

WAFFLE NEWS

SPECIAL LEADERSHIP CONVENTION ISSUE

16 PAGES



Some 500 demonstrators—including the Regina Women's Liberation group, the Seekers of Security (a welfare rights' group), the Regina Waffle Movement in the NDP, and the Students' Union—protested the high levels of unemployment in Canada on the visit to Regina of Prime Minister Trudeau on February 13. Similar demonstrations against the callousness and indifference of a government that has deliberately created unemployment have been held throughout the country.

Unemployment is one of many crises facing Canada today. The Waffle movement in the NDP looks at a number of national and regional problems, and presents some analyses and solutions. This tabloid also includes a major section on resource policy, with excerpts from the book "The Energy Poker Game" by Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the federal leadership of the party. Laxer has played a key role in stimulating national debates on foreign ownership, the sell-out of energy resources, and the status of Quebec.

INSIDE, ARTICLES ON:

- *Unemployment in Canada — page 6*
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Jim Laxer stands for an independent socialist Canada

Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the NDP federal leadership, has played a central role in stimulating recent national debates on foreign ownership, the resource sell-out and the status of Quebec.

He and Melville Watkins, co-authors of the Waffle Manifesto "For an Independent Socialist Canada", were among the 11 people who first met in the spring of 1969 to discuss ways of revitalizing debate within the NDP on the crucial issues of socialism and independence.

The movement that grew out of this meeting became known as the Waffle, following an argument on public ownership which concluded with one participant's comment that he'd rather "waffle to the left than waffle to the right."

The policy debate has sharpened in the meantime, with an increasing number of rank-and-file NDP members becoming involved in discussions about the direction in which their party is moving.

Jim Laxer has spent countless hours, days and weeks since then encouraging such discussions at the riding level, building support for policy initiatives at provincial and federal conventions of the party, and stimulating debate on key national issues in the public press.

The 29-year-old visiting lecturer in Canadian History at Queen's University has authored historical pieces on social movements in Quebec and English Canada.

The Energy Poker Game

His book, *The Energy Poker Game*, contributed to a major campaign in the fall of 1970 against the sell-out of Canadian resources. Laxer's warning of an impending continental energy resources deal was born out two weeks after the publication of the book, when the Canadian government agreed to sell 6.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas worth three billion dollars to the United States over the next 15 years.

"The energy deal means that along with the resources, American corporations will also get the profits, since 82.6 per cent of the oil and gas wells industry in Canada is American-owned," Laxer notes.

Laxer has been active in the NDP for years, working on the University of Toronto campus, and in ridings in Toronto, Ottawa and Kingston. He is now a member of the Ontario provincial executive, and the federal council of the party.

His commitment to the NDP was the basis for his growing concern in the late 1960's that the party was out of touch with new grass roots movements for social change, and with the intense problems created for the working people of Canada by huge American-based multi-national corporations and their Canadian business and political allies.

This concern was shared by others in the party, and their efforts to get the NDP to relate to extra-parliamentary activists led to a vision of an NDP that would serve as a political focus for the labor movement, the farm movement and community activists, working together in a common socialist

struggle against the massive corporations, many of them American-owned, which dominate our social and economic lives.

The New Socialist Society

Laxer believes that the new socialist society must be built from the bottom up, involving great numbers of Canadians in conscious protests, vigorous debates, and long-term organizing. Only such

a mass base can make a political party powerful enough to fundamentally challenge corporate control of our society and to assert public priorities.

Laxer was writing about social movements in English Canada and Quebec when he was a student editor and a national president of Canadian University Press. In 1963, he organized a demonstration of 3,000 people at Queen's Park, calling for a 'fair deal' for Quebec.

Issues not Images

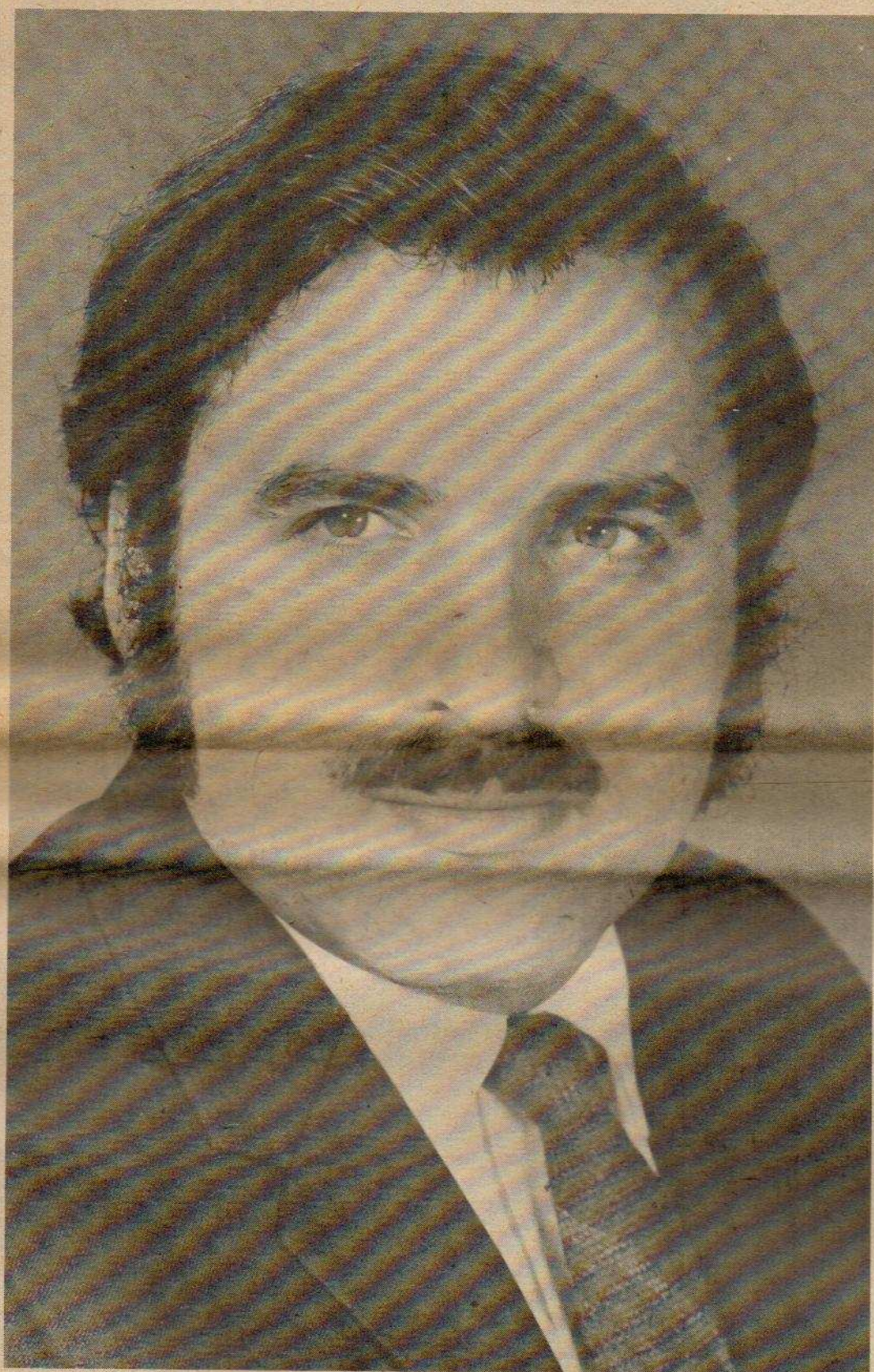
The Waffle campaign to elect Jim Laxer Federal N.D.P. leader is centered on a program that has been developed by hundreds of New Democrats over the past two years. This program for an independent socialist Canada has changed the course of political debate not only in the N.D.P. but in the country. It has revitalized rank-and-file decisions within the Party and has involved an increasing number of people in a reassessment of the directions of the party's policy and practices. If you support this effort to organize for socialism on a foundation of issues not images and to elect people to leading party positions who are dedicated to doing that, please help pay the cost of distribution of this tabloid newspaper.

**Send contributions to Information Expenses Fund,
66 Cassandra Blvd., No. 3, Don Mills Ontario.**

If you would like:

- **Extra copies of this paper to distribute**
Write to Caroline Brown, 2865 Retallack Street, Regina, Sask.
- **Speakers for meetings**
Write to Steven Penner, Waffle Leadership Campaign, 11½ Spadina Road, Toronto, Ontario.
- **More information about the Waffle**
Write Edna Laxer, 68 Castle Knock Road, Toronto 305, Ontario.

"There is a very broad consensus in the party for a socialist program"



By JIM LAXER

After travelling across the country for the past few months during the leadership campaign and having talked to thousands of members of our party, I am convinced that there is in our party a very broad agreement about the need for the NDP to espouse a more socialist program, for the NDP to move away from the ways of caution that characterized the first decade of its existence.

Within this broad agreement and sentiment in the party, there are of course important and even basic disagreements. But the important thing is that the broad membership of this party wants us to put forward and enact as a government a socialist program

that will fundamentally redistribute power in Canadian society.

There is a strong feeling among thousands of our members that the party has not been doing that. In the last federal election in 1968 we did not go to the people with a coherent socialist program. We put before them a number of important measures we would enact. But it was clear that the party was not challenging the holders of power in any basic sense.

Why then, if there is a broad consensus of opinion in the party in favor of a socialist program, do we go to the people in such a cautious way? The reason is not hard to find.

New Democrats have been told over and over

again that a real socialist program would cost the party votes and seats. We deliberately shy away from confrontations with the old-line parties on the issue of free enterprise versus socialism. Are these fears of New Democrats justified? Given the present forms of activity in the party, they are justified to a certain extent.

It is true that we cannot expect to win the people of a province or of this country to fundamental political change during the course of an eight-week election campaign, in which all the media of Canada are turned against us.

And yet not to opt for fundamental change, is to do away with the very reason for the existence of our

party. Caught in this dilemma, New Democrats are often discouraged about the political choices that face them.

I submit that as long as we are basically organized for the purpose of fighting elections only, that it will be impossible for this party to adopt a full socialist program, because we will not have at our disposal the means to make that program effective.

There is no point in us adopting a program if we do not change our organization and our work to suit that program.

Because socialist policies challenge those who now hold power basically, we cannot rely on the methods and style of capitalist parties. If we spend our time doctoring the image of the party to suit the dominant interests, we will be forced to retreat from the content of our program, in a quest for a kind of bargain-basement, Madison-avenue politics. I submit that to a large degree that is what we have done.

And by trying to look in organizational terms like the other parties we have alienated great sections of the Canadian population. We have alienated the young and the poor and the immigrants in our society, because they are alienated from all political parties and do not see us as fundamentally different.

We must change the basic pattern of work in the party so that we concern ourselves with activating the entire party membership to be involved in the basic organizing and educational activity that alone can make a socialist party effective.

Let me give some examples. When our MPs in Ottawa were courageously fighting the War Measures Act and when we were being maligned by the media of this country, the party did little to back up the stand of the MPs. We should have been organizing large meetings, producing literature, and canvassing door to door to arm our own people with the truth about the situation in Quebec and to take that message to the Canadian people in the only way that we really can, door to door and at public meetings.

When a plant shuts down as in the case of Dunlop or Eaton automotive in London, it is not enough to site this as an example of why the people should elect an NDP government. Far too few New Democrats were there organizing and assisting the people who were being affected, mounting pressure immediately to save jobs. When the poor

people held their actions on January 25, too few New Democrats organized support on a provincial or a national scale.

I submit that we must take the political struggle out of the legislative assemblies to the people of Canada. We must open this party to the people as an instrument in which they can act directly. Only in this way can we overcome the feeling that when we approach people, all we want is their vote.

At bottom, we must change the nature of leadership in this party. Our ridings are at present all too often, apolitical associations that raise money, sign up members and canvass in elections with no further relationship to their communities.

It is only as we become rooted in the struggles in our communities that we establish the means to put forward a socialist program without fear that it can be torpedoed or misrepresented by our opponents or by the corporations. If we begin to fight the next federal election now and in this way, we will be able to talk to people directly about the basics in our program.

We will be able to put aside the fears people have about socialism. It then becomes possible for us to talk to Canadians about a society in which the people own the basic industries of the country, and democratically decide on how and for what our economy shall produce.

It becomes possible for us to seriously propose the ending of American domination of our society, when we are able to talk to people about the stories that the prime minister tells them, like his story the other day that the country needs more foreign investment, when in fact, more money is flowing out of this country in the form of profits and management fees to foreign investors than is coming in in the form of new investments.

We will be able to talk to people about the ways that special interest groups use propaganda to maintain an unfair tax system.

As long as we remain a solely electoral party, we will continue to fear talking to the people of this country in a straightforward fashion about building an independent socialist Canada. Never before has this country needed socialism so badly. Let us change the nature of our party's activity so that we can put forward a socialist program, that really will result in a transfer of power in Canada.

Laxer answers Lewis and Howard

Below are statements by David Lewis and Frank Howard on Waffle policies and practices, with a reply by James Laxer, focussing primarily on the Quebec question. The Waffle position on public ownership is put forward in another section of this tabloid.

Lewis:

PRESS RELEASE BY DAVID LEWIS
January 28, 1971

David Lewis, NDP deputy leader, took strong exception today to activities of the Waffle group within his party, and to some of the statements which have ensued from the group and its leadership candidate.

