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THE LAST POST Vol.1 No.1 December 1969 Price 50 cents

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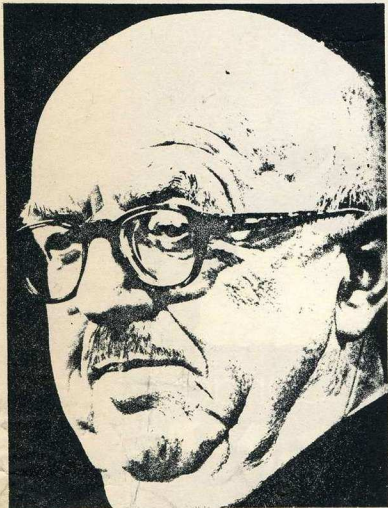


Into the Streets: Struggle
in Québec

An Irishman writes about
Ireland, in spite of himself

Farmers Union: Politics of
wheat

“PUBLISH IT and be damned!”



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Some major cover articles to have appeared this year in Canada's three principal magazines:

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- Aug 9 — Petula Clark: Soft and Gentle and Warm
- March 15 — What do you think of me specs, luv?
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- Oct 4 — We found out all about you Pierre!
 - what you eat for breakfast
 - what you pay for haircuts
 - what you do to unwind

- June 28 — Bodystockings, the fashionable second skin
- March 15 — Fred Davis is just what he seems to be — nice
- Jan 4 — Could you be the boss's wife?

Maclean's:

- Nov — SUPERMOTHERS — do you have one in *your* house?
- Sept — Can Argo quarterback Wally Gabler find happiness under a ton of tacklers?
- Aug — Five Fighting Fish — Tiny Bennett tells you how to out-smart them
- July — The rapture of scuba
- Jan — Why nice people smoke pot

Canadian Publishers





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NEWS BRIEFS

LADY POD

The old firm

Back in 1964, a Canadian Company in Brazil was in trouble. The company was Brazilian Light and Power, today known as Brascan Ltd., and the trouble was serious indeed; it was threatened by democracy.

The company was (and still is) Canada's largest overseas investor, and the largest privately owned company in Brazil, with assets of a billion dollars. Dominating the Brazilian electric utility field, it is a Canadian bedfellow of those huge American corporations, such as the United Fruit Company, that for decades have treated Latin America as a private estate, dictating to governments as necessity requires.

In 1964, necessity stared Brazilian Light and Power in the face. The situation was desperate. The company was operating at a loss; its shares had fallen to less than \$2.00 on the Toronto Stock Exchange; worst of all, the government of President Joao Goulart wanted to expropriate foreign-owned public utilities, and that meant the company's neck was on the block.

But a strange thing happened to the Goulart government on its way to curb foreign-owned businesses in Brazil — it was overthrown and replaced by a military dictatorship that has treated foreign investors with tender loving care. Now this does not necessarily mean that Brazilian Light and Power and its American counter-parts were directly responsible for the coup d'etat in Brazil (though it would be interesting to know if any financial contributions to important groups were made).

But in any event, the company welcomed the dictatorship with open arms.

Shortly after the right-wing seizure of power, J. Grant Glassco, then president of the company, declared that "with the help of the Armed Forces, extreme Leftist and Communist ele-

ments were driven from power. The new government under President Castelo Branco is one of which we in Canada might be proud, being composed of capable men of integrity...."

A few years later, Glassco explained why the dictatorship was the sort of government the company needed: "It has been stated many times but cannot be repeated too often that the Company's prosperity and hence the value of its shares rests, above all else, on political stability in Brazil...The outlook in this connection remains encouraging."

These were strange words from a prominent Canadian public figure (Glassco was the man who headed the

royal commission that recommended reorganizing the Canadian civil service on big business principles). But even stranger things were to come.

In 1968, the presidency of Brazilian Light and Power passed to Robert H. Winters, who had been Minister of Trade and Commerce in the Pearson government, and chief rival of Pierre Trudeau to lead the Liberal Party.

In a talk last May, the long-time Liberal luminary praised the favors that the dictatorship had showered upon Brazilian Light and Power. "The military government," he explained, "was dedicated to the principles of private enterprise. They realized they needed to create a climate



Sharp and Winters: Prominent Brazilians assess future

friendly to foreign capital, and they did so." As the hand of dictatorship tightened around the people of Brazil, even former U.S. President Johnson had become disturbed and held up aid and loans. But Mr. Winters found the situation getting ever brighter: "Economically, things are not worse than before. In fact, the situation is getting more stable."

And from Mr. Winters' corporate viewpoint, he was no doubt right.

Things were getting worse for the people of Brazil, but for Brazilian Light and Power they were getting better. For the company had managed to reach an arrangement with the dictatorship that the earlier democracy had refused to buy. "Prior to the revolution," Mr. Winters declared, "the company was struggling very hard to negotiate a satisfactory rate base with the government. We couldn't do it. We were forced to operate in a loss position."

With the recent death of Robert H. Winters, it might be thought that the company has lost its friends in high places in the Canadian political estab-

lishment.

Not so. For at the right hand of Prime Minister Trudeau in Ottawa there sits Mitchell Sharp, formerly Finance Minister, and now External Affairs Minister. From 1958 to 1962, Sharp was a vice-president of Brazilian Light and Power; and at Brazilian, vice-presidents are important men, who often have more to do with setting company policy than the president or the chairman of the board.

But although the future looks bright for this giant, foreign arm of Canadian private enterprise, the men who run Brascan have not forgotten the way things were in 1964. They know only too well the tide of fortune could turn against them again.

So the company is taking advantage of its friendly relations with the dictatorship to diversify its holdings as much as possible. In 1964, when disaster threatened, the company's equity consisted almost entirely of its electric and telephone utilities in Brazil. The latest annual report shows a dramatic change. Almost half now consists of other investments, many of them here

in Canada. A corporate reorganization — of which emerged the new name Brascan — signalled the change in strategy.

Its Canadian holdings have already become notable, and include control of Labatt's breweries, Ogilvie flour mills, and Laura Secord candies.

In Brazil itself, the company has sold its telephone holdings to the dictatorship for \$96 million, of which only \$65 million has to be reinvested in that country. Diversification within Brazil includes a \$7 million nylon plant, built jointly with Celanese Corp. of New York, as well as food processing, textile, and railway rolling stock firms which Brascan hopes will escape any economic take-over by a future, non-military regime.

If the lid can be kept on Brazilian democracy for a few more years Brascan will be home free, with the wealth it has taken from Brazil spread around the world. When some future democratic leader of the country calls the men who run it to account, they will be able to go to him and show him virtually empty pockets.

All over for CUS

From the fall of 1968, the Canadian Union of Students carried a radical image. "It's the year to sock it to the administrators" said CUS president Peter Warrian, and many took him literally — the radical tide increased with the election of Simon Fraser student president Martin Loney to the top office.

But at the annual congress this fall at Lakehead University, it was the radicals who were attacking Loney. "You are trying to radicalize students from the top down, through an elitist, undemocratic institution — and it just won't work", one student threw at Loney during a "left caucus" in the early hours of the morning.

A month and a half later the prediction seemed borne out. CUS, having lost three referendums in a row — including one at the University of Toronto which poured \$20,000 a year into the CUS budget — voted itself out of existence.

But few blamed — or credited — Loney with the wrap-up. Since it began to confront the present structures of universities and the society they

serve in 1964, CUS had had trouble with its own structure. That year was critical, for it was then that the Quebec universities dropped out and started their own Union Generale des Etudiants du Quebec (General Union of Quebec Students).

This freed the English universities from the fraud of "bilingualism and biculturalism" and allowed them to tackle educational matters squarely.

So CUS dropped the "debating union" image of the old NFCUS (from 1926 to 1964) and pressed to end tuition fees. This fight — supported by a documented means survey which showed that poor kids aren't in college — soon developed into a fight to change the teaching methods and internal authority system of colleges.

One thing led to another: those that wanted more efficient teaching methods found administrations wouldn't change them; then fought for internal democracy to get change and met even more inflexible opposition.

Out of four years experience emerged the philosophy of the 1968-69 CUS: university teaching methods were designed to serve corporations; university boards of governors revealed the direct links to these corporations; the statistics of the means survey showed the university serves only the ruling economic class. The analysis went be-

yond the university, and it was a class analysis.

Warrian, President that year, had said: "It is also the year to take it to the students... since meaningful change will not come out of the manipulation of a few, but only through the common struggle of many". It was that which CUS could not deliver.

Policy and executive were voted by delegates, chosen by students' councils. In 1968-69 campuses were discussing the issues embraced by CUS — some reacted against them, others elected leaders committed to fight undemocratic and elitist structures. Either way CUS, more often than not, was rejected: 18 campuses chose to leave the union, leaving 66,732 in CUS and 113,372 outside at year's end. Students had no direct control of CUS policy: whether they supported or opposed it, they usually agreed not to accept the structure that went with it.

This year the trend continued. Students at Carlton and Trent universities opted out, although Simon Fraser voted to remain. Then the fourth referendum, at the University of Toronto, settled the issue with a strong 'no' vote: students did not want a national union they could not control.

Ironically, CUS had become the first victim of the fight for democratic control that it once led.

Stranded

On November 5, the department of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (PSA) at Simon Fraser University ended a strike it had begun in September. President Kenneth Strand appeared to have crushed the democratic procedure adopted in the department, but in the process he introduced a new element to the Canadian student-administration struggle.

Strand, an American economist who came to Canada because he was "fascinated" by its economy, used to work for NATO agencies in Europe. A year ago, the crew-cut, liberal faculty member was chosen by his colleagues to become acting president and bring "reason and order" to SFU; he appeared to settle easily the problems of a strike-bound university that had deposed its own president following a censure from the Canadian Association of University Teachers.

Only the radical core of students opposed him; others liked his talk of a "university of reason"; dialogue and the promise that he would be president only on an interim basis.

Even though last spring he brought the RCMP on campus to oust students occupying the SFU senate he managed to keep that support. This fall students and faculty voted to free him of the pledge he made a year ago and he became permanent president.

But Strand was already moving on the radical stronghold — the PSA department. There, student power had blossomed and won a rare achievement: students and faculty ruled the department together, each able to veto decisions, even of the delicate Tenure Committee, which promotes, hires and fires. This was real power for students... and it showed signs of spreading to other departments.

So last June 11, the university's tenure committee overruled that of the PSA department, and threatened to install a trusteeship.

