

INDEPENDENCE

A movement is growing . . . for an independent socialist Canada

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# SASKATCHEWAN WAFFLE LEAVES NDP

The Saskatchewan Waffle in conference at Moose Jaw on October 6-8 voted to leave the NDP and "work to establish a socialist party in Saskatchewan." The actual vote in favour of the withdrawal resolution was 189 to 3 with 7 abstentions.

The decision came after seven months of debate inside the Saskatchewan Waffle and the provincial NDP. In contrast to the Waffle's experience in Ontario the NDP leadership in Saskatchewan publicly asked the Waffle to stay on in the party. On September 27 two weeks before the Moose Jaw conference the Saskatchewan NDP executive formally asked the Waffle not to leave. Premier Blakeney took the same position though his public comments were less clear than those of the executive.

Major reason for the delegates' decision was the conviction that the NDP was not and could not become a socialist party. One document adopted in principle by the conference on "Social Trends in Saskatchewan" reads, "...socialists must set out in a new direction... this direction will require the launching of a new political formation in Saskatchewan and eventually throughout Canada."

The paper goes on to say that a strategy for any new socialist formation "must begin with the socialist proposition that the primary social force in the struggle for an independent socialist Canada is the working class."

The full text of the Saskatchewan resolution appears on this page. The conference also voted to begin work immediately on building the ideology, strategy, and organization necessary for the new socialist party. Internal educationals and discussion along with public actions will be the main focus of the Saskatchewan Waffle's winter activities.

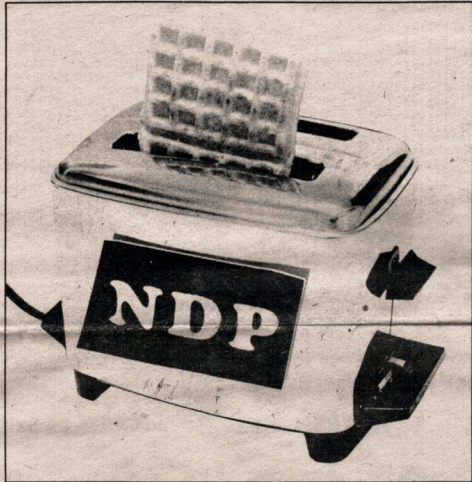
**"Extremely important decision"**

- Watkins

Mel Watkins, chairperson of the Ontario Waffle executive said after the Saskatchewan convention that "it was an extremely important decision for Wafflers in all parts of the country including Ontario." Watkins along with Hilary Armstrong and Jim Sacoumin was sent to the Saskatchewan meeting by the Ontario executive.

Watkins made two presentations to the convention. Before the actual vote Watkins argued that in his opinion the Ontario Waffle had been able to be a completely viable organization outside the NDP.

After the vote in favour of leaving the NDP representations were heard from provincial Waffle groups outside Saskatchewan. Watkins told the Moose Jaw meeting that after listening to the weekend's debates he found important similarities between the Saskatchewan and Ontario experiences to date. Wafflers in both provinces had found it impossible to work as socialists inside the NDP. That they had come to that decision by different



The Charlton

routes proved that something "more fundamental than tactics" was involved. Also, Watkins said, both Waffles are in essentially the same position despite subtle differences.

"Both groups are in a transitional phase. In Saskatchewan you have said by convention decision that you are in a transitional phase to a new party. In Ontario over the past year individual Wafflers have been

talking more and more about the need for a new party. The Saskatchewan decision should put that subject more and more on the agenda of the Ontario Waffle."

Watkins also found that both Waffles were working from the same ideological commitment and perspective.

"You have a concrete analysis of the political economy of Saskatchewan and a real class analysis. Ontario was not really in

that position when we left the NDP but we have through internal educationals etc. got to the same position. That is, we are working on the political economy of Ontario and an explicit class analysis. We have also elaborated our anti-imperialist analysis."

Watkins thought there was now a great potential and impetus for a national Waffle movement. A priority in this regard was a national campaign on the energy issue. "Energy is not just another issue with us but is the guts of our politics."

Such a campaign at this time, Watkins said, would lead to the creation of new Waffle groups in other provinces. "New formations and parties at the provincial level argue for the same at the national level. Independence and socialism need a national movement to resolve the contradiction."

At its meeting on October 14 the Ontario Waffle executive decided to make the question of forming a party in Ontario a major item of discussion at the first annual convention of the Ontario Waffle to be held December 8-9 in Toronto.

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## WAFFLE MOOSE JAW CONFERENCE WITHDRAWAL RESOLUTION

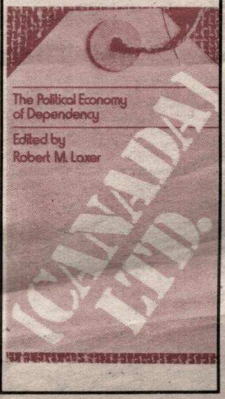
WHEREAS the record and performance of the three Western NDP provincial governments, as well as the NDP Federal Caucus, clearly demonstrates that the NDP has adopted the classical social democratic stance of saving capitalism from itself, while leaving untouched the basic exploitative and elitist character of the capitalist social structure;

AND WHEREAS the NDP in Sask., as well as elsewhere, has rooted out all vestiges of socialist program and organizational structure, rendering the work of socialists within the NDP increasingly futile;

AND WHEREAS the NDP has clearly repudiated the fundamental character of socialism by rejecting all policies and programs that would establish the social ownership and control of the means of production and by rejecting all policies and programs that would destroy elitism and build truly democratic political and economic structures;

AND WHEREAS we, as socialists, have an historical obligation to go directly to the people in the struggle for socialism and a deeper democracy;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Saskatchewan Waffle Movement, the movement for an independent and socialist Canada, withdraw from the New Democratic Party and work to establish a socialist party in Saskatchewan.



The Political Economy of Dependency

Edited by Robert M. Loxer

WE SUSTAIN THE STATE APPROPRIATE

# BACKGROUND TO THE SASKATCHEWAN DECISION

The October Conference in Moose Jaw's Union Centre "acted head-on" on the differences between the NDP's anaemic and failing "social democracy" and the healthy pulsating socialism the Waffle can offer in a Canadian context. The near unanimous support given to the Waffle withdrawal resolution indicates that work will continue now unhampered, on the politics of food, analyses of corporate energy policies, Canadian unions, and other important issues.

On August 20 the press release announcing the October Conference served notice that apart from considering separation, the Waffle would take as its target the multiple failures of the NDP. Not only is the NDP's reluctance to act on the question of Canadian independence and its tendency to offer none but liberal reforms of capitalism called into account, but its pretensions are exposed.

The active supporters of a separate Waffle are working from the obvious fact that only a solid working class basis will make a sound socialist movement for Canadian independence possible.

The press release charges that "Not only has the NDP failed to be a socialist party, it has also failed to be a traditional 'labour' party. Their strategy has aimed at being another 'middle class' party, competing for the votes which normally go to the Liberal and Conservative parties... (A) new socialist movement must clearly stand on the side of those on wages and salaries, which in Canada represents 83% of the labour force." John Warnock has informed the Ontario Waffle News (telephone conversations 30/9/73 and 1/10/73) that in Saskatchewan very few unions actually have any sort of affiliation with, or support for the NDP. "At any recent convention," Mr.

Warnock states, "there have never been more than 50 labour delegates from unions, labour councils, or any other labour orientes bodies." The Pulp and Paper workers of Canada in B.C. and all C.C.U. locals in the west have sloughed off NDP affiliation by formal decision.