In a statement issued in advance of an address scheduled for an MLA dinner at the Balmoral Hotel in Winnipeg tonight, Mr. Lewis said, "I am certain that the convention next April will defeat the more extreme unrealistic and doctrinaire Waffle proposals and I hope that an end may be brought to the harmful and divisive factionalism which is as unnecessary as it is dangerous.

describes some Waffle proposals as "extreme, unrealistic and doctrinaire;" a Waffle statement as "pro-separatist," and nationalization "old-fashioned and out-of-date socialist fundamentalism."

"It is a great pity that the Waffle has presumptuously taken unto itself to issue statements and programs as if it were a separate political party; to enter into discussions with, for example, certain elements in the separatist Parti Quebecois for the purpose of some alliance or other, thus perverting the New Democratic Party position against separatism and harming our party's credibility in the eyes of Canadians."

A statement suggesting an accommodation with the Parti Quebecois was issued separately by Jim Laxer, as leading member of the Waffle faction and a contender for party leadership, in Toronto prior to the NDP federal council meeting on January 14.

In addition to the pro-separatist statement,

Mr. Lewis strongly objected to Waffle pronouncements on nationalization as "old-fashioned and out-of-date socialist fundamentalism."

He said, "We have learned out of the experience of the last half-century that there are very practical problems of management of publicly-owned industry, of democratizing its management and control, of the relationship of workers to management and of the industry to the actual machinery of government as well as achieving some effective control by the people who work in the industry and those who consume its products. There will, for a long time to come, if not forever, be a large and important private sector in the economy."

Howard:

A PRESS RELEASE FROM FRANK HOWARD
February 4, 1971

Frank Howard, MP for Skeena and federal leadership candidate, said last night at an all-candidate meeting in Toronto that each leadership candidate should be required clearly to make his position known with respect to the Waffle group proposals.

Mr. Howard said: "Since making my first public announcement on January 22 in which I rejected the Waffle proposals on public ownership I am pleased to see that one other leadership candidate has put a similar position forward.

"The Waffle group seeks to establish by

claims the Waffle "seeks to establish by noise what it cannot substantiate in reason;" says all candidates "should be asked to declare either for the Waffle position or against it."

noise what it cannot substantiate in reason. It is a minority group that is unreasonable and divisive and these attitudes far outweigh any of what otherwise would be valuable points. Before we proceed any further in the campaign all candidates should be asked to declare either for the Waffle position or against it. This party should not tolerate a candidate taking any position which seeks to play games with the Waffle group while at the same time attempting to win support from the cooler more reasoned heads in the NDP.

"With respect to the Waffle proposals regarding Quebec, I find those proposals destructive both to the NDP and to the concept of

Canadian unity.

"Any proposal which gives endorsement to the idea that a province has the right to separate from the rest of Canada is tantamount to saying we would like such separation to take place. Well I, for one, condemn this idea.

"Even more damaging is the proposal from this self-established identifiable group, the Waffles, that a liaison should be established with Le Parti Quebecois.

"A federal party like the NDP cannot countenance any suggestion that we ally ourselves with a parochial party that advocates separatism for any province. Let's be for Canada and be proud of it."

Laxer:

PRESS STATEMENT BY JAMES LAXER
February 12, 1971

If the leadership campaign is to be fruitful for the party, all candidates should put forward distinct programs. To date, Frank Howard and David Lewis have spent too much time criticizing the Waffle group and too little time putting forward their own positive proposals.

The Waffle group has put forward a clear set of policy statements over the past two years that indicate the direction it wants the party to take. As a candidate, I subscribe to those policies.

There have been serious distortions of the position of the Waffle group.

In a press release on January 28, David Lewis accused the Waffle group of issuing "statements and programs as if it were a separate political party" and of entering into discussions with the Parti Quebecois for the purpose of forming "some alliance or other." Mr. Lewis' press release referred to the Waffle statement on relations between English Canada and Quebec as "pro separatist."

I wish to reply to these criticisms separately:

1. All statements issued by the Waffle group are resolutions to be presented for debate to conventions of the New Democratic Party. They have no status apart from that. To suggest that this is behaving like a separate political party amounts to serious misrepresentation. Mr. Lewis, in his press release, outlined his own program on foreign ownership. The implication that his proposals represent positive suggestions while ours represent factionalism, shows a disrespect for fundamental debate within the party.

The Waffle movement has been a democratic left grouping within the party whose activities have been open to all New Democrats. The writing of Waffle resolutions has involved hundreds of party members and the debates they have sparked has greatly increased fundamental discussion on the part of rank and file party members.

2. There have been no discussions between myself and members of the Parti Quebecois for the purpose of achieving an alliance. The Waffle group's statement on Quebec calls for an alliance between English Canadian and Quebec socialists. It does not call for formal ties with any other political party and does not even mention the Parti Quebecois.

3. The description of the Waffle statement as pro-separatist is false. The statement calls for the RIGHT of national self-determination

finds it "deplorable that to date much activity during the campaign has consisted of general attacks on the Waffle," and claims there have been "serious distortions of the positions of the Waffle group."

for Quebec. It does not presume to tell Quebecers how they ought to use that right.

It is easy, in the tense atmosphere surrounding the Quebec issue at the present time, to muddy the waters with fear-provoking statements. This is not needed in Canada.

Intelligent and rational debate means facing up to the facts on the issue of relations between English Canada and Quebec.

It is a fact that there are two national collectivities or nations in Canada. It is a fact that the Canadian constitution does not recognize this reality.

Quebec is clearly not a province like the others. It will never go along with proposals for a greater role for the federal government in planning the economy. And yet that is what is needed if Canada is to overcome regional under-development, unemployment and American economic control.

Our present federalism is a perfect arrangement for the continued domination of English Canada and Quebec by the United States, and the present governments want to keep it that way.

It is in the interest of both English Canada and Quebec to recognize the hopelessness of the present attempts to achieve a solution within the terms of the BNA Act.

We should begin a new relationship by establishing certain underlying principles. The relationship between English Canada and Quebec must be based on mutual free choice and not on the threat of force as it is at present. It is false to suggest that free choice exists now for Quebecers following the economic blackmail that was used during the last provincial election in Quebec, the general intimidation of the War Measures Act and the smear campaign during the recent municipal election in Montreal. Quebec and English Canada must have the right to limit their relationship or expand it depending on the democratic decisions of each people.

To describe this set of principles as support for separatism is to miss the point. I see such principles as essential if there is to be a fruitful alliance between English Canada and Quebec in the future. And such an alliance is essential if either nation is to survive in the face of U.S. domination.

I am confident that if we put aside our attachment to Liberal Party federalism which has resulted in mistrust between our two peoples, we can evolve a close and fruitful relationship with common political and economic institutions that will answer the mutual needs of the people in both English Canada and Quebec.

Some Press Comment:

Le Devoir comments on the Waffle and Quebec

(Excerpts from a **Le Devoir** editorial article)

The rise of the Waffle group in the NDP has seriously compromised the somewhat self-righteous intellectual comfort of the old guard of the party. And fortunately so. This minority group, made up of perhaps one-quarter of active New Democrats, contains some of the most vigorous intellectuals in English Canada. It is fairly loosely constructed, both on the level of ideas and of political action.

The Waffle has undoubtedly breathed new life into the NDP. It is constantly reminding the wishy-washy, watered-down social democrats in the party, who would prefer to forget the Regina Manifesto, of the basic principles of democratic socialism; and reminding the party and the trade union establishment of the values of political involvement that make a party into something more than an election machine. To the implicit continentalism of those who, under the pretext of stressing social issues, ignore the national dimension of Canada's problems, Wafflers propose a progressive nationalism which is in their view a necessary condition for the establishment of socialism in a country dominated by foreign capital.

Now, through its spokesman Jim Laxer, candidate for the NDP leadership, the Waffle is questioning the party's official position on Quebec. That position is vague and has been politically unfortunate for the NDP. Two years ago, the New Democrats, who have always been centralizing federalists, vaguely began to talk about an as yet undefined "special status" for Quebec. It was easy for the Liberals to point out the constitutional ambiguities of such a position, with the result that NDP support decreased in English Canada without increasing in Quebec. It must be admitted that

their failure was deserved. The NDP old guard really has no alternative to Trudeau's federalism; and the Quebec wing of the party has avoided the question of Quebec nationalism, with the obvious result that Quebec socialists have supported the Parti Quebecois.

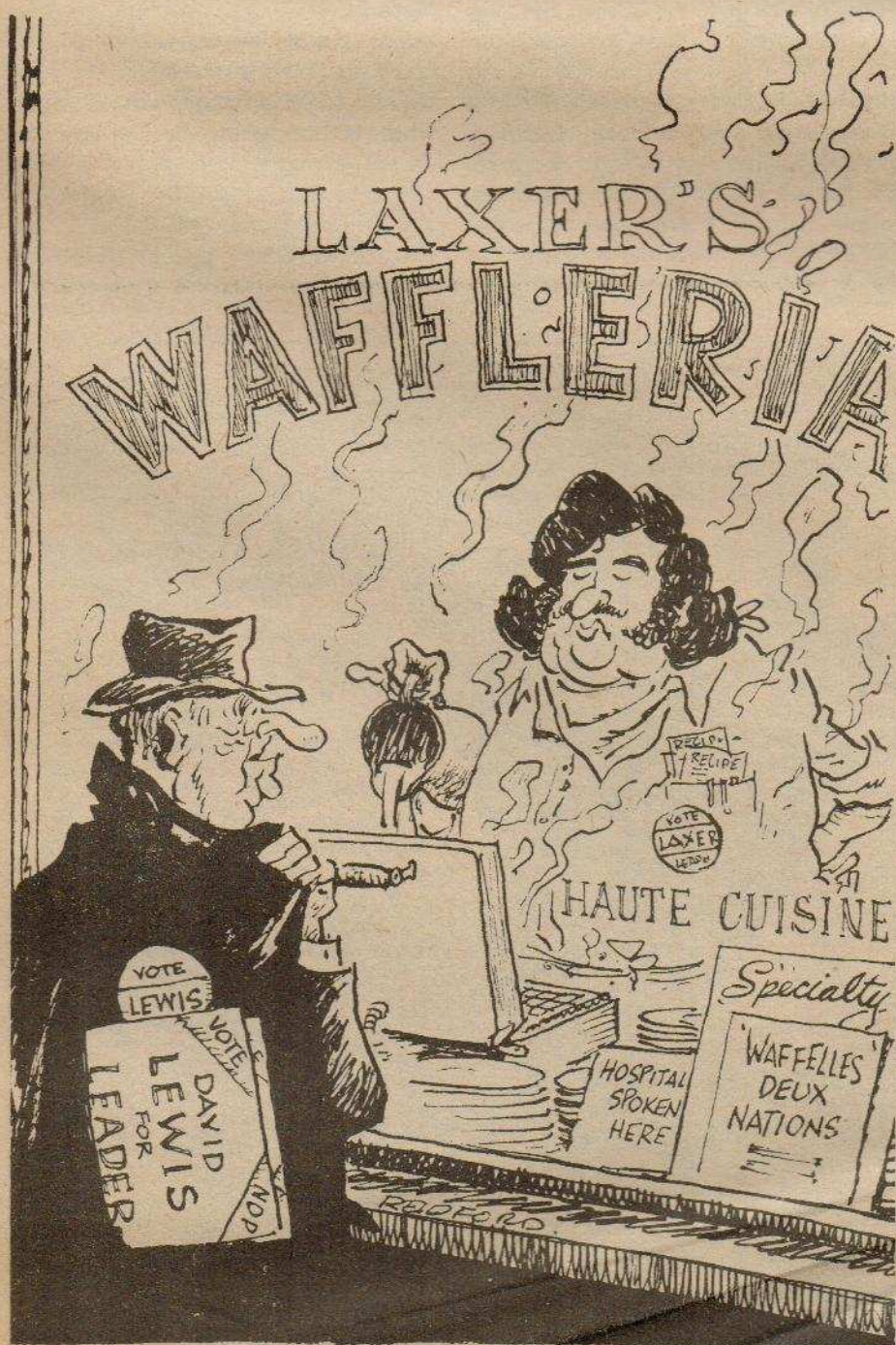
In the view of the Waffle candidate, the NDP should resist the temptation of proposing any solution for Quebec. After clearly recognizing Quebec's right to self-determination, the NDP should wait until Quebecers make their choice and support the majority.

This political strategy has the merit of being coherent and of taking into account better than any other position which has ever come out of English Canada the reality of Quebec nationalism. And certainly the present political strategy of the Quebec NDP, which attempts to win Quebecers over to a program that is both federalist and socialist, can never succeed.

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

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

—CLAUDE LEMELIN



—Reidford, Globe & Mail

Awful Waffle?

Attorney General D. V. Heald was up to one of his favorite past-times when he visited Moose Jaw this week: Warning that the voting public should be aware of the "fact" that the Waffle has almost taken complete control of the provincial NDP.

Addressing a nominating convention of the Moose Jaw South Liberals, Mr. Heald said that it would be a mistake for anyone in this province to underestimate the degree of control the Wafflers have over the party.

It's the price the party is paying for Moose Jaw's Don Mitchell being a candidate in the leadership race last year, he said.

We wonder what it is that makes politicians of the opposite stripe want to "warn" the public about the dangers of voting for someone (or some idea) that clearly states a position.

Without doubt the Waffle element in the New Democratic Party, not only in this province but across the nation, is making giant strides when it comes to being recognized.

But why should that bother politicians of other parties? We've asked this question before and we wondered at the time if the Wafflers or any other politicians, had to worry about.

We think the people will make up their mind about that matter. Warnings from Mr. Heald and company (and even from NDP deputy leader David Lewis) to the effect that the Waffle will drag us all down to fire and brimstone only fall on deaf ears if the people of the country are not now informed enough to make responsible choices when it comes to alternatives between the various party members.

