant at best, and ultra-left at worst will only serve to inhibit the kind of left unity and solidarity that is crucial if socialism is to make real political gains in the next few years.

In a real sense, the Waffle bears a great responsibility. As the only serious national organization of the left, the path it takes will have serious implications for the future of Canadian socialism. It can either be absorbed as a traditional opposition within the confines of social democracy or it can play a lead-ing role in the radicalization of the Canadian working class.

The choice is ours. Power to the People.





this isn't a fund appeal, honest. - by MEL WATKINS

THE WAFFLE HAS NOW COME THROUGH ITS FIRST FEDERAL LEADERSHIP CAMPAIGN, THAT MEANS WE'VE ALSO WEATHERED OUR FIRST LARGE SCALE FUND-RAISING ENDEAVOUR, "E RAN A SERIOUS CAMPAIGN WITH LOTS OF EXCELLENT LITERATURE. OUR BILLS TOTALLED UP TO ALMOST \$10,500 AND ME WENT TO THE COMENTION ONLY \$1,700 SHORT OF MMAT ME NEEDED TO BREAK EVEN -- A REAL TRIBUTE TO THE WILLIMGNESS OF A LOT OF PEOPLE TO DIG DEEP

THEN IN A SINGLE ATTEMPT AT FUND-RAISING AT A MAFFLE CAUCHS

CONVENTION, WE BALANCED THE BOOKS,

SO WE DON'T HAVE ANY DEBTS, WHICH IS NICE, BUT THEN, WE DON'T HAVE
A BANK ACCOUNT EITHER. FOR THE MOMENT, THAT'S NOT A SERIOUS PROBLEM, IN THE

A BANK ACCOUNT ETHER.

LONGER RUN IT WILL BE.

HE WAFFLE IS HERE TO STAY, DAY TO DAY THINGS DON'T COST MUCH, THOUGH
A LITTLE, IRJE, THERE MON'T BE ANOTHER CONVENTION FOR A COUPLE OF YEARS, PUT,
ME'VE GOT A LOT OF BUILDING TO DO BEFORE THEM, A REALLY EXCITING IDEA IS TO
MOVE FROM THE PRESENT MAFFLE NEWS TO A RADICAL ENGLISH CANADIAN NEWSPAPER,

RELEVANT TO WORKING PEOPLE.

TO LAUNCH THAT WILL COST MONEY.

DON'T TAKE YOUR CHECUE BOOK OUT NOW, "OU ARE ENTITLED TO A SHORT REST.

BUT THE WAFFLE CAN'T SURVIVE, MUCH LESS GROW, MITHOUT REGULAR FUNDING, YOU WILL

BE HEARING FROM US REGARDING THAT IN DUE COURSE.

women were, after all, propie who need a "sense of self-respect" and should "make it on their own merits". And only six speeches at that, on an issue of major if not monumental importance.

kather than go into a lengthy acalysis of the composite resolution that now stands as the party complete policy on women for the next two years, just point out a few telling facts. To begin with, the resolution was not written by women, but by a male-dominated resolutions committee. It was, and remains, a mutiliated, misleading, watered-down and obscure version of the excellent resolutions submitted by women from every part of Canada. It represented a legalistic, petty, liberal and totally inadequate response to the movement which is challenging in the most fundamental terms, the way our society functions as a whole. Within the document there is not one reference to the distinct needs and greater oppression of poor and working class women. There is also no mention of 24-hour working class women. There is also in married and user-controlled day-care centres, abortion on demand, women inside and outside the trade union movement, sharing of the care of children by men and women, and the socialization and education of women. Women's liberation spoke against the resolution and asked instead that a conference be convened of NDP and trade union women, so that they could formulate their own policies. Once again

we were resoundingly beaten.
All this went on against a background of visious and gross heckling, total indifference of the chair...

Women's Liberation is up against a social organiization which is even more fundamental than class, and the NDP reflects it no less than the rest of society. NDP men benefit from it no less, and it is they who control This explains the denunciation of special measures for women as undemocratic and yet the acceptance of them as necessary and healthy for trade unions. also explains the seemingly mysterious election of twelve women to federal council -- they were, each and every one, elected on an anti-women's lib. platform, their names appearing on the establishment slate.

TWO YEARS ---- cont'd

In many sections of the party, the waffle had assumed a grass roots leadership role. The leadership contest in Sask-atchewan, the policy victory at the Ontario convention and other significant demonstrations of strength by the waffle resulted in laying the groundwork for the decisive waffle victory at the Ottawa leadership convention.

In two years, the waffle had matured considerably. In Ottawa, caucus meetings were attended by over 300 wafflers, people who in many cases had been active in promoting the waffle in their province or home riding, people who knew where the waffle was going, and knew that they were going with it - all the way to the last ballot. They were the waffle.

At Winnipeg, the waffle was supported by a handful of trade unionists, primarily research people on union staff. At Ottawa delegates from locals in almost every union were going Laxer, making it clear that the union leaders who pegged "wafflers" as "social misfits" spoke only themselves. The increased participation in the waffle of union activists must be seen as one of our most significant accomplishments.

Also, in contrast to the Winnipeg convention, the waffle was now reflecting a serious amount of activity at the constituency level in the large number of riding delegates that supported the waffle. The waffle was representing a base that exists in the party.

Another significant difference between the two conventions, was of course the very presence of a Quebec caucus at Ottawa. Besides the alliance on the self-determination for Quebec resolution, there were numerous situations in which the waffle caucus co-operated with the Quebec caucus. This opens the door to future work between the

Quebec NDP and the waffle.

In Winnipeg, we ran only two wafflers for the executive and five for the council. In Ottawa, we ran a full slate, a full alternative in the elections for executive and council. We moved from "trying to get a few on" to offering clearly to the delegates at the convention a socialist alternative to the official slate.