PSA objections were ignored and the department was placed under trusteeship on the 16th. A five-man committee, hand-picked by President Strand, took over, substituting their authoritarian rule for the department's democracy.

Strand rejected all calls for negotiations.

On September 24, the department acted in the only way it could

— it went on strike. Faculty and students began holding their own courses.

Some of the authorities became concerned, but with crew-cut Kenneth Strand at the helm they needn't have worried. The "liberal" economist swung into action with military precision: as support for PSA grew throughout the university, the administration began dismissal proceedings against nine PSA faculty members on October 3; on the 21st, it issued a writ of summons in the Supreme Court of British Columbia claiming damages for obstruction, disruption, intimidation and loss of revenue. Three faculty members and 11 students were named.

The result was a court injunction prohibiting any action that would disrupt the university — or the counselling of any action. An offender could be guilty of contempt of court and receive six months to two years in jail.

Students reacted in various ways, including a hunger strike by some PSA members. But the administration had the weapons it needed. Some PSA students decided to leave the university. The department voted not to break the injunction. And finally, on November 5, PSA voted to end the strike.

Even though PSA had demanded that SFU "serve the people of British Columbia" support for their cause was limited. Significantly, however, a member of the Building and Trades union said members would not cross picket lines to work at the university if the student body declared a strike.

Strand told the local Kiwanis Club that he was in favor of "legitimate" student protest; it was the "illegitimate" dissent of sit-ins, pickets and strikes which must be outlawed. But in doing so, he swung completely to the methods of corporation management — methods all too familiar to the harassed unions of B.C., but a new dimension in "pacifying" student power.

Spark and Fire

The oft-proclaimed need to 'Know Canada First' is yielding a fresh approach to research and publication among this country's active left.

The University of Waterloo's **Radical Student Movement**, is tracking down some of Waterloo County's economic history. The area's rapid industrial growth during the last three years has attracted radicals' notice, and they are

examining the specifics of capitalist agriculture and industry.

The Waterloo group also is examining Ontario's role as an economic region of Canada. They can be reached at the Radical Student Movement, Campus Centre, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ont.

Maritimes Research has been launched to investigate regional underdevelopment there. Its sponsors can be reached at 6409 Quinpool Road, Halifax, N.S.

In Toronto, five veterans of the student left and women's liberation have set up the **Toronto Research Project**, aimed at generating specifically Canadian analysis and strategy.

The Toronto group has immediate plans to print material on aspects of Quebec's struggles, general economic problems in English Canada and an examination of federal policy on prices and incomes. They're asking those with contributions — or those who wish to be on the mailing list — to get in touch at 328 Adelaide Street West, Toronto.

Failures in the national media to present reliable information on Canadian developments are also leading to a growth in opposition newspapers and magazines.

The latest journalistic response in Kingston is **This Paper Belongs to the People**, a small bi-weekly tabloid available for \$2 a year from 24 Richard Street, Kingston. It's been publishing five months.

Maritimes problems are being discussed in **The Mysterious East**, published out of Fredericton. It focuses on government and corporation exploitation in the area. The editors, who set up shop this fall and are aiming at a monthly publication, are available at Box 1172, Fredericton, N.B. Subscription is \$5.50 a year.

In Saskatchewan and Alberta papers have begun which are now integrating into the growing provincial movements. **The Spark**, started over the summer in Calgary, sells for \$2.50 for four issues, \$6 for a year or \$100 for a lifetime (yours or **Spark's**). Its address is Box 3205 Station B, Calgary 41.

The Prairie Fire, based in Regina, has been growing rapidly since first publication October 7; the weekly now has a circulation of 5000, door to door newsboys and street hawkers, and plans to distribute on a provincial scale. It costs \$8 for a year and can be obtained at 2640 Angus Blvd., Regina.

White Negroes

Chez Son Pere is one of those fine little French restaurants in Montreal. It's located on St. Lawrence Blvd., near Notre Dame St., about a two minute walk from the New Court House that is rapidly becoming a North American show-place of political trials.

During the summer of 1963 — a summer that witnessed the violent birth of the Front de Liberation Quebecois — four men dined at Chez son Pere and discussed the future of Quebec's most dynamic magazine, *Cite Libre*. One of the men, Pierre Elliot Trudeau had founded the magazine in 1960; another, Gerald Pelletier was his co-director. Both were now ready to turn *Cite Libre* over to the younger men — men whose ideas appeared appealingly fresh. So they invited Pierre Vallieres and Jean Pelerin to dinner at Chez son Pere and suggested they take charge at *Cite Libre*.

Trudeau had had a little trouble with Vallieres. At the beginning of 1962 Trudeau and Pelletier decided to devote the May issue to the idea of Quebec independence. Vallieres was invited to do an article on separatism...but Trudeau rejected the piece.

Nevertheless, Vallieres articles in the February and March editions appeared to impress Trudeau. During an encounter at the Universite de Montreal's Centre Social, Trudeau the hungry intellectual, told Vallieres his work reminded him of his favorite writer—John Stuart Mill.

A year later, on December 4, 1963, the *Cite Libre* people and various members of Quebec's intelligentsia heard Trudeau designate his heirs. Pelletier couldn't attend because of illness, but many others did including sociology professor Charles Gagnon.

Up until that point, *Cite Libre* had fought the noble battle against Duplessis and the other forces of reaction in Quebec. But by 1962 Duplessis was dead.

Vallieres remained in his *Cite Libre* post for about half a year. The magazine couldn't adapt its old heritage to a new struggle, and lost its leading role.

In 1964, Vallieres went on to help form the Mouvement de Liberation Populaire. Trudeau went on to Ottawa. (Vallieres' last real connection with his old comrades was in this period

when Pelletier, then editor of *La Presse*, hired him as a reporter.)

In the fall of 1965 the MLP disbanded and a new FLQ grew out of its ashes. For several months the FLQ attempted to build a solid structure with the emphasis on revolutionary theory and organization.

Vallieres and Gagnon were the chief theorists, and put out the FLQ's propaganda organ, *La Cognee*, in four editions each month. Direct action was not thought feasible or desirable at that point.

But in the spring of 1966 some members of the FLQ's Comite d'Action were drawn to the prolonged strike at the La Grenade shoe factory.

On May 5, 1966, the first of the Comite d'Action's bombs went off. Therese Morin, a 65-year-old La Grenade employee, was killed. Numerous other bombs exploded sporadically through the summer, usually in the midst of labor conflicts.

In July, Vallieres and Gagnon went to the United States to publicize the struggle for Quebec independence.

The first FLQ arrests were made almost three months later. Near the end of September, in New York, the two men learned Canadian authorities wanted them for questioning. Friends offered them \$2,000 to flee.

But they chose to picket at the United Nations to dramatize their cause. While picketing they granted TV and radio interviews. The next day, September 27, New York police arrested them on charges, filed three days later, of illegal entry. And the long legal battles began.

Both were held in the Manhattan House of Detention, where Vallieres wrote *Les Negres Blancs d'Amerique*. Vallieres and Gagnon were never legally extradited from the United States. Instead, on January 13, 1967, police released them without notice. As soon as they stepped on the sidewalk outside the jail they were picked up by the U.S. customs and immigration authorities, and put aboard a plane to Montreal.

Their preliminary inquiry was held in Montreal in February and trial set for March 18; put off until the next term in May; put off again until September; reset for November; then to January 1968 — each time at the Crown's request.

They finally appeared for trial together on February 26, 1968, prepared a joint defence, but were ordered to trial separately.

Vallieres' trial, in the LaGrenade case, lasted until April 5. Serge Demers

admitted he built the bomb, and delivered it with Gaetan Desrosiers — without the knowledge of Vallieres or Gagnon. (A half-dozen people on the Comite d'Action pleaded guilty on arraignment in the fall of 1966.)

The Crown produced a mass of circumstantial evidence, articles, pamphlets, *Les Negres Blancs d'Amerique* and other documents. Vallieres was found guilty on a reduced charge of manslaughter and Judge Yves Leduc sentenced him to perpetuity "given your bellicose inclinations."

In September, 1969, an Appeal court quashed the conviction and ordered a new trial. Appeal Court Judge Jean Turgeon explained: "... it seems to me that the appellant was condemned for his subversive ideas and seditious writings rather than the crime for which he was accused."

In the joint ruling, Judge G. Miller Hyde commented: "No witness testified directly that appellant was aware or condoned the plan for the delivery of the bomb which killed Mlle Morin."

Judge George H. Montgomery said: "The basic difficulty, as I see it, arose from the introduction of a mass of documentary evidence of dubious relevancy, despite the protests of the defence..." And: "He (the judge) set out the case for the prosecution with admirable clarity but tended to refer to the arguments of the defence only to discredit them. While in certain passages he warned the jury that they should not convict appellant merely because of his ideas, in others he came dangerously close to advising them to do so."

As of this writing, Pierre Vallieres is still in jail, after three years, without a conviction and without bail.

His friend, Charles Gagnon, underwent four trials. He was acquitted in one bombing death; had a hung jury on a charge of conspiracy to commit armed robbery, for which he was later convicted and sentenced to two years; and had another hung jury in the LaGrenade case. (The jurors voted 9 to 3 for acquittal.)

The Crown appears to be having some difficulty in proving its charges.

So they took a new tack on October 31, 1969 and filed sedition charges based on Vallieres' book *Les Negres Blancs d'Amerique*, which has been on public sale for the past two years. (An English translation is being published by Monthly Review Press in New York.)

"The sooner Quebecers unite to sweep out the rot that has poisoned their exist-

tence the sooner will they be able to build a new solid society with those who have been exploited all these years." That's a typical quote filed by the Crown to illustrate sedition.

For the past three years Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon have been living at 800 Gouin Blvd. West — which is Bordeaux Jail, one of Quebec's most impressive Victorian monuments. They get out of their cells four times a day for half an hour each time (three times for meals, once for a walk.) The other 22 hours are spent in their cells. They are not allowed to work like other prisoners because they are still before the courts.

Their old friend, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, lives at 24 Sussex Drive.

Six years after that **Chez Son Pere** dinner invitation, Vallieres invited Trudeau to appear in court during a bail application. In a deposition, Trudeau told the court his appearance would cause him to "uselessly lose part of the time which I'm obliged to devote to my duties" — his duties being Barbara Streisand and the Just Society.