For anyone interested enough to take the time to watch and listen, the Waffle group stands in the forefront of a move for a free and independent socialist Canada. They couldn't be more clear about anything than they are about that fact.

At least we know exactly where they stand and they have, for the first time in many a moon, given the people some clear-cut alternatives when they go to the polls.

—Editorial, Moose Jaw Times-Herald, February 20, 1971

Deliberately created by Trudeau's Liberals

Canada's unemployment rate one of the world's highest

By STEVE PENNER

Served on National Action Committee for the National Day of Protest

Canada as an increasingly dependent country has had a higher rate of unemployment than that of any other developed country in the world—four to five percent in "normal" times.

This winter, however, the situation has gotten completely out of hand. Unemployment reached at least 9% — representing three-quarters of a million men and women out of work. (Official figures are notoriously low.) Even more startling was the fact that by January almost 40 per cent of these people had been out of work for four months or longer!

To the unemployed this represents a great deal more than the cold statistics put out by the federal government. It means tremendous hardship which they and their families must face day in and day out.

Their futures look very bleak since they have nothing more to look forward to than empty government promises and the new "seasonally adjusted" statistics.

Only men as callous and reactionary as Trudeau and Benson could even have considered deliberately creating high unemployment as part of their economic "policy." Unwilling to attack the real source of inflation — corporations, banks and real estate interests, profits and rents—the federal government has instead forced the working class to pay almost the entire cost of its cruel and unjust "war on inflation."

Ironically this completely irresponsible policy has not worked. Prices and rents have continued to rise at almost the same rate as before despite unemployment, an unprecedented and highly disturbing economic phenomenon.

The present high rate of unemployment cannot be explained simply as another of the periodic recessions which inevitably occur in an unplanned, anarchic capitalist economy. It represents a much more fundamental and permanent crisis facing our country.

Canada is increasingly a dependent colony of the United States. Our resources are being used to serve the needs of American industry rather than the Canadian people. By exporting raw materials to the U.S. and buying back the finished products we are providing American companies with huge profits and Canadian workers with few jobs.

While manufactured products constitute 60 percent of the exports

of the 13 most industrialized western countries they represent an incredibly low proportion of Canadian trade, only 19 percent.

We are no longer even able to provide jobs for our university and community college graduates, and 40 percent of the unemployed in Canada are under 25 years old. All projections show that this trend will continue as Canada's economic dependence increases.

The sell-out of our resources, the increasing number of foreign take-overs of Canadian companies, the arbitrary plant shut-downs by huge multi-national corporations rationalizing their world-wide production to maximize profits—all this has occurred in complete disregard of the Canadian people and with the passive acquiescence of the federal and provincial governments.

They continue to argue that foreign "investment" is necessary to further Canada's economic development. Yet economists have been able to prove that the complete opposite is true.

Foreign companies are taking much more out of Canada in terms of profits and royalties than they put into this country. In fact their expansion in Canada is being financed by money generated here, there is no significant new foreign capital coming in.

Our economic dependence has been created by the blatant continentalist policies of the Liberals and Tories. Through their unforgiveable "forgiveable loans" they are even paying foreign-owned companies such as I.B.M. and Proctor and Gamble millions of dollars to open new plants. And now that the autopact is resulting in a favorable balance of trade in auto parts for Canada for the first time, Mitchell Sharp has suggested that we accept American proposals to make the agreement a "fair" one. After all, he argues, the U.S. made a generous "concession" to us in allowing unlimited export of our oil (oil which they desperately need and which is owned by American companies anyway).

Our government has become little more than a managing committee serving the corporate elite, mainly foreign-based, that controls this country.

The hypocritical mouthings of concern for the unemployed by Trudeau, Benson & Co. should not confuse anyone. Just imagine them, in hot pursuit of the Just Society, decreeing that to fight the economic crisis there would be no layoffs, no unemployment! Instead, all top bureaucrats in private business should cut their salaries to the level of the second echelon and then the whole raft of them down to third echelon rates, and so on until the books balance. This would be a

useful lesson for our elites in the economics of hardship, but then hardship is to be talked about, not experienced.

The New Democratic Party must continue to demand immediate measures to alleviate high unemployment — increased government spending on essentials such as housing, cuts in income tax at the lower income levels, lower interest rates and so on. But we must not delude anyone into believing that these measures are likely to solve the fundamental social and economic problems facing Canada.

Only a socialist government with a solid grass-roots base of support will possibly be able to break the monopoly on the wealth and power of this country which is held by a tiny, corporate elite responsible to no one but itself.

The social and human costs of capitalism are painfully obvious to most workers. Our task is to give their developing consciousness political expression and convince people that non-socialist policies such as the C.D.C. are completely inadequate to stop the destruction of this country. Those in the NDP who urge us not to raise angry voices about what is happening to Canada because it might lose us votes have failed to understand the urgency of the present crisis. This is not a time for timidity or public relation's politics. Too much is at stake.





ON THE PICKET LINE AT A NURSING HOME: Although women constitute a third of the total labor force, only 17 percent of women are unionized; they are frequently channelled into low-paying service jobs, and often receive less pay for the same work as men. Increasingly, women are organizing and demanding economic and other rights.

Why are the women asking for parity?

Over the past year and a half, groups of women in the NDP have tried to get structural changes leading towards equal participation of women in the policy-making bodies of the party.

At the same time, the quality of debate on this question has improved considerably, with an increasing number of party people recognizing the legitimacy of such structural demands. At the April convention, women will be organizing for change once again. This time, parity.

The basic argument supporting these initiatives is simple: the old system has not worked. The opportunity for women to run for office has existed since the founding of the CCF. There have been no rules in the constitution forbidding women to hold office. But few women have made it into the top council and executive positions of the party.

The reason for this is that real opportunity does not exist unless the conditions people operate under are equal and favorable. The conditions of women are not. The barriers to meaningful political participation for women are innumerable, including family and home responsibilities (even NDP men do not do their share of work in the home), the patronizing and discriminatory attitudes of men, the tradition of relegating women to secondary roles (organizing social activities, bake sales, secretarial work, fund-raising), and a general lack of encouragement and support.

Now we must ask ourselves what kind of democracy it is that we support. Are we liberal democrats promoting the virtues of individual competition for electoral positions theoretically open to all. Or are we socialist democrats with a genuine concern that all people participate on

a fair basis in the politics of their community and country.

In order to achieve real democratic involvement, you change the structures of your party to include people, whatever their situations, and not to exclude them because of their situations. This means creating advantages for those groups which are now disadvantaged, creating the structural flexibility that answers the real needs of women, thereby encouraging their full participation.

Parity is the goal, and structural change is the only way to begin moving towards that goal. When the positions are there, we will find the people to fill them, and once the people are there, new leaders and talents will emerge that we never dreamed existed. Structural change is a means, not an end, and we look forward to a time when we can put aside such demands and concerns because women will have achieved equality within our party.

Some people are saying that the demand for equality is a manoeuvre by left people in the party to get more representation. There can be no doubt that the demand for structural parity is a left-wing initiative, but we should be clear on one point. All people in a socialist party should vote for the policies they believe in, whether these policies be espoused by men or women.

Parity for women is one such policy. Once we have achieved that, then we must all vote for the women who stand for the things we believe in. Surely there are enough capable women in all streams of the party that we need have no fear that those elected will not accurately represent the real forces within the NDP.

Women's liberation is part of the fight for socialism

The struggle for women's liberation is a vital part of the struggle for socialism in Canada. The social, psychological and economic exploitation that women experience at all levels of society are rooted in a system which requires passive, obedient and low-paid workers in order to function.

This system is based on a family unit in which the husband is seen as "breadwinner" and the wife as his "helpmate." In the majority of Canadian families the male is almost totally responsible for the livelihood of his wife and children, and is thus severely limited in his ability to withhold his labor from the market. Within the family, the woman provides absolutely essential, but unpaid, services and labor.

Her economic dependence reinforces the passive characteristics she has been taught from childhood to exhibit. Because her identity is constantly defined in terms not of her worth, but of her husband, children, and material possessions, the woman is a prime target of consumer advertising. The family with this traditional division of roles is the ideal consumption unit in capitalist society.

There is, of course, a growing number of married women in the labor force in Canada. With the exception of the few women who can afford paid domestic help, such women do not escape their household duties.

They are expected instead to do two full-time jobs. Nor have the recent increases in female employment improved the position of women on the job.

Women, as a group, function as a large and cheap pool of unemployed labor. They are brought into the labor force when economic expansion requires it and forced out when they are no longer needed. For example, remember the role of women in industry during World War II.

The present unemployment situation is pressuring men to push women out of jobs. In retraining programs, men are given preference. Many such programs only place women in traditional female occupations, and exclude them from higher-paying traditionally male occupations.

Women in the labor force occupy the lowest wage and occupational groups. In spite of equal-wage legislation, they are often paid less and receive fewer benefits than do men for performing the same job.

The vast majority of women are concentrated in the clerical and semi-skilled occupational categories. They are expected to perform the helper jobs—secretary to the boss, assistant to the dentist, nurse to the doctor, sales clerk, etc.

Because society considers the mother primarily responsible for caring for children, and because day-care facilities in Canada are hopelessly inadequate, women find themselves in the position of being unable to fight for equal job opportunities.

Many choose part-time work which will permit them to spend time at home with their children, and work at lower wages than full-time workers and with no fringe benefits. The full-time work force suffers, these women suffer, and the employers make a larger profit.

Working women have been neglected by the trade union movement. While women constitute 30 per cent of the labor force in Canada, they constitute only 17 per cent of organized workers. As a result, in their role as wives, women are sometimes "anti-union." Often their only experience with their husband's union is in the absence of pay cheques during strike periods.

Many of the changes required with regard to women in the work force are obvious ones. Women must have equal access to jobs in all categories, equal pay for their work and paid maternity leave. They must be encouraged to become active in unions and to organize within them for women's rights.

But clearly equality in job opportunity is impossible without basic and far-reaching changes regarding women's role in society. We must insist on a fundamental revamping of an educational system that channels men and women into narrowly defined economic roles and life styles.

We need more effective and available means of contraception and abortion to give women real control over the function of child-bearing. Finally, we must rethink our traditional view that the care of children is exclusively the responsibility of the mother. The demand for co-operatively-run community and work-place day care centres assumes that the care of children should be seen as an important part of all social activities, that children would benefit greatly from increased contact with their peers and other adults, and that parents themselves should learn to enjoy and love other children.

Canada's Future?

The struggle for survival in rural Canada

By DON MITCHELL

The struggle to survive has always been a central feature of farm life in Canada.

The CPR, the grain companies, the machine companies and financial institutions have drawn the surplus wealth out of farm production while the farmers made the sacrifices, did the back-breaking work and built up debts—for land, machinery and livestock.

In the 70 or more years of agricultural production in Western Canada the process has never changed. The methods of exploitation have simply become more sophisticated and the margin of return to the producer and the community smaller.

We still see most of the wealth leaving the farm community in the form of profits and interest payments to outside corporate interests.

We are the classic victims of imperialism; a hinterland region whose wealth is drained off by capitalists in Toronto, New York and Houston.

This is the process described and defended by the federal government's Task Force on Agriculture. One need only drive through rural Saskatche-

wan to see the effects of this process.

Farms and communities lie abandoned while those who remain are more highly taxed for services that are being systematically withdrawn—schools, hospitals, post offices.

In response to pressure and advice farmers have enlarged their farms, bought larger machinery and increased their total production by 40 percent since 1945. In competing for survival they've cut their numbers in half, destroying their own communities in the process and enslaving themselves with larger debts, longer work days, and lower incomes.

The achievement of greater efficiency has not basically changed the powerlessness of farmers in the face of the corporate interests. Farmers still cannot control product prices or production costs.

TASK FORCE RECOMMENDATIONS

The Government Task Force on Agriculture recommends that governments accelerate this process and complete the destruction of rural Canada by implementing the following policies:

1. The elimination of two-thirds of the remaining farmers and the conversion of family-operated farms to commercially-owned and managed farms.

2. The shifting of production from finished products for export to the supply of raw materials for American commercial agriculture (i.e., the annual export of 500,000 feeder cattle to U.S. feedlots).

3. The elimination of subsidies and floor prices on all farm products.

4. The exclusion of government from agriculture in favor of private management and control.

The basic philosophy of the task force is that agriculture must be run in the interests of large corporations rather than farmers. Farmers will be driven from the land and either swell the ranks of the unemployed in the cities or work for corporate farms on the land they once owned themselves.

THE NDP ALTERNATIVE

We in the New Democratic Party must not only reject the trend towards centralization, continentalism and rural depopulation. We must support

and create through public policy an alternative of a revitalized and expanded rural Canada.

An effective policy for agriculture must go beyond the surface reforms of acreage payments and commodity subsidies to basic changes in the structure of the Canadian economy. We must retain more productive wealth from agriculture and resource industries in the region of production.

Through public ownership in key industries we can create a decentralized industrial economy in rural Canada. By reversing the flow of capital, population and skills we can avoid further subordination to the United States and avoid adding millions more of our

people to the already congested cities in central Canada.

The prerequisite of any changes such as those proposed in the Waffle resolution on agriculture is the willingness and the power to bring them into effect. A growing militancy and desire for change among progressive farmers must be encouraged by the NDP through political organizing in rural areas.

The struggle is against time. Unless farmers can be awakened to challenge the social destruction spelled out in the *Federal Task Force* and recognize and understand our common enemy there will be no hope. Corporate capitalism will deliver its death blow to rural Canada.