Even before the Waffle withdrawal supporters had been pulling away sharply from the NDP. The Saskatchewan NDP has lost over half its membership in the past year and is now faced with approaching bankruptcy of funds, nearly marching in degree the bankruptcy of its socialist principles. Clearly, if there were an election called today the NDP would be turned out even with disillusionment with the old line parties running high.

The press release suggests that the withdrawal is seen less a break with the NDP to start out afresh with a new political programme, but more a refusal to past expectations for socialism in this country with the hope of becoming what the NDP was unable evolve into.

*The original CCF defined itself as a political movement, with a broad programme of socialist education. It gave open support for PEOPLE'S struggles outside the political arena, particularly the farm movement and trade unions. Today, the NDP is just another political machine, gearing up its supporters for elections, and providing the patronage payoff after gaining office.*

*Internally, the NDP is no longer democratic in the true sense of the term. It is all too evident that the party is tightly controlled by a small self-perpetuating elite. The recent federal convention in Vancouver*

*was only another example of manipulation by this oligarchy.*

The Saskatchewan Waffle had a discussion document to work with in "A Socialist Alternative for Canada", a personal statement by John W. Warnock, author of Partner to Behemoth.

The first four chapters are historical, tracing socialism through its origins to its progress in Canada up to the merger in 1961 forming the NDP. The present trade union membership, reflecting the ideology of business unionism imported from the United States via their international unions, rejects socialism. Thus, the NDP today is even further removed from socialism than the CCF in 1956." (p. 11)

The Saskatchewan CCF on behalf of its farmer and worker constituents had made a promise for "the social ownership of all resources and public utilities." What a stark contrast this is to David Lewis Oct. 12, 1972 statement, "I'm not denying INCO's right to make a profit. I want them to pay their fair share of running the country." In Warnock's opinion this is the only point that Lewis' "Voices" makes. "The NDP ever... to demand that the company pay for pollution control"

Social democracy can often result in the pernicious form of liberal complexity with corporate interests. Swedish social democracy is taken as the prime example; its regime permits 15 families to run the country through corporate ownership. Yet this is the political system which "our" NDP in the best of its positive moods would like to emulate.

In concluding the middle portion of his presentation, the Waffle report focuses on the NDP's willingness to sustain compromise by viewing its election strategy. The error was admitted by Clifford Scotton,

Federal Secretary of the NDP: "We do not get the votes of the poor. They vote Liberal. We are a middle class party, and we aimed our campaign at them."

Such an admission allows Warnock to move to his major theme — the need for a Canadian, working class based, democratically functioning, socialist "We need," he argues, "a strong movement, organizing all Canadian working class people into ten or twelve major unions... Without such a movement there will be little success in the movement for an independent and socialist Canada."

It would seem that the new separate Waffle does not shirk planning long term goals.

*A new socialist movement in Canada must become the political institution through which the working people attempt to make changes in the present system which cannot be accomplished through trade union activity. Yet the political success of any socialist party will be directly related to the development of a strong trade union movement... (In Canada this means: a) the organization of the 2/3 of the Canadian Labour force who are not members of trade unions; b) the consolidation of the present 100 different trade unions into ten or twelve major unions; and c) the development of a Canadian trade union movement which is completely independent of U.S. control and influence.*

It will interesting to see how a strategy based on these objectives will be articulated into immediate practical measures at the present 100 different trade unions; it is a fact, though that support for such a trade union and worker organization policy is strong in the western Waffle.

## Canadian Union Fights Militant Battle

On August 21st a significant strike began in Toronto. Significant not because it has been won the Canadian Textile And Chemical Union affiliated with the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU) is still carrying on — but because the issues raised are pertinent to the entire labour movement: the right to unionize is at stake; police are harassing strikers; sweatshops are using immigrant workers; a management rights clause is used to deny elementary union rights, and civil rights are ignored.

The Union is fighting for a first contract and accuses the company of trying to "bribe the workers with a 85 cent increase". The increase was settled in negotiations but the company gave an ultimatum to the Union to accept word for word the Management Rights Clause. Madeleine Parent, secretary-treasurer of the Union said it is the worst such clause she has seen in 30 years of negotiating. It denies the elementary right to grieve against arbitrary or unfair treatment. The Company also insists on a Seniority Clause which would negate all rights of senior workers.

Wages are presently from \$2.00 to \$2.95 an hour on a 42 1/2 hour week. The 120 employees are largely immigrants from Italy, Greece, Portugal, Latin America and the Caribbean. The Company has locations outside of Toronto, in Montreal, Vancouver and Cleveland Ohio, USA.



In its militant battle the Union has had to contend with the Toronto Metro Police. They have harassed the strikers so obviously that two Toronto aldermen called for a discussion in Metro Council of their role.

To date there have been 47 arrests on the picket line (on average nearly one a day). Three met York University's teacher, Mark Golden and Student Raymond Van Ecoog and a striker Ron Morsut were arrested in separate incidents outside the plant. It was the second arrest for the first two. They all went to jail rather than accept the bail condition — a promise to stay 150 feet from the picket line.

The Union appealed the bail condition. Lawyer Clayton Ruby argued that the condition violates the Bill of Rights, which guarantees freedom of speech. He said the condition "will be seen by others as the criminal law intervening on behalf of the bosses."

Mr. Justice Eric Moorhouse of the Ontario Supreme Court (the same judge who granted an injunction against this same union to Texpack management in summer of 71) refused to rescind the major bail condition saying it was "not unreasonable."

Alderman Dan Heap chaired a support conference on Sept 18th, which resolved that Civil Rights of Workers, enshrined in Canadian laws, must be upheld to be meaningful. They are 1. The right of association — the Canadian Bill of Rights.

2. The right to join a Trade Union of (one's) own choice and to participate in its lawful activities.

Further an employer is obliged "to bargain in good faith and make a collective agreement" — Ontario Labour Relations Act.

3. It is unlawful for an employer to discriminate against an employee because he is a member of a union — Ontario Labour Relations Act.

The Union is protesting an Ontario Labour Relations Board decision of Sept. 24th to delay hearing of a Union charge against Artistic Woodwork that it has applied to the Board for permission to prosecute the company but the hearing has been postponed until Oct. 25th. Such a delay postpones the enforcement of the Labour Relations Act.

Ms. Parent pointed to the delay as an instance of unequal justice for workers. "When you see the struggle the workers have to put up to get a contract you can understand why there are so many non-unionized immigrant workers working in small sweat shops in Toronto."

The Toronto Waffle has been supporting the Artistic Woodwork strikers' picket line on a regular basis, as have university students and professors, church representatives and rank and file unionists. Financial support could be sent to OTCU 1203a St. Clair Ave. W. Toronto.

# FROM MEMORY TO MEMBRE BREAKING

Canada's railroads have reduced their working forces by over one-third in fifteen years while vastly stepping up their productivity.

Among the pioneers in the union movement, the railroad workers whose wages and other benefits were near the top, have been falling back steadily. The AVERAGE wage rate of a Canadian railroad worker prior to the 1973 strike was "an hour" considerably below the MINIMUM rate of workers in many industries which depend on the railway workers to keep operating.

These two critical elements and others, including justified dissatisfaction with pensions and overall frustration with a lack of progress, lie at the root of the recent strike, broken by parliamentary action.