Savage, Boring

The mood is now pure cannibalism on Madison Avenue. The agencies are enthusiastically hawking the wares with which your friendly local policeman is going to kill you or, at least, with which he would kill you if he had a chance.

In police trade magazines, the selling mood has changed from old fashioned cops-and-robbers stuff to straight-out war talk. For instance: In the same issue of **The Police Chief** in which Hubert Humphrey is quoted as saying that police are "the immediate instruments of social justice," Federal Laboratories (Saltsburg, Pa.), big men in the tear gas game, run a "public service" ad saying that Fedlabs is proud to serve the police and that "the subversive effort by a tiny minority to discredit and malign public safety officials is doomed to complete failure through your continuing high standard of performance and frequent acts of great heroism." The ad catches the new mood nicely. Nothing about your run-of-the-mill, garden variety foot-pads and cutpurses.

Federal's four-color ad on the back cover, offering its "Great Persuader," the 201-Z shotgun, made for either tear gas projectiles or buck shot, hasn't a word or hint of the weapon's use to

flush out John Dillinger: "When this riot gun speaks, they get the message...rioters vanish...all this is done at a safe distance from the mob...for sniper or barricade problems..."

Fargo International (5518 Western Ave., Chevy Chase, Md.) offers armored vests and such other haberdashery items because, and only because, according to their ad in **The Police Chief**, police have grown to depend on such spiffy dress "while making an arrest during a disturbance or under sniper fire." Dillinger? Dellinger?

Special products to serve the mood of repression, of course, have proliferated, along with the ad prose to describe them.

Monadnock Lifetime Products (Fitzwilliam, N.H.) offers its "Mob Control Stick" under the slogan of "Fit for Action — All-Ways!" and optimistically assures customers that "violence can flare up tomorrow. Be certain that YOUR department's equipment is always fit for action. Specify Monadnock Lifetime 31-30 Mob Control Stick...stocked by leading dealers everywhere." They even have the sort of "inside" phraseology that Mad Ave loves: "Steel balls anchored in each end give pinpoint jab action...." **Job Action. Wide Track.**

Penguin Industries (Parkesburg, Pa.), a firm that also arms civilians with cheap-jack versions of the Big Berthas it reserves for officials of the State, has come up with the "Nutcracker Flail," a 24-inch wooden rod, hinged in the middle, that can be used to clamp a wrist, bang a skull, twirl off a crowd "or even," as the ad delicately puts it, clamp around a person's neck: "Strong but lightweight...Convenient...always ready for action. Most important of all, IT'S EASY TO USE."

National Sheriff magazine carries an ad from one of Smith and Wesson's growing family of law enforcement subsidiaries, Smith and Wesson Pyrotechnics, as distributed through Lake Erie Chemical, of Rock Creek, Ohio. It's for parachute flares and, just to tell the stay-at-home cops where it's really at, the ad boasts that the flares are used also "by military forces throughout the free world."

Remember Newburgh, N.Y., home of the first big get-tough with welfare recipients? The Lyncoach and Truck Co. (Oneonta, N.Y.) does. The Newburgh police, the ad says, "needed a low-cost but potent riot control unit. Lyncoach answered with this brawny semi-armored aluminum wagon...concealed gun and tear gas ports...prisoners' cage...a strong barricade is no

match...Lyncoach is the world leader in aluminum mobile clinic construction. Products in world use include dental, x-ray, medical and educational clinics, fire rescue units and mobile libraries" and the Newburgh weapons carrier.

The things that used to be cattle prods have now become a corporation called "Shok Baton Company, Inc." of Savage, Minn. And their ad reads: "Effective but safe...low amperage electricity does the job easier...transistorized circuit for long life. Your choice of three sizes (including) Military Riot Model with 'Hot' center shocking unit, \$38.95."

On behalf of the Damascus Leather Shop (Route 2, Boring, Oregon): "The New Improved Sap Glove...each glove contains 6 oz. of powdered lead which fully built into either knuckle or palm...rapidly becoming popular...more comfortable on the hand...easier on the knuckles...better appearing."

Demain Enterprises (Kinston, N.C.) offers local cops a M-76 Smith and Wesson submachine gun "compact and light...but big in performance; and ready to deliver—every time!" Mossberg's sawed-off shotgun ad is headlined, "Keep 'em under your thumb," a delightful play on words referring both to the shotgun's safety catch and its purpose.

It is with the tear gas, however, that the imagery runs riot:

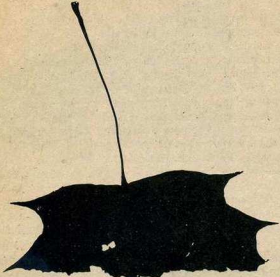
Smith and Wesson's tear gas wand: "Think of the savings in grenades... Think of the convenience and public relations benefits...can use it in buildings where you might hesitate to use a grenade...taking the lead in bringing law enforcement people real, solid help in the training as well as the tools of riot control."

Brunswick Corp. (Technical Products Div., Chicago): "Big Control in a small package...skittering, pocket-size CS, CN and smoke grenades offer convenient portability and lightweight for a long throw...Brunswick weaponry has been proven time and again in actual combat...for everyone's safety."


To Partner Industries of America Inc. (Chicago), however, is reserved the opportunity to become Pig Partner of the Year. The ad is for TGA, tear gas antidote, a spray-can flushing fluid that "enables law officers to administer First Aid and reduce discomfort at the scene...a humane antidote."

"This is it!" the ad trumpets. And why is it? Because: "TGA does more than reduce human suffering, it provides your department with an important public relations plus."

From Hard Times



CBW in Canada



by Richard Liskeard

In 1947, Canada's chief negotiator on disarmament, General A.G.L. McNaughton, was asked in a parliamentary committee if "in the event of war today, an enemy, whosoever it might be, entered into chemical and biological warfare, we are going to be in a position to counteract that and meet them on the same ground?"

General McNaughton responded: "I am not going to answer that."

Pressed further — "you could say it off the record" — he answered: "No. I dare not."

The answer General McNaughton dared not give was "Yes."

There is a large stretch of open land along the Trans-Canada Highway between the towns of Brooks and Redcliff, Alberta. Halfway between these towns the traveller notices a tall, red and white water tower. It catches the eye because for miles around there are only telephone poles and the brown grass of the unsettled range.

A paved road runs to the tower, and nearby there is a gas station, a few houses and a small railway station on the CPR main line. Further on, there's a four-storey brick structure that looks like any medium-sized office building. In a few seconds the traveller has passed Suffield, and is on his way to Medicine Hat, 28 miles away.

That brick building at Suffield is guarded by the tightest security that surrounds any Canadian government installation. It also has a 1000-square-mile back yard, with 112 miles of fence guarded by constant patrols. The complex is a world to itself: it is one of the largest and best-equipped chemical and biological warfare test fields in the Western world. The brick building is its administrative centre, and its laboratories house 239 gases under test and the dreadest viruses known to mankind.

The compound is known as the Defence Research Establishment (Suffield) and employs 330 men, over 150 of them scientists. It is one of the largest and best-equipped chemical and biological warfare test fields in the Western world. The brick building is its administrative centre, and its laboratories house 239 gases under test and the dreadest viruses known to mankind.

Here, since the spring of 1941, in laboratories and in the field, Canada has tested and perfected nerve gases, asphyxiating chemicals and strains of viruses that are judged most effective against people, cattle, food supplies and vegetation. Here Canada, a minor military power, made the big league.

The Defence Research Establishment (Suffield) — DRES — operates under the Defence Research Board of Canada — DRB — co-ordinating with the Board's chemical research laboratories at Shirley Bay, outside Ottawa. Suffield conducts, in the words of a DRB Report, "basic and applied research on problems concerned with defence against biological, chemical and nuclear warfare." Its nuclear program is concerned with studying shock blasts, and is quite secondary to its work on chemical and biological warfare.

The obvious question is why Canada demonstrates such anxieties over CBW defence when it pays scant attention to missile defence, coastal defence or maintaining an up-to-date air force. In most military areas, we are willing to let the United States do the job for us.

The answer is twofold. Canada was one of the first countries in the world to conduct serious research into this form of warfare — we are recognized pioneers. Secondly, the Defence Research Board is not so concerned with defending Canada, as in aiding the United States (and to some extent Britain) develop a chemical and bacteriological warfare potential.

During the Second World War, Canada entered into a "Technical Co-operation Program", whose clauses are a military secret, with the United States, Britain and Aust-

Australia. In a brief before the Senate Committee on Science Policy last year, DRB spokesmen described this program as an agreement "to collaborate in defence science with the aim of improving the combined efficiency of these four countries and minimizing duplication of effort. It is probably the most important international program at present." Under this program, Canada maintains its CBW establishment.

In 1967, the man then in charge of Suffield, Archie Pennie was asked how the tripartite pact works:

"There are regular meetings of scientific staff engaged in this particular line of work (CBW) in all three countries and there is free disclosure of information in all these areas. We also attempt to divide the work between laboratories, whether they be in Britain, the United States or here; wherever the work suits. You can understand that you need specialized facilities for their type of work. There are facilities in Canada which don't exist in Britain, and there are some in Britain that do not exist in the United States, so it makes good sense and some logic to try and divide up the work."

Asked if each country is "a specialist in a specific field", Pennie replied: "Yes, this is true. There are particular areas where we are better suited, as a result of staff or training facilities, to do certain aspects of this kind of work."

Which aspects? "We have a large establishment on the prairies at Suffield. There we have an open air laboratory. We have a tract of ground made up of a thousand square miles of territory. This is very useful when one is contemplating or assessing the usefulness of candidate agents in this type of field." *Montrealer*, September 1967.

He explained further that "the program is jointly operated in this particular testing area, so it may be a program of testing some type of agent or candidate agent which has arisen as a result of U. K. or U. S. development work."

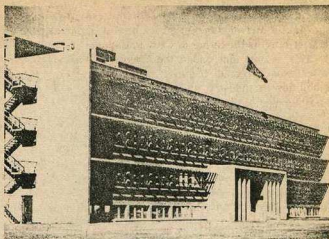
In other words, Canada specializes in testing CBW weapons devised by the United States and Britain. Hence Suffield's crucial 1,000-square miles. Furthermore, through the "free disclosure of information in all these areas", we are a crucial part of U.S. development and stockpiling of nerve gases and bacteriological weapons.

The development of chemical weapons—gases—dates much earlier than the bacteriological—germ war—period.

Bacteriological warfare only began to be considered seriously as having military potential in a modern war towards the end of the 1930's.