Farm women are fighting for their rights

The federal Task Force on Agriculture predicts that two-thirds of Canada's farming population will be eliminated within a few years. Farmers are, even now, being forced off the land and into the cities.

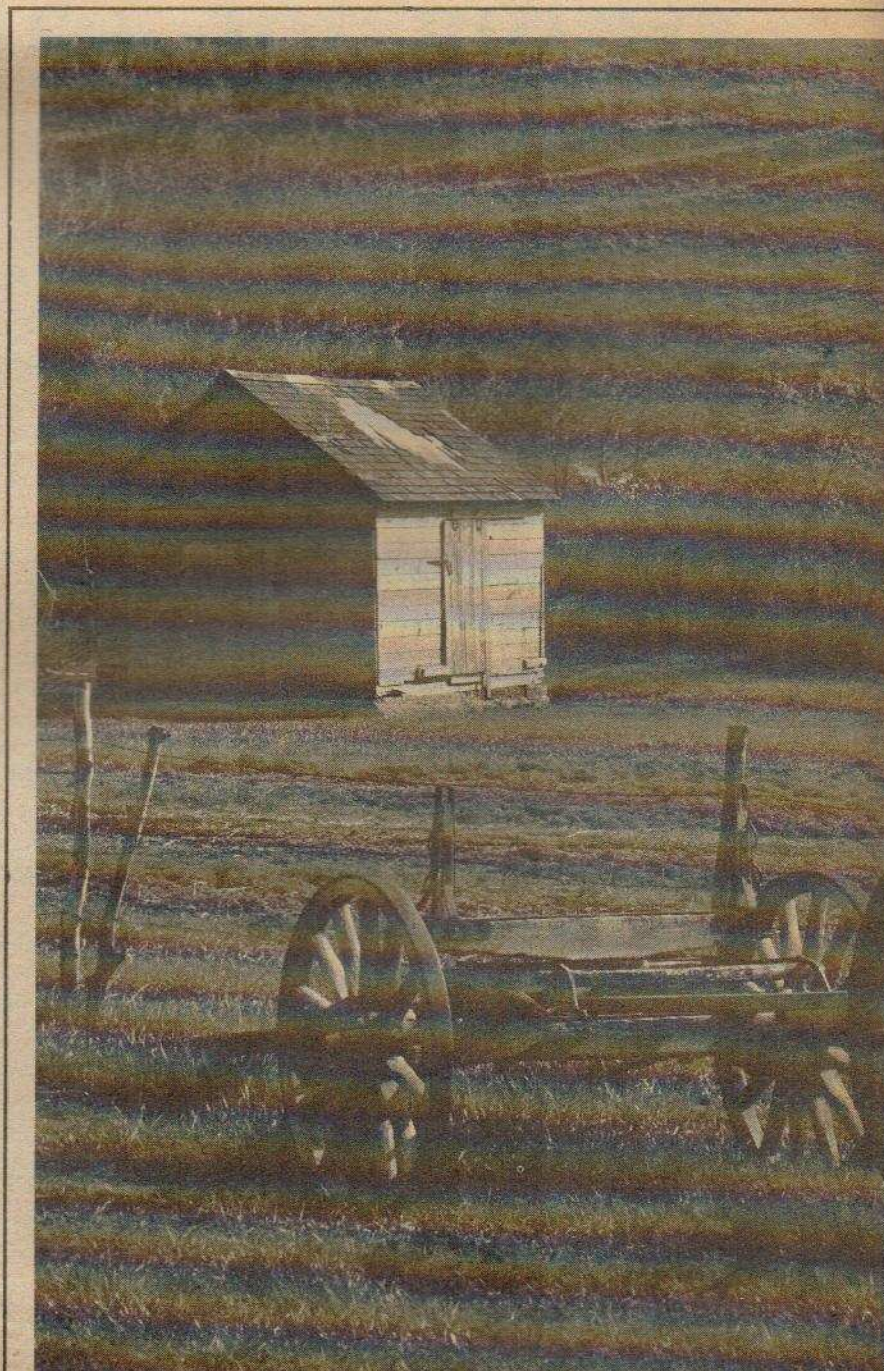
Farm women, in particular, are victimized by this situation. Farm women have traditionally worked as hard as their husbands to make the farming operation succeed. Besides raising their children, they have milked cows, driven tractors, and hauled produce, and, as a result, they have earned respect in the rural community.

In spite of this, at a "Farm and Home Week" in Saskatoon sponsored by the University of Saskatchewan last fall, farm women were told that since their husbands would probably have trouble finding work (unemployment being what it is), they (the women) should "ease the transition from the rural to the urban community" by "re-training" as "secretaries" in order to support the family in "a difficult period of adjustment." The implication is clear: there are no jobs for the men, but there are jobs for women who, in order to support their families, will work for lower pay.

Even the Royal Commission on the Status of Women fails to deal with this contradiction: it recommends (in all sincerity) that "rural women be given the same access as rural men to any re-training programs that may be sponsored for the re-training and rehabilitation of farm people."

Clearly, this sort of "alternative" is an insult to farm women. It totally ignores the fact that a good many farm women are angry about the corporate destruction of their way of life; angry enough to organize, make demands, and be militant. Indeed, many farm women are actively involved in organizing for the National Farmers' Union—they are fighting exploitation, not succumbing to it.

What does Waffle mean to farm women? The agricultural policy of the Waffle group openly challenges corporate exploitation of farmers, and insists on the right of farmers to determine their own destiny. If the Waffle continues to reflect the needs of the people, and continues to involve the people in the process of real political action, then farm women will be an integral part of Waffle.



Let the Waffle and the NDP as a whole claim at least one major achievement for the year 1970. We woke up and protested during the resources nightmare. Our energy demonstrations in the fall of 1970 (1,000 people in Toronto), the publication of Jim Laxer's book "The Energy Poker Game," numerous speeches on this issue by Wafflers and party caucus members, a memorable speech by Tommy Douglas on the resource sell-out in October, and a tough resolution from the Ontario NDP convention on the need for public ownership of resource industries—all these add up to a major campaign that put the government where it belongs . . . on the defensive. Because of the importance of this question and the question of industry and development, we are devoting the next 6 pages of this paper to a multifaceted examination of these questions.

Canadian Underdevelopment

The Case of the Missing Merchant Marine

On a cold and foggy morning in February 1970, a group of people gathered at Vancouver's Burrard Dry Docks to watch the launching of the *Imperial Skeena*, a small tanker built for Imperial Oil. A small ship, but the first that the shipyard had seen for years, and the last it would see for some time.

The mink-clad wife of the Imperial Oil executive probably thought it was the blow from her bottle of champagne that did it, but workers underneath the belly of the boat strained to free the hull from the wedges and winchings, and the *Imperial Skeena* slid silently down the ways and disappeared into

the mists of the harbor. The executives quickly withdrew to the comfort of the Burrard corporate offices to celebrate the completion of a mutually profitable venture, but the men who built the ship could only turn their collars to the cold, and go home to face the certainty of layoffs and unemployment now the ship was done.

The anguish felt by the shipyard workers at Burrard is typical, and results from the death of the Canadian shipbuilding industry. That death, in turn the result of a deliberate government decision that Canada will not have a merchant fleet of ships to conduct its

trade, that we will be dependent on foreign fleets to conduct our shipping, that we therefore have no need of an advanced shipbuilding industry nor of ancillary secondary manufacturing, that death was not inevitable.

During the Second World War, Canada's shipbuilding developed phenomenally. We were the world's fourth largest producer of ships; in addition to military vessels, Canada produced more than 300 cargo freighters; thousands of Canadians became skilled shipbuilders. At the end of the war we had a large merchant marine in the hands of a Crown Corporation (Park Steamships Ltd.), a skilled body of seamen to operate it, and facilities to service it.

In June 1945, the Liberal government, through Veterans' Affairs Minister Ian MacKenzie promised:

"We are not going to repeat past mistakes. It is the determined policy of the present government that Canada is in the shipbuilding business for good. The navy and merchant marine that you made are going to be maintained and expanded. The ships you built will carry Canada's trade to the end of the world, creating employment and opportunity for Canadian workers."

No sooner had the solemn promise been made to maintain Canada's fleet, than the Liberals proceeded to liquidate it. Canada's merchant fleet was dismantled and sold at scandalous prices to foreign private shipping companies as a deliberate government policy.

In 1947, 20.2 percent of all Canadian overseas trade, import and export, was carried in ships owned and registered in Canada. By 1953, that percentage dropped to 4.3.

Now 99.8 percent of Canada's overseas trade is carried on foreign ships, at rates set by international shipping cartels, and increasingly under Pana-

manian and Liberian registry that masks, for tax purposes, the invasion of American money in shipping.

Canadian capitalism has never shown any interest or ability to change this situation. Just as a passive junior partner is accepted in other sections of the economy, Canadian capitalists in the shipyard business have opted for the benefits of restricting themselves to ship repairs, the occasional naval or government service ships, and small coasting vessels. This is lucrative activity for the companies, which despite the ultra-depressed state of the industry still manage to show handsome profits, in large part coming from direct government subsidies on private construction, and cost-plus contracts on government work. But although Canadian taxpayers have financed the profits, this kind of activity provides little employment in the yards, and virtually none in other secondary sectors.

In keeping with this limited scope, Canadian shipyards have made no attempts to modernize or upgrade facilities to incorporate vastly improved construction methods in use in many other countries, and in most cases have not even considered or even hypothetically planned for such expansion. While other countries have virtually perfected assembly-line production of 200,000 D.W.T. (dead weight tonnage) ships, and are constantly improving on that, Canadian facilities remain virtually unchanged since the war, with drydock capacities less than one-tenth that size. Clearly Canadian capitalists have no desire to get into any real shipbuilding program.

On the other hand, Canadian corporations which are involved in shipping show a fantastic ability to avoid bestowing any benefits whatsoever on Canadians. For example, that model corporate citizen, Canadian Pacific, has undertaken to ship enormous quantities of coal from B.C. (where the U.S. Kaiser Corporation is liberating it from us) to Japan. To do this, C.P. built 10-57,000 D.W.T. bulk carriers at a cost of \$80,000,000. The ships, named after Canadian folk heroes ranging from Cornelius

Van Horne to H. R. McMillan, were of course built in Japan. Now if that were not enough for a company that is asking for an 80 percent subsidy on passenger service on the railway they stole from us, C.P. had the gall to set up a dummy company in Bermuda (C.P. (Bermuda) Co.), and thereby avoid employing any Canadians, and completely avoid paying any corporate tax or even registration fee to Canada on the operation of these ships.

It is obvious that Canadian shipbuilding will remain a dead issue if left to the devices of our corporate class.

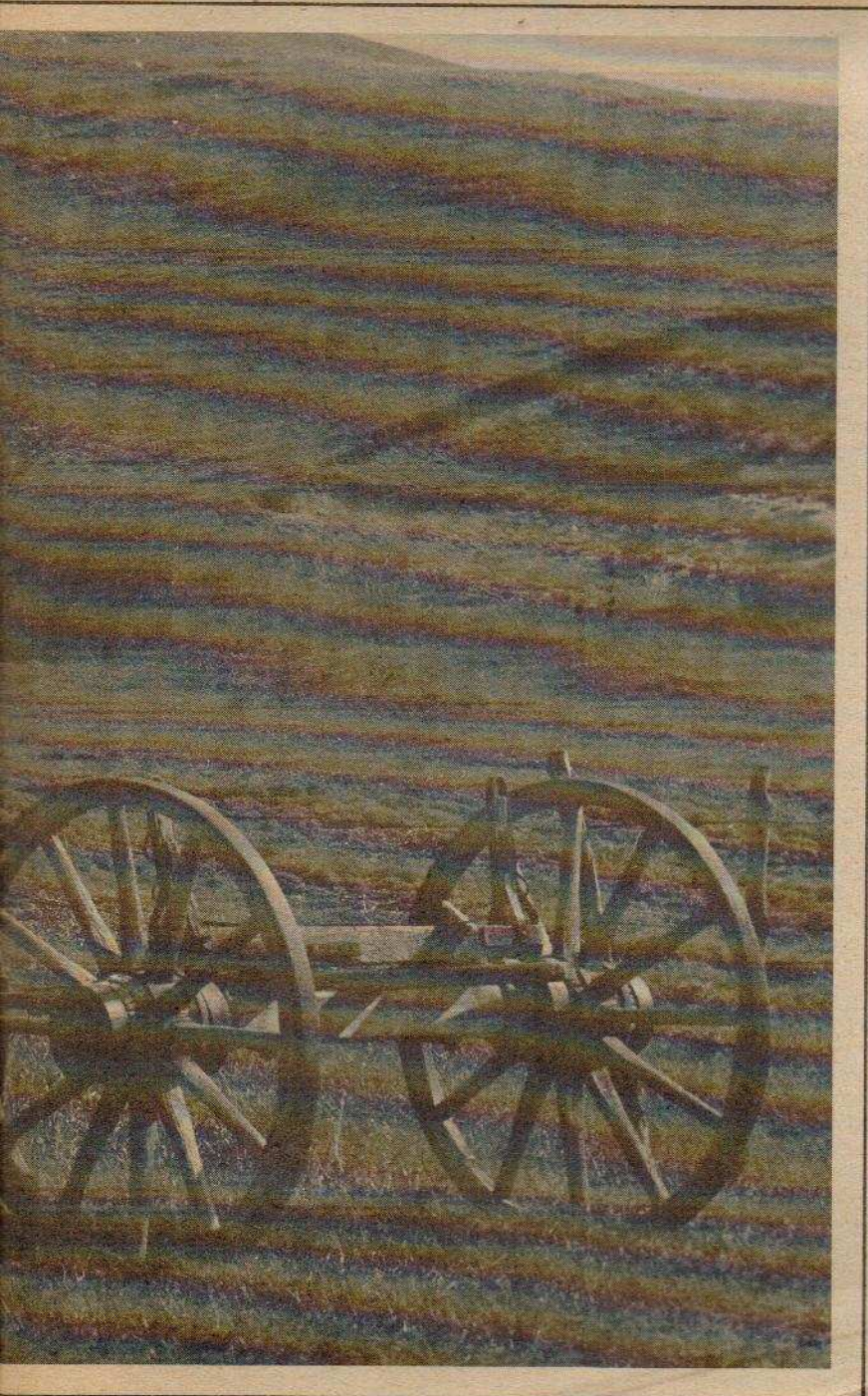
On the world scale, there is a shipbuilding boom. New tonnage production doubled in the five years 1963-68, and today, there are some 3,750 ocean-going vessels under construction or on order, according to *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*. Wartime cargo ships have reached the end of their lives and are being replaced, and new types of ships to carry bulk cargo and containers are being turned out as well.