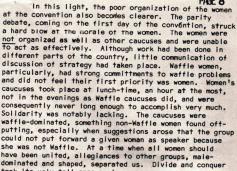
Yes, in a year and a half, we have moved a long way forward. We are no longer a minority trying to be heard, but one of two majorities prepared to lead the New Democratic Party at all levels.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

It's a pretty alright. However, it's not likely we'll get the correct line on future strategy by, say, next week. So if you have opinions, that is what the WAFFLE NEWS is for. Write them down, and send them in. We are also starved for

tical developments, etc. Send any material to Tracy Morey, 40 Hazelton, # 4, Toronto.

PICTURES? CARTOONS? DOODLINGS? ETCHINGS? GRAPHS? They'd help make a better paper. Let's have a little socialist culture.



took its ugly toll once again.
Its unlikely that better organization would have achieved the passing or defeating of the respective resolutions, but there is no doubt that the quality of de-bate and concertedness of protest would have been upgraded tremendously. This would have made our presence and our cause more clearly understood and would have made it possible for women leaving the convention to feel close to each other, having achieved some measure of collective articulation and sisterhood, rather than demoralized and

The question facing women, then, is what kind of work will we now do -- in the party and in the Waffle? Do we want to continue putting all our efforts into party work, given the clear statement of rock hard antagonism at the convention? Is the party a meaningful base where the potential is great for showing women their oppression? My answer to both these questions is no-beating one's head against a brick wall has never been my idea of radical social action. A certain force should be maintained to do some convention work when the time comes by all means, but anything more than that makes little sense to me at this point.

What should be the nature of the work that we do undertake? The women I've spoken to in Ontario have many different thoughts. Some maintain that we need to con-tinue to raise our own consciouness and do better research serious question on the position of women in Canada, while giving support to other women. Others maintain that all our efforts should be going into active organizing-working with trade union women, building day-care centres in our ridings, etc. My own feeling is that we need to do both. Its time to look again, and harder, at our own situation, and time to These things are not mutually exclusive

Another question that must be dealt with is how will Waffle women work with other party women, and to what extent, if any, do our ideas on women's liberation cut across Waffle-non-Waffle lines? If we want the support of other women at times like conventions, how will we build productive links with these women?

The question of how we work within the Waffle itself is much more difficult and painful. I am not convinced that the Waffle is "liberated". Once again it is not rhetoric, but practice that counts. The ratio of stories on local waffle men to women is three-to-one. In Waffle meetings happenings acrosswomen speak less frequently than men. They are not in the country... prominent leadership positions. The question of women meetings, poli— is never discussed unless a woman raises it. The defeat of women at the convention was not agonized over by the Waffle as a whole. The Waffle does not make concerted efforts to recruit women or shape them into political persons. Rarely do all the anecdotes and gossip that we exchange concern women or women's issues. These are only a few indications of how shallow a consciousness the Waffle really has of the women's issue (and here I include some waffle women with men.)

What all this means to me is that women will have to face that it is they who must do the work, unless they can somehow force the Waffle to take that kind of work on as part and parcel of its own actions. reject and resent the whole notion of woman first or socialist first. I am a socialist, but integral and inseparable to my vision of socialism is the liber-ation of women. That struggle is absolutely equal in terms of urgency and necessity to any other one. think we must debate the possibility of women devoting all their political time over the next year perhaps to women's organizing. Someone has to do it, and it doesn't look like its going to be the men. I think women must stop subordinating their own struggle to the 'general" one -- How can it be general if it doesn't include theirs?

These are all difficult questions. Lets get on with the business of answering them so we can act, and act effectively.



DEAR WAFFLER:

You've probably heard by now that the Ontario NDP is sponsoring a Counter-Conference on Economic and Cultural Nationalism. Its purpose is to expose the bankruptcy of the Davis conference and present (hopefully) a clear socialist alternative.

When Davis first announced the details of his conference, the Waffle began to organize a counter-conference. In due course, the leadership of the Ontario NDP decided to do the same. We merged our efforts in a conference that will be sponsored by the Party and jointly organized.

Some of the details are not yet finalized, but the format and main speakers have been established. The conference will take place at 7:30 in the evening on Wednesday, June 23: Thursday, June 24: and Friday, June 25 -- at OISE. 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto. The major themes are Economic Domination & Jobs, Cultural Nationalism, and Canada as Resource Hinterland. The major speakers are Stephen Hymer (a distinguished critic of the multi-national corporation who was to be the token radical at the Davis conference but withdrew to come to ours). Eric Kierans and Jim Laxer (to debate opening night while those at the Davis conference eat a lavish dinner and listen to that well-known Canadian nationalist. Claude Bissell). Stephen Lewis, Mel Watkins, Abe Rotstein and Donald C. MacDonald.

Each evening there will be a panel of people affected by foreign domination, particularly the unemployed, to describe the reality of living in Ontario; amongst the panelists are Wafflers Al Campbell and Varda Kidd. Also. each evening there will be a full hour for participation from the floor -- so come and argue for a left alternative.

Also during the day on Thursday we hope to have workshops on book publishing, science and R & D, art, sports, film production, education, etc., where people involved in these activities can get together and work out socialist policies.

This conference can be an important event in building socialism in Ontario. That means that lots of us must come and participate actively. It also means that as many of us as can get involved in putting up posters, handing out leaflets and organizing in our place of work and community.

The party will shortly be mailing out a leaflet to party members giving final details on the conference. If you need more information or WANT TO HELP ORGANIZE, call 489-4563 or 225-2013 or 481-2057.

Carl Peterson Mel Watkins