Gas, however, was first used in the First World War by the French, who deployed non-lethal riot-control gases. They were followed by the Germans at Ypres in 1915, who unleashed a chlorine gas attack, killing 5,000 soldiers and injuring 10,000. Then each side happily took its turn, mostly with mustard gas.

Britain, France and the United States began gas warfare research almost simultaneously, not long after the Germans. The British and the Germans were the primary experts in the field, each having the most highly developed chemical industries. But in 1917 the United States set up its 10,000-acre Edgewood Arsenal, 15 miles northeast of Baltimore, for gas production, and by the end of the war in 1918 the United States was manufacturing as much gas in this arsenal and in private industry as England and



Suffield laboratories

France combined, and nearly four times as much as Germany.

Throughout the inter-war years, however, the British led the field in scientific expertise in chemical war. Germ war was still in the future.

The British set up their first chemical warfare research station at Porton Down in 1916. Research continued unabated after the war at the 18-square-mile encampment which is reported to house huge fermentation tanks devoted to the mass production of germs.

Britain suffers from lack of space for testing areas, and has depended exclusively on two large testing areas in the Commonwealth. A less important one has been the Bahamas Out Islands region where some islands are now sealed off because of contamination. The other has been Suffield.

Until 1936, Canada's concern over the possibility of chemical and biological war was limited to assigning a member of the National Research Council's chemistry division to keep up-to-date on the literature in the field. But in 1936, prompted by the British, the Department of National Defence decided the worsening European situation required protective steps. A small respirator-assembly plant was established in Ottawa to produce face-pieces, haversacks and other accessories.

But the production of gas masks and respirator containers was not all Canada had done by the time war broke out. "Most important...perhaps, had been the training of a few experts who were up-to-date in their chemical knowledge and fully aware of the chemical requirements. Industry had been surveyed for its manufacturing capabilities" and "a chemical laboratory for test and research (of chemical agents) had been opened."

After the fall of France in 1940, the NRC's chemical war committee was strengthened by the addition of representatives of the armed forces, and staff members were sent to the United Kingdom for liaison work and information-gathering. "More than fifty different chemical warfare projects were initiated by it (the committee)" under the direction of Dr. Otto Maas, then head of the

*Unless otherwise indicated, all the quotes are from *A History of the Defence Research Board of Canada*, by Capt. D. J. Goodspeed, Queen's Printer, 1958.

Department of Chemistry at McGill University in Montreal. Otto Maas - McGill has named its newest chemistry building after him - is the father of CBW in Canada.

In 1941, a new unit called the Chemical Warfare Laboratories was directed towards developing manufacturing capabilities in industry and testing the results. The first superintendent of this unit was Otto Maas.

Canada began its own production of mustard gas in Cornwall, Ontario, in a special plant set up for this purpose.

Before the war, the British and the French co-operated very closely in chemical war research, and a joint experimental station had been set up in the Sahara Desert in Algeria, at Beni Ounif, 200 miles south of Oran. The size of this station - 75 by 25 miles - and its isolation made it an ideal testing site for Porton Down. However, when France fell in 1940, the site was lost to the British.

Canada stepped in gladly at this point and "signified its willingness to provide an alternative testing site in this country". Sites were surveyed in New Brunswick and Northern Ontario, but were rejected because of heavy bush. Finally the choice rested on Suffield, with 1,000 square miles of relatively flat territory, and only 125 farmers to evict. Much of the land belonged to the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson's Bay Company, and was sold at the nominal price of \$1 an acre.

In the spring of 1941, a small nucleus of British scientists came to Canada to form the core of the Suffield Experimental Station. The Canadian Army took over administrative work, Otto Maas began recruiting scientists at Canadian universities, and the first shipments of toxic stores, consisting of "several railway carloads of mustard gas, phosgene, and base-ejection artillery shell, arrived from the U.K."

Later, both mustard gas and phosgene were to be manufactured at Suffield, and a giant stockpile was amassed. Approximately 1,500 tons of such stores were eventually shipped to Suffield in special one-ton containers which had been borrowed from the U. S. Army Chemical Corps. Co-operation with the U.S. was "extremely close from the outset, even before the nation became an active belligerent".

On December 1942, a chemical warfare school, known as S-11, was established at Suffield to train soldiers in conducting field trials with mortar and rockets. Work was also done on smoke and flame warfare. By the end of the war Suffield employed 584 men, around a core of 50 top scientists specializing in everything from chemical engineering to entomology.

Suffield became an all-Canadian enterprise in 1946 when British financial support was ended. It was decided to maintain the base since "it had been so valuable during the war to Canada and her allies" and also because "...the need for an extensive experimental range would continue in times of peace."

The men who anticipated this gruesome war need in times of peace were not proven wrong.

In 1958, the Defence Board could boast in its official history that "the facilities of the establishment have been used freely by both of Canada's major allies. In 1950, for instance...most of the field trials of chemical warfare agents which were being conducted in the free world were being done at Suffield. Throughout 1952 the chief emphasis

at Suffield was on testing of chemical warfare ammunitions for both the United Kingdom and the United States equipments. A new type of dynamic bursting chamber was constructed in this same year for the testing of biological warfare ammunitions."

But this germ chamber was not by any means Canada's first baby step into the frontier field of bacteriological warfare. By 1952 we were old hands in this game. In fact, we were pioneers in the challenging new frontier of germ war.

A form of biological warfare was first introduced into North America during the first settlement of the continent, in the 17th century Indian wars. White traders deliberately infected blankets with small-pox before distributing them to the Indians in the hope the disease would diminish the fighting strength of the tribes.

Until the 1930's, bacteriological warfare - that is the use of viruses on an effective strategic military scale - was still a Dr. Strangelove idea, something scientists thought of, but something that had not yet been introduced into the military's range of options.

But this changed in the late thirties in large part thanks to Canada.

In December 1943, a study widely known as the Merck Report (Merck was a special consultant to the U.S. War Department on Biological warfare), was submitted to the War Department in reply to a question from it.

Asked if biological war was feasible on a strategic scale, Merck replied "...there was considerable concrete information from work which had been carried on in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada that attack by biological warfare was feasible." (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist October, 1946)

Acting on such information, and on intelligence reports that the Japanese, Germans and possibly Russians had studied biological weapons even before the war, the U.S. moved into the germ warfare field. In the fall of 1941, the War Department asked the National Academy of Sciences to appoint a committee to survey the current biological warfare (BW) situation and its future possibilities. The committee concluded that germ warfare was distinctly feasible and in the summer of 1942 the War Research Service was established, with George Merck as director. Camp Detrick was opened a year later, 1943, in stringent secrecy - the first biological warfare lab in the United States. But not the first in North America.

In fact the Americans were three years behind the British and two behind the Canadian.

In 1940, three years earlier, Britain had established a BW centre within its complex at Porton Down.

But in the summer of 1941, when Suffield was established, and the nucleus of British scientists began operations, part of their task was already to study the possible development and deployment of bacteriological weapons. Within the next two years, entomologists and veterinary scientists were on the staff.

In 1940 the Canadian Minister of National Defense had appointed a special committee to study BW. In 1941 this committee became part of a Canadian-United States commission which studied BW on a joint basis. Two stations were established in Canada in 1942, to specialize entirely in BW, leaving Suffield to specialize in tests only.

The first was the Kingston Laboratory organized by the army early that year as a BW station under the army's Directorate of Chemical Warfare. Led by Dr. G. B. Reed, a Queen's University professor, it conducted several major projects, one of the most important being the study of the botulinum virus. The virus, a deadly, rod-shaped organism which survives in the soil, has been many times responsible for serious outbreaks of food poisoning.

Kingston's work was primarily concerned with diseases which might attack humans. Animals, however, are more vulnerable to BW than men, and decimating a country's livestock could have almost as serious effect on its economy and food as an attack against a human population. Therefore Canada and the U. S. chose Grosse Ile, Quebec, an island in the St. Lawrence river, downstream from Quebec City, and in early 1942 set up the War Disease Control Station, staffing it with two Canadians and seven Americans.

Here the American and Canadian scientists specialized in the dread cattle disease, rinderpest, whose mortality count is 80 percent, and which can, in very small quantities and with great speed, wipe out the cattle-producing region of any country. This project demonstrates best the dubious nature of the defensive research done in Canada.

Why did it not choose to develop vaccine protection from a spectrum of possible enemy attack viruses? Furthermore, rinderpest had been wiped out in North America, and Grosse Ile had to import the virus from Africa, despite the strong objections from the government's Departments of Agriculture and Health. This case of importing the rinderpest virus becomes all the more suspect when it's considered that, like most viruses Canada was researching at Kingston, only laboratory quantities were necessary to permit a biological attack against an enemy. With these ample laboratory quantities Canada already had, in effect, a BW attack potential.

The role of the Canadian university in the BW field was prominent from the beginning. In charge of the Special Weapons Committee, of course, was Otto Maas of McGill University. In addition, a Bacteriological Warfare Research Panel was formed under the chairmanship of Prof. E. G. D. Murray, of the Department of Bacteriology and Immunology at McGill. G. B. Reed of Queen's, as mentioned, headed the Kingston Lab. After the war, at the 14th meeting of the DRB on March 20, 1950, the point was brought up that there was a crying scarcity of bacteriologists in Canada who were competent in the BW field. Members of the BW Review Committee visited American BW installations in 1950, and "discussed matters pertaining to biological warfare with particular reference to the American interest in the Canadian program." They also visited Porton to meet with British and Australian scientists in the BW field.

In this revamping of Canada's BW program, it was advocated that "the BW testing facilities at Suffield should be further developed", and in 1950, for the first time in several years, biological field trials were conducted there. The Kingston Laboratory was expanded by one building, and beefed up in staff. Grosse Ile was reopened under Dr. C. A. Mitchell, chairman of the DRB's BW Research Panel, to investigate "only the defensive aspects of biological agents."

A Canadian Press news item on October 7, 1968, quotes a defence department spokesman announcing the end of "Exercise Vacuum", a three-week long exercise in which over 2,000 Canadian, American and British personnel took part. The exercise — conducted at Suffield, comprised a mock chemical attack to "test the reaction of troops to the presence of gas". Since then, the defence department in Ottawa will only acknowledge that "several other tests have taken place, the nature of which is classified," but that U. S. military personnel were involved.