Canada accounts for virtually none of this record volume of shipbuilding. On the contrary, our yards have reached a record low in activity. The past year has seen massive layoffs in all yards, and the permanent closure of at least two. There are few large projects in sight, and not even any thought about ocean-going projects.

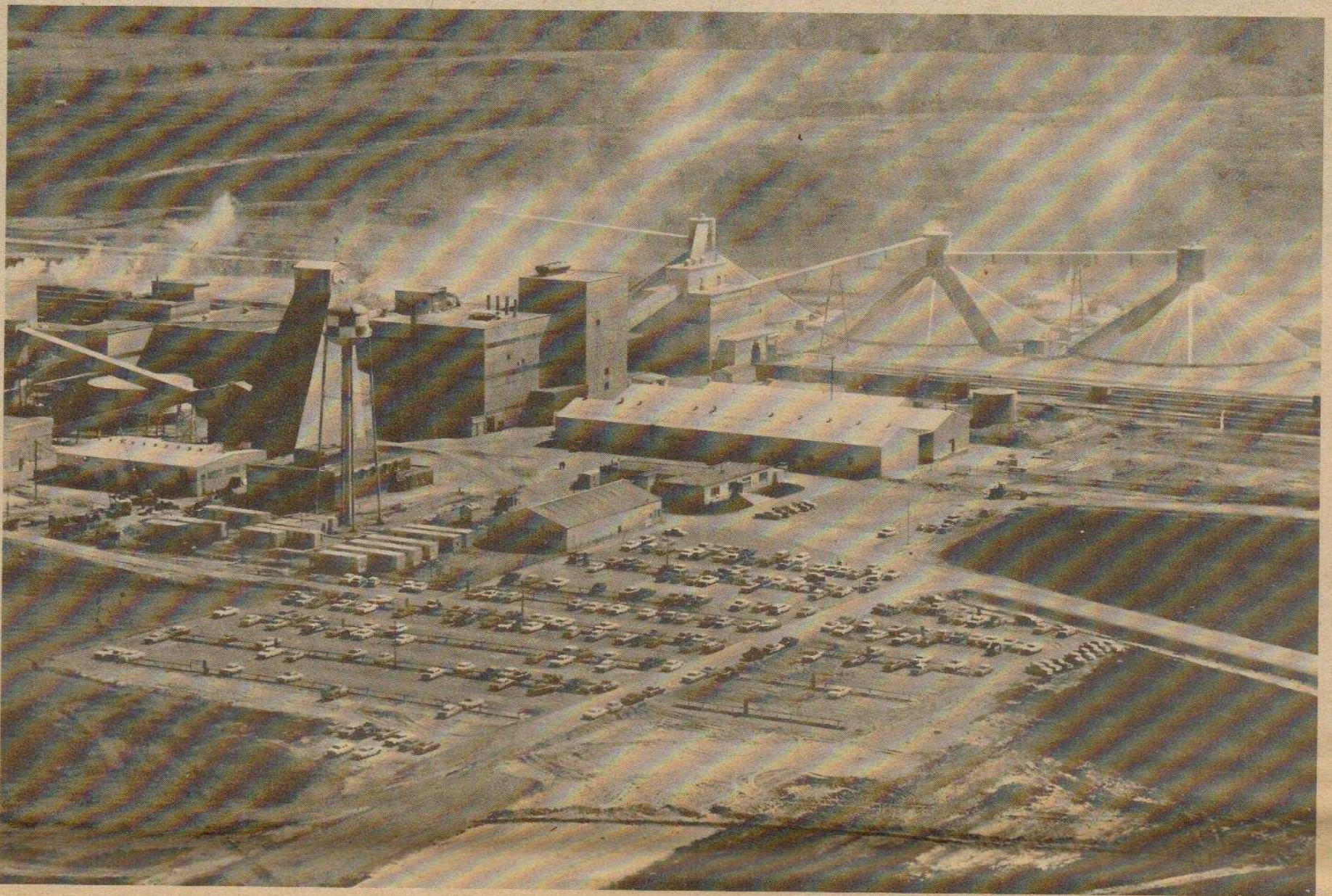
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The shipyard unions on both coasts and in Quebec have been demanding the re-establishment of a Canadian merchant marine for over 15 years. At the last CLC convention, the Congress went on record as "demanding the federal government take immediate steps to reconstitute the Canadian Merchant Marine, thereby providing jobs for shipyard workers, seamen, and workers in subsidiary industries."

The means of accomplishing that re-establishment must not be a disastrous continuation of mass subsidies for privately owned shipyards. It would be criminal folly for Canadian working people to continue to provide direct profits to those who have shown no response to Canada's needs.



Potash: one way not to develop resources



A lump of potash has a dull appearance, a foul taste, and feels a little greasy.

As such it is a good symbol of the "New Saskatchewan" heralded by Liberal election propaganda during the 1967 provincial election.

The "New Saskatchewan" constituted a celebration of Saskatchewan's hinterland relationship with continental capitalism and the alleged death of the radical politics of the CCF, Farmers' Union, etc. The local Board of Trade proudly proclaimed Saskatoon as the "Potash Capital of the World."

Since then the conservative vision of the "New Saskatchewan" has faded and revealed the reality of the "Old Saskatchewan" with its economic depression and renewed political activism. The potash industry is in trouble, and Saskatoon no longer calls itself the "potash capital of the world."

Thatcher has had to give legal sanction to a potash cartel that has restricted Saskatchewan output and jobs, that has used its power to force farmers to pay artificially high prices for potash in fertilizer.

Potash, a medium-sized resource industry (\$700,000,000 capital investment and over \$100,000,000 annual sales) is a case study in the folly of entrusting economic development to private corporations, especially foreign ones.

By 1950 it was known that nearly half of the world's potash reserves lay under the Saskatchewan prairie, and that a combination of growing U.S. demand for fertilizer and dwindling U.S. reserves warranted the development of a large Canadian potash industry.

The CCF cabinet considered, and rejected, the idea of public development of potash. It justified its decision on the grounds that its primary goal was to achieve a model "welfare state," not to become a risk-taking entrepreneur.

Admittedly welfare reforms such as medicare were important and significant, but the failure of the CCF to pursue its fundamental socialist responsibility to plan economic development, means that the CCF shares a portion of the

blame for the current economic mess that is the potash industry.

The U.S. potash cartel tried to keep control of Saskatchewan potash development by developing a couple of massive mines that they hoped would discourage outside competition. Unfortunately, the market for potash was so strong in the mid-1960s that—belatedly—three Canadian companies outside the cartel also built mines.

American farm co-operatives, which have a great deal of market power at the retail end of the fertilizer business, used the occasion to break the cartel by diverting huge contracts to the Canadian mines. Prices fell drastically; Saskatchewan output rose rapidly and U.S. output began to decline.

The six U.S. potash companies without Saskatchewan mines brought political pressure (the threat of a punitive tariff) against the U.S., Canadian and European corporations with Saskatchewan mines to restore oligopoly prices and limit Saskatchewan output.

Subject to the threat of a tariff the four binational corporations with U.S. and Saskatchewan mines co-operated with the six domestic U.S. firms to recreate an effective cartel. As medium-sized firms they preferred to work through the governments of Saskatchewan and New Mexico, the potash-producing areas, rather than Washington or Ottawa, and Ottawa never considered intervention to protect Canadian interests.

In October of 1969 Premier Thatcher of Saskatchewan and Governor Cargo of New Mexico scurried between one another's capitals and jointly announced creation of the Potash Conservation Board under the aegis of the Saskatchewan government.

The board set a floor price for potash at \$33.75 per ton — over 50 percent above the 1969 price—and limited Saskatchewan potash output in aggregate, and for each individual mine. In exchange Governor Cargo promised to help forestall tariff legislation.

Through the whole affair the U.S. potash industry frustrated the efforts of

U.S. farm co-operatives to get cheap fertilizer and cut off the growth of mining jobs in Saskatchewan.

Several other consequences are of note. On the rationalization of "first here, first served" the Potash Conservation Board gave quotas to the U.S. mines in Saskatchewan averaging 46 percent of capacity while Canadian mines average 37 percent.

The industry had been slowly freeing itself from complete dependence on the U.S. market. From 1965 to 1969, overseas sales grew from 24 percent to 37 percent of the rapidly expanding Saskatchewan output. From April of 1970 (when the new floor price came into effect) until November of 1970 (the latest available figures) overseas sales amounted to less than 17 percent of a reduced total output.

At the same time the high-cost mines in New Mexico were running at over 80 percent of capacity.

The result, of course, is that miners are employed in the inefficient New Mexican mines while their Canadian counterparts cannot find work in the richer mines of Saskatchewan.

For his part in the affair Thatcher was rewarded by Governor Cargo with an honorary commission in the United States Army. He's now Colonel Ross Thatcher, U.S. Army.

There remain many gaps in public knowledge of the industry. Salt dust in the air and huge amounts of salt water effluent from the mines pose serious pollution problems about which the companies maintain absolute silence. They do not reveal financial statistics or any other data if possible.

What is to be done? Public ownership is the only rational solution and fortunately the Saskatchewan NDP has committed itself to consider the feasibility of nationalization when in office.

There are arguments against nationalization, three of which are worth considering. The first is the orthodox economists' argument that the competitive market forces of supply and de-

mand will, left to themselves, produce the most efficient result.

The counter to that argument is to realize that "competitive market forces" have squandered \$350,000,000 (assuming 50 percent overcapacity) on unneeded holes in the prairies.

The most incompetent public planning agency staffed entirely by orthodox economists and political hacks could have developed the industry more rationally. The second argument against nationalization introduces the problem of a potential hostile American reaction.

The argument implicitly recognized the fact that American economic power is a threat to an independent Canadian socialism. It is best considered in connection with the third argument that buying out the private corporations would "cost" too much.

Compensation to the present owners could be in the form of low-interest, long-term bonds, the interest on which could be paid from the operating revenue of the mines. Thus nationalization need not be a drain on money needed for other public services.

Public compensation would have to be at less than historical cost of construction because full compensation would imply public assumption of responsibility for the stupidity of corporate over-investment during the 1960s.

Compensation would also have to be conditional on U.S. agreement not to retaliate by a boycott of Canadian potash.

However, such a boycott is rendered unlikely by the Americans' need to import potash above domestic production and the high costs of importing such a bulky commodity from a source other than Canada.

Obviously nationalization presents risks. However, if Canadians are serious about wanting to develop the Canadian economy for Canadians, those are the kinds of hard decisions we (as socialists) must be prepared to make.

To avoid these decisions is to accept colonial status.

A NEW BREED OF HORSE TRADERS

(1) Prince Albert Pulp

The north of Saskatchewan has practically been sold outright by the Liberal provincial government to Parsons & Whittemore, a New York group which dabbles in pulp mills.

One pulp mill is already in operation at Prince Albert, while a second mill has just been announced for Meadow Lake in the western part of the province.

Almost any aspect of this scheme to exploit the slow-growing forests of this cold region seems to lead to disaster.

The financing of the existing operation is complicated, and the spider web of deals and investments makes a true assessment of the exact contribution of the province next to impossible.

The Prince Albert operation was financed by a \$5 million federal government contribution, while the provincial government put up \$1.5 million capital investment, guaranteed a \$50 million loan and a \$15 million line of credit, invested \$7 million in a crown corporation to cut and haul wood to the mill, and spends an unknown amount in road construction and gas and electricity line extension.

It is not known how much of the \$15 million line of credit has been used. The crown corporation has lost about \$500,000 in each year of operation, while reforestation operations result in a further loss to the government and even exceed the "stumpage" (royalty) rates on a per acre basis in some cases.

The province has also agreed to some land tax concessions for the mill site and had some municipal boundaries changed as the existing municipality refused to agree to the tax rates demanded by the mill. For all this, the government gets a 30 percent interest in the mill.

Parsons & Whittemore, who claim to have invested some \$7 million—a figure that includes operational losses—gets the other 70 percent. In spite of this, the provincial government proudly claims to have driven a hard bargain.

The environmental consequences of the Prince Albert mill will likely prove to be serious. In the initial feasibility studies, forests were assessed only as to the monetary potential of the standing timber, no attention being paid to the fact that regrowth takes up to 80 years or more.

