

## Orillia- the end or the beginning...

# Waffle To Decide At London

The Ontario Waffle will meet at the Belvoir Centre near London August 19-20 to work out its response to the motion passed by the Ontario New Democratic Party Council on June 24, calling on the Waffle to disband. In the five weeks since the NDP council meeting local Waffle groups have been meeting to discuss a number of different options and to elect delegates to the London conference. The editors of this issue of Waffle News, which is being produced by the Ottawa Waffle, have asked a number of Wafflers to contribute articles on the course of action they favour and which they have spoken for at local meetings. Their signed contributions appear on pages 2-3.

### Waffle Under Attack

The provincial council's action at Orillia marked the end of an eight-month campaign period, during which the position of the Waffle in the Ontario party has been under heavy attack. In November 1971, just after a disastrous provincial election in Ontario, Hamilton Mountain riding called for the expulsion of the Waffle from the party. This resolution had the support of important elements in the party from the first, including Ian Deans, House Leader of the NDP in the legislature and Bob Mackenzie, a Steelworkers' organizer on loan to the Ontario party.

At the provincial council meeting in Oshawa in March an unprecedented number of union delegates (95) showed up to support Hamilton Mountain. Stephen Lewis, the Ontario leader, attacked the Waffle in an hour-long speech. The council substituted for the Hamilton Mountain resolution one which instructed the party executive "to prepare a statement outlining the responsibilities and obligations of members to the party", recognizing "the grave anxiety among our

membership at the emergence of a distinct group within the Party, yet with structures and policies separate and different from those of the Party." During April, a three man executive commission held meetings with party members in six Ontario cities. On May 6, the party executive approved the commission's report and recommendations, which compared the Waffle to George Wallaceites of the U.S. Democratic Party and demanded that the Waffle disband or be expelled from the party.

Under the direction of the steering committee and its communications committee, the Ontario Waffle fought the executive report hard in the six weeks prior to the Orillia council meeting. Two major documents - a brief to the three-man Vichert commission and a reply to the Vichert commission report - were prepared and circulated to all ridings and affiliated organizations as well as to the Waffle mailing list. The province was broken down into six areas and a systematic canvass of delegates undertaken by local Wafflers in each area. Ontario Waffle speakers debated Vichert report supporters at dozens of riding meetings in May and June.

### Compromise Sought

The Waffle also went some ways towards meeting the criticisms made by 'centre' people within the ridings. Waffle Steering Committee meetings held at London on May 14 and Toronto on June 17 committed the Waffle in Ontario to a less public role and to a greater emphasis on working within the structures of the party. A steering committee meeting held in Orillia the night before the council meeting decided to ask delegates to vote for a motion from Peterborough riding formulated by John Harney and Walter Pitman which

would have allowed the Waffle to remain within the party as an organized group under a set of rules. A procedural motion to have the Peterborough resolution debated and voted on first was turned down by both the provincial executive and the council itself.

During the actual council debate on Saturday the party leadership clearly showed itself determined to pass the harshest possible motion against the Waffle.

### Vichert--Riverdale

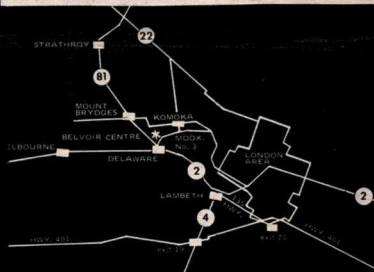
This turned out to be a resolution from Riverdale riding which reaffirmed the conclusions of the Vichert report in its preamble and then declared that "The present structure and behaviour of the Waffle cannot continue." The Riverdale resolution drafted originally by a group of "moderates" of which Ed Broadbent was a member then goes on to outlaw even the name "Waffle" from further use in the Ontario party. Speeches from a number of MPs, MPPs and executive members made it clear that the Riverdale motion would be interpreted in the toughest possible way. In a key speech Stephen Lewis said that he supported the Riverdale motion because he did not intend to continue as party leader "with the Waffle forever an albatross around my neck." The Riverdale motion substituted for the original Vichert recommendation in order to get greater riding delegate support passed at the end of the day 217-88.