The level of activity reported at Suffield over the past year, would indicate some acceleration of tests, or widening of the program. This might perhaps be explained by events a year ago in the United States germ test fields in Utah.

The Dugway proving grounds are much like Suffield—a giant, isolated terrain, ideal for operational tests of gas and germ agents. Last year, however, a miscalculated wind and faulty diffusion mechanisms on the drop-aircraft almost wiped out three small towns. Instead 6,000 grazing sheep several miles away were killed by the descending lethal cloud. The army tried for several weeks to explain away the death of the sheep by whatever the imaginations of the public relations men in the Pentagon could concoct. But the story was eventually broken by a wire service reporter, Seymour Hersh, who had been taking a particular interest in the CBW field for some time.

Hersh, who spent three years researching his history of CBW in America, said recently that "although you'd never know it from reading the Canadian press, Canada is very highly regarded in the military here for its role in CBW research and development".

Suffield research papers are widely circulated in the U. S. CBW labs, he wrote in his book, and "U. S. Chemical Corps officials have circulated papers from another microbiological research centre in Ottawa." This is obviously Shirley Bay, which took over the Kingston Laboratories BW research in 1960; very little information is available on the nature of work at Shirley Bay.

But Hersh cast some light on the reasons for the acceleration of activity at Suffield during the past year:

"Suffield has become colossally important to the CBW people here in the last year, ever since the uproar came out over tests within the United States," he said in October, "it's a known thing in Washington that Suffield has become the U.S. prime testing area now."

Recently Canada has been specializing in "non-lethal incapacitating agents" at Suffield, and its research has borne fruit for the U. S. forces in Vietnam.

Early in February 1962, the U. S. began chemical warfare in Vietnam, using defoliants, crop-destruction agents, insecticides, and non-lethal incapacitating agents. Canadian research and development technology saw its first application in a war zone against a population.

The American tactic has been to spray from the air hundreds of square miles of jungle, in order to defoliate the jungle and rob the National Liberation Front of its military cover. A second tactic has been to destroy equally large crop-producing areas to prevent the NLF from establishing itself there.

The U. S. Air Force has designed C-123's to distribute their 1,000-gallon, 10,000 pound load in four minutes over about 300 acres, roughly more than three gallons per acre.

The program, approved by the White House in the fall of 1962, is known as Operation Ranch Hand—the motto of the aerial spray flight of the 309th Aerial Commando Squadron is “only we can prevent forests”, and the squadron commander, Major Ralph Dresser, admitted in an interview with *Flying Magazine* that even among the American troops “We are the most hated outfit in Vietnam.”

This defoliation and anti-crop program has met with general failure (that hasn't stopped the U. S. from continuing it) according to correspondents in Vietnam, because combattant NLF will simply take the necessary proportion of the remaining food supply, and thus the only people who are really hit are the civilian peasants. But there is a suggestion that the U. S. had ulterior motives for the use of these chemicals: several scientists who visited President Johnson's chief scientific advisor, Donald Hornig in 1967, quote him as telling them “the anti-crop program is all geared to moving people.” When the U. S. wanted to clear a Viet-Cong area, they had a choice of either moving in with men, or forcing the population out by other means. The herbicides worked remarkably — refugee camps had to take in 10,000 more peasants a month during the peak of the chemical war. Clever.

The U. S. has had equally few reservations about the use of gas in Vietnam. Army Field Manual 27-10, Law of Land Warfare informs the soldier “the United States is not

population. When detonated in a building or in a tunnel with no ventilation, the gases can have up to 50 per cent mortality rates. The Military Manual on DM cautions “use only where possible deaths are acceptable”.

A Canadian physician in South Vietnam, Dr. Alje Vennema of Burlington, Ontario, provided the most striking evidence on the effects of military use of these gases. On November 23, 1967, he wrote the following account of his experience with gas victims while serving at the Quang Ngai provincial hospital:

“During the last three years I have examined and treated a number of patients, men, women and children who have been exposed to a type of war gas the name of which I do not know (it later proved to be Adamsite, DM). The type of gas used makes one quite sick when one touches the patient or inhales the breath from their lungs. After contact with them for three minutes, one has to leave the room in order not to get ill.

“The patient usually gives a history of having been hiding in a cave or tunnel or bunker or shelter into which a canister of gas was thrown in order to force them to leave their hiding place. The patients that have come to my attention were very ill with signs and symptoms of gas poisoning similar to those I have seen in veterans from the First World War treated at Queen Mary's Veteran's Hospital in Montreal. The only difference between the cases was that these Vietnamese patients were more acutely ill...

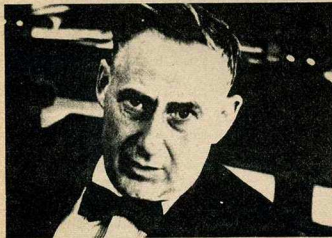
“Patients are feverish, semi-comatose, severely short of breath, vomit, are restless and irritable. Most of the physical signs are in the respiratory and circulatory systems... the mortality rate in adults is about 10 per cent while the mortality rate in children is about 90 per cent.”

Dr. Vennema had no way of knowing then that these gases were tested, perfected, and some chemical components in them actually developed in the CBW laboratories at Suffield and Shirley Bay. The herbicides, which Suffield specialized in for some years, bear even more clearly the stamp of Canadian development.

Moreover, the techniques of military deployment — aerosol dispersal from aircraft, recommended dosages for target areas, probabilities of destruction per dose of gas or herbicide — were researched and developed in Canada by Canadian scientists working with the U. S. military in Suffield, on Canadian government funds.

Canadian Press reported on June 22, 1968 that Dr. Stephen Rose, a biochemist at Imperial College, London, had revealed that the irritant and nausea gas GS had been developed in Britain, the U. S. and Canada, and field-tested in Canada. The DRB admitted this was true, although the gas was “tested in a diluted form as a possible training aid.” Herbicides developed and tested at Suffield were harmless to humans, said the DRB. Whether or not this is true, Canada researched the dispersal techniques, so that the U. S. had a ready manual for use of them, and to make them lethal only had to add Cacodylic acid (54 per cent arsenic) to the herbicides to employ them militarily.

A.M. Pennie, Suffield's CBW director in 1967, confirmed Canada's pivotal role in this area in his interview in the *Montrealer*; “This country has specialized in the control and assessment of tests in the field and teams of scientists often go abroad on tests carried out by the two other countries in the pact. They rely on Canada to provide this type of scientific and technical know-how to help them do



Archie Pennie

a party to any treaty, now in force, that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or non-toxic gases, or smoke and incendiary materials, or of bacteriological warfare.” The U. S. never signed the Geneva Convention of 1925 that banned all these weapons. Canada did.

The U. S. has used since 1962, three non-lethal gases in combat zones, usually in massive air-drop quantities, or in concentrated flushing out operations in villages, caves, tunnels or buildings. The gases are CN, the standard riot tear gases, the newly-developed super tear gas, and DM, which the Pentagon calls a “riot gas” but which most medical authorities consider a “toxic respiratory agent” (i.e. with lethal possibilities).

These “non-toxic” gases have their greatest effect on old people, children, pregnant women and the sick. In a concentrated riot gas attack on a village, 10 per cent casualties can be expected, almost all from this segment of the

the sampling and measuring...this is why we maintain the large tract of land in Suffield."

Pennie offered a further inking about some of the aims of the research at Suffield:

"In the last 15 years," he said, "the interest has swung away from what the public generally visualizes: mass attacks of choking clouds that either kill you instantaneously or gives you Bubonic Plague or what have you. It's swung away from that into the area of non-lethal incapacitating agent. If you look at the hot zones of the world, you're fighting wars not on well-defined battlefield areas. You're dealing with towns in between it; civil population, friendly forces mixed with enemy forces. So maybe the thing to do is shake the pepper in and sort out the good from the bad. At the end of six hours they have a splitting headache, but they're alright the next day."

He was asked if Canadian peace-keeping forces were able to do this today:

"Well I wouldn't say we have all types of material on hand, but this is the philosophy that we have to maintain to be alert to the capabilities of this type of operation of chemical agents...traditionally, if you look at the Canadian role, it has been one of keeping peace in the Congo, in Cyprus. In the chemical operations side, maybe the thing to do is to have something that will clear up the main streets Saturday night by some incapacitating but non-lethal agent."

There are several interesting points in Pennie's remarks. First of all, he seems to have become so rosy about the "philosophy" and possibilities of CBW, that he dropped the "defensive research" myth in his narrative. What Pennie describes here, that Canadian forces should perhaps become a sort of mobile chemical Green Berets putting down Third World revolutions, does not sound like the purely defensive research Suffield is supposed to be engaging in exclusively to protect our shores from intruding clouds.

Secondly, the record of the U. S. Chemical Corps in Vietnam has demonstrated where this Canadian expertise had proven useful and how Canadian research, happily handed over to the U. S. under the information clause of the tripartite agreement, has been applied and for what political goals. And the effects on the population and land seems a little less innocent than Archie Pennie's Saturday night parties shaken with a little touch pepper.

Pennie's euphemisms parallel those burlbed by the U. S. Chemical Corps when it launched a public relations campaign to make CBW more acceptable. "Exotic chemical sprays and powders," sang the blurbs in this campaign,

nicknamed Operation Blue Skies, "hold promise of permitting relatively bloodless battles." Or as President Johnson replied to a critical question about the use of CS gas in Vietnam: "I just wish there was concern with our soldiers who are dying, as with somebody's eyes who were watered a bit."

The DRB also conducted its own PR campaign, which consisted principally of a brief "History of Canadian Activities in the Defence against Chemical and Biological Weapons", by Pennie. In it he avers that the Canadian program "...is designed specifically to deal with the defensive and protective aspects of the possible use of such agents by hostile forces in Canada."

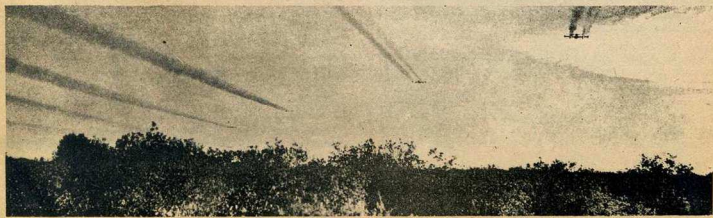
As Canadian defence policy analyst James Eayrs remarked of this: "The Canadian who is reassured by that will be reassured by anything."