From the conciliation report of Union nominee, Professor J. C. Weldon:

"The two major issues that dominate the dispute, job security and wages, have their origins in a single fact. The Railways as an industry have experienced an almost unique decrease over the years from 1856 to 1971 in size of their labour force, a fall of something like 37%, a unique change brought about by dramatic technical improvements... vastly improved productivity, but... have placed a two-fold burden on the railway workers... a feeling of desperation about job security... and gross injustices (at having) been allowed to lag behind the gains in earnings of industries in which productivity has grown much more slowly..."

The rotating strikes which eventually turned into complete strike, found the railroads sitting pat on their pre-strike offer, fully confident that the government would protect their interests and legislate their workers back on the job.

During the strike the negotiating committee of the Non-Ops (the seven Unions comprising the Associated Non-Operating Railway Unions) were pressing to achieve the highlights of the Weldon conciliation report, as against the report the companies' nominee. The simplistic view was thus nurtured that the Chairman's report by Judge F. Craig Monroe of British Columbia must be "fair" since it was generally presumed to be mid-way between the recommendations of the Union and Company nominees.

The recommendation of the Union nominee was for 38 cents an hour increase in the first year of a two-year agreement, and for the same average increase in the second year (to be applied on a percentage basis).

When Parliament passed the law to make the strike illegal, it appointed an arbitrator whose award is binding. The legislated floor of his award is 34 cents an hour, and he is instructed to take into account rising costs. Under the circumstances it is quite unlikely justification can be found for awarding less than the minimum 4 cents separating the two stated positions for the first year.

Moreover, the Unions' position in respect to job security, as set out in their

nominee's award, is equally modest. It would give some protection from layoff resulting from technological advances to employees with over four years service. Reduction in manpower for the companies would be made by attrition (quits, retirees, discharges, etc.) It is again difficult to visualize the arbitrator rejecting this almost minimal demand. It can only slow down the rate of reduction in the railway labour force as productivity continues to advance.

In addition, the arbitrator will examine other moderate advances asked by the Unions, including pensions, sick leave, vacations, etc.

Regardless of what award will be forthcoming from the arbitrator, no matter how close or distant it comes to the recommendations of the Unions' nominee on the earlier conciliation report, it still leaves the railway workers with the realization that up to now when their struggle becomes effective, it is declared illegal by a strike-breaking parliament acting "in the national interest" (which coincides completely with the interests of the railway owners, and the other foreign and native owners of Canada's railroads).

"You either have the right to strike or you don't," said Louis Laberge, President of the Quebec Federation of Labour. The right to strike was meaningless, he said "if the only strikes permitted are those which don't hurt anyone."

His comment clearly dissipated him from the admonition of C.L.C. President

Donald MacDonald that once Parliament passes a law, it ought to be obeyed by organized labour.

The difference between these two positions, critically posing militant defiance against pragmatic capitulation, should be the occasion for deep-going examination of the entire collective bargaining process which prevents Canadian working people from exerting their real power by forcing the employers for earnings and a degree of security.

In particular, it is increasingly clear that railroad workers will need to find the ways to express their true power... something that is potentially impossible, divided as they are into seventeen different unions, which are in turn banded into three groupings for purposes of dealing with the powerful government. The employers are invited to get the most productivity from their workers for the least labour cost.

Despite all the complexities, nothing should stand in the way of fearless examination of the joining of all railway workers together. It will require patient examination, then bold action.

Perhaps a Canadian socialist movement will look into the matter too, and come up with some friendly suggestions to the battling but frustrated railway workers.

Some might give to the perspective of an eventual joining together of all transportation and communication workers in Canada. What a mighty force for the real interests of the nation that could become.

Bill Walsh, Hamilton

# More on the strike

The Non-Ops rail strike has been settled; other events have since entered upon the scene. However, the following on-the-scene report points to the constant obstacles labour has to confront: the media's failure to report the facts on the workers' side and outright distortion of events.

It seemed there would be a good representative turn-out, more than 1500 railway workers came from Ontario and Quebec for a show of strength on Parliament Hill, August 30. Though humidity lay heavily and the sun bore down on the Gothic pile that somewhere contained the House of Commons, the hearty chant, "We won't go back," told M.P.'s the trains would not be running unless the raises they had patiently waited for since the expiry of contracts last December were realized. Unfortunately the situation had not been put forward to the public.

"Hey! Let's go see those guys inside!" 30 or 40 from among the many feet of ranks rush the main entrance to the Parliament Buildings, set a minor scuffle going, and so give the lazy media, the chance to sensationalize and distort the strikers' real activities. The strikers' image at the demonstration is created by the actions of these few the cameras focus on by overbearings microphones pick up, and the people across Canada have a view of wanton refusal to go back to work confirmed for them. But this is to anticipate — let's go back one-half hour.

1:30 PM — Two men are standing under a tree, brief respite from the sun's heat; they have left their families for the day, hoping to convince them they have yet to meet, and won't be winning by affecting their lives that their demands are fair and should not be repulsed. The heat is more endurable than the cold in the dead of winter when fixing one's feet in a box-car whistling through the shroud air. The men stuff waxed papers from their impromptu stand-up picnic into their pockets and step into the sun which they follow now descending from buses.

The line takes shape. A worker from St.

Catharines shouts to a friend from the Montreal yards. The assemblage is representative of only of a handful of shops and job categories. A shared feeling of calm determination withstands the oppressive air. The weather is the least of oppressions. Will the "free" information and show of solidarity interest Mr. Average Canadian? Will this present the plight of his fellow citizens who face the cynicism of companies bargaining in bad faith?

12:45 PM — The line of workers begins to form on one side of the huge square. The Peace Tower will be passed, the East Block as well before the first person gets off the buses down on Wellington St. Eventually one unbroken band of marchers walks the square.

1:00 PM — Only three red-coat Mounties are on duty for Kodak-clipping tourists. Where are the M.P.'s? Can there be only three march warrants? As part of the line passes the Peace Tower a small number detach themselves. "Hey! Let's go see those guys!" The exuberance of these 30 or 40 (not the 250 reported later) expresses itself in a shout of defiance and the orderliness of the more than 1500 they leave behind.

A handful of Security Guards are surprised inside the entrance. The Parliamentary Library is mistaken for the House of Commons, but the men do not even get that far. They are forced back to the entrance. One of the wood-panelled doors has small panes of glass, the size of a letter to a Member of Parliament. Two windows are broken. The security men have trouble ejecting the strikers, for they are being pushed back in again by fellows on the outside. Someone's head is bumped, someone hits his hand on some glass. There are no real fistfights, only the same sort of shoving and milling about one sees in a computer lineup.

Yet the media will only give a sound report that would compare to the Storming of the Bastille: newspaper photographers take more dramatic shots by tilting their cameras. TV reporters throw themselves into the midst on the broil as the fitting place from which to make their commen-

tary; editorial writers outdo one another in cliché-ridden, over-the-top violence without reflecting on the defence companies commit against workers, wives, children, and the whole nation with their unscrupulous bargaining tactics.

1:15 PM — Back on the lines, where the significant proceedings are going on unprotected, workers are orderly in their demonstration of protest.

1:20 PM — Die! The Chief comes to a side door and loses what few interested ears he might have had with his disappointing pass-off of the issues.

1:22 PM — One has a chance to talk with some of the Non-Op demonstrators. A C.P.R. carpenter earlier tried to reach his M.P. without success. He works in Toronto but his family lives in the country not far from Kingston, a cheaper place to live. He is with his wife and two of their children.