This vote set up the need for the London Conference. Two Waffle caucus/steering committee meetings after the Orillia vote set up the mechanisms for the London Conference. Since then the debate among Ontario Wafflers has been hot and heavy and the decision will be made in London.

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## Ontario Waffle Conference August 19-20

BELVOIR CENTRE  
DELAWARE, ONTARIO (NEAR LONDON)



### how to get there

Take exit 19 (Highway 4) north off Highway 401 west of London to Lambeth. Take Highway 2 out of Lambeth (left turn at the traffic lights) to Delaware. Turn right on Middlesex Road No. 3 in Delaware and watch for well marked entrance to Belvoir Centre on the left.

### registration

\$5.00 for all delegates and observers.

### accommodation

\$5.00 per night. Beds for 40 available Friday night. 108 spaces available for Saturday night. Priority will be given to delegates. Information on billets, campsites and motels will be available during registration.

### meals

Lunch and dinner Saturday plus breakfast and lunch Sunday will be available at the Centre at a cost of \$6.50 total per person.

Observers wanting to sleep or take their meals at the Centre during the Conference are asked to contact Jack Blocker, RR 2 Lambeth, Ontario 1-519-471-9925

# Orillia council decision catalyst for controversy

The Orillia Council vote has opened up three topics of hot discussion inside the Ontario Waffle. Wafflers have first of all been divided on what option the London Conference should adopt for the Waffle. Many advocated a "stay and fight" strategy aimed at getting the Riverdale motion upset at the next provincial convention in December. Waffle groups in Ottawa, Kingston, north and west Toronto have on the other hand voted in favour of an option which calls for the formation by Wafflers of a movement for an independent socialist Canada outside the NDP (MISC). Supporters of this option also believe that Wafflers should retain their NDP memberships. Some other Wafflers now advocate a quieter role for the Waffle in the face of Orillia believing that it is best to try to live within the terms of the Riverdale resolution. Individual advocates of the two main positions have developed their views on pages 2-3 of this issue. It appears that two other extreme and entirely opposed options - disbanding the Waffle and staying in the NDP as individuals or getting out of the NDP entirely and starting a new political party - have very limited support. Copies of all resolutions and position papers passed by local Waffle groups will be available at the conference.

## The Position of the Federal Candidates

In addition to other important matters the London conference will also consider the position of Wafflers nominated as federal candidates for the NDP in Ontario. The debate will come first thing Sunday after the conference has decided on one of the options but before it has discussed in detail the implementation of that option.

In the last few weeks some Ontario Wafflers expressed their concern that any decision affecting the Waffle NDP delegates' candidacy might bias the discussion on the various options. Earlier this year four Wafflers were nominated as NDP federal candidates in Ontario: George Gilks (Hamilton West), Jim Laxer (York East), Ellie Prepas (Trinity), and Mel Watkins (Paradale). In a letter to Ontario Wafflers dated July 19 the four candidates asked "to urge

your delegates to the Ontario Steering Committee to support the calling of an emergency meeting of that committee to approve our stated desire to resign." Their main reason for wishing to resign was that as principled socialists, they could not represent to the electorate "a party that has chosen to move decisively rightward." They felt that the likelihood of Waffle ideas winning the support of the NDP in the foreseeable future had greatly diminished since the Orillia council meeting, where the formidable powers of the Ontario Party leadership were shown. Their reason for asking for an emergency meeting of the Steering Committee was their view that remaining as candidates was "most unfair to (their) riding associations."

Since the appearance of this letter there have been some important developments. On July 24 five Ontario Steering Committee members: Joe Flexer, Varda Kidd, Jackie Larkin, Donna McCombs, and Steve Penner sent a letter to other members of the Steering Committee which a) criticised the action taken by the candidates in sending their letter of July 19 and b) asking for an emergency Steering Committee meeting which they hoped "will refuse to approve the withdrawal of any candidates prior to our conference."

On August 8 it was announced that George Gilks had withdrawn as a federal candidate in Hamilton West. The announcement of his decision to resign was made at the request of his riding association's executive. In late July Gilks was asked by his riding association executive either to reaffirm his willingness to run or to submit his resignation. A majority of the executive wanted him to continue as a candidate and his resignation was accepted only "with regret." The riding association was not prepared to tie its electoral prospects to a decision the Waffle might make in late August.