Only several years ago the DRB was boasting that it was developing offensive weaponry (all the while insisting it was defensive only). In Goodspeed's history of the DRB Suffield authorities brag about a new improved napalm developed jointly by them and the Shirley Bay laboratories. The Americans were very impressed and it found its way into the Vietnam war by late 1962.

Another one of its accomplishments was a new, improved flame-dispersing rocket (adaptable for gas or bacteria dissemination), whose inventor was rewarded with a \$5,000 gift. Small compensation for a weapon a medical report describes as capable of causing "third degree burns in all affected areas, with coagulation of muscle, fat and other deep tissue likely, as well as severe scar contractures and deformities, with children suffering a disproportionately high mortality and morbidity because of special problems presented by the burned child."

It is very difficult to obtain information from the DRB about even its non-classified research; the only way to glean some information is to discover which university scientists and graduate researchers have received funds from the DRB to do specific basic research work, and to learn just what they are being paid to research. Through some biologists, it was also possible to obtain semi-classified copies of Suffield research abstracts (reports which are made available only to those university researchers who need them for their own work for the DRB). It's worth the trouble.

There have been four universities in recent years which have been favored with these grants to their staff — McGill, Saskatchewan, Toronto and Ottawa. Particularly interesting



Canadian jets practise CBW tactics during armed forced exercise

is that, according to the Macdonald Commission on federal support to Canadian universities, the DRB spent \$34,800 on biological, and \$97,000 on chemical war research in grants to university labs in 1966-67. In 1967-68, no grants were given out for "chemical warfare research", while \$46,900 was for "biological warfare research".

There was obviously a shift of priorities towards BW in 1967.

In the 1967 annual report of the Defence Research Board (again a very difficult document for the public to obtain.) lists of grant recipients and their research topics are listed. \$8,500 went to a McGill professor to do "studies of dispersal systems."

\$5,000 went to three prairie scientists to study "flight ranges of biting flies" and related subjects on the virus-carrying capacities of certain insects. Cost to the DRB another \$10,000.

Another \$22,000 went to McGill's Macdonald College for study of "factors affecting the viability of bacteria under physical stress" while an Ottawa researcher received \$5,800 for "studies of aerosols of viruses and of virus extracts."

Suffield technical papers like "Equipment for the Production of Uniform Liquid Droplets and Uniform Contamination Densities", prove to be precise studies of the most effective way of contaminating a given area. Another, "Effect of Relative Humidity on the Aerosol Survival of Semliki Forest Virus", begins with the defence-posturing introductory paragraph: "It can be speculated that an enemy could use arborivirus aerosols in an offensive manner. It would be of value to determine the effect of a natural atmospheric condition such as relative humidity (RH) on the survival of a representative of the arbovirus group in order to provide information useful in the estimation of hazard created by such an eventuality." Then it proceeds to demonstrate what Suffield research has discovered is the best way of distributing such a virus in the air. It notes also the virus samples were obtained from the U. S. for the test.

A completely unquestioned field of Canadian complexity in the CBW development field lies outside the Tripartite Pact, in NATO. Last year, a story out of West Germany tied Canada into some of the most secret work done in chemical and biological warfare, and the Canadian newspapers managed successfully to overlook it.

The Defence Research Board is part of the NATO Defence Research Group, a consortium of secret research units which most of the public isn't aware even exists. Through this group, many funds can be allotted without Parliament or Congress being informed about the specific application of money—since it is earmarked for NATO, and not for specific research projects. An incident in West Germany last winter caused the United States untold embarrassment and caused a crisis in the Bonn government.

On December 5, 1968 and January 15, 1969, two international press conferences were held in East Berlin to hear the explanations of several highly-placed West German scientists for defecting to the East. The head of the group was Dr. Ehrenfried Petras, former director of the Laboratory for Microbiology of the Institute of Aerobiology in Grafshaf, West Germany.

Petras and seven other colleagues who defected separately but for the same reason, explained they had worked in the field of CBW at the institute, and had, under the cover of "defensive research" been doing research, devel-

opment, and actual production of several nerve and virus agents.

The research work centered around (1) aerosol research and dispersal systems, (2) development of protective toxics, both for protection of troops, and also research into how to overcome the effect of protective vaccines, (3) strategic applications of agents, (4) the development of new viruses, as yet unknown, which might have military value.

"Furthermore," Petras added, "I had to work out a program for the building up of an extensive collection of highly pathogenic breeds of micro-organisms... and a virus centre for the entire sphere of NATO forces, Central Europe was to be installed at the Grafshaf Institute for experimental purposes on hundreds of typhus, paratyphus and enteritis viruses." Petras furthermore was overseeing a study for the Bonn Federal Ministry of Defense, in which it was to be worked out in which way military establishments could be paralyzed in a short time by means of biological weapons. There was heavy stress put on the development of Soman and Sarin compounds, the most lethal nerve gases yet discovered.

The eight scientists also documented actual production of CB compounds for the military (the most prominent manufacturers being three successor firms to the I.G. Farben Industrie Combine, makers of the infamous—Second World War concentration camp gas—Zyklon B).

The scientists charged that the United States had CBW stockpiles in Germany, on a military preparedness basis. After weeks of denials, the U.S. Defense Department, prodded by West German newspapers proving Dr. Petras correct through their own investigations, admitted the presence of the stockpiles. But the most interesting statements came from the West German Ministry of Defense, which was hard put to explain their CBW role when they were specifically barred by a 1955 pact from developing offensive chemical or biological weapons.

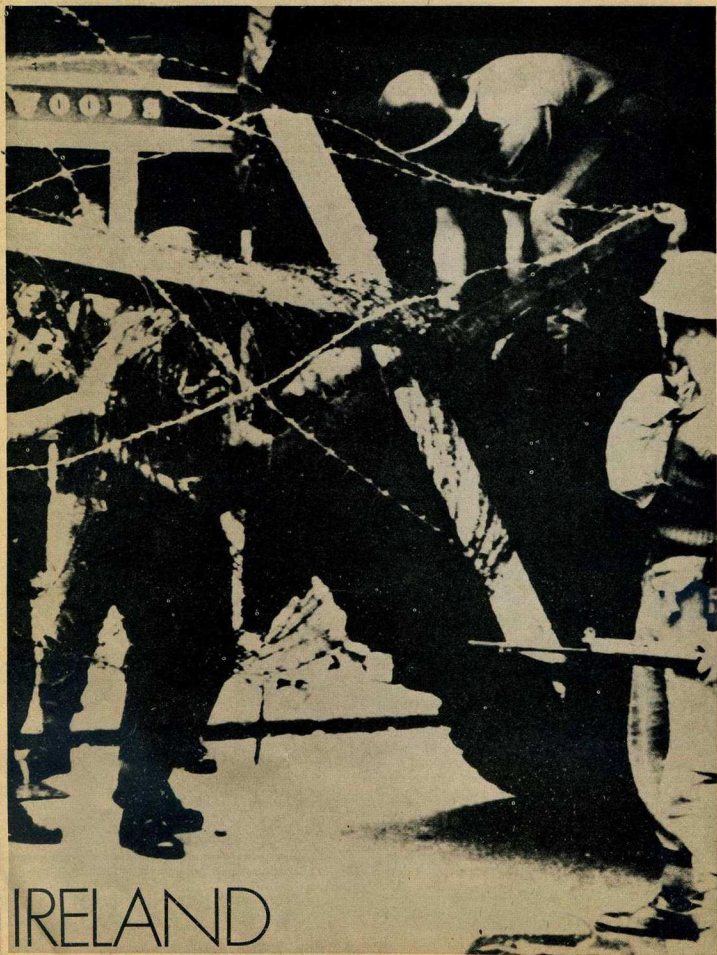
Bonn responded to the attack by saying that all its CBW work was being done jointly with its NATO allies, under the direction of NATO and its Defense Research Group. The Canadian Defense Research Board is not only a member of that group, but the DRB has a bi-partite agreement for the exchange of defense science information with West Germany.

Petras explained the reasons for this defection by saying he could no longer participate in work he knew was "of a basically offensive nature, and to the greatest detriment of mankind."

And he told his second press conference: "Where is the defense capability of a substance so poisonous that a gram is enough to kill a million people? Where does the defensive virus stop and the aggressive virus begin?"

In his 1967 interview A.M. Pennie remarked philosophically about the public's attitude towards CBW: "It's interesting how long the outcry lasts. It's like taxation. People say they're not going to put up with it and there's a great hue and cry. But a month later it's accepted."

Richard Liskeard is a free-lance writer who is based in Vancouver.



IRELAND



Dear Editor of the new magazine:
 Why I don't want to write about
 Ireland by Patrick MacFadden.

1. It isn't clear to me or to any Irishman of my acquaintance why Canadians should want to know anything about that country. Except maybe out of a sense of duty. And a sense of duty is the last thing I want to stir up because:

- (a) There is no more terrible sight than a Canadian with an inflamed sense of duty. And
 (b) Canadians have enough to think about already.

2. Also because Ireland is a very private place, like churches or public lavatories, two other institutions now sadly neglected and doomed to extinction. (I know a man in the CBC who bought a church quite cheaply and he is rearing his children in it.)

It seems to me we should be circumspect about private places; there are few left.

3. Another reason I don't want to write about Ireland is that the piece might, even accidentally, lead to greater understanding. And I have become convinced that greater understanding, like higher tariff barriers and the Dutch elm disease, is a bad thing. Out of this conviction was born an axiom:

The trouble with the world today is not the failure of communication but its success.

Ed. query: (Is this Buddhist? Good for West Coast readers maybe? Check with MacFadden.)

4. Because the kind of information favored by folk these days has to do with production norms and behavioural patterns. Both are very boring.

Ed. query: (Quite, quite. But great for potential uptake by Canadian Dimension, right?)

Therefore to understand Ireland it is necessary to go on and on about egg production, mediated consciousness and the political hegemony of advanced bourgeoisies. And anyway such information is readily available at all or any of the outlets listed below:

- (a) university faculties, now, I am told, heavy with bright young Marxists.
 (b) the better bookstores.

* * *

20 QUESTIONS

A quiz programme for all Canadian editorial staffs reporting on current events in Northern Ireland --

What is the question under survey to be known as?
 The Irish Question.

In making this question meaningful to our many readers, what spectre may be referred to without fear of contradiction?

The spectre of religious hatred.

What part of this spectre's anatomy shall be singled out for special treatment?

Its ugly head.

In our second paragraph, may we again mention religious hatred?

We may not.