When he is able to join them on weekends he brings much less than \$195, two week's salary, with him. It is hard to raise a family on such low earnings. His wife works, she has no choice but to. They are a neat, quiet couple, but the struggle to keep the family going does show in their faces.

1:30 PM — That most workers' wives have to work is a fact confirmed in talks with others; they must, in order for their families to survive. Mothers work not for family luxuries, but for necessities. One man says he thought he was fortunate in getting a house for \$5,000 downpayment. His \$100 a month-payments he cannot afford, yet renting would be even worse.

1:37 PM — David Lewis ventures to come out to address the workers. He utters one sentence the workers can take: "It's a fair report (the Weldon report) and it ought to be accepted by the railroads." But the rest of what he says is abuse of the workers for creating a disturbance and criticism of their "irresponsible" behaviour." But the charges are leveled at the wrong group, the mass who were orderly. He is hollered down with "We won't go back!!" So much

for this Friend of Labour.

2:00 PM — A young man with a placard about working with two non-striker unions of Waterloo students who claim he does not seem "poor" to them. He works, they wander about the country; they have collected money; he cannot save money for marriage.

The hot August days are over. The Non-Ops are back to work in autumn's coolness, disappointed that it had to take such lengths to get such minimal adjustments. The Parliament Hill demonstration did not bring much to light that was not known or could have been predicted before. The bosses thought it would be a runthrough of the now familiar script for Canadian rail strikes. However, there are signs that the public is beginning to be less easily manoeuvred into anger against strikers. The strike did cause hardships, but the governments and the railways were also targets of criticism.

The public would have identified more with this struggle had it not been for the media. Do you recall seeing pay statistics in the papers statistics that would have shown how low salaries actually were? What trials did the C.B.C. commissionary reporters have trapped tourists in Newfoundland? The grossest instance of cynicism and "lazy" reporting of the media was the sensationalizing of the "violence" on demonstration day, a tactic brought in play against all strikers across the land. In times of the non-issue interviewers and reporters can be sure of commissionary reporters cannot be relied on for the basics of responsible journalism.

The Waffle can do something now, and in the future. We can report ourselves. We can become the watch-dogs of the press and insist that the commissionary reporters be rectified. We can stand to concern ourselves more with labour by helping to get all negotiations reported accurately.

Barry Mills, Ottawa

# THE STRUGGLE

## ALLENDE'S PROGRAM

In the first year of Allende's Unidad Popular regime, unemployment was cut in half as stimulated demand opened up the factories to more labour. Popular demand and consumption of food increased dramatically. The government undertook a major redistribution of wages and re-allocation of wages. This led to the need to import food, until it was necessary to import 1/3 of the food supply. If the Chilean middle class were starving because they only had meat once a week, the Chilean working class would have been dead long ago.

The working class movement was different from the rest of Latin America. It has a long history of organization and of militancy. It formed the core of what became the Unidad Popular. Foster



It grew by slow, patient, careful, tedious day-to-day, difficult, boring unromantic work, often extraordinarily dangerous, and gained mass support. It succeeded in penetrating every exploited stratum. Zeitlin

It had increasingly gathered splinters from the old liberal middle-class parties and the Christian Democrats who had found their base disintegrating and their reformist rhetoric coming back to haunt them. Foster

## THE OPPOSITION

The Christian Democrats, led by Frei were a party that had made an ideology

out of transcending class loyalties and as a consequence were constantly being tripped up, so that at any crisis point there were shearings off from the party. Another of these appeared to be occurring just before the coup.

As the differences between the National Party, of the extreme right and the Christian Democrats grew less, a joint strategy for the subversion of the Allende government appeared. It involved working with the army and the petit bourgeoisie to hamstring Chile economically and thus to provoke as much internal chaos and lack of control as possible in order to promote a military intervention. Foster

## POPULAR PARTICIPATION

In the program of the Unidad Popular, popular participation was seen as supplementing parliamentary democracy and elections. The more radical elements stressed the importance of direct participation in the processes of power.

In this effort there were two main routes. The most effective was the taking over of an industry by the peasants or workers. The other route was the nationalisation of an industry by decree and the sending in of an intervener to begin a process of creating a committee of workers control.

Another type of workers' organization occurred in the poor residential districts. In late 1971 shortages began to appear, in Santiago especially, as speculation, hoarding and black marketing became perfected by the right wing in their efforts to bring about economic chaos. For example, the stores would be without cigarettes, but a raid on a warehouse would reveal thousands of packages. Allende set up Committees of Price Control and Supply, made up of the women of these areas. They demanded that the merchants sell at the legal prices or they would boycott them and make sure they were at the bottom of the government supply list. These committees brought the women together, raised their consciousness and gave them a broader view of the whole society.

What scared the Christian Democrats was that members of their party began to participate in these committees. O'Sullivan

As factories were abandoned by technicians and management, workers had to take more and more initiative. They had to design their own spare parts, find alternate sources of raw materials and work overtime to make up deficiencies.

Committees of Production were set up. At a higher level there was an Administrative Council of workers and representatives of the state. With the attempted coup in Oct. 1972, there was a coming together of many committees in various geographic areas; of students, of workers, of vigilantes, of price control etc to form community command groups. Through these, members of each group gained a perspective on the problems of the other groups. Thus women ceased to

be concerned just with their homes and workers only with their factories.

Essentially, there emerged new forms of democracy. There was a handing down of state control to the mass organizations, through functionaries created by state decree. O'Sullivan

According to a Chilean professor who was here shortly after the coup, Frei the former president, and leader of the Christian Democrats, and his friends had connived for a very limited coup of fifteen days, for the president to be dislodged, and new elections held. There is now a crisis of conscience among the Christian Democrat leadership. Those who worked so conscientiously through a Parliamentary system are now without a program. Foster

## NATURE OF COUP

I cannot believe that Chile will be an ordinary military dictatorship in the future. The coup was a classical example of counter revolution. It was a movement which managed to mobilize independent proprietors, small business men, merchants, who felt threatened by the transformation process, as the shock troops of the big bourgeoisie in the country. The ones who were really losing were the owners of the big corporations, the owners of big landed estates. It was a naked and overt confrontation of classes. The door-to-door searches in every working class area show that the military knew they had to destroy a class and a class leadership. Zeitlin

This was a working class in an historical sense, conscious of a mission, that now had a chance to see the possibilities of the future within its grasp, and even with the decimation of that leadership, and even with the tight rein that the military has at its command, I believe we are going to see that the meaning of revolutionary armed struggle as the alternative will not be something which will have to be taught from abstract theory. It is something which Allende in his dying breath finally realized in its fullest. He said:

"I call on you now in my last moments, not to fight for the restoration of democracy in Chile, but to forge the socialist revolution." M. Zeitlin

## HOW THE COUP WAS ENGINEERED

Multilateral Aid agencies and aid sources which are controlled by the United States cut off aid to Chile. The impact of this on a particularly vulnerable and externally dependent economy was almost catastrophic. The result was an economic situation where you have cut off the capacity to import by tying up more and more of Chilean foreign exchange in the payment of debts, you have cut off access to credits, you have cut off the capacity to import, and you have cut off therefore, the capacity to import food.

Specific instance of U.S. political intervention was the U.S. money which was floated to finance the individual

Excerpts from talks given at O College, Toronto Sept. 30.