The three other candidates have told the Ontario Waffle communications committee that they wish to wait until the London conference for a decision. They have withdrawn their request for an emergency steering committee meeting.

They will abide by the decision of the confer-

ence as a way of maintaining Waffle solidarity.

## Delegate vs. Open Conference

The nature of the Ontario conference has been a third subject of controversy. The 40-member Ontario steering committee of the Waffle voted to make the London Conference a delegate conference at two different meetings (June 17 and June 24). This has provoked some adverse reaction.

In late July three Toronto Wafflers, Norman Feltes, Ron Mayne and Jack Quarter circulated a letter critical of the steering committee decision on the grounds that the greatest number of Wafflers ought to be involved "in the most critical decision" of the Ontario Waffle's history - the London Conference.

The Toronto trio believe that the conference ought to be held in Toronto and that "voting and speaking rights... must be accorded on an equal basis to all Wafflers who wish to participate... Openness has been the Waffle's strength..." They also argue that "the prior decision by the Waffle's leadership to unite behind option three (forming the political action grouping outside of the NDP) is unnecessarily coercing the debate... (and that)... the leadership of the Waffle are using the threat of the LSA as a bogeyman to close the debate and to win support for their position." Feltes, Mayne and Quarter say that "members of the LSA and for that matter any other minority factions within the Waffle such as Leninists, New Leftists, Social Democrats and non-aligned Socialists - should be allowed to participate."

Interviewed on the reasons for the steering committee's decision to have a delegate conference Doris Jantzi (chairwoman of the Ontario Waffle's communications committee) said: "A delegated conference is clearly more democratic than a conference open to anyone. Local Waffle meetings at which the delegates have been elected have been open to all NDP members. Observers will be welcome at the conference but delegates will get priority in speaking and they only may vote. Delegates after all represent not themselves but the other Wafflers who have elected them."

# TOWARDS A MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA

The Waffle today is facing a serious challenge to its existence. This weekend we must face the reality of Orillia - what the ONDP's decision at Orillia means for the future of the Waffle and its struggle for an independent socialist Canada. We must work out a structure within which the ideas of the Waffle will continue to develop and reach out to more Canadians.

Let us look at the current political situation which faces us. Canada is under continuing pressure to be assimilated culturally and economically with the United States. Every day we see extensions of resource deals with the United States - one day a hydro-electric sale from Northwestern Ontario to the U.S., the next day talk of Imperial Oil selling our

northern natural gas to the U.S. The vast water resources of Northern Quebec are being diverted so that hydro-electric power can go to the Eastern States. Vast sums of Canadian money are to be spent in the north so that oil can be piped to the United States without consideration of future Canadian needs or the needs of Canadians who live in the North.

We have seen continuing high unemployment in Canada. As the United States strives to make us a resource base of their industrial complex, we face foreign takeovers and the deindustrialization of Canada. As a resource base, Canada will not be able to provide jobs for its people, nor decide the direction of its own economy.

The present political situation in Canada

underlines the need for an anti-imperialist movement. There is a basis in the reality of Canadian life for such a movement. In the resource towns and the single industry cities, the consciousness of Canadian workers is increasing. In places like Sudbury and Windsor, the response to Waffle ideas has been indicative of the potential.

What has been the institutional response to the growing potential for Canadian independence in a socialist framework?

The Liberal Government has refused to adopt the modest steps towards Canadian autonomy. It rejected the Gray Report and has instituted as yet no new measures to deal with foreign takeovers. It has ignored the reports

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from the Economic Council of Canada and the Senate which projected continuing deindustrialization for Canada.

### ONDP Rejects Socialism

The ONDP Council at Orillia chose to deal with the politics of an independent socialist Canada with a structural solution. Although varying interpretations were given to the Riverdale Resolution, the intent of the leadership of the party was clear. At Orillia, the Waffle organization and the politics it professes were expelled from the party. The party will continue to fight for small-scale reforms without challenging the capitalist system which is at the heart of the Canadian crisis. For the time being, at least, the ONDP has rejected the road to an independent socialist Canada.