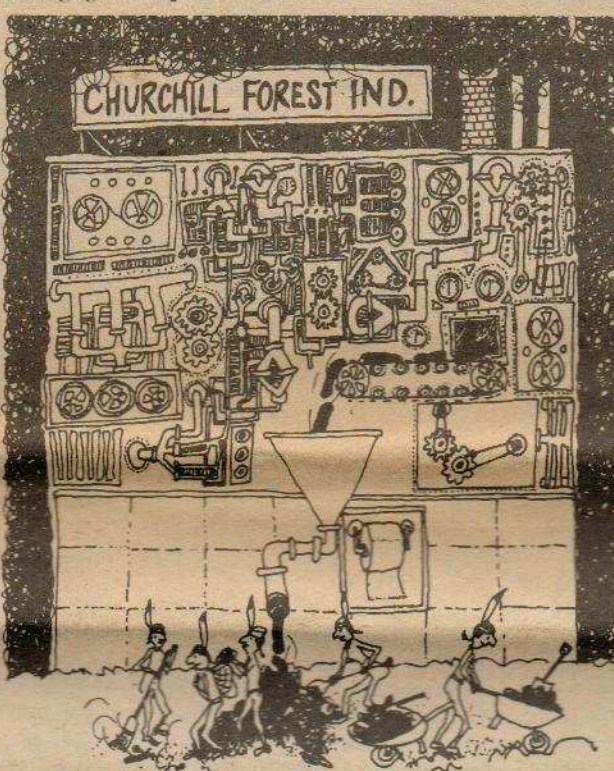
The cutting methods, using graders and other heavy equipment to clear-cut large areas, result in a significant amount of soil disturbance. Often the cutover land is reduced to a wasteland of gouged, scraped, and piled up topsoil, littered by huge tangles of rejected trees and stumps.

Some reforestation is carried out, but its effectiveness is still unsupported by any thorough biological studies. Pollution of the Saskatchewan River by the Prince Albert plant has also been confirmed.

Water for the new mill at Meadow Lake will come from damming up Dore Lake, a popular resort. The impounded water will be used to flush the mill effluents down the tiny Beaver River into the Churchill River system, one of the last unspoiled river systems of the country. This procedure could seriously affect the livelihood and health of the many Indians in the area who depend on these same lakes and rivers for fishing and drinking water.

Some 41,000 square miles have been leased to the mill operations. Saskatchewan has an abysmally poor land-inventory policy, and no attempt was made to assess the leased land for such alternative purposes as recreation, wilderness and wildlife preservation, provincial parks, or mixed use.

Attempts by the Saskatchewan Natural History Society, the local conservation group, to have certain areas of particular natural interest set aside in preserves has resulted in only a few pitiful square miles being given up.



C.F.I. Creates Jobs.

Some of the dealing in land has resulted in fantastic situations. In one transaction, the provincial government traded 200 square miles of a provincial park (undeveloped, hence "useless") to retrieve a few tiny strips of land around popular resort lakes and some picnic and camping grounds that had been included by mistake in the original lease. A good portion of a second provincial park may soon be given up in return for the supposed access benefits of the new logging road to be built through the remainder of the park to get to the ceded portion.

Of course, there are a variety of social concerns. Trapline violations are not guarded against, and labor provisions allow for only five percent guaranteed native employment in an area that has a much higher percentage Indian and Metis population.

The government claims that 20 percent of the jobs at the new Meadow Lake mill will be filled by natives, but the seven or eight percent native employment rate at Prince Albert—despite a variety of programs to encourage or "train" natives—makes this promise sound hollow.

By the government's own admission, the new operation will involve "considerable risks." It seems likely a native employment goal even as low as 20 percent will be sacrificed along with forest conservation and water treatment for the ready expedient of using more productive trained white labor imported from B.C. and the east while leaving environmental costs to the future. Such is the usual toll of marginal operations.

Although the Churchill Forest Industry fiasco in Manitoba is much worse, the Saskatchewan pulp mill deals are a terrible sellout. Unfortunately, it is the best that can be expected from Chamber of Commerce governments when they climb in the rink with multinational corporations. The whole thing is done with the gloating rationalization that American capital is better than no capital at all, and after all, don't we need jobs?

The rabid free enterprise defence has a perverse logic to it, even when Canadians do have to guarantee the bonds and bear the major risks in these dubious projects. The alternative requires the active participation of the Canadian government both in financing and in using pressure to open foreign markets. It has defaulted on both these scores, leaving the provinces to fend for themselves, wide open to American penetration. People desperate for jobs will continue to succumb to the free enterprise rhetoric of our puppet premiers until we put forth the credible alternative of public ownership as a national development strategy.

(2) Churchill Forest Industries

It has been suggested by some prominent party members that public ownership is obsolete. Big business can be controlled, they suggest, by strong governmental controls and development can be initiated by government-financed development corporations.

The story of The Pas forest complex and the Manitoba Development Fund should expose the fallacy of this kind of thinking.

The Manitoba government's takeover of this complex, January 8, may have rescued the \$92 million of public money invested by the province.

But it may have come too late to save all that investment as reliable reports indicate that over \$40 million was paid out in management fees by the companies.

The major companies at The Pas that received public money had used front and phony companies as well as inflated costs to siphon it off into their own vaults.

As far as the government knows, the companies may not have put up a cent of their own money despite their agreement with the government that one-third of the investment capital was to be put up by them.

At the same time the federal government has also committed some \$15 million toward the project, making the taxpayers contribution greater than the capital cost of the project itself.

Premier Schreyer stated that there seemed to be some pyramiding of costs. The major purchasing agent for all the companies except one was associated with Technopulp, co-ordinator of the project. The purchasing agent charged up to 70 percent for management fees.

The A. D. Little Co. who audited the accounts still claims that this fee is legitimate. The man in charge of auditing the accounts has also been paid as a consultant of one of the four principals in The Pas complex. However, a firm hired in April 1970 to check costing procedures insisted that fees charged were unusually high.

Although the identity of the firms involved is still unknown, some of the companies were in an alleged scandal involving front and phony companies, inflated costs, obsolete machinery, etc., in Sicily. The technical plans for the complex in Sicily were designed by the Technopulp Company, which appears to be the same group handling the same function at The Pas. The Sicilian operation has placed in jeopardy the jobs of 700 workers.

The Roblin government first announced the project on March 8, 1966. They claimed that it would create 4,000 new jobs. The actual figure is closer to 2,000 jobs. This means that the cost to the public is about \$50,000 per job.

The government claimed that plans were underway to train northern residents for the new jobs and that half of the people employed could be Indians and Metis. A vocational school at The Pas would be tailored to the needs of the development.

No mention was made at this time that the Manitoba taxpayers would be footing the bill through the M.D.F.

The company was to be given timber rights to 40,000 square miles of Manitoba—that is 16 percent of the area of the province. The contract was for a period of 20 years with two options to renew for further 20-year periods—a total of 60 years in all.

For this the company was not even required to hire local people, only—"as far as it is possible and in such numbers as the company . . . deems practical in its operations."

The company had to agree to employ pollution control techniques as long as these "... do not unreasonably increase the cost of the company's operations." This concern for company profits is all the more incredible in view of the pollution for which pulp and paper mills are so notorious.

The government also agreed to provide free fire prevention services, free reforestation, free aerial photographic surveys of the entire area, free sand and gravel for roads, one-half of the cost of relocating necessary employees from outside the province and up to \$1 million of the cost of building roads in the area. It was also agreed that the company was to pay 37½ cents per peeled cord stumpage duties. The usual amount for spruce is \$1.50 a rough cord.

The concessions given by the town of The Pas, after a bully job by the provincial government were of the same order as those given by the government. The company was to be exempted from taxes on its lands for 20 years. The Pas was also obligated by its agreement with the company to the principle that any new anti-noise or pollution legislation which it enacted would not apply to the company. Recently the town made a request to the provincial government for the \$2 million increased expenditures that the town was obligated to undertake and cannot afford.

Premier Schreyer, whose government came to power in the election of 1969, had frequently termed the pact "not a good deal" for Manitoba because of the amount of public investment involved but declared his government would do its best to live with it.

On January 8, 1971, though, the complex was placed in receivership by his government. Government representatives were sent to The Pas to take "physical charge" of the projects. Arrangements were made with a Vancouver engineering firm "to supervise completion of the project and bring it into production as soon as possible."

This, then, is the story of the Manitoba Development Fund and the Churchill Forest Industry. It is another example of huge amounts of public monies being used by corporations to increase their own power and wealth with little or no obligation to the public who provided the money.

It is a story that must be told to those in the NDP who suggest that public ownership is obsolete and that development funds and governmental restrictions can do the job more effectively.

Nova Scotia fishermen fight back

(Adapted from Last Post)

The Atlantic economy is not only underdeveloped, it is structurally underdeveloped, that is underdevelopment is built into the basic framework of the economy.

Structural underdevelopment is the result of man-made mechanisms, the most important of which is the flow and ownership of capital.

Land, labor and potential technology exist in the Atlantic region, but can only be utilized in a capitalist system when capital is available.

The foreign-owned firms operating in the Maritimes are often vertically integrated. For instance, iron ore is mined by the subsidiary firm and 'sold' to its parent company to be developed into a finished product. Intercompany pricing is arbitrarily fixed so that the parent firm earns the profit, meaning less Canadian taxes can be collected from the subsidiary.

The region, with its high rate of extractive in relation to manufacturing industries, has a higher rate of capital outflow than the rest of Canada.

What this means to the people of the area is low wages, poverty and high unemployment, and labor repression.

Look, for example, at the fate of Nova Scotia's fishermen.

In 1966, a young government archeologist named Jeremy Akerman (now Nova Scotia leader of the New Democratic Party) began to look into fishermen's problems while working at Louisbourg on Cape Breton; he ended up organizing the Louisbourg and District Fishermen's Association. Meanwhile, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union (UFAWU) had become interested in organizing Nova Scotia fishermen, and the Louisbourg Association became its first local. It was the first fishermen's trade union local in the province in 20 years. The UFAWU was soon active

in Halifax, Lunenburg, and other fishing ports as well.

The 235 fishermen in Mulgrave, Canso, and Petit de Grat were dealing with companies that had a particular reputation for harshness and intransigence.

In December, 1969, the fishermen began to hold meetings to draw up the details of what they would like to see in a union contract, and in February they approached the companies to talk about an agreement. The companies at first refused outright to meet them, then hedged, saying that they would have to consult their head offices.

In late March, the fishermen came back to try to initiate a more serious discussion. Booth Fisheries manager Earl Lewis told them, "I'm not going to admit in any way, shape, or form that you have a union." When the fishermen asked why not, his reply was "no spika da English."

Fourteen days after the first strike vote began in Petit de Grat, all the boats were tied up in the three ports. But for more than a month the strike was quiet, and attracted little notice.

On June 4, an injunction against picketing at the three plants was handed down by Judge D. J. Gillis of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court. The fishermen held a meeting and decided to defy the injunction: they would keep up the picket line and risk jail sentences.

On June 19 in Halifax, Nova Scotia Chief Justice Gordon Cowan handed out sentences of 20 and 30 days to 12 fishermen from Mulgrave.

On June 22, three days later, the fishermen from Canso came to trial. When Cowan sentenced Everett Richardson to 20 days, Richardson replied "20 days or 20 years?" Cowan, angry that the fishermen were not taking his sentences seriously, promptly increased the term to nine months.

Meanwhile, the picket lines at Mulgrave, Canso, and Petit de Grat were being maintained in the face of the injunctions.

Instead of breaking the fishermen, Judge Cowan's actions were only bringing out support for them.

NDP leader Akerman said the sentencing of Richardson showed "a jurisprudence reminiscent of 19th century repression." The NDP said that "what started as a fight for recognition of the UFAWU has now become a fight for the entire working class of Nova Scotia."

The fishermen were prepared to go to jail, but in the end they did not have to. Their trials were put off until October 27, and the men from Canso and Mulgrave already in jail were released, and further hearings in their cases put off until October 27 as well. The show of support had succeeded.

However, the companies had still not sat down to the bargaining table.

In one advertisement run in Nova Scotia newspapers early in the strike, Acadia Fisheries Ltd. described itself as "a small company, owned by an old English family business, still run by one family."

"In Mulgrave and Canso," the ad went on, "Acadia Fisheries is in the hands of good Canadian citizens with a deep respect for Canadian law and order and concern for the welfare of the communities they live in."

But in fact Acadia, through Boston Deep Sea Fisheries, the English company which owns it, is connected to the Grimsby Group, a giant British consortium. Like so many other small companies, Acadia is the local arm of a large multinational corporate structure.

Booth Fisheries is a part of the U.S.-based Consolidated Foods empire, which in 1969 had sales of more than a billion dollars.

By the end of July, the strike had settled into a test of the fishermen's ability to hold out against the companies' grinding campaign of starvation and fear. It became increasingly difficult for the men to subsist on their strike pay—\$10 a week for a single man, \$15 for a married man, and an extra dollar for each child up to a maximum of \$20.

There was always a supply of fish in Canso, where many of the strikers are inshore fishermen with their own boats, but in the other towns the companies' attempt to starve the fishermen out stood a better chance of success. The fishermen were determined to fight it, and they were helped by contributions of potatoes, other vegetables, and eggs from the Nova Scotia branch of the National Farmers' Union.

Early in September, the fishermen met with representatives of the Federation of Labor to work out a UFAWU negotiating position that would be backed by the federation.

In those meetings the fishermen made some important concessions, the most significant of which was a temporary withdrawal of their demand that the UFAWU be recognized and concession to the companies' insistence that the fishermen negotiate as an ad hoc committee instead of as the UFAWU.