Speakers were: Tim Drainin, Joe North and Michael Maurice Working, Maurice Zeitlin, University of V "Revolutionary working class." "Economy of U" "Structure of U lived in Chile 1965 Andreas Papandriou Coordination in the Greece, John Hutcheson of Professor of Political

These excerpts are taken from McEwen of the Waffle News Editor can be made from the originals if (90 minutes each) to the Waffle prepared .50 each.

owner-operators of trucks who went on strike, thus bringing on much of the economic chaos in the month or two just before the coup. The truckers had struck in September, the Chilean spring, the year before too as it is a time when they can most seriously affect the economy,

## REVIEWS

### WORKS ON CHILE

New Chile. Prepared by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) \$2.25 from Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. USA 10025.

"Chile versus the Corporations". 2nd ed. Published by Development Education Centre and Latin American Working Group. Copies available from LAWG, Box 6390, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont. at 75 cents plus postage.

Even though the coup has overthrown Chilean democracy and its reforms are being undone, even though Sharp has given portion of legitimacy to tyranny and DeHavilland can now proceed onward to profit and glory, the fact remains that Allende's Chile is still very much alive to many. The discussion elsewhere on this page confirms that imagination is not strained when Canada is compared to the Chilean situation.

New Chile offers an anti-imperialist perspective yet it is not the thorough-going socialist analysis to be found in books on the Allende years. Here the facts speak with all their own eloquence. A necessary Glossary and Chronology precede the work's two sections, The First Year (Allende's presidency) and Imperialism and the Old Order. New Chile is a

# Chile versus the corporations

Latin American Working Group (LAWG)  
Box 6390, Station A  
Toronto 1, Ontario. 925-7912 .75

# E F O R C H I L E

## Ontario Waffle Seminar Glendon

...n Foster, Dean Martin, Lisa  
...l O'Sullivan from the Latin  
... Group (LAWG)  
... Professor of Political Science,  
... Wisconsin and author of:  
... *Consciousness in the Cuban*

... *Underdeveloped Capitalism*''  
... *Dominant Class in Chile*''

... 67  
... ou, Minister for Economic  
... the last elected government of

... the Ontario Waffle Movement,  
... al Science York University.

... om tapes made by Charlotte  
... rial Board. Copies of the tapes  
... groups wish to send 2 cassettes  
... News. Scripts are also being

... when fertilizer and feed are needed in the  
... countryside. Foster

... U.S. companies also intervened through  
... a series of events which can be summed  
... up as the copper war. In the fight over  
... compensation, the corporations drew on

## : TWO REVIEWS

... compendium of NAGLA Newsletter  
... published in 1971 and 1972, but this is an  
... instance where history is still news. These  
... reports are salted with updated tables,  
... documents translated from the Spanish,  
... the "UP" Programme of Government  
... and a most informative chart of foreign  
... investment. It is astounding to learn that  
... virtually all Chile's management and  
... accounting services, financial institutions,  
... advertising, and industries like  
... pharmaceuticals were owned by outside  
... investors.

... The Canadian pamphlet, "Chile versus  
... the Corporations," is a supplement to  
... what New Chile can tell us, for it appeals  
... for an active and critical response in  
... Canada to the economic blockade of  
... Chile" and details Canadian corporate  
... and government interference in another  
... country's affairs, particularly with regard  
... to copper exploitation, debt negotiations,  
... and arrangement for future credit. The 56  
... pages were assembled for church study  
... groups, but it is perhaps the most succinct  
... documentation and condemnation of a  
... Canada which refuses to see the ironic  
... parallel that exists between our two  
... exploited countries.

... the American state and the European  
... courts as weapons against Chile. For  
... example Chilean copper shipments to  
... Europe were held in embargo by French  
... courts. This is well summarized in "Chile  
... and the Corporations". This also affected  
... for a period of time, and for a crucial  
... period of time, the cutting off of  
... Canadian private bank credit to Chile.  
... This was part of an international scheme  
... spearheaded by Kennicot and Anaconda  
... to discredit and put a stranglehold on  
... what is the lifeblood of Chile, her copper.

Martin

## POLITICAL INTERVENTION BY U.S.

... The two months before the coup read  
... like the game logs of one of the early  
... plays of "Politica", a simulation game  
... paid for by the U.S. Department of  
... Defence in 1965 and 1966, and used by  
... officers at the Pentagon and other  
... training centers ever since.

... Operational training of this kind be-  
... comes important when you look at the  
... staff of what NACLA (North American  
... Congress for Latin America) calls the  
... "coup team" of Americans which was  
... assembled in the American Embassy in  
... Santiago during the period of the Allende  
... administration. These Americans had  
... been on the scene in the repression and  
... overthrow of democratic governments  
... and guerrilla movements in Santa  
... Domingo, Guatemala, Brazil and so on.

Martin

## ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN CHILE

... The U.S. has played a significant role in  
... equipping and training Chilean armed  
... forces personnel. Chile has ranked second  
... only to Brazil as a country receiving U.S.  
... military aid. The U.S. trained the  
... military on bases in the U.S. and in the  
... Panama Zone where they maintain a  
... large CIA training center.

... It has been argued that the Chilean  
... bourgeoisie, with the collaboration of the  
... U.S., had taken pains to build up a strong  
... military institution as a counterweight to  
... the growing power of the left-wing  
... parties.

... Because Allende tried to cultivate the  
... officers of the armed forces, the U.P.  
... government continued to accept  
... American military aid. It was the only  
... kind of American aid that Chile received.  
... In 1971, for example, the U.S. gave Chile  
... \$ 5 million for transport aircraft and  
... paratroop equipment.

North

## ARMY AS POLITICAL "CENTRE"

... At one time the military had  
... represented, with the Christian  
... Democrats, the political centre that had  
... to be won over for the right.

... Allende had been assisted by the  
... commander-in-chief of the army, General  
... Pratts who, though not a Marxist was a  
... nationalist who was sympathetic to the  
... U.P. Program. However, by mid-August  
... of this year his resignation was forced by  
... a lack of confidence vote of his general  
... staff and he was followed by a general

well-trained in U.S. tactics.

North

## AND IN CANADA

... At present in NORAD, Canadian forces  
... have been put under direct control of the  
... U.S. Government. The 1962 so-called  
... "Missile Crisis" revealed that the  
... Canadian government had virtually lost  
... ultimate authority over its own military  
... forces as the U.S. government began to  
... mobilize Canadian forces against the  
... Cuban government and the Cuban people  
... (contrary to the instructions of the  
... Canadian Prime Minister). Career  
... officers in the Canadian military are  
... subject to training in the U.S. and as-  
... similated into the U.S. military techniques  
... and assumptions.

Hutcheson

... Chile was one of the few last places in  
... the world in which there were still  
... genuine parliamentary institutions with  
... the full panoply of freedoms in which a  
... socialist movement did not use that to  
... whittle down its demands. As it made  
... more profound demands for the restruc-  
... turing of the society it gained an  
... increasingly greater wider and more loyal  
... mass base.

M. Zeitlin

... The history of Chile is important to us  
... because Canada and Chile are linked by  
... the fact that they are dependent capitalist  
... countries in the U.S. empire... The anti-  
... capitalist struggle of the working class  
... becomes inevitably an anti-imperialist  
... struggle and the central contradiction  
... becomes that between imperialism and  
... the working class.

Hutcheson

## CONCLUSION

The history of socialism has been a long

series of tragedies as well as of triumphs,  
but always in our favour as capitalism  
continues its tendency to generate  
contradictions which it cannot solve.