Recent events have then indicated an institutional failure on the part of the ONDP to respond to the potential for an anti-imperialist movement in Canada. We should not see Orillia as a lessening of the potential for the socialist struggle in Canada, but rather the capacity of the ONDP to be the vehicle through which our ideas are expressed has changed.

There are some in the Waffle who argue that we should fight the Orillia decision at the ONDP December Convention. To argue for a fight in convention is to deny the reality of Orillia. The Waffle as an organization expended virtually all of its energies over the past few months fighting for its right to exist as an organized caucus within the party. The

Waffle indicated it was willing to make substantial concessions in order to live in the party. We carried our campaign to ONDPers throughout the province, but the ONDP rejected the right of a left caucus to exist in the party. The decision at Orillia indicated, beyond a doubt, that not enough NDP centrists in Ontario were willing to fight for our right to exist at this time.

What follows from our experience around the Orillia decision?

In order to fight for our right to exist in the party we need a province-wide organization. Orillia, in effect, denied us an organization, for if we insist on retaining our organization in the NDP we will be faced with the consuming effort of fighting expulsion.

While spending our time fighting to remain in the NDP we will be unable to deal with the fundamental political questions which are facing Canada; and after all it was our politics which brought us together. It is to those political issues that we must address our energies.

### Towards a Movement

In order to do the political work that is before us, we must continue to operate in an open and political manner. The vehicle that we propose to carry on the work of the Waffle is a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. The movement would not be directly involved with electoral politics (i.e. would not run candidates). It would operate entirely outside the NDP, and would explic-

ly not be a caucus in the NDP. Page three satisfying the demands of the Riverdale Resolution. It would draw many Canadians to it who have been either unwilling to work within the confines of the NDP or will be drawn in by the issues we deal with.

### Much Work to be Done

Such an organization would continue the very important educational and organizational work of the Waffle. The organization would do badly-needed research on resources in Ontario. What quantities of resources remain and how they are being used. It would work everywhere in Canada against the sellout of our country to American corporations. It would co-ordinate provincial campaigns on the resource question, on the destruction of Canadian manufacturing, on destruction of our environment, on branch plant shutdowns and on the American influence in our educational institutions. It would seriously take up the task of organizing women in the workplace. It would help to bring the new ideas of the Quebec labour movement to English Canada. It would set up lecture series throughout the province, hold public conferences and set up strike support committees.

Some analogy can be drawn here with the M.S.A. (Mouvement Souverainiste Association) in Quebec which was founded in the fall of 1967. The M.S.A. was formed because Rene Levesque and others found it difficult to work within the existing political parties. In their

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## social democracy in crisis

# "STAY AND FIGHT"

It is clear that social democracy is in crisis. The nature of that crisis bears heavily on our strategic thinking. The historic role that the Waffle has played in exposing social democracy's contradictions must not be forgotten. While the NDP leadership claimed to represent a party of the 'left', it was unable to respond positively to the growing radicalization of youth, women, and intellectuals that took place during the 60's.

But the NDP as an institution had members and supporters who more clearly understood the reality of Canadian politics and were determined to make the party as a whole change terms with that reality. The Waffle became the organized expression within social democracy of the general radicalization taking place in the society.

### Waffle/NDP Always Tensions

From the beginning there were many tensions between the Waffle and the present leadership of the NDP. But they escalated rapidly when the Waffle began to challenge the very institutional basis of the NDP - the bureaucratic alliance between the trade union leaders and their political allies within the party hierarchy. Of course, the Waffle didn't threaten that alliance by suddenly acquiring a working-class base. But it did begin to make a few inroads.

It is within this context that Orillia must be understood. Leaders of the Waffle have interpreted Orillia as meaning that 'the powers of the Ontario Party...do not want the ideas that the Waffle has stood for to be effectively presented within or through the NDP'. But that's always been true. It never prevented us from militantly challenging the politics of the NDP leadership before. Why should it now? Our political activities in the last couple of years on a number of fronts forced the party

leadership to move against us precisely because they demonstrated our growing strength and effectiveness. It is absurd to back away from the struggle just because we've discovered that the party leadership is prepared to do all it can to prevent our further politicizing the rank and file and that it has sufficient muscle to ram the Riverdale resolution through the provincial council. We knew from the past that council would be more easily packed and trade union delegates under tighter control than in the larger and more representative convention.