When they finally sat down with the companies over the bargaining table in Halifax on September 9, the fishermen were confronted with a long list of further company demands.

The fishermen agreed to all of them.

Then the companies demanded that they be allowed to send vessels out to sea and bring new fish into the plants—i.e. that the fishermen surrender—before they would negotiate.

The fishermen refused. "How far can you go?" exploded Reg Carter, a member

of the committee. "How far can a poor fisherman go?"

Jeremy Akerman supported the fishermen and was a frequent visitor to the Mulgrave union hall, but the NDP seemed to have little chance of taking even one seat. However, Akerman did succeed in turning the previously apathetic fishermen into a committed band of NDP supporters. "Us fishermen, we never paid too much attention to politics before the strike," said Eric Fitzpatrick, a fisherman from Mulgrave. "At election time they'd come around and offer us a quart of rum or a case of beer and tell us who to vote for—I'd vote for whoever came around first. Now I wouldn't sell my vote for \$500. I'd tell them how I'm going to vote—NDP."

On October 13, there were 200 NDP votes in Canso, another 100 in Mulgrave, and a thousand in the Straits area as a whole — where there had never before been an NDP organization.

The Tories were defeated, and Gerald Regan would form the next government, but he lacked an absolute majority.

Meanwhile, a second attempt to get negotiations going had proved more successful.

The agreement was "nothing to write home about," as Con Mills said; the fishermen would continue to work long hours for wages lower than the legal minimum. But it was a step forward, and with the winter coming on the fishermen didn't feel they could hold out for any more at this point; the agreement was quickly ratified.

But the gains that the fishermen had made in forcing the companies to an agreement were very real, and would be felt.

"They've realized that they're all fighting the same elements, and they've stopped fighting each other," is the way UFAWU organizer Homer Stevens puts it.

Tender loving care for Alberta Oil Moguls

The foundations of the international oil trade are shaking. The Persian Gulf countries and Libya have confronted the international oil cartel with a cartel of their own, and are grabbing a big share of profits that used to end up in Western Europe and the United States. That means that the keen interest of the American military and the American internationals in Canadian oil will be heightened even more. After all, it's safe, it's close, and best of all, it's theirs.

In 1968 the oil industry of Alberta took in \$1,027 million in sales (\$745 million from crude oil and condensate, \$171 million from gas, and \$76 million from sulphur).

What is the government of Alberta taking in from the oil industry?

In 1968 the government of Alberta received \$249.9 million (\$93 million from land sales and leases, \$55 million from rentals, and \$101 million from royalties).

What is the future take?

From the province's proven reserves it can be estimated that the Alberta government will receive \$4.5 billion and the oil companies \$31.1 billion. And what are their costs? "OIL WEEK" estimates that production cost, including production capital outlay, is less than 20 percent of the product value.

Just to be sure, let us look at one company, Husky Oil. In a recent pathetic message, the president stated that the total expenses of the Western Canada Oil Industries had been \$14.2 billion since 1947 and the return to date only \$12.6 billion. Is this an indication of a financial disaster? Don't worry. Estimates are in the future they will realize another \$24.9 billions from the reserves they now control. The fact is that the oil business is enormously profitable. Actual production costs are far below the selling price, as trade journals indicate.

Courtesy of OIL WEEK:

Item	1968 Cost/Barrel
Exploration	\$.10
Development Drilling	\$.07

Land Acquisition and Rental	\$.12
Production Facilities	\$.08
Other	\$.03
Royalties	\$.29
Production Cost	\$.37
TOTAL	\$1.06

In 1968, the average price of crude oil per barrel was \$2.53; hence profit average \$1.47 per barrel of oil.

Part of the attractiveness of Alberta oil is the truly hospitable taxation and royalty policy of Social Credit in Alberta:

Government	Cents per bbl. (1968) Government Receipts in
Persian Gulf Countries	85.0
Libya	100.7
Venezuela	101.4
Algeria	89.0
Alberta	29.0

Since 1968 almost all of the Arab countries have established state-owned oil companies and have renegotiated their oil tax structures, led by the emerging nations of Algeria and Libya. Both of the latter have asked for and received retroactive benefits which will bring in an estimated \$1.31/bbl. The Libyan government has bragged about the ease of renegotiating this agreement and of the \$760 million in additional benefits over the next five years that these agreements will bring. But back in Alberta, we don't believe in such rude bargaining.

The importance of oil as a fuel, as a pollutant, as a basic resource for economic development, for a human future, not only for Canada but for the world, is too enormous to be left in the hands of the oil companies. We must, as socialists, take control.

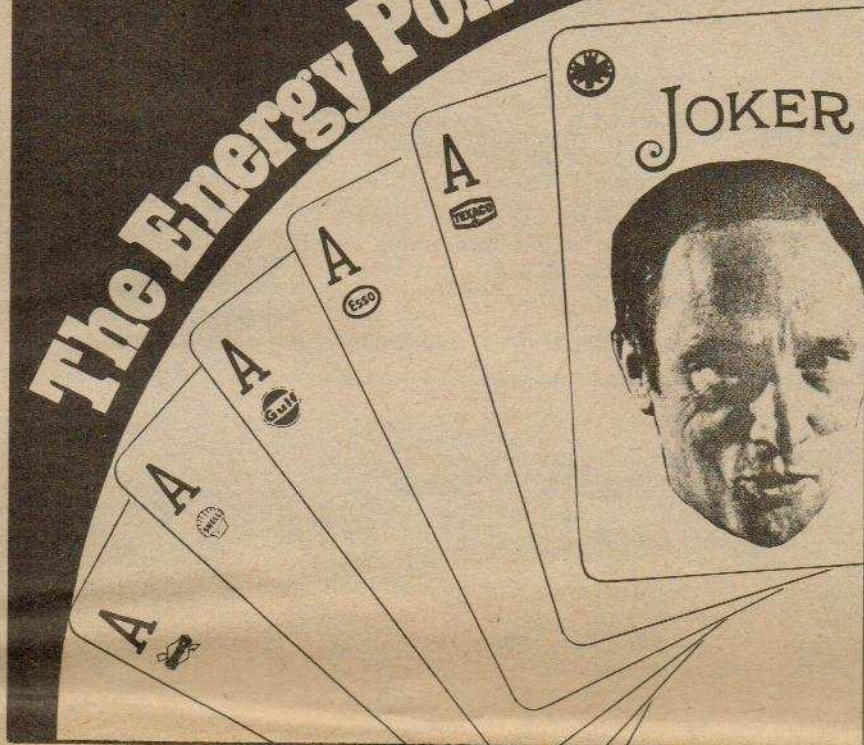
new press

\$1.50

The Politics of the Continental Resources Deal

JAMES LAXER

The Energy Poker Game



(excerpts)

In December 1969, J. J. Greene, Canada's Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, paid a visit to Washington. Following his lengthy discussions with (former) U.S. Interior Secretary Walter Hickel, Greene made his now-famous observations in favor of a continental energy resources deal so that "people will benefit, and both countries will benefit, irrespective of where the imaginary border goes."

Since that time there has been much speculation about what a continental energy resources deal would include and about whether, indeed, such a deal is imminent. The Canadian government has changed its emphasis from time to time since the first discussion of the energy deal. Negotiations on the subject have been proceeding, off and on with the Americans, we are told. The issue has been clouded in uncertainty as to its content and, as with most vital political questions in Canada, there has been only faint-hearted debate on the subject among the politicians.

In its most basic terms, a continental energy resources deal means the creation of a free North American market in energy resources. Present ownership and marketing patterns would be guaranteed a permanent existence, with the Canadian-American border erased in matters of energy resources. This means secure and permanent access by American industry to Canadian energy resources and a guarantee that nothing would ever be done to interfere with that access whatever Canadian needs might become in the future. It involves a basic commitment by the Canadian government to regard this country's energy resources as continental resources, and to give up any plans it might have for the development of those energy resources outside the framework of American corporate and military interests.

Such a deal, which would begin with natural gas, oil, electric power, coal and nuclear energy, might eventually be extended to include water. Whether concluded as a package or more likely piecemeal, the deal has vast implications for the future of the Canadian people.

The proposed continental free market in energy resources is similar to policies pursued by our government in the past. It is the natural extension of such policies. Many will ask what is so remarkable about this further step toward integration of the Canadian and American economies. The difference is that with the energy deal we cross a threshold in our relations with the United States that will be extremely difficult to recross. The energy deal will affect the future scope of the Canadian economy and will have great impact on the number and kinds of jobs that will be available for Canadians in their own country. It will vitally affect our efforts to clean up

the Canadian environment and to protect the ecological system, particularly in the Canadian north. Furthermore, it will greatly increase the importance of Canada to the requirements of U.S. military security and economic power in the world.

As with previous moves to integrate our economy with that of the U.S., the Canadian government will justify the energy deal on the grounds that it will result in great economic benefits to Canadians. The experts will picture continental integration as the only route to jobs and prosperity for the Canadian people. Our government will be exultant that, at long last, it has secured complete access for Canadian energy resources to the world's largest market. Our government will consider no alternative development strategies and its pundits will brush aside the long-term implications of the energy deal.

(In Ottawa the only real debate on this question has centred around the percentage of foreign ownership of Canadian corporations.)

On July 27, 1970 the House of Commons committee on External Affairs and National Defence recommended that Canada move toward 51 per cent Canadian ownership of all corporations in the country. Within 24 hours of the proposal, the business community was howling its disapproval and the chairman of the commons committee, Ian Wahn, was expressing doubts. Wahn said the 51 per cent recommendation "may never be enacted — perhaps it wouldn't even be practical."

The important thing to understand in debates about whether the percentage of American ownership of Canadian corporations is reduced to be replaced with Canadian corporate ownership, is that it makes very little difference to the behavior of the firms. There is no doubt that given the present structure of the Canadian economy and given private ownership, of whatever nationality, resources producing corporations in Canada will seek a continental resources deal with the United States. Whether the companies are Canadian-owned or not, they will pursue policies which will lead to Canada's increased dependence on raw material exports, the effect of which will be to heighten the unemployment problem and to lead to a long term trend away from economic diversification of Canada's economy. Resource industries are immense profit makers for their foreign owners but they provide few jobs. It is no accident that unemployment is typically higher in the extractive Canadian economy than in the more industrialized U.S. economy; an energy deal would heighten this tendency in future.

The impending energy deal forces the Canadian people to face up to fundamentals in contemplating their future course. It will mark a genuine parting of the ways for Canada. To resist the energy deal means breaking fundamentally with past social and economic developments in Canada. Canadian capitalists and their governments cannot avoid the energy deal because their whole history has led them to it. At this point in Canada it becomes clear that only socialism provides an alternative path that can lead us out of the political dependency and economic underdevelopment that is our fate under the present system.

Only through a strategy of using the resources in Canada to develop and diversify the Canadian economy can this country ensure all of its people jobs and control of their lives socially and politically. Only public ownership and public control of the resource industries can break us out of the pattern of dependency and comparative underdevelopment that has been endemic to Canada. Public ownership of the resource industries would place the key sector of our economy in the hands of the people. It would give Canadians the opportunity to master the skills necessary to run our economy and to develop it qualitatively in the interests of human well-being in Canada.

Canada could then industrialize in the resource producing areas, which have long been seen merely as sources of raw materials. The wealth that comes out of the ground in the countless Canadian mining towns would be channeled to diversifying the economy of the resource producing areas, so that people there could pursue a wide variety of activities and occupations.

And then we must come to terms with the environment itself. Mankind has need of the bounties of this planet for a long time to come. A resource policy that is geared to that future and not to immediate profit is essential, if we are to survive. We must work out ways of recycling resources that have already been taken from the ground. We must place a limit on certain kinds of mindless growth that gravely compromise the future of humanity.

The resource question touches all Canadians, individually and as a people. Following the Columbia River Treaty, critics said that such a thing must never be allowed to happen again. It is happening again on a much larger scale. This time the key political factor will be the extent of resistance to the deal before the event and the determination of Canadians not to recognize as legitimate the commitments that are about to be made in their name by the government.

The Reasons For Public Ownership

—By MEL WATKINS

As socialists, we have long advocated public ownership. We have done so for good reasons. These reasons make more sense today than ever before.

When the means of production were privately owned, it was once possible for serious people to argue that power was diffused by the free markets.

But it has been clear for a long time that private ownership really means that power is concentrated in the corporations. They decide the conditions of work, including whether there shall be work at all for some of us. They determine what goods will be available to us and at what prices.

The rise of the corporation has been accompanied by the growth of unions and the expansion of "positive" government. This has taken off some of the roughest edges, but nothing more. The basic distribution of power has remained the same. A small corporate elite makes decisions and the rest of us are impotent.

As socialists we have understood this and have argued that public ownership was the only certain means to reduce the intolerable concentration of economic power.

In this century, corporate power has escalated as the corporation has grown vastly in size and geographic scope. Now we have global corporations richer and more powerful

than many of the countries within which they operate, and a handful of them dominate the economy of the "free world."

Those who call themselves socialists but argue that public ownership is no longer needed are profoundly out of touch with the realities of where power presently lies and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of changing that without changing ownership.

This has obvious implications for us as Canadians. No other country has fallen so completely under the dominance of foreign-based multi-national corporations as ours. It follows that we have the strongest case for using public ownership as the alternative to foreign, private ownership.

It is this message that we must carry to those many Canadians who value independence. If we do, we have a very real possibility of building a socialist Canada.