What then may we substitute?

Sectarian strife.

To whom may this strife be ascribed?

To Extremist Elements on Both Sides.

On whom may we call to sit down at the Negotiating Table oh lord on whom may we call?

On the moderates. (Who else, you great twit?)

Of what nature is the vision with which we may legitimately expect said moderates to act?

Statesmanlike.

What reductive adjective may we use in referring to the lack of civil rights in N. Ireland?

Alleged lack of same.

May we, by the same token, refer to the N. Ireland government as the alleged government?

We certainly may not, by the same or any other token. (Remember who your readers are, they don't want to hear any of that Fenian muck.)

What may we refer to the British troops in Ireland as holding?

An uneasy truce.

Of what nature is the bath that might be expected in Ireland were it not for the good old British Tommy?

A bloodbath.

What emotional response may we properly attribute to the Irish natives on seeing the fine Britishers?

A sigh of relief.

Name several other characteristics (salient) and facts (basic, underlying) to be taken into consideration:

(a) alcohol (suggested format, "The unfortunate Irish propensity for...")

(b) volatile Celtic exuberance (see files, French Canada, for sugg. format.)

(c) protestant fears (sugg. form. "spokesmen voiced concern over...")

What activity may we stress is going on as before, despite the unfortunate occurrences?

Life.

What type of stand may we expect Mr. Wilson to take?
 Firm.

What must come down before meaningful discussions can take place?

The barricades.

(Pause here for breather)

Now then: With what should you be fortified before you face your wife in the evening after having spent your day writing this kind of shit?

Alcohol.

And what will you have next day?

A sore head.

And will it serve you right?

Yes.

* * *

Note left for her milkman by Derry housewife during up-rising:

NO MILK TODAY BUT PLEASE
 LEAVE A DOZEN OR SO
 EXTRA EMPTIES

"To break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of our country — these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishmen in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter — these were my means."

Wolfe Tone 1798, (committed suicide, 'tis said)

* * *

At a small and intimate gathering of the Derry Young Socialists Executive Committee held in a very secret place in a back room in the Bogside in August of this year, I was much distressed to notice a blond and amiable young photographer, of English extraction, who worked for a well-known international magazine, taking many, many photographs of all those present. Particularly distressing since the first item on the agenda was the question of procuring rifles from abroad.

After much inner struggle, I decided to communicate my misgivings, discreetly and in a whisper, to my friend Eamonn.

"Eamonn," I said, "it is my opinion that your man there may be working for the fine magazine but maybe also for you-know-who."

"Ah indeed so, indeed so," sighed Eamonn, "but sure any publicity is better than none."

* * *

You may imagine, if you will, my great embarrassment on discovering that a belief in fairies still exists among my people. ("Oh, you're Irish, eh?" "Yes." "Really? Is it true they still believe in fairies over there?")

The fairies have various names — The Little People, the Noble People, the People of the Hills and — my own favourite — the People Outside Us. They live in moats and in mounds and on hilly ground.

Where did they come from? Well:

When Lucifer rose up against God, God, in retaliation and not wanting to get involved in any nonsense about winning the hearts and minds of the people, threw all the angels out of Heaven. But St. Michael, a kindly man, interceded with the Deity, and pleaded with Him (caps please, proof-reader) not to clean out Heaven completely.

And God relented. He really relented!

And allowed ten angels to stay where they were at that precise moment, some of them, naturally enough, half-out half-in. Those who had already fallen as far as the earth remained there. They became the fairies. But those who were still falling were condemned to inhabit whatever altitude they had then reached. They are still there to this day, Mr. Editor, floating and circling aimlessly, and uttering small and plaintive chirrups, their cause taken up by no philanthropic body, their situation evoking no interest among U.N. folk, their erratic and fortuitous flight patterns ignored by civil rights and civil aviation experts alike.

It is a comment on the times we live in.

Ed. note: (Anyone who believes that can believe anything.)

* * *

James Connolly was a union organizer during the great lock-out of 1913-14 when the port of Dublin was shut down for

six months and the Man felt, this time for sure, that his golden goose was going to be cooked by the workers of the world.

A friend of the great Lenin, who considered him the best Marxist in Europe, Connolly led the capture of the General Post Office in Dublin in 1916 and proclaimed the birth of the Irish Republic. He was severely wounded.

After the British had recaptured the G.P.O. and had arrested the leaders, the **Irish Independent**, a newspaper of the respectable elements, called for the execution of all the leaders. And the Catholic Church excommunicated them.

The British dithered, the **Independent's** screams grew louder until at last they got the man they wanted.

But his wounds were so bad he couldn't stand up and be executed properly. So they allowed him to stay sitting in his chair. But he kept slumping forward. So the British had to hold him up straight and that way they managed to shoot him. May 12, 1916.

James had written: "We are out for Ireland for the Irish. But who are the Irish? Not the rack-renting, slum-owning landlord; not the sweating, profit-grinding capitalist; not the sleek and oily lawyer; not the prostitute pressman — the hired liars of the enemy. Not these are the Irish on whom the future depends. Not these, but the Irish working class, the only secure foundation upon which a free nation can be reared."

(Well if you were a capitalist at that time you'd have shot him too, wouldn't you?)

While in Dublin recently, I notice the works of Connolly much in evidence, and especially among the young. (If you ask me, Mr. Editor, it will make them very hot in the head and lead to great troubles in the future.)

Interlude: SUCCESS TO THE GREAT As written and sung by the late Mrs. Bryant of Dublin

Sure then Ireland is come to a pretty nice pitch,
We have plenty of poor, but we've lost all the rich,
They raise all the rents, then they leave our sweet shore,
'Til it's gone: then they come to old Ireland for more.

Chorus:

Oh lord it's a wonderful pity,
That poverty on such a nation should press,
Where the fields are so green, and such beauty is seen,
And still in its heart, there is nought but distress.

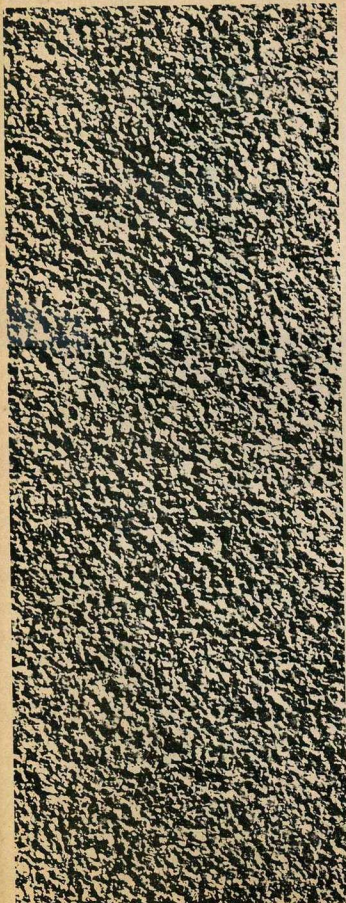
They rail at our bulls, and our blunders exalt
Still we can grow fat on potatoes and salt,
And though Mr. Bull gets the most of our pelts,
'Deed Pat can eat beef, John, as well as yourself.

Oh lord, etc.

* * *

When the Irish Free State was formed in 1922, the fledgling Government (a favourite phrase of the historians) had no money to pay the police and the schoolteachers. So the salaries were paid, at least for the first year and maybe longer, by the Arthur Guinness Brewery. This was an early and dramatic example of how a mixed economy may be made to work for the good of all, is it not?

And not only that: it was also a gesture that the Irish people have never forgotten. Oh no. Thus when foreigners



Pressed Cork

lament the Irish addiction to Guinness stout, they understand not a whit (ah the poor creatures, how could they be expected to?), they understand not a whit that drinking stout is no mere indulgence. For it is at the same time a fitting tribute to the perspicacity and foresight of that original benefactor whose generosity, etc.

My father could not get a job as a teacher in the new free schools in the new free state. For political reasons. (He had been a Commandant in the Irish Republican Army and spent a good part of his young adulthood out in the rain with a gun and thus was considered an Extreme Element, Class One.)

So he was forced to go abroad to teach. Which he did.

To England.

Ed. query: (Heavy historical irony, is it?)

My grandfather, that is to say, my mother's father, owned quite a prosperous clothing establishment. One fine summer evening in 1921 — he was still a young man — the I.R.A. stopped his car and wished to commandeer it. (They were off on a raid somewhere.) My grandfather said, "Fine, sure, but drive me home first, for me dinner's waitin' " (Or words to that effect.) And the I.R.A. squad leader said, "Fine, sure, jump in the back." And off the pranksters drove.

The I.R.A. man in the front seat was cleaning his rifle. It went off and when they delivered my grandfather home, he was dead, his head having been blown off.

Thus my mother and father often, to this day, have very lively debates on the merits of the I.R.A.

* * *

Contraceptives, and sale of, are banned in the Irish Republic because of religious reasons. This means that Protestants can't get them either. Which is unfair and should be changed.

It also means that *coitus interruptus* is practised wherever one or two of you are conjoined. Over the years, this is bound to have an effect on the national character, don't you think?

Ed. query: (Happiness quotient not any higher in more liberal societies either. How come?)

* * *

In a few years time, you mark my words, Mr. Editor, Ireland will be united, both parts joined with the U.K. in a federated Britain in a federated Europe with one huge-pugey common market.

(Big soft Dutch girls will come on vacations.)

Already the heavy men have moved in:

Litany of the Saints (rev. version, cognizance to be taken of new ecumenical spirit, a spokesman said, would not comment further.)

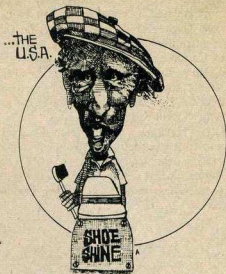
To wit: Goodyear Tyres, Metal Box, Dupont, U.S. Corrugated Paper, Bank of Nova Scotia, Rio Tinto Zinc, Gulf Oil, Ansbacher, Krupps, Enkalon Fibres, ICI, Michelin, British Oxygen, ora pro nobis, priez pour nous and pray friz.

Well, the nation state was a pain in the ass anyway.

But all that blood, all that blood...

Patrick MacFadden, *historian and journalist*, recently visited his native Ireland and wrote this article upon his return.

QUEBEC: INTO THE STREETS



In the winter of 1966, Rene Levesque, then a minister in the Liberal government, spoke in the ballroom at McGill University about reforming Quebec's social welfare schemes.

"The trouble is that you've got a leaking, sinking ship, and people are just bailing the water out. You've got to patch up the holes," said the Family and Social Welfare Minister, and strained to hear what someone in the back row was yelling.

What the fellow at the back said was: "Why the hell don't we get a new ship?"

Nationalist demonstrations are not a phenomenon in Quebec. Neither are militant, bloody strikes. French university students have conducted political protest demonstrations at least since 1901, when they opposed sending Quebecois to fight for British imperialism in the Boer war.

Thirty thousand people marched through Montreal in 1885 to protest the hanging of Louis Riel, so calling the Ottawa government racist and repressive is not endemic to the present. You can find the word "imperialist" levelled at the British in Papineau's writings before the abortive 1837 revolt, and again during the anti-conscription riots of 1917.

So today, students march in the streets of Montreal and Quebec by the tens of thousands; strikes plague north-shore mining towns; the unilinguists assault the school system. And a few English cynics who have read a bit about the history of Quebec still take it calmly as "deja vue", pointing out that in this curious corner of North America, it is, like acne, just a nuisance that comes and goes.

But most English in Quebec know that, today, things are different.

It was not "violence" that shocked them last October 7, when students and taxi drivers ripped apart the buses and cars of Murray Hill Limousine Co. while the entire Montreal police force was on strike. They had seen violence before; they had seen the Stock Exchange bombed, they had watched the riot squad wade into a crowd, swinging their three-foot batons. Nor was it the sight of a few thousand Quebecois in the streets, for that too is quite familiar.

What shocked the English was the painful realization that it is no longer possible to isolate labor problems, the educational system, or language questions—that these are all being attacked together. Militant labor leaders were actively supporting student strikes, students allied with taxi drivers to attack the Murray Hill monopoly. And the greatest shock of all came when the police began behaving like any other labor group, and struck. The lines were drawn

frightfully clear that night. The English press across Canada called it a night of terror. It was, for the English.

The great new fear, born of a realization that the problems can no longer be isolated, is coupled with an even greater change from the Quebec of decades past — the Quebecois has begun to realize the same thing. If the teacher demonstrates against his low salary, he is only a corporatist, self-interested protester. But when he joins other workers in a cause that is not supposed to be his own particular concern, he exhibits the kind of solidarity that is the password to liberation. The English call it insurrection.

In 1962, a few hundred students from l'Universite de Montreal demonstrated peacefully in front of the Canadian National Railway's head office in downtown Montreal. It was the first big nationalist demonstration of the sixties, and

Quebec Francais

it was protesting the CNR's policy of not hiring French-speaking senior executives. The students burned a Canadian red ensign flag and an effigy of CNR president Donald Gordon.

The great "separatism" debate was on. Toronto theatre groups began inviting Quebec companies to cross the border and show off their cultural wares to the cognoscenti, and Berlitz started raking in a fortune.

The next year, the first Front de Liberation Quebecois (FLQ) blew up several of Her Majesty's royal mailboxes in English speaking Westmount.

In 1969, the FLQ was bombing the Montreal Stock Exchange and the head office of Noranda Mines Ltd. And when it hit Westmount, it hit the home of the president of Murray Hill Limousine Services, chief enemy of Montreal's increasingly militant taxi drivers.

The nationalist demonstrations were even bigger, but the demonstrators were talking about more than having executives speak French. When they attacked McGill University, they attacked it not only as an English bastion but as a bastion of English capital.

Citizens' committees were forming to fight the landlords and trust companies — and they soon got the point that the landlords and the banks were English.

The president of the Montreal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions was marching in demonstrations for French unilingualism. In Quebec, Michel Chartrand said, capital speaks English and the worker speaks French. A handful of English speaking socialists agreed, and marched for unilingualism too.

If Chartrand was right, and the national and social question are indivisible, why only now, 200 years after the Conquest, is there a movement contesting both.

As recently as 1920, Quebec was still largely rural and backward. There had been some development in the textile and lumber-paper industries, by British and, latterly, American capital. But not enough to change the base of the value system, and of social organization, as it had stood in essence since the battle on the Plains of Abraham.

Quebec is rich in natural resources — principally minerals, timber and water for hydroelectric power. And it had a crucial plus — an untapped supply of cheap labor. American capital began to move in and overtake the British and Anglo-Canadian interests. In the Thirties, accelerating through World War II and the post-war period, Quebec underwent its major industrial revolution.

Typical of the American entry into Quebec was that of Hollinger-Hanna, a consortium of U.S. steel companies which began exploiting the deposits of iron ore along Quebec's north shore in the late Forties and early Fifties. Hollinger-Hanna consolidated its Canadian operations into the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, which has since sent over 150,000,000 tons of ore to the Cleveland, Ohio, smelters of the Republic, National, Armco, Youngstown and Wheeling Steel companies.

The Duplessis government, in order to attract the steel companies, negotiated a paltry one cent a ton tariff on ore carried out of Quebec. A few years later, when Joey Smallwood negotiated 30 cents a ton from the same companies for iron ore exploitation in Newfoundland, he faced a chorus of critics accusing him of "selling out to American interests for virtually nothing."

From the same roots as the soft words toward American investors sprang Duplessis' use of the big stick against incipient trade unionism. In 1949, he viciously crushed the strike against the U.S.-owned Johns-Manville Co. at Asbestos, sending in waves of Quebec Provincial Police (virtually a private Union Nationale army at the time) to break up picket lines and run through truckloads of scabs. Asbestos set a pattern that was to be repeated throughout the 1950's.

As a result, American capital came into Quebec on its own terms, and the wages of the French worker stayed well below that of his English counterpart. This was reflected in the educational system, or rather systems. English schools were better equipped, more scientifically oriented, and better financed. French schools were characterized by poor teaching and clerical control, at the lower levels, and by a stress on classical disciplines like Greek and Latin, at the higher levels. Common professions for the better-off French were law, medicine, the clergy.

Those who sought decent-paying jobs learned English, and educated their children to speak English. This applied even to the French upper-middle class, because to be a corporation lawyer, for example, one had to speak English.

The Union Nationale government, despite the aggressive quasi-nationalist stance in favor of provincial autonomy that it frequently took against Ottawa, was a convenient ally for the English commercial and industrial elite. Since the government accepted the need to accommodate foreign capital and keep the mass of the population in a cheap labor pool, the St. James Street Boys were more than happy to fill the Union Nationale coffers at election time — another key part of the strange alliance behind Duplessis.

Thus, the English commercial and industrial bosses, and the branch managers of American capital, maintained their domination over the French population by supporting a native class of rois negres (former Le Devoir editor Andre Laurendeau's phrase, comparing the Quebec bourgeoisie to the black African chiefs who served colonialism).

To paraphrase Michel Chartrand: Capital spoke English, Labor spoke French, and the government was bilingual.

The Union Nationale was re-elected time and again as a result of the backing of the rural areas (Montreal was pre-

ponderantly Liberal). In return, it supplied material assistance such as farm loans, road development, telephones, and various forms of patronage. On the cultural level, they protected the farmers and the Church from the centralizing Liberal influence of Ottawa.

By the later Fifties, however, the shaky alliance was breaking down.

The labor movement grew in militance proportionate to Duplessis' repression, and became a powerful force by 1959. Quebec's intellectuals and professionals were discontented with government disregard for such liberal values as freedom of the press and labor's right to unionize. But most important, the needs of capital were changing: capital now demanded skilled labor and a government that provided technocrats to plan roads, hydroelectric power, and communications systems. It needed a new managerial elite.

The Quebec Liberal Party, meanwhile, was building the sort of team that would be able to reorient Quebec along these lines.

Maurice Duplessis, undisputed "Chef" of the Union Nationale for 23 years, died a quiet death in the Iron Ore Company of Canada's palatial guest house in Schefferville on September 18, 1959.

The Liberals, under former federal Northern Development and Natural Resources minister Jean Lesage, moved in with a promise to "open the window and air the place out." To the workers they promised reforms of the labor code, and a revamped social welfare scheme. To the intellectuals and young technocrats they promised educational reform. To the investors and corporations, they promised a smooth administration and a host of skilled managers and technocrats.

On June 22, 1969, the Union Nationale was defeated. Lesage was in, and he delivered on the promises. The notaries and small-town politicians were replaced by a new generation of technocrats — young sociologists, economists, engineers and planners from the universities and the corporations. It was called "The Quiet Revolution."

For two years, Quebec experienced a period of rising confidence, as labor leaders, students, and technocrats defined the needs of their own particular sectors. Confidence peaked with the 1962 election. It was fought on the issue of whether or not to nationalize the hydroelectric power companies. Natural Resources Minister Rene Lesvesque fought for nationalization, and won. Lesage broke out the election slogan that raised eyebrows in Ottawa: *Maitres Chez Nous* — Masters in Our Own House.

Quebec should produce its own engineers, set up its own laboratories, modernize its own schools, launch its own industries, and generally provide for the needs of its own people.

But while the government could give workers the right of collective bargaining, it could provide neither the wage hikes they demanded, nor security against price increases.

While it could draw the blueprint for educational reforms, it could not pay for them.

The nationalization of Hydro may have seemed a proud moment, but it was perhaps not nationalization in the strict sense: Quebec bought the companies from the private interests that controlled them. But Quebec could not buy back all of its sold and stolen resources. The Liberals had come in on a wave of rising expectations, and briefly rode its crest, but in the end, they drowned.

Over sixty per cent of Quebec's industry is U.S.-owned. The rest is owned largely by interests in Britain and English Canada. Representative of this domination is one Canadian mining corporation, Toronto-based Noranda Mines Ltd., which controls a whole series of company towns across northern Quebec. In the largest and oldest of these, Rouyn-Noranda, Noranda and its subsidiary, Queumont Mines, employ 2200 of the 30,000 residents. When the city government wants to build a park, it has to get the company's approval — and grant it an option to take over the land whenever it wants. The local newspaper is owned outright by Noranda Mines. Attempts at farming in the area have all failed — because of the soot from Noranda's smelter.

McGill Francais

The grip on Quebec is often more subtle, though it takes little effort to unearth. An example of how the economic domination of the American and Anglo-Canadian capitalists has perverted the social structure, and served the English (17 per cent of the population) at the expense of the French (83 per cent) comes from a suppressed study made by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The study, leaked last year to the Montreal daily *La Presse*, revealed that in Quebec, a Canadian of British origin, unilingual, earns an average yearly salary of \