It is not up to us to resolve the dilemma which the NDP now faces by withdrawing from the struggle. Indeed it is up to us to deepen and widen the political differentiation within social democracy. By engaging in effective mass politics on class issues from within the NDP we will more clearly expose the nature of the bureaucratic structure of the NDP which co-opts class struggle into purely parliamentary channels.

### Political Gains

If we continue to join the struggle within the NDP, what political gains can be made? We obviously would be attempting to win as broad support as possible for the Waffle's politics between now and the December convention. We must shift the focus of our attempts to mobilize support from a defensive, organizational campaign (the right of caucuses, etc.) to a positive, political one centered around the crucial questions facing the working class in Ontario. We could attempt to mobilize support for a direct action campaign around professional strike-breaking or for actions of solidarity with the struggles of the Quebec working class. Such campaigns would be undertaken through the riding associations and union locals and would be accompanied by a challenge

to the party and labour leaders to support them. Should the party leadership attempt to expel us for contravening Riverdale by acting in support of working class struggles the political meaning of the expulsions will be crystal clear. It will then be much easier to win broad support for our rights to organize within the party and to defend ourselves against expulsion.

### Refuse to Recognize Expulsions

It is of course possible that the party leadership will still be bent on expulsions. They would hope that by expelling the Ontario Waffle Steering Committee the Waffle would be decapitated and would then leave the party en masse. However, if the Waffle refuses to recognize the expulsions and continues its political campaigns, the leadership would then be forced to expel every NDP member who actively supports Waffle politics.

The political costs of attempting to root out every Waffle activist from local riding associations or union locals and of disciplining entire riding associations for sponsoring Waffle actions will be enormous. Even if we lose such a fight we will have sharpened the political differentiation with the social democratic leadership and strengthened and toughened our organization through the struggle. Labour militants will be much more likely to understand the political basis of the split and will not accuse us of walking out of the 'party of the working class'. At that point in time we will be in a stronger position to take our next step.

We stress that the supporters of this paper believe that, given the political factors outlined above, the Waffle could, by adopting a militant political strategy within the NDP, prevent expulsions from taking place and win a

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# General Information / Rules for Delegates, Observers

1. All Delegates and observers to the conference must be members of the NDP in keeping with past and present Waffle policy.
2. Delegates only may vote at the conference. Priority in delegates will be given to delegates.
3. As there are many Wafflers in the province who do not have an organized group from which to obtain delegate status, those who come as observers from these outside areas may caucus at the conference and select two delegates to represent them on the floor.
4. Day care will be provided throughout the conference.
5. A travel pool will be available for the Thunder Bay delegation. In other areas, car pools should be arranged to avoid heavy costs.
6. Any delegate may obtain a list of delegates to the conference by writing Doris Jantzi, c/o Ontario Waffle, P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto. Any other info you require may be obtained through the same address.

## PROPOSED AGENDA AND RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS (prepared by the communications committee of the Ontario Waffle)

Saturday August 19

8:30 - 10:00 AM Registration

10:00 AM Opening Plenary

-- Consideration of the Options

PROCEDURE: Debate will take place for the entire day under the following rules:

- 1) any option may be put on the floor for discussion if by 10:00 a.m. on Saturday that option has the signed support of a minimum of ten delegates to the conference.
- 2) supporters of each option will then be permitted a maximum of ten minutes to move their motion plus five minutes to second the motion.
- 3) after all motions have been introduced and seconded, the floor will be opened to speakers who will be limited to three minutes each.
- 4) debate will then proceed for the balance of the day (with a one hour lunch break) until the delegates are ready for the question. At that time a roll call vote will be taken with each delegate naming their preferred option.
- 5) voting will proceed in this manner, and on each roll call, the option obtaining the lowest vote will be dropped until one option receives a majority vote.

6) during Saturday's debate no amendments or motions to refer or table will be permitted. Motions to amend the winning option will be in order during Sunday's session on implementing the successful option as long as they are not contrary to the spirit of that option.

7) official delegations and presentations have been invited from Waffle groups in other provinces. Each province will be given five minutes following the lunch break on Saturday to present the position of their Waffle group. As well their delegates will have speaking rights on the floor of the conference.

6:00 PM Adjournment

Sunday August 20

10:00 AM Plenary

-- 'The Federal Candidates'

1:30 PM Plenary

-- 'Implementation of the Winning Option'

NOTE: Procedure for this plenary will be determined on Saturday night by a joint meeting of the Communications Committee and representatives from the winning option.

5:00 PM Adjournment

### Waffle News July-August, 1972

This special Ontario edition of The Waffle News has been produced under the direction of the steering committee of the Ottawa Waffle. Layout by the Source, Ottawa.

Ontario Waffle  
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### mailing list:

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## ... MOVEMENT

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case, the M.S.A. was the basis out of which of a new party, the Parti Quebecois, was formed.

The movement would allow us to substantially increase our methods of communication.

As a focus for our activities and ideas, we will need a newspaper which will publish on a regular basis. Once again an analogy can be made with Quebec where Henri Bourassa founded Le Devoir around the beginning of the century. Le Devoir was used for both making and reporting politics. We could also publish pamphlets and books on popular issues.

Participation in the movement would not exclude individuals from retaining NDP membership. Our grievances are not with the rank and file NDPers in our riding associations but rather with the leadership of the ONDP. Hence, there is still valuable work which can be done at the riding level such as educational. However, work at the leadership level of the party may not be considered a useful expenditure of energy at this time.

The movement will not be in competition with the NDP - as it is not a political party. Instead, the movement will be carrying out those political activities which cannot be done through the NDP at this time.

It is premature to discuss what future form the movement will take. The movement will be occupied for some time building a base for the ideas of independence and socialism.

If the NDP takes a turn to the left and is willing to accept our ideas, then our focus

may return to the NDP. If our movement grows into a serious socialist force in Canada without the necessary changes in the NDP, then a new political party may emerge.

Whatever the future holds, the task before us is to build a movement around independence and socialism for Canada. To explore, develop and communicate the ideas which have made us strong.

Ellie Prepas \*

(based on a paper written for the East Metro Waffle Meeting of July 19th, 1972, "Towards a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada").

Ellie Prepas lives in Toronto where she works in the north Metro Waffle and is a member of the Ontario communications committee. In February she was nominated as NDP federal candidate in Toronto Trinity.

## ... "STAY AND FIGHT"

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tremendous political victory. We are nevertheless convinced that even the risk of being expelled for engaging in class politics is a more viable political strategy than the poorly thought out and vaguely formulated Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

The proponents of MISC argue: "During the next few years, as the movement for independence and socialism grows, we believe the basis for a truly socialist party will come into being." "But at this moment we cannot know how it will (happen)." That is, of course, a rather key question!

Is MISC to be the basis for a new party? How could that be possible while the NDP

continues to have such widespread legitimacy among the working class? With all of its political liabilities, the NDP remains the only broad expression of working class politics in Canada. That fact won't go away just because two or three hundred of us have walked out of the party. MISC will have no labour base and will not be seen by workers as having arisen out of the trade union or political struggles of their class.

Some have argued that if the developing radicalization of the working class begins to find expression within the NDP we could then re-enter the party. Therefore they advocate that MISC supporters retain their NDP memberships as individuals. But if the Waffle abandons its role as a left caucus within the NDP now it will not be able to re-establish that role so easily later.

We are convinced that abandoning our caucus in the NDP to establish MISC as an embryonic socialist party is a course of action which is not based on a clear political analysis. Those who have been persuaded of its merits should re-examine the vagueness of its formulation and insist that its proponents be far clearer about its political viability.

Varda Kidd  
Jackie Larkin  
Steve Penner

The three signatories of this document work in the Waffle in Toronto and have been delegates to the Ontario steering committee. In October 1971 Steve Penner was the NDP candidate in Toronto Dovercourt. Jackie Larkin is on the Ontario NDP executive.