

WAFFLE NEWS

VOLUME 2 - NO 2

NOVEMBER / 70

INSIDE...

DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS OF THE QUEBEC "CRISIS" IT IS BECOMING EXCRUCIATINGLY CLEAR THAT THE LEFT HAS FAILED TO EDUCATE ITSELF AND THE REST OF ENGLISH CANADA ABOUT WHAT'S REALLY HAPPENING IN QUEBEC.

THE VIRTUAL INFORMATION BLACKOUT MAKES THIS IMMEDIATE TASK ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT RIGHT NOW.

SO...THE NEWSLETTER PRODUCTION COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO TAKE UP THE PUBLISHERS OF "LAST POST" ON THEIR (LAST MINUTE) OFFER TO PROVIDE US WITH A FOUR-PAGE FACT-SHEET SUPPLEMENT ON QUEBEC -- AT MINIMAL COST TO US. HOPE YOU READ IT AND PASS IT AROUND.

LEADERSHIP

NOMINATIONS ARE NOW OPEN FOR WAFFLERS WHO WANT TO REPRESENT THIS MOVEMENT IN THE NDP LEADERSHIP RACE.

NOMINATIONS, HOWEVER, MUST BE FORWARDED NO LATER THAN NOVEMBER 8 TO KIM MALCOLMSON, 4 LAMPORT AVENUE, #5, TORONTO, ONTARIO.

TO BE ELIGIBLE, CANDIDATES MUST BE MEMBERS OF THE NDP AND SUBMIT THEIR NOMINATIONS IN WRITING, SIGNED PERSONALLY AS WELL AS BY ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE NDP.

PROVINCIAL WAFFLE GROUPS ARE NOW RESPONSIBLE FOR SETTING UP ELECTION MEETINGS TO BE HELD DURING THE WEEKEND OF NOV. 28 & 29. VOTES TAKEN DURING THAT WEEKEND CANNOT BE BY MAIL,

THE REAL "WAR" THE "MEASURES" WILL FIGHT

On Friday, October 16th, the federal government proclaimed the War Measures Act. The government's excuse was the need to destroy the FLQ. Surely existing legislation in the Criminal Code plus more than 15,000 Quebec police would have been adequate to deal with an organization which, by the government's own estimates, has barely more than 100 members. In the days since the act was proclaimed, however, the real intentions of Trudeau and Bourassa have become increasingly clear. They are using the kidnappings and Laporte's killing as an excuse to suppress the mass organizations of the Quebec people. Leaders and activists of the Parti Quebecois, the labour movement, the Front d'Action Politique, the citizens committees and the student movement have been the targets for police raids, not FLQ cells. The government correctly recognizes that the real threat to political stability comes not from terrorism, but rather from the increasing demands of the Quebec people for social and national liberation. (And despite the racist overtones of present suppression in Quebec, naive should not prevent English Canadians from anticipating the potential broadening of the federal government's "strong measures" to meet any challenge to the existing political structures. The provincial governments have already shown their eagerness to apply the War Measures Act to what they consider "undesirable elements")

BECAUSE THE WAFFLE STEERING COMMITTEE HAS YET TO MAKE A NATIONAL STATEMENT ON RECENT GOVERNMENT ACTIONS IN QUEBEC, THE EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE OF THE "WAFFLE NEWS" FELT COMPELLED TO MAKE THIS PERSONAL COMMENT. THE STATEMENT RELEASED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO WAFFLE GROUP APPEARS ELSEWHERE IN THIS PAPER.

The situation is in many ways classic. As in the Riel hanging and the war-time conscription crises, the federal state is trying to pit English Canada as a solid block against Quebec.

The tasks of English-Canadian socialists in general, and the waffle in particular, are clear. We must engage in mass educational work about the Act and the progressive forces against which it is directed. We must give real support to the principles and courageous position of the 16 NDP MPs who voted against the Act (and particularly to people like Cy Goniak who are suffering seriously for their stands). We must seek to explain the real basis for the revolutionary activities which the Quebec people have and will continue to be engaged in: the exploitation and oppression of the Quebecois by Anglo-Canadian and U.S. imperialism. And finally, we must combat the national chauvinism of the English-Canadian people toward Quebec and put forward the right of the Quebec nation to self-determination.

This crisis is not a temporary one. The struggle in Quebec will continue and as it does, English-Canadian socialists will be forced in many ways, for the first time, to deal with solidarity and internationalism, not as abstractions, but as realities.

--Bret Smiley, Krista Maeots, Tracy Morey.

...scores of people were arrested in late night raids. Many were kept in jail without charges being laid, without relatives being notified, without being given access to lawyers or information about what was happening to society itself.

A tiny minority of 16 parliamentarians who spoke up for civil liberties faced a united opposition of 190 in parliament, an opposition re-inforced by a country-wide mood of vindication fostered by a prime minister who called for "strong measures" to deal with a hidden menace to the nation. A leading cabinet minister spoke of the infiltration of dangerous people into strategic positions where important decisions were being made. He did not identify any of these people.

Many political opponents to existing governments were

either jailed or publicly discredited by government officials who spoke vaguely of links between opposition and terrorist activities. Again, no names were put forward to support these charges.

Censorship was invoked on the public broadcasting system, controversial interviews were cancelled and a climate of uncertainty prevailed in press rooms and at public meetings about what could be printed and what could be said.

Political literature of different sorts was confiscated and the editors of a variety of publications were arrested, fired or reprimanded for printing parts of a forbidden political statement. All these things happened in a country well known to us.

It might have been Greece; it might have been South Africa; it might have been Nazi Germany.

But it wasn't. It was Canada in the month of October, 1970.

What was going on had very little to do with the apprehension of terrorists. The government's offensive was directed at the popular movement that has been growing in Quebec for national self-determination and peoples' control.

The enemies which the Trudeau government and its pale reflection in Quebec City feared were the militant trade union movement, the teachers, the students, the Parti Quebecois and other radical political formations.

The actions of Oct. 1970 were a desperate attempt on the part of the Canadian state to preserve the old regime in Quebec.

In response to the kidnappings of James Cross and Pierre Laporte and the death

CONT'D P. 7

'TOUGH POLICIES—TOUGH PEOPLE'..UAW DELEGATE

Ontario's Conservative premier John Roberts will fight the next provincial election on a clear platform: anti-labour, pro-big business. His response to the recent NDP convention is worth noting. Evading policy issues raised, he has tried to portray the party as a machine run by international union "Bosses."

Other post-convention commentators also have stressed the significance of increased labour participation (830 delegates from affiliated unions) — describing it in terms of machine politics. Few observers, however, have understood the real nature of labour's influence and impact at this convention.

What was interesting was not that labour leaders organized to bring union delegates out in force. What was interesting was that a good number of rank-and-file unionists voted against the party establishment on major policy questions. The waffle amendment to the emergency energy resources resolution (calling for public ownership

of energy resource industries) was passed by an overwhelming majority. The waffle manifesto "For a Socialist Ontario in an Independent Socialist Canada" won 46 percent of a ballot vote, even though party and union leadership people had many hours to organize actively against it. The waffle housing policy was strongly endorsed and the mammoth five-page women's liberation statement passed with a good majority.

Party leadership people later suggested to the press that the waffle had "been sucked into the mainstream of the party". The truth of the situation was that the mainstream of the Ontario NDP had decisively rebuffed the party leadership.

Both riding and union delegates expressed their rejection clearly by turning down several establishment-endorsed proposals, including one which would have greatly increased the number of nominators required for participation in the leadership race.

Those who suggested the mainstream of the party had "gone waffle" were also wrong. Hard-core waffle support averaged about one-third (the lowest vote for waffle slate candidates). The real explanation was the obvious one: the rank-and-file of the party had simply moved left of the leadership. There was dissatisfaction among riding delegates with the role leadership people had played at the constituency level, and there were undercurrents of dissatisfaction with the embarrassingly vacuous pre-convention debates between Lewis & Pitman about which of them had the best electoral image. Most important, however, was the general sense of urgency around foreign ownership issues, and it was in this area that party leaders (with the notable exception of Tommy Douglas) most profoundly misjudged the mood of their constituents.

It is instructive to look at some of the factors which made this pre-staged convention an effective policy convention. A primary factor was the organizational energy devoted to preparation and promotion of comprehensive waffle policy positions in a number of areas. Waffle statements dominated the convention resolutions booklet, and a surprising amount of pre-convention publicity focussed on these statements. Waffle organization at the convention was also a major factor. Speakers to defend the various resolutions were lined up at caucus meetings attended by between 100 and 200 delegates. Left delegates demonstrated an unusual capacity for self-discipline, resisting the pull of the pubs to attend sober midnight meetings, and sacrificing the delights of sleeping in to arrive at early morning sessions.

Contrary to expectations, the Ontario NDP convention did not polarize

CONT'D --- PAGE 5



NATIONALIZATION ON AGENDA ... 1st major step

Over the hill, down the long slope into the socialist millennium. And where are we, what does it feel like, what has changed?

One of the Waffle's main planks has been endorsed by the Ontario NDP — the party now stands for public ownership of Ontario's "energy resource" industries, and total disavowal of the continental energy plan. The party has agreed to organize massive protests against the deal in the near future.

Now many people are confused. I've heard some say we were totally co-opted by our victory, others say we've got the party by the proverbials. The truth is neither. The waffle has raised debate in the party to a new level. Nationalization cannot be ignored as a solution in future. (Nor can the more sophisticated and modern brush-off be used so easily: "Our party favours use of the range of tools available in a technologically advanced society for the control of industry.") Public ownership is more seriously on the agenda now, but we will have to continue the fight to make it a priority and to make understood its distinction from less forms of control.

Of course the party will try to re-interpret this resolution to make it "politically palatable" (under their uni-dimensional definition of politics). They completely gutted the last convention's policy on nationalization of all natural resources in an ingenious way and they will seek to do it again. But the waffle didn't exist then. The left didn't have five people plus other supporters on the executive to continue the fight and the left wasn't coherently organized. Anyone who thought the fight to chance the party would be easy will now realize we have to struggle every step of the way.

And their political options in trying to wriggle off the hook are narrower. The resolution this year was well-debated and well understood. Victory for the public ownership option was well publicized (my bank manager two days afterward said he was glad he finally knew what side of the fence the NDP was on). I admit I'm still mystified why the only opposition speakers were research economists hired by the party and that no party officials spoke against. I'll venture that the leadership elections taking place at the same convention had something to do with it. Nobody wants to alienate a major section of convention opinion on a fairly popular issue.

Public ownership of energy resource industries got an overwhelming mandate. (The Globe & Mail reported 20 to 1 on the original referral motion.) At the time of this first vote the majority of the house by a small margin were trade union delegates, indicating strong support from the important labour block.

So where do we go from here? Well, first as I've said, we continue the battle for interpretation. That will mean some pretty sharp research work on our part. The easiest "out" for the party is by narrow definition of what is included in "energy resource" industries. Rather than accept their estimates of what's necessary, the waffle must delineate how public ownership will work and which Ontario industries are the most vital to control and for what specific reasons (give the establishment's monopoly on information and power, the left has to be ten times as competent in order to win the battles). We must fight for the integration of workers' control demands with public ownership too, if we are to avoid many chasmous pitfalls. When society's power is controlled by capitalists, state enterprise does not democratize control over people lives more than marginally.

And we must force the party to live up to the resolution on organizing massive extra-parliamentary protests around the energy deal.

CONT'D --- PAGE 3



WOMEN'S LIB. AT ONTARIO CONVENTION

3

It is all too easy to repeat the scenario at each convention -- losing constitutional fights on representation, creating a general climate of confused sympathy, making contacts with women who are interested. At this convention, some perhaps fell into the martyrish, somewhat cynical trap of beginning and ending analysis by complaining that the passing of the women's general resolution was entirely ensured by a sympathy reaction to the particularly gross attempt to have it referred to Provincial Council.

But it is important that we draw some lessons from our attempts at women's liberation organizing during conventions.

The following is therefore a brief attempt at evaluation:

1. Our resolutions were comprehensive, numerous and democratically prepared. The waffle resolution on women was 5000 words long and couched 25 specific recommendations within a general statement outlining a left perspective on the question. A number of other resolutions were submitted by the women's liberation movement in the NDP-- a loose grouping of women in Ontario (including waffle women) who prepared and circulated resolutions on topics such as women and education, maternity leave, poverty, day-care, etc. What happened to these resolutions, which had been prepared in an attempt to force the party to deal seriously with the questions raised by women's liberation? Only the waffle resolution fought its way to the floor. It carried, but with very brief debate (orders of the day intervened). It was a general sentiment of support -- perhaps delegates felt the need to respond to the growing movement for women's rights -- combined with sympathy created as a result of the procedural hassles we were subjected to which won us the vote. Many delegates were really unclear about what they were voting for.

EXIT POSTS

At the Ontario convention, five waffle candidates were elected to the Provincial Council of the Party. Jim Laxer for 637 votes for a top position as one of two provincial representatives to the Federal Council; other waffle candidates running table officers polled about 1/3 of the vote. The decision that candidates unsuccessful in the bid for table offices should drop and place their names on the ballot as members-at-large proved to be wise, and of the fifteen members-at-large elected, four were wafflers--Bruce Kidd, Krista Macoets, John Smart and Jacki Larkin--the first two polling the highest vote of all members-at-large.

The executive votes indicated that the delegates respected the waffle's seriousness about assuming responsibility in the party, and that they wanted waffle thinking represented in the formulation of party administration and policy.

In the past, the Provincial Executive as tended to function as a private club, making major decisions on policy, allocation of financial resources and internal administration which were then ratified by Council. Now with the executive no longer functioning primarily as a block, Provincial Council may play a real role in decision-making.

Ontario wafflers are becoming more actively involved in working at the riding level and in developing alliances with trade unionists, whose stereotypes about the waffle seem to be breaking down, partly as a result of the role played by the waffle at the convention.

Waffle members of the Provincial Executive will probably concentrate on election planning, party involvement in community action, women's role in the party and on influencing party publications. The development of meaningful relationships with trade unionists will be of special concern.

--Pat Smart

The comprehensive policy is at least now on the books. What we should probably attempt to do in the future is to concentrate on two or three specific questions relating to the oppression of women, thereby focussing the debate and allowing us to more clearly express the assumptions underlying a socialist perspective on women's liberation. The comprehensive resolution often reduces us to a grab-bag, lowest common denominator argument for women's liberation. The development of a liberal, anti-male feminism within the NDP is as much a danger as it is in the women's movement generally.

2. Our structural demand for one-third women on the executive, elected only by the women, may have been a tactical error -- an error, not because it was defeated but because it was confusing to delegates, aroused unnecessary hostilities, and was difficult to explain on a floor of 2000 delegates. We would probably have been wiser to make a demand for 50% of the executive being female, elected by the convention as a whole. The debate would then have been more clear-cut and the relevant points about "democracy" more simply stated.

3. The first women's caucus was held immediately after the debate on the structural amendment. It was a relatively successful meeting since a number of women who disagreed with the amendment were concerned enough to come to the caucus, state their position and talk things over with the other women. A large and loosely-knit steering committee met for the rest of the convention, co-ordinating the floor debate and deciding that a procedure should be initiated to establish a serious, province-wide women's lib group in the Party. Perhaps the most important thing to come out of the convention was this strong desire to establish an on-going provincial organization.

4. Prior to the convention, a decision was made to hold an educational during the convention, where women and men who were interested, could discuss the substance of women's liberation in a manner which is impossible on the convention floor. Although the educational was held the night of the convention dance, the turnout was good and the discussion continued for a couple of hours. It seems that this type of meeting is very important in terms of breaking down a number of hostilities expressed by both men and women.

5. A literature table was maintained for the duration of the convention and was an important means of obtaining contacts from interested women. In addition, paperbacks and some policy statements prepared by NDP women, and we obtained a large amount of the Hogtown press articles on women's lib. (These articles are good analytical essays written by left women and can be purchased through Hogtown, Box 6300, Station "A", Toronto 1.)

6. There was no women's slate run for the executive primarily because there was insufficient time to discuss and decide upon such a move. The establishment of a provincial organization will likely result in a more serious examination of this possibility next convention. The waffle slate for the executive had 5 women (out of 11).

Obviously, there are still some big battles to be fought in the party, but perhaps NDP women will be better able to win those fights if we concentrate our efforts in the ridings.

--Jackie Larkin
Heather Prittle

ENERGY RESOLUTION REPORT (CONT'D) But two points had better be examined very carefully before we mechanically assume that our extra-parliamentary blueprint is a correct one.

First we'd better figure how to reach workers in resource industries and major energy consuming or processing plants. The waffle is often badgered about its petit-bourgeois nature and though this debate has been poorly carried out, the complaint does have a foundation. The government and business-community are smart enough to realize this, and if their interests are threatened, they will start the counter-attack by showing workers how the NDP-Waffle's plan will lose them their jobs, lower their wages, establish bureaucratic state industry and a host of other bullshit. If the working class is on our side we will be, to put it mildly, quite a big strong-er.

Second, we'd better figure out how to involve people in a protest against a continental energy deal. Right now it's a rather passive operation for 99% of the supporters and that's no way to build a revolution! That feeds back into the first point.

The Energy Deal may be a class issue, but so far it's not one that mobilizes class sentiment about the nature of capitalism and imperialism. We'd better think seriously about that.

--Gord Cleveland

SASKATCHEWAN ROUND UP

N.S. WAFFLE LIVES

Waffle activities in Saskatchewan are as varied as they are numerous.

This month there are reports of study action groups in Moose Jaw, seminars in Oxbow and a recent four-day speaking tour for Jim Laxer as part of the campaign against the continental energy deal.

Laxer spoke at an NDY rally and a public meeting in Saskatoon, teach-ins in Moose Jaw, Herbert and Saskatoon, two open-line radio programs and a television interview.

The first of an anticipated series of seminars organized by wafflers in the Souris Estwan riding dealt with "The Americanization of Saskatchewan Farm Land". The next seminars are scheduled to deal with Quebec: from a historical perspective and the Americanization of the Canadian economy.

In Moose Jaw study-action groups have been set up in an attempt to involve local people in matters of immediate concern to the community and to the waffle. A leaflet, distributed door-to-door in three of the six zones into which the city has been divided for the project, invited anyone project inviting all who were interested. A section of the leaflet noted: "Industry has poisoned our air and land. Farmers are being forced off the land and taken out of wheat production in a world where six out of 10 deaths are caused by starvation. The City of Moose Jaw itself is a product of profit planning. Foreign owned companies such as Robin Hood Mills, Swifts, and Gulf Oil have made their millions and pulled out leaving us here to struggle and suffer the consequences."

There are 1,000 NDP members in Moose Jaw, roughly 200 in each of six zones. Prior to launching the project, members of the waffle presented a proposal which outlined the topics and proposed organization of the project, to the two NDP executives. The constituency organizations endorsed the proposal but gave no financial support. So far three "kitchen meetings" of the project have been held, with attendances varying between six and 12 people, in most instances people who have been active wafflers.

In assessing the success of the project to date Don Mitchell, one of the organizers, said: "It has not been effective in terms of broad organizing but it has been in terms of education for wafflers. The first meetings were introductory and organizational and we plan to continue from there."

In addition to the study-action groups, Moose Jaw wafflers are centrally involved in drawing up a program for the municipal elections. In doing this they are working through the Civic Reform Association, which pre-dates the formation of the waffle but is made up mainly of waffle activists or sympathizers.

WOMEN IN SASK.

At a provincial waffle meeting held in Saskatoon in July, the decision was made to hold a provincial women's meeting of all women active in the Saskatchewan waffle group.

The purpose of such a meeting was to give women a chance to discuss their own role in a socialist movement and to set up any committee necessary for on-going activities.

This meeting was held on Sept. 12th in Regina with 30 women present from points across the province.

Pat Gallagher spoke on the historical role of women in the NDP; Maija Crane, spoke on the role of women in the waffle and other socialist groups and Sally Mahood discussed women's liberation as such.

Discussion covered a wide range of topics including Don Mitchell's leadership campaign and the recent provincial convention as well as the question of parity representation on waffle committees.

A decision was made to establish a continuing Waffle Women's Caucus Group that would have a work-group of three women located in Regina, who would perform administrative functions of relaying information and setting up meetings, supplemented by regional contacts.

Three areas of activities were defined to act as guidelines and also to clarify the ambiguity felt by many women regarding their role within the NDP and waffle group, in relationship to other women's organizations, specifically women's liberation.

One area was defined as work outside the party. Many women function as individuals within women's liberation groups taking part in activities developed by these women, many of whom are not in the NDP. It was stressed that women taking part in women's liberation would not attempt to recruit other women into the ranks of the NDP but would function merely as individuals. Hopefully they would be able to recruit support from women within the party itself for specific issues and activities undertaken by women's lib.

The recent election of two NDP members to the provincial legislature of Nova Scotia may well be paralleled by gains of strength by the waffle as well.

The recent election of two NDP members to the provincial legislature in Nova Scotia may well be paralleled by gains in strength by the Maritime waffle as well.

The waffle appears to be alive and struggling in and around Halifax at any rate.

Bruce Archibald reports that waffle supporters scattered throughout the Halifax area plan to get together sometime this month with a view to establishing a continuing group.

"The Nova Scotia NDP convention which is to be held in mid-November has taken on greater importance for the wafflers because the election of NDP candidates means the convention will be more party-oriented," Bruce says.

The "balance of power" responsibility which has been thrust upon the two newly elected members requires a great deal of careful thought on the part of the waffle, to say nothing of the party itself.

As many areas in Saskatchewan do not have women's liberation groups, the other two areas related specifically to work within the party and the waffle.

Within the party it was felt that waffle women should take the initiative to do educational work around the convention policy resolutions passed in July. This resolution covered a wide area and included issues such as abortion, equal pay for equal work, sexual discrimination in education and work, etc.

Meetings should be set up, sponsored by waffle women if necessary, to discuss this resolution. A speakers list will be drawn up and circulated to contacts in the province to enable constituencies to bring in people to discuss the resolution.

The final area defined was that of women within the waffle itself. It was decided that the women should make a presentation at the next provincial waffle meeting, setting forth the rationale for party within the waffle and the reasons for structural demands of this nature.

A discussion paper on women will be prepared for the study action groups being organized throughout the province. As well, research on a number of important areas relating to women will be undertaken.

---Pat Gallagher.
Regina phone: 5236539

ABOUT THE BREAD.....

LET'S PUT IT THIS WAY---WE CAN'T KEEP SENDING OUT THE WAFFLE NEWS IF WE GET NOTHING IN RETURN TO COVER ITS' COST.

TO BE MORE SPECIFIC, THIS EDITION WILL COST \$150 TO PRINT. AND THAT'S THE COST ONLY AS LONG AS THE 2,000 COPIES SIT INNOCUOUSLY IN SOME TORONTO LIVING ROOM. TO DISTRIBUTE THEM TO THE PEOPLE ON OUR MAILING LIST IS ANOTHER SIX-CENTS PER HEAD....WHICH MEANS, OF COURSE, ANOTHER \$120. WHICH EVEN THE HIGH INCOME BRACKETED PRODUCTION CREW IN TORONTO CAN'T QUITE MUSTER.

THE NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE'S HOUSEKEEPING SECTION HAS JUST NAMED SUSAN PRIOR OF TORONTO AS FINANCE CHAIRMAN. AND SHE'S

ONTARIO----- CONT'D

in the same way as the Saskatchewan provincial convention had. There was a "left mood" at the Ontario meetings which attracted many non-wafflers or "a-waffle" unionists and riding delegates into our camp for anti-establishment votes on individual policy matters.

As one UAW delegate said to me at the end of the convention: "I did not vote for the waffle. I voted for the toughest policies and the toughest people. As it happened, some of these policies and people were associated with this so-called waffle group."

--Krista Maeoos

JUST ACHING AT LEAST TO BEGIN DEVELOPING A HEALTHY BANK ACCOUNT. WE WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT PEOPLE ON THE WAFFLE MAILING LIST WHO ARE SOLVENT FORWARD A DONATION TO SERVE AS SUBSCRIPTION FEE FOR THE PAPER.

IT'S TOUGH TO COMPETE WITH THE BOURGEOIS PRESS WITHOUT THE HELP OF GOOD SOCIALIST FUNDS. DONATIONS CAN BE MADE OUT TO "INFORMATION EXPENSES FUND" AND SENT TO:

Sue Prior,
66 Cassandra Blvd. # 3,
Don Mills, Ontario.

POLICY

Work must now begin on waffle resolutions and policy statements for the NDP federal convention.

Suggestions made at the national steering committee meeting in Toronto last month were that our resolutions should move out of the realm of strict philosophizing to consider specific programs to back up waffle ideology.

It was felt that the major struggle over principle has been fought and that we must now move on to more programmatic resolutions.

For example on the issue of public ownership we now have to be much more specific on the strategy of public ownership. In relation to labour we might make a general statement of principles on which a socialist party views the working class; and then have a specific statement on the relationship of the NDP to the labour movement.

***** RE- ENERGY DEALS & DEMOS *****

Even the New China Agency, it seems, was aware of the cross-country meetings and demonstrations held Sept. 12 in opposition to the planned sell-out of Canadian resources through a "continental energy deal".

Suggesting Canadians belong on the long list of peoples exploited by U.S. imperialism, the agency noted the demonstrations against "the US imperialist plunder of Canada's natural resource."

The press in Canada was hardly so amenable, although it did note the rallies: some 75 people had gathered on Parliament Hill for the Ottawa demo; in Edmonton, 60 people attended a meeting at the University of Alberta, where 10 new party members were signed up; and a public meeting in Regina drew 65 people.

Not surprisingly, within day

Not surprisingly, within days of the waffle actions, the sale of 9 trillion cubic feet of natural gas to the United States was finalized. Jim Laxer had noted during the Ottawa rally that natural gas, the least polluting fuel, in being sold in massive quantities to the U.S. will not be available as cheaply now to allow Canadian

industry to convert to it in an effort to clean up our environment.

But, at the Toronto edition of the Sept. 12 rallies, Mel Watkins had told almost 1,000 demonstrators that there would be no more silent sales of our resources.

"There are 1,000 of us here now; wait until Christmas. There will be no more silent surrenders. We're going to make too much noise for that to be done."

There was enthusiastic response from the demonstrators--most of whom were non-wafflers--at the suggestion of a trek to Ottawa for the next round of Canada-US negotiations on the energy deal, expected sometime in late November.

At the October 17 meeting of the National Steering Committee (housekeeping section) the national resources committee was empowered to consider various strategies for action in November. A march on Ottawa or another series of cross-country actions are two possible alternatives.

Calgary's Sept 12 demo has not been mentioned because it seemed preferable to present the following account, in true cinema vérité style, by DON CAMERON-----

With only twelve days notice given of the upcoming Sept. 12 demonstrations the Calgary waffle and NDY had to work fast in order to meet the deadline.

Hurriedly we lined up six speakers, prepared and distributed several different leaflets to students and workers, built a silkscreen and made posters which we placed all over town, issued press releases, found a speaker system and worked out the many other details for the Rally Speak-Out to be held on the downtown mall.

All was set for the big day. It dawned, cold and cloudy. An economics professor who had enthusiastically agreed to speak cancelled out at the last minute following a consultation with his department head. The store which had previously agreed to provide electric power for our speaker system suddenly changed its mind as we prepared to set it up. Every other store within reach of our extension cords also said no.

"Demonstrations are bad for business."

Was all our effort to be for nothing because we lacked an electric plug-in? The freezing Herald reporter looked hopeful as he asked us if we would cancel.

No way, buddy.

At last after a one-hour delay and a twelve dollar rip-off of a portable electric generator, which we were forced to rent, we got underway.

An hour and a half later the last speaker finished ripping into the Americans and their Liberal lackeys and we packed up and went home to warm up.

We got drunk that night.

We had a better than average attendance for a leftist demonstration in Calgary. About 100 people. The demonstration was good for us. We now have organization, discipline, experience and a few new members. Next time we will do even better.

Seven pages of minutes came out of the Oct.17 th Toronto meeting between a few members of the national leadership campaign committee and nine members of the national steering committee.

It was decided that the leadership campaign team (made up of 10 people—eight elected at the national conference and two more elected later in Saskatchewan) would remain in existence until the NDP convention to act as spokesmen for the leadership.

the leadership. Other items dealt with include the following:

--that the housekeeping committee (Ontario members of the national steering committee) hold one out of every three meetings outside Toronto and that the national steering committee keep in close liaison with and perhaps attend meetings of the provincial steering committees (as suggested by Ken Novakowski).

--that people be asked to prepare general statements on a wide range of issues involving the waffle (such as the history of the waffle, labour, women, social democratic parties). These papers would then be published as part of a

waffle service to be distributed among riding associations, on campuses and to people who are not generally waffle-oriented.

that a meeting of the national campaign committee and the national steering committee be held around Christmas time in the west (as proposed by Ken Novakowski). Tentatively, that meeting is set for Dec. 31, Jan. 1, 2 and 3 in Regina to discuss the leadership campaign and organizing for the convention; and to work through and attempt to finalize resolutions for the convention.

--that the waffle prepare a statement re-iterating its position on Quebec and try to explain the situation in that province in the light of the anti-imperialist struggle. Such a statement could be discussed with wafflers across the country before being made public.

--since Premier Robert Bourassa of Quebec has recently been in the U.S. raising \$2 billion for hydro projects in northern Quebec, it was decided the waffle should try to enter into discussion with socialists in Quebec and the PQ to make our analysis available to them and ask them to take actions concurrent with ours.

THE STEERING COMMITTEE ALSO DECIDED TO BEG, PLEAD OR THREATEN PROVINCIAL WAFFLE GROUPS INTO NAMING A PERMANENT REPORTER TO THE "WAFFLE NEWS". THAT PERSON WOULD KEEP IN CONTINUAL TOUCH WITH THE PRODUCTION CREW IN TORONTO ALWAYS MINDFUL OF THE NEED FOR ARTICLES AND NEWS FROM EACH SECTION OF THE COUNTRY FOR EVERY MONTH'S ISSUE. ALL MATERIAL TO BE INCLUDED IN THE "WAFFLE NEWS" SHOULD BE SENT TO: TRACY MOREY, 40 HAZELTON AVENUE, # 4 TORONTO, ONTARIO.

STATEMENT ON THE

WAR ACT

The University of Toronto Waffle (NDP) stands unequivocally opposed to the use of the War Measures Act and demands that it be revoked immediately. We strongly support the sixteen NDP M.P.'s who voted against the implementation of the War Measures Act.

The proclamation of this Act took place in the context of rising popular support in Quebec for the democratic movement towards an independent Quebec. The intent of the Trudeau government has been to intimidate and to stifle this movement for democratic self-determination by the Quebec people. The arrest of hundreds of prominent spokesmen and participants in the Quebec movement for independence and democratic socialism attests to these real intentions of the Trudeau and Bourassa governments.

While condemning FLQ terrorism as a means of political action we must emphasize that the principal danger to democracy and to the building of democratic socialism in Quebec and the rest of Canada comes from the Federal and Quebec governments themselves. The real source of terrorism lies in the colonial history of Quebec.

Decades of widespread poverty, high rates of unemployment and police repression have set the stage for resistance by the people. Resistance which, excepting the FLO, has been democratic.

We are saddened by the killing of Laporte but the kidnapping of Cross and Laporte clearly are not isolated & inexplicable events.

We are English-Canadian socialists reaffirm our support for the principle of self-determination for Quebec. We denounce the use of the War Measures Act as a tool of the English-Canadian ruling class in the name of "federalism" to occupy Quebec.

We also demand the repeal of the Act because it denies civil liberties and democratic rights of all Canadians. Its enactment, moreover, will be the yardstick for new repressive legislation which the Trudeau governments plans to introduce as a permanent feature of Canadian law.

Such legislation can potentially be used against labour movements, the unemployed, farmers and students.

We demand, too, the removal of troops from Quebec, and the release of prisoners held under this Act.

The gravity of the present situation should not be underestimated. We simply cannot sit back and hope that the government will eventually restore our civil rights—especially those of the people of Quebec. Democratic socialists in Quebec must know that there are English-Canadians who are appalled by the measures of the Federal and Quebec authorities and who are willing to stand with them to restore our democratic rights.

This statement was later endorsed by the steering committee of the Ontario waffle.

AN NDP MEMBER IN ONTARIO HAS URGED THE WAFFLE NEWS TO CALL UPON PEOPLE TO GIVE MORE THAN JUST MORAL SUPPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO OPPOSED THE WAR MEASURES ACT ,BY PLAYING THE REACTIONARIES' OWN GAME. THAT IS BY TAKING AWAY AT LEAST SOME OF THE PUBLICITY FROM THE "95 % OF CANADIANS" WHO SUPPORT TRUDEAU BY WRITING TO LIBERAL MPs AND THE EDITORS OF NEWSPAPERS AND EVEN BREAKING INTO THE RADIO HOT-LINE GAME.NOT WITH EMOTIONAL APPEALS BUT WITH THE COOL AND RATIONALE CRITICISMS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ACTION WHICH CAN SO EASILY BE MADE. THIS IS THE KIND OF SPONTANEOUS EDUCATION WORK WE CAN SURELY ALL BE INVOLVED IN.

of the latter, the Canadian government rescinded civil liberties over-night.

The war measures act went into effect in the early hours of Oct. 16 prior to consultation with parliament and and by the time this paper had gone to press more than 370 Quebecois had been arrested and 7,500 servicemen had been deployed in Ottawa and across Quebec under terms of the act.

For unexplained reasons the Trudeau government rejected existing laws of sedition and treason as inadequate to deal with the situation. The act of treason covers the use of force or violence for the purpose of overthrowing the government or conspiring to do that or forming an intention to do that which is accompanied by some overt act. The law of sedition has penalties for advocating the use of force as a means of accomplishing a governmental change within Canada."

It is not surprising that the government people were willing to put aside democratic principles overnight.

It is outrageous however, that four NDP members of parliament (Harold Winch, Barry Mather, Max Saltzman and Frank Howard) supported the government. They revealed that when the crunch comes they will chose the side of authoritarianism and desert the cause of socialism.

Our forebears in the CCF-NDP have suffered from such measures as were supported by these four men. After the Winnipeg general strike for example, J.S. Woodsworth was charged with uttering seditious words.

We must deceive ourselves that the war measures act, or any legislation that might replace it, cannot be used to put down future general strikes or to repress political groups other than the PLQ. The act has already had a negative effect on political discussion in this country.

At this point it is essential for all of us to work in our ridings to build up opposition to the war measures act and any similar legislation which may replace it. And to put our support be-

hind the 16 MPs who spoke up for the many Canadians who value civil liberties too much to see them so easily destroyed. We must hold meetings to expose what is happening in Quebec, and to support the many political and labor people who have suffered arbitrary arrest and slander, simply because of their opposition to existing governments.

Above all, we must support the right of the people of Quebec to determine their own political future without coercion from Ottawa. The Canadian federal government has revealed once again in this crisis that in the last analysis the Canadian state can exist in its present form only through the repression of the people of Quebec. As English Canadians we must not flinch from the fact that our federal government is an oppressive government in Quebec and that we must struggle to get that regime off the backs of the people of Quebec.

---Krista Macoets.

WAFLE WORKSHOP

on

Unemployed and Poverty Groups

Due to lack of space, last month's edition of the waffle news was without a number of reports from workshops which met during August's national waffle conference in Toronto. The following are excerpts from a report by Henry Dorst of St. Catharines on the workshop which dealt with unemployed and poverty groups.

.....The waffle group in its policies and considerations has, from its founding, displayed a consistent awareness of the need for the building of a mass movement adopting extra-parliamentary methods of struggle, but to a very large degree this awareness has seen little reflection in concrete activities. Should ongoing extra-parliamentary struggles in Canada --largely outside of the waffle as well as the NDP-Labour scene--not receive more attention? Attendants at the waffle national conference's unemployment and poverty workshop thought so.

The experiences and characteristics of unemployed and poverty groups must be studied and analyzed by socialists if they are to be successful in transforming this society. Keep in mind that, liberal rhetoric to the contrary, poverty is a problem which is clearly felt by some 4 to 5 million people in Canada. Over the last year, unemployment has risen to an "official" figure of around 550,000 while economic indicators point to recessionary trends which may take that figure up to around 1 million.

Unemployed and poverty organizing (and, I suspect, community organizing of any kind) involves very small groups of people in their respective centres. Mass involvement appears to be held back, first of all, by a combination of apathy and fear. Those who are most oppressed often find their greatest protection in being meek and in not rocking the boat. For example, many welfare recipients fear the discretionary cutting back of what little they get and hence avoid involvement in counter-organizing, leave alone confrontations. A second hold-back appears to be the development of alienating tendencies on the part of the core group which first becomes

involved and then proceeds rapidly to becoming too radical for the prospective base. There are also instances of destructive elitism which develops easily, particularly if the original founders receive early recognition from the mass media and from commissions and study groups enquiring into poverty. Lack of political perspective makes the people at the bottom particularly vulnerable to a sort of prestige cooption.

Injecting political content into unemployed and poverty organizations runs into the danger, on the one hand, of alienating the core group from the prospective base by becoming "too radical", while on the other hand, lack of political perspective leaves the group vulnerable to cooption and becoming merely another democratically run (at best) reform agency as an appendage to the existing patched-up system. Apparently, a welfare rights group in Winnipeg offers a fascinating case study of how a one-time radical movement became entirely absorbed into the broader

All groups operate some sort of problem counselling and follow-up service. The service function attempts to get a grievance settled as rapidly as possible. That way the contact derives some immediate benefit from, presumably, collective action. Few campus radicals seem to get involved in this aspect of the groups. They tend to see the problem referral as merely reformist. Considering the energy and time required for doing such immediate work and the difficulty of politicizing the contact, the procedure is not altogether satisfactory. Generally there is the very real problem of bridging the gap between the immediate need (the solution of a hassle) and long-term political goals. Some efforts are being made to build community and collectivity by the provision of a free clothing coop, a buyer's club, social activities, cooperative baby-sitting services etc. Some organizers to whom I spoke expound a theory of building counter-communities. Indeed, the exclusive concern with unemployment or welfare problems or even the politics of relevant legislation, has limited results. The politicization may have to be done less by talking, even if people are in a receptive mood, and more by building a collective where efforts are directed in an overlapping manner at a number of problems related to low income groups.

FISHERMEN FIGHT ON

THE FOUR-MONTH OLD FISHERMEN'S STRIKE IN NOVA SCOTIA IS FAR FROM OVER, DESPITE SEVERAL NEWSPAPER REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY. BRUCE ARCHIBALD NOTES THAT "DIFFICULTIES HAVE ARISEN WITH AT LEAST ONE OF THE COMPANIES INVOLVED AND THE SITUATION COULD DRAG ON WELL INTO NOVEMBER."

SOME 250 MARITIME FISHERMEN HAD FOUGHT A VALIANT FIGHT AGAINST THE COMBINED FORCES OF BOTH COMPANIES IN NOVA SCOTIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT PROVINCE. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STRIKE FUND ARE STILL BADLY NEEDED AND CAN BE SENT TO:

Homer Stevens,
P.O. Box 298,
Mulgrave, Nova Scotia.

While the movement is still fragmented and accomplishments are of an immediate nature only, all groups rely heavily on direct visible types of actions which can be carried out by small groups while reeling as much mass media coverage as possible. Such actions have included guerilla theatre at public meetings, the occupation of an empty house, the invasion of a cabinet minister's riding meetings and the picket demonstrations aimed at bureaucrats in the welfare system as well as at politicians. No doubt, the better actions create a sense of involvement as well as serving an educational function. More important, however, may be the iconoclastic nature of oppressed people defying and mocking the authoritarian and paternalistic bureaucracy of all levels of the state. This effect may, if effectively done, educate and involve many more than the actual participants. On the other hand, the risks of alienating a small core of activists from the base must always be carefully taken into account. The message conveyed in such actions must be as undisputable as possible.

Contrary to the idealistic assumptions of many educated socialists, almost all community groups do not start as autonomous expressions of the unemployed and poor themselves. The formation of most groups involved people with at least some university education. The continuing function of all the groups with which this author is familiar relied in part upon such people. This is not necessarily undesirable as long as such people do not come to dominate the group.

Most community organizations have no links with organized labour whatsoever. Even the unemployed organizations, which have recently dealt with the concerns of union members who are increasingly threatened by lay-offs, have had almost no support from organized labour. At best, some groups have had small donations from local labour unions. Last spring the Canadian Region of the UAW appeared committed to sponsoring a trek of the unemployed to Ottawa. Frank Quinlan, one of their staff workers, was put in charge of coordinating the UAW spearheaded mass rally

of the unemployed. Three of the organized Ontario groups began to mobilize people and funds for buses. Mr. Quinlan did nothing even for the UAW's own laid-off members; he refused to even communicate with the St. Catharines Union of Unemployed; he put his secretary in charge of making up a brief; he did not set a date for the march until 12 weeks before the scheduled date and then proceeded to the CLC convention. Upon his return from that convention and some five days before the trek, he postponed all plans. Nothing has been heard from the UAW since. No groups have yet received any funds from the provincial labour federations nor from the CLC which pledged at its spring convention to help such organizing efforts.....

Most groups appear to be proceeding without the aid of labour and do not seem to particularly seek labour's aid. Where labour has given aid it has tended to be accompanied by some paternalism. Until unionized workers themselves feel more of an economic squeeze--enough to replace the ageing bureaucracy--community groups may be better in building self-reliant organizations without spending too much time idealizing on class solidarity which should be. There may, of course, be

openings to employed workers which should be utilized. There must also be never-ending education in the community groups about the nature of the class system so that when organized labour revitalizes itself the doors to working class unity will be wide open.

With regards to the point above, the increasing youth character of those unemployed may present particular problems. Increasingly, unemployment is growing among young people through the denial of job entry. Older unemployed have memories of work situations and, frequently, experience with unionism. The young people, obviously, have not. This may have serious effects on the ability of the unemployed to relate to organized labour at some future time. It is certain that within the existing groups there is a gap between the young who have never worked and the older unemployed..... I do not wish to underestimate the difficulties of organizing among urban youth, however economically deprived they may be. The "do your own thing" cult and the hippie value system which encourages marginal subsistence may be very convenient to capitalism in coping with rising youth unemployment. The emergency setting up of hostels for transient youth this summer (with the appearance of civil servants in shoulder-length hair to administer them) must be seen as a typically liberal step in devising control mechanisms--it encourages youth to be transient rather than staying unemployed and at home where they could organize politically.

Going a little further in this digression on liberal control devices to cope with unemployment.....the concept of a guaranteed annual income...could trick the masses into accepting mere passive status as "unemployed" consumers who would be conditioned to consume what the system deemed "rational" without having even the opportunity to organize to lay on the levers to bring the whole thing to a stop.

One note for the women of the very active women's caucus in the waffle. Comparing notes with people from a number of unemployed and poverty groups pointed out clearly that the most deprived group within the unemployed and poor, are the women...there is a very drastic need for day nurseries, day-care centres and cooperative baby-sitting services in every city in Canada. Where women are active in community groups they tend to be more militant than men. Probably because they are more desperate.....

Here are a number of recommendations, some of which were contained in our national conference workshop report:

- that each provincial section appoint and finance an organizer to build up contacts with existing community groups as well as to intervene positively where such groups can be formed
- that the waffle provincial sections schedule an organizational school or seminar to exchange lessons among community activists and to teach others those skills.

- that the party be pressured to shift a portion of its organization staff provincially from building riding membership to building radical extra-parliamentary community action.
- that for future conferences special travel allowances be made so as to facilitate elected delegates of unemployed and poverty groups to be in attendance.

THE NEWS FROM A WAFFLE VIEW

NAMES CAN BE PLACED ON THE MAILING LIST OF THE "WAFFLE NEWS" IF SENT TO: KRISTA MAROTS, 509 MacDonell Street, #4, Kingston, Ontario. UNLESS SUBSCRIBERS ARE STUDENTS OR UNEMPLOYED IT IS APPRECIATED IF THEY ENCLOSE A FEW DOLLARS IN THE FORM OF SUBSCRIPTION. ADDRESS CHANGES FOR EXISTING WAFFLE NEWS RECIPIENTS SHOULD ALSO BE SENT TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.