Instead of playing down our historic commitment to public ownership and pretending it no longer matters, we should be insisting on its necessity.

Consider the question of democratic decision-making at a time when more and more people refuse to accept the authoritarian nature of our present society. Not only is power presently concentrated in the hands of a small number of corporations, but within the

corporation power is concentrated in the hands of those at the top of a pyramid that has a very broad base.

That hierarchial structuring of power must be radically altered. The likelihood of the private corporation tolerating such an upheaval is, to say the least, improbable. Public ownership must be seen as a necessary condition for the democratization of the workplace.

To see the matter in this way is very different from arguing that public ownership is a sufficient condition for socialism. Indeed, it is not and we should have no hesitation in saying so. Legislating a change in ownership and doing nothing more is "socialism from the top down," and has proven to be anything but liberating and democratic. But for us as

socialists, this means not that we abandon public ownership, but that we recognize the absolute necessity of workers' control.

In one sense, then, we are saying that public ownership is necessary as a means to create models of democratic decision-making. But in a deeper sense what we are saying is that out of the struggles of workers for the power to make decisions will come structures that, though we cannot definitively label them now, will certainly not be anything like the present structure of private ownership. Call it "socialism from the bottom up."

When we are asked why we advocate public ownership, we should say that it is that future we have in mind.

Finally, there is the matter

of compensating the private owners. The matter merits discussion if for no other reason than that costs of doing this are alleged by some to be such as to preclude public ownership. They exaggerate.

As a technical matter, what is involved in considerable part is replacing voting shares that pay dividends with bonds that yield a slower return and paying off the bonds out of the difference.

And while, as democratic socialists, we are committed to expropriation with compensation, particularly to small shareholders, we should not feel committed to capitalizing monopoly profits, nor to continuing the present maldistribution of wealth. To forget that would be to forget that we are socialists and risk rendering the exercise futile.



WAFFLE NEWS

Material for this tabloid was edited by Krista Maeots. Please address inquiries, comments, or criticisms to her at: 509 Macdonnell Street, Apartment 4, Kingston, Ontario.

Anyone wishing to make a financial contribution to Jim Laxer's campaign for the NDP leadership, address cheques or money orders to:

WAFFLE LEADERSHIP CAMPAIGN, 66 Cassandra Blvd., Apt. 3, Don Mills, Ontario.

Printed by Service Printing Co. (Regina)

The Choice Facing The NDP

—By LORNE BROWN

At the 1971 convention New Democrats will be faced with a choice of whether the NDP is to become a liberal-reform or a socialist party.

The NDP, unlike the Liberal and Conservative parties, depends for its support and financing upon trade unionists, farmers, unorganized workers, students and the other occupational groups who comprise the ordinary people of Canada. We are not financed by big business and, therefore, need not be enslaved to the idea that capitalism must be preserved though it means sacrificing the economic interests of the great majority of our people and the end of Canada as an independent nation.

What has made the NDP distinct from other parties in this country is that many of us have considered it more than a party designed to gain parliamentary power for its own sake or for the sake of its leaders.

We have looked upon the NDP as one part of a movement dedicated to achieving basic social change and leading eventually to the destruction of the existing capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist society. To settle for anything less would be a betrayal of ourselves and all those who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for socialism.

Those who are trying to turn the NDP into a liberal reform party are operating on the doubtful assumption that the party will gain widespread electoral support if it can only purge itself of radical ideas and assure the Establishment that it will not threaten existing property relationships but will be content to make the existing system slightly more humane.

People who think this way are merely playing "image" politics and it is a game which the Liberals and Conservatives will always win by means of money, advertising and charismatic leadership.

And what would we gain if an NDP government was elected by those methods? The NDP might be in office but it would not govern in any meaningful sense.

We have already witnessed the sorry spectacle of the late Labor government in Great Britain, which achieved parliamentary power on a liberal program and then was forced by the vested interests to be more capitalist than the capitalists by passing anti-trade union and racist legislation, and supporting

the American war of aggression in Vietnam.

That government went down to a resounding and well-deserved defeat when millions of working people stayed home rather than going out to vote because they were offered no meaningful choice.

We have seen the NDP move increasingly in the direction of a liberal reform party which no longer offers any basic challenge to the *status quo*. This has not been a recent development but began in the old CCF as early as the late 1940s when the Cold War and the prosperity it engendered convinced many social democrats that capitalism actually works.

We are seeing for whom it works in Canada this winter with hundreds of thousands unemployed, millions more employed at poverty-level wages, farmers faced with bankruptcy and the federal government resorting to dictatorial measures to stifle dissent in Quebec and elsewhere.

The social democrats who insist that capitalism works for the majority argue that public ownership is old-fashioned and has been made obsolete by economic planning and government controls. These people ignore the obvious relationship between economic and political power.

While the great bulk of the industry and resources of Canada are held in private hands any economic planning and government control will be done in the interests of the corporations and not the people. It is true that public ownership by itself will not solve all of our problems but it is a prerequisite to building a democratic society.

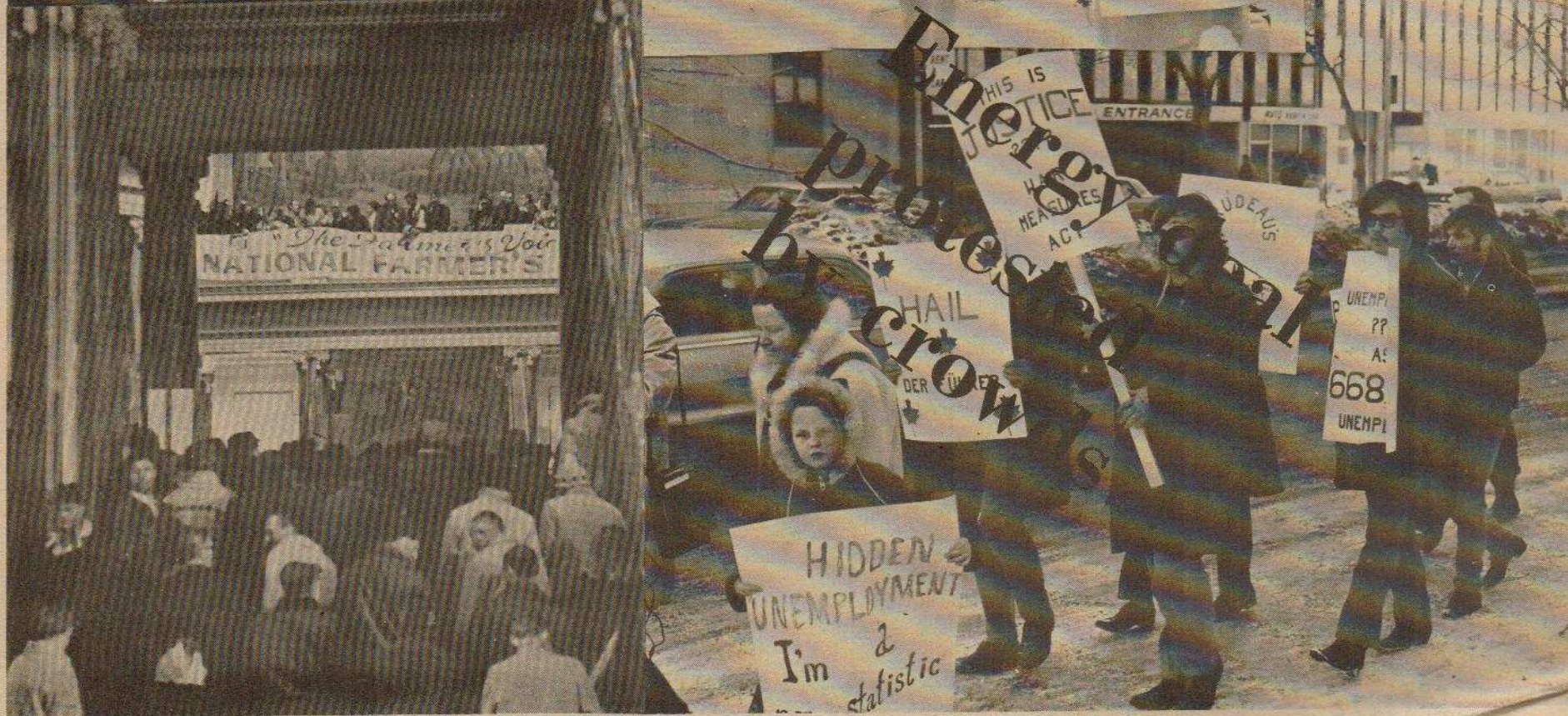
People who argue that the people can control the economy in their own interests without owning it are either deluded themselves or attempting to sell us a bill of goods! Or perhaps they are attempting to convince the Establishment that they can be trusted to manage the system?

If we are to make the NDP relevant in the 1970s this convention must adopt an unequivocally socialist program. In addition, we must continue to build the movement toward a socialist society through extra-parliamentary means, clearly recognizing that parliamentary power by itself is not real peoples' power. Socialism is not built by leaders but by the collective efforts of trade unionists, farmers, and other progressive people.

A movement is growing...



Trudeau says unemployment 'regrettable' but necessary



Unless we respond it will pass our party by

Plain Answers (To Common Questions)

1. "Why is the Waffle called the Waffle?"

On April 29, 1969, 11 members of the New Democratic Party gathered informally in Toronto to talk of their general concern that the party was losing touch with the need to struggle for socialism in Canada.

Other meetings followed and during one discussion on nationaliza-

tion, a lukewarm and hedging stand on this issue came under heavy fire. Someone arguing for a stronger position commented:

"If we're going to waffle, I'd rather waffle to the left than waffle to the right."

So be it.

2. "Is the Waffle 'a party within a party'?"

The Waffle is a collection of members of the NDP who want to move the party left in its policies and strategies. All of its meetings are open to all NDP members.

Wafflers have accepted the basic socialist principle that in order to achieve change you must organize people around your goals. We

organize—or try to. So do tenants, welfare recipients, women's liberationists, workers, and party caucus members. We all know that numbers and hearty organization make the difference.

We sign people up allright—but for the NDP, not the Waffle.

3. "Are Wafflers anti-American?"

Wafflers have strongly opposed the American corporate system and American imperialism in Canada and around the world. Many, many Americans also oppose this system and are our allies in the world-wide struggle for self-determination and socialism for all peoples.

Some say we blame the American business elites instead of

Canadian capitalists and politicians for the sell-out of our industries and resources. We make no such distinctions. They are all bagmen for the same multi-national and national corporations that are sucking up profits from the hard labors of millions and millions of workers—American **and** Canadian.

4. "Why independence and socialism, rather than one or the other?"

We can't have national independence without socialism in Canada. Our political and business elites are too well integrated into the continental "free enterprise" system.

We can't have any kind of meaningful independence for the mass of people in Canada without socialism, for it is socialism that gives us

the tools to shape our economic, political and social life to the benefit of us all.

And we can't talk about socialism without also talking about independence, because, in Canada, the two struggles must go hand in hand, dominated as we are by huge multi-national corporations and their local apologists.

5. "Is public ownership really necessary to control the economy?"

We know that private corporations and their political representatives make use of people as commodities to pursue their goals of profits and power. And when it suits their purpose to lay off hundreds of thousands of people to cool off their economic system, then that is what is done. We know that this corporate system does not stop at national boundaries, but that it is an international phenomenon.

Public ownership is not a panacea, but it is a starting point, allowing us to come to grips with the problems of providing jobs and distributing wealth justly, allowing us to work toward the control of the industrial system by those who work within it, allowing us to begin to tackle the problems of bureaucracy and centralization.

We are talking about a redistribution of power in this country, from the corporations to the people, and the fact is that we cannot acquire control from those who now hold it in a sleight of hand (minor regulations and restrictions) so that the corporations will not notice that they have lost it. The men who run Imperial Oil, General Motors and Inco know that they have the power, and they will not give it up because we are polite about it.

Finally, public ownership of key sectors of the economy is not a utopian solution. Its practicality has been demonstrated in many countries, most recently in Chile.

6. "Isn't women's liberation weakening the socialist movement?"

Women have learned by experience that their needs and demands will not be recognized, even within a socialist movement, unless the women are organized to formulate and fight for the necessary changes in policies, practices and priorities.

The struggle for the liberation of women should be an essential part of the socialist struggle for the liberation of all human kind. The battles of all people who are rebelling against discrimination and exploitation should find expression within the context of the common struggle.

The extent to which they do is an indication of the strength of the socialist movement we are building.

Some say that women's liberation creates internal frictions that distract our attention from the real enemies. But we forget that we ourselves have been brought up in a discriminatory and exploitative system, and that we have accepted some of the attitudes and practices of that system. We are not really fighting unless we are also fighting the "enemies within ourselves."

7. "Won't we lose electoral strength if we 'tell it like it is'?"

The potential strength of the NDP lies with the numerical power of the millions of exploited, not the financial and coercive power of the exploiters.

Building a mass base of support for socialism is a slow process. Election battles can be a crucial part of that process. But we must not neglect the grass roots organizing work that has to go from day to day and year to year; we must not tone down the truth to make it look better on the back page of a glossy brochure; we must not join the establishment parties in their attempts to redistribute power vocally

while not challenging the economic position of the corporate barons.

Socialism cannot be smuggled in through the back doors of parliament, or it will be booted out the same way it came in.

As for those in the party who disagree with us and like to fancy themselves as "moderates," let them heed the words of an old-timer from Saskatchewan who wrote us last February.

"Either they know the face of the enemy better than I do," he wrote, or they don't. "If so, they should say so, and say: 'You are licked; lay down and have rings put in your noses!'"