Hutcheson

One might conclude that armed  
struggle is the only way. One might  
conclude this is going to be a hard uphill  
and doubtful journey. But here let me  
state my conviction that I feel it is really  
wrong to look at the defeat in Greece and  
the defeat in Chile and to conclude from  
them that counter-revolution is going to  
dominate this century.

We should not forget Vietnam and  
Indo-China, where a people that  
technically is not well-advanced, has with  
the aid of some other forces to be sure,  
brought to its knees the technological  
giant of the west.

We should not for a moment forget the  
struggle in Africa, which is not going  
badly (Guiné-Bissau has just proclaimed  
its independence). We should not forget  
that it will be difficult, despite Chile, to  
keep Latin America under the boot of  
fascism. And at the same time we should  
take much more seriously the struggle at  
home, wherever that happens to be. In  
different places, in different forms, it is  
the same struggle — it is a global struggle.

Andreas Papandreu

## IN CANADA

We can show our solidarity for the  
people of Chile in many ways but ul-  
timately the only way we can show  
solidarity with other people in their  
struggle against U.S. imperialism is our  
struggle for an independent socialist  
Canada.

John Hutcheson



## REVIEWS

# Alternate sources of power

In the furious debate going on at present over oil prices and sources of energy for Canada's future, many authorities and military groups are taking for granted that nuclear power will provide the answer — for ample power, and for non-polluting power.

For instance, the report from the Federal Department of Industry, Mines and Resources, "An Energy Policy for Canada, Phase I", foresees hydro and nuclear power sources for the future almost exclusively. No serious mention is made of Research and Development of solar, geothermal or other sources. This is not surprising when we consider the power exerted by the oil lobbies, and the public funds that have been poured into a form of nuclear power that provides a source of plutonium for nuclear bombs — which Canada has been in the business of supplying to Taiwan, India, Brazil, Argentina etc.

To make the best use of the ten year lead time which we are told separates us from the end of presently known reserves of available oil in Canada, it is imperative that research funds which come from the Canadian taxpayer be directed in the best possible directions.

There is at present a considerable body of information available on the dangers connected to nuclear power plants — the disposal of radioactive waste, some of it active for 240,000 years, the raising of the temperature of

massive quantities of water that are used for cooling, the escape of radiation into the food-chain which concentrates it, etc. There is also a body of information on alternate forms of energy, which are more compact, less dangerous, and already well on the way to development.

These are summarized in two booklets, HAZARDS OF THE PEACEFUL ATOM: and ENERGY ALTERNATIVES, both written by Lille D'Easum of the B.C. Voice of Women.

In the latter an argument is made for using our natural gas in thermal electric plants or in individual gas fuel cells. The fuel cells convert the gas directly (and economically) into electricity. The cell consists of a "black box" which has no moving parts to wear out, makes no noise, is free of vibration, and generates only electricity and innocuous products.

It could provide each home or office building with its own electrical power supply. It requires one-third less fuel to generate the same amount of electricity as a conventional power plant, and is very compact.

Thermonuclear fusion, as opposed to fission, is the process of joining, or fusing the nuclei of two lightweight elements. The resulting small loss of mass is converted into energy. When this occurs new material is formed having less total mass than the component parts. The resulting small loss of mass is con-

verted into energy. It involves extremely high temperatures and technology now on the drawing boards.

Solar power would transform the earth's heat load into a usable form of power, and there are many systems proposed for doing this. Some have been used reliably for ten years in the Space program; others would desalinate sea water in the process.

Several types of solar power systems would provide units for individual buildings. Others would use wind power, and others sea-thermal power which would generate power from the different levels of heat in the oceans.

Other sources of energy include plant algae. A plot nine miles square could supply the energy needs of a million people.

Geothermal power, coming from the earth's interior, is being tried out in several countries.

Methane can be derived from the organic wastes of people and animals. Odorless and non-polluting, it could meet all present energy needs, while cutting in half the problem of sewage and animal waste disposal.

The booklet suggests the possibility of a network of pollution-free energy sources.

The pamphlets are available from Waffle News Publications, 25 cents each. Pollution Probe Toronto has also been collecting information.

C. McEwen

# STRUGGLES IN THE MIDEAST

To help in understanding the position of the Arab states in their struggle to liberate their lands and to support the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, the EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS (P.O. Box 4185 Station E, Ottawa) has put together a paper, Palestine: An Historical Background, 22 pages, mimeographed, 25. It includes texts from the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, etc. To help in understanding the class

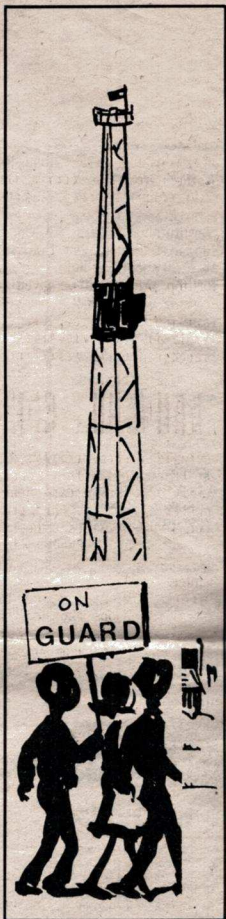
struggle in Israel, and how Zionism has worked to obliterate that struggle, the Emergency Committee recommends the pamphlet, The Class Nature of Israeli Society, by Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, and Akiva Orr. This is a reprint of an article first published in New Left Review in 1971. 24 pages, available from the Emergency Committee, 25.

The article argues that although class conflicts do exist in Israeli society they are constrained by the fact that the society as a whole is subsidised

from outside for its political role in the region which leaves little prospect for the development of a revolutionary movement. A revolutionary breakthrough in the Arab world, however, could release the activity of the masses throughout the Arab world, change the balance of power and thus reduce Israel's usefulness for imperialism.

Once this happens, the Zionist regime would be open to mass challenge from within Israel itself.

C. McEwen



## ON RECOGNITION

**Canada recognized:**

**CHINA** — Twenty years after the coming to power of the People's republic, and then only after painstaking negotiations.

**CHILE** — Nineteen days after a violent military coup which toppled a democratically elected regime. This was followed immediately by the unblocking of credit whose denial had contributed to that coup.

**SOUTH VIETNAM** — The Thieu regime as the legitimate government, seven months after the Agreement to End the War and Restore Peace had laid out a process of reconciliation to be followed by elections for a unified government. This process had been sabotaged within the seven months by the refusal of the Canadians on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) to allow local commanders to come together to negotiate the boundaries between their areas of control. (Incidentally, the Indonesians on the ICCS had tried to get the Canadians to agree to this although Mr. Sharp kept telling the world that the Indonesians always sided with the Canadians).

**ISRAEL** — Following admission of Israel to the United Nations in 1949 "because it seemed a good thing to do at that time". This was after Israel had signed the Lausanne Protocol to settle the Palestine problem within the framework of the 1947 U.N. partition plan, and had been admitted to the U.N. on a condition that she would recognise the Palestinian right to repatriation or compensation.

**ITT's Corporate Skeleton in Canada**

ITT Corporation (U.S.)  
|  
ITT Canada Limited

Associates	Divisions
Abbey Life Insurance	Barton Instruments
Ameco Industries	Blackburn Division
Altair Building Services	Byrdon Brass
Arco Services	Communications Division
Arco (D/E) Inc.	
Arco Rent A Car	Canon Electric Components
Cansteel of Canada	Controls and Instruments
Commercial Cable Co.	Division
Commercial Banking (Morton's Fresh Foods)	Flood Handling
Irati Canada	Lighting Fixtures
Crucial Company	Postal Mechanization
M. H. Harper & Co.	Terraphone
Hardford Insurance	Technical Services
Monitor Underwriting	Support Services
Raysoner B.C.	Wire and Cable
Raysoner Quebec	
Shelburne Hotels	
(17 pages & notes)	
— 28 subsidiaries —	

# COUNCIL DEBATES LABOUR POLICY

The Ontario Waffle Council met at Innisfree Farm near Woodstock on July 15-16. About 50 Wafflers from the southern Ontario groups attended. Debates centred around labour policy and constitutional matters. Delegates supported a statement from the Waffle Labour Committee calling for top priority to be given to working with unions. A proposal from the Ottawa group that the Waffle not work with American branch plant unions was defeated.

A motion for a Resources and De-Industrialization Campaign was passed. It is to be comprised of a series of public meetings this fall in the industrial areas of South-Western Ontario, ending up with a meeting on primary resource extraction in Sudbury. Budget of \$5,000 was approved. The meetings are to concern themselves with the general themes in the R. and D. Campaign, and with questions specific to the region where the meeting is

held.

Bonnie Brown and Jim Laxer were elected to head it up.

Most indicated they were in favour of a draft constitution from the constitutional committee which would assign central power and responsibility to the executive and council of the provincial Waffle as opposed to the convention and the local group. An Ottawa resolution asking that new elections be held for the provincial executive immediately was

defeated.

Corleen North was elected membership secretary by acclamation. Bob Laxer was acclaimed co-chairman of the educational committee along with Julia Bass. Judy Skinner and Bela Egey are to head up a new organizing committee.

A new publication Advance was set up under the direction of the York Waffle. It is to be a forum for internal debate.

Copies of the Council resolution on labour have been mailed to all members.

## HIGH COSTS PUSH FARMER

In spite of a heavy crop this year the farmers of Renfrew County, north of Ottawa, can expect another year of buying high price food, as the hay crops in the area are not of high enough protein levels to support cattle during the winter.

The problem became increasingly obvious when the U.S. placed restrictions on soybean meal and the prices jumped dramatically.

Thus, although there have been increases in food prices the profits have been eaten up by the increase in seed and high protein feeds.

In another survey done this

summer around Winchester Springs, east of Ottawa, much the same pattern was discovered. Average total receipts for 1972 were \$27,703 and the average total operating costs were \$23,265, leaving the farmer with an average income of \$4,438. 58% of the farmers had decreased profits for the year and 17% stayed about the same.

At one time the Renfrew area was one of Ottawa's major suppliers of eggs. Since 1960 the number of hens and pullets has decreased, and half of the eggs in Ottawa stores now come from Burlington in Western Ontario.

Renfrew county farmers have

also been forced out of agricultural areas that could be viable, such as poultry, swine and sheep production. In the last 15 years swine production has dropped by almost one-half.

If Renfrew county is to regain its share of the Ottawa markets and provide a reasonable living for its farmers and other inhabitants, fundamental changes will have to be introduced, to free the farmers from the whims of U.S. exporter policy, to expand the cultivation of Horsebeans and other soybean substitutes that do give high yields in that area, and to guarantee a fair return on their produce and a decent standard of living.

## PRICE FIXING SEEMS SUCCESSFUL

In these days of daily price rises — it is interesting to read of price fixing in China from the booklet 'Economic Management China 1972' by Joan Robinson.

Since China is still mainly an agricultural economy, the whole industrial price level is built up on the price of grain, for this determines the cost of living, and so the lowest wage rate. Higher wages are calculated on that base, which determines the whole wage and salary bill for industry, commerce and administration.

The main crops, grain, vegetable oil, sugar, tobacco and cotton are dealt with under the national plan. Representatives from each province meet once a year to learn which has had a surplus and which a deficit and plan how these may be overcome. Some commodities under the national plan have nationally fixed prices. On others the provinces fix some prices and small collectives fix their own.

The cost of production of each commodity is made up of cost of materials, cost of power, the wages and salaries, and amortization. There is then a tax

and a planned profit. The tax rate most often quoted was 7 per cent of ex-factory prices. The profit for particular commodities is set according to their uses. For chemical fertiliser it is very low because this is an input for agriculture. For wine and cigarettes they are highest, though by no means high by our standards — 60 per cent of selling prices.

For goods controlled by the national plan, a standard is chosen of a good average production (not the very best) and the output of other enterprises is priced in relation to it.

The economic principle behind planning retail prices is to ensure an overall value of sales that will absorb the overall flow of purchasing power coming from the total money income of the community. The money income of the community consists of the wage and salary bill, including welfare funds, that enters into the costs of goods to be sold. Expenditure from the incomes earned in producing them covers this part of their costs. There are also incomes earned in administration, the armed forces, invest-

ment and social services.

Joan Robinson says, "When the overall price level is correctly set, the surplus, that is the excess of the sales value of consumption goods over their own costs, matches the excess of total income over these costs, so that there is neither excess nor deficiency of demand relatively to supply. The Chinese authorities have been remarkably successful in maintaining this balance through good times and bad."

And again, "Subject to overall balance, social policy requires that the pattern of prices is such as to catch purchasing power from relative luxuries, while making it possible for the lowest income to afford the necessities of life. In this respect also, Chinese policy seems to succeed pretty well."

C. Potter, Ottawa  
Aug. 28, 1973.

Joan Robinson  
Economic Management China 1972  
Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute  
Modern China Series, No. 4  
(March 1973), London

## PUBLICATIONS

### AVAILABLE FROM ONTARIO WAFFLE, TORONTO

We greet the appearance of our sister publication, the internal discussion newsletter, *Advance*. Two issues have come forth. If you have not received them, they are available from the address below.

Waffle Labour Committee, Programme for Ontario Trade Unionists. (presented at Ontario Fed. of Labour Convention 1971) 25 cents  
Canadian Resources. (A supplement prepared by Wafflers and published in the Last Post.) 10 cents

James Laxer, Lament for an Industry. (The U.S. — Can. Auto pact, Last Post) 10 cents

Brantford. Waffle. Papers on Building the Waffle. (Workshop, Dec. 1972) 50 cents

### BUMPER STICKERS

50 cents each (25 each, bulk orders)  
The above are available from Ontario Waffle, Box 338, Station E, Toronto.

### AVAILABLE FROM THE OTTAWA

Robin Mathews. "Independence, Socialism, and Culture." Ottawa Waffle Educational, Dec. 1972, 25 cents  
John Smart, Robin Mathews, et al. An Annotated Reading List. (8 pages, on independence and the cultural question and history of left movements and thought in Canada).

Ottawa Waffle. Farming and Manufacturing in Eastern Ontario. (5,000 words study with statistics) 50 cents  
copies of the Waffle Manifesto for an Independent and Socialist Canada.

Box 4291, Station E, Ottawa.

### NIXON DRINKS

"Nixon Drinks Canada Dry" buttons 50 cents each, 15 cents to Waffle Groups in orders of ten or more. Available from Gord Laxer, 24 Humewood Gardens, Toronto.

# WAFFLE CALENDAR

"Canadian Politics in Historical Perspective" is the title of a new series of public educationals to be sponsored by the Toronto Waffle educational committee during the fall. The sessions will take place Sunday evenings beginning October 28 at OISE auditorium. The series follows the pattern of last winter's successful series on the political economy of Canada now published by McClelland and Stewart under the title (Canada) Limited.

This year's course features some new speakers and topics. Caroline and Lorne Brown co-authors of *An Unofficial History of the RCMP* are participating along with Quebec historian Stanley Ryerson and Reg. Whitaker from Carleton's political science department. The course is designed to provide a factual and historical background to the evolution of contemporary politics in Canada as well as describe and analyse alternative interpretations of current conflicts in Canada society.

## OTTAWA SUMMER

During August, Ottawa held two educationals on the A B C's of labour, and provided a panel on Waffle's Relation to Labour and the Working Class at a general meeting.

At the first educational, Professor John Taylor of Carleton University traced the uneven development of Trade Unions in Canada from the first strike of the voyageurs in 1794 through the era of "protective associations" until 1872 when unions were legalized, through the formation and reformation of various joint bodies to coordinate local unions into larger groupings and the problems around the differences in approach between resource-based unions and industry-based unions. Ralph Starr, Research director of CBRT listed the many ways the cards are stacked against workers coming together to gain increases in pay and better conditions of work. He explained how 8 unions, all with

## HAMILTON

The Hamilton Waffle will have regular membership meetings every third Monday evening of each month. There are two labour Strikes of significant proportion going on in Hamilton, C.U.P.E. Locals 5, 167, inside & outside workers for the City of Hamilton were on strike for two months. The Hamilton Waffle sent a \$25 donation to the strike-fund along with a note of support for the striking city workers. Also, at National Steel Car (Hamilton) the small U.S.W.A. local there (approx. 800 workers) has been on strike for over 3 months now. There was a "wildcat" there early this spring, and a number of difficult issues remain to be settled. The workers at National Steel Car (a branch of Dofasco) have had their union broken 2-3 times previously and the Hamilton Waffle is watching this situation this summer very closely... a number of political reasons (Steelworkers-vs-Wafflers; John Morgan in their staff rep.) have kept the Hamilton Waffle from offering more support to these workers at this time.

Paul Middleton.

Opening lecture this year will be given by Jim Laxer on the topic "Politics, Class and the National Policy in Canada". Subsequent lecturers in addition to those mentioned already are Mel Watkins, Robert Laxer and John Hutchison.

Registration fee for the complete course is \$10.00 (2.50 per single lecture). To pre-register send cheques payable to "Canadian Politics Course" to 2 Sultán Street apt. 201 Toronto 5. An advance reading list will be sent. One can also register at the opening lecture on October 28.

A year having now passed since the regrouping of the Ontario Waffle as an independent political formation, the Executive has decided that 1974 memberships should be issued from October 1 on. Existing members will have until February 28, 1975 to renew their membership without loss of membership rights, and a further year in which they can renew without reapplying for membership.

The National Energy Board will be

conducting hearings on the export of Canadian oil sometime in October or November. The Toronto Arctic Research Committee is considering the merits and contents of a Waffle brief for these hearings. Any Waffle who is interested or has input ideas please contact Ellie Prepas, 541 Arlington Ave., Apt. 3, Toronto.

### R & D MEETINGS IN WESTERN ONTARIO

Fri., Nov. 2 - London; Thurs., Nov. 8 - Kitchener; Thurs., Nov. 15 - Brantford (John Richards, Sask. MLA) Thurs., Nov. 22 - St. Catharines, Thurs., Nov. 28 - Hamilton

The Provincial Education Committee will meet in Kitchener-Waterloo Sunday, November 25. Bob Laxer and Julia Bass are the contacts.

The Annual Convention will take place in Toronto on the weekend of Dec. 8 & 9

A special weekend educational is being planned for Jan. 12 & 13 on the topic of social democracy.

to 1973, paperback 271 pages, \$3.95.

This collection consists of edited versions of the lectures given during the Toronto Waffle's winter 1973 educationals on "The Political Economy of Canada"; Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins contribute three chapters each; John Hutchison two.

Among the other contributors are John Smart and Robin Mathews of the Ottawa Waffle group. Appearing under the pseudonym "Christina Maria Hill" is an article on women by well-known woman Waffler in Toronto, Robert Laxer, the volume's editor, has written a twenty page introduction.

Taken as a whole (Canada) Ltd. provides a good insight into the minds and strategies of those individuals whom the public identifies with the Waffle in Ontario. What is new is the critique of the NDP as an irredeemable social democratic formation - a position appropriate to the Waffle's present existence outside the party where it originated 1969. Following from this is the call for a new socialist party which Mel Watkins makes in the concluding chapter. Canadian social science students will find the economic chapters useful. They bring up to date the analysis the Waffle first began to

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**EAST MTRIO**  
Corleean North  
5 Dufresne, Apt. 1401  
Don Mills  
429-1008

**THUNDER BAY**  
Harvey Linetsky  
459 Tupper St.  
344-9548

lay down in 1969-70. For drive and literary merit the chapters on women and culture (by Mathews) are in a class by themselves.

The Toronto Waffle is making (Canada) Ltd. available to Waffle groups and individual members at a special rate. The address for orders is: Ontario Waffle, Box 339, Station E Toronto. The book will be reviewed at greater length in a later issue.

**ONTARIO WAFFLE**  
Box 339, Station 'E'  
Toronto, Ontario

**ONTARIO WAFFLE NEWS**  
Box 4291 Station 'E'  
Ottawa, Ontario

I wish to apply for membership in the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. Minimum Fees (\$5 for Income Earners and University Students; \$1 for non-income earners) include subscription to Waffle News. Applications must be approved by the local Waffle group where one exists.

I wish to subscribe to Waffle News at \$3.00 for 12 issues.

I wish to donate to the Ontario Waffle or to the Ontario Waffle News.

Name.....

Address..... City.....

Union or Professional Organization.....

Telephone..... Date..... Amount \$.....

(Make cheques payable to Ontario Waffle or Ontario Waffle News)

"different headquarters in different places had to co-ordinate their efforts to bargain with 11 railways through the Associated Non-Opening Unions.

At the second, a picnic, discussion of Canadian Labour History from the 30's to the present was summarised through three reviews of current books. Rosemary Warkset reviewed Irving Abella's book, "Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour", Esther Mathews reviewed chapters of Capitalism and the National Question in Canada, edited by Gary Teeple and John Smart dealt with Organized Labour and Pressure. Politics a new book on the Canadian Labour Congress by David Kwanyink.

Panelists Nancy Stunden, Nik Aplin and Steve Paulsson also commented on the three books. Following a general discussion, the afternoon wound up with a decision to examine current contracts in Ottawa are unions in respect to their Management Rights Clause.

The educational at the general meeting centered around the progress of the demands made by the railway workers, the significance of Management Rights Clauses, especially in government and related contracts where government is given the right to define "essential services" as in Bill 89 in Quebec, and the use of percentage raises and fringe benefits to hide the attempt to close a gap between different levels of workers.

Also examined were examples in Canada and other countries where socialist parties have been elected to power, always with the support of the Trade Union Movement, which then can go no further than Trade Unions will go in creating radical social change.

A series of internal educationals around the book Canada Ltd., is beginning the first week of November.

A series of five public lectures on "The National Question and Socialism in Canada" is being planned to begin, in January.

(Canada) Ltd. The political economy of dependency edited by Robert M. Laxer McClelland and Stewart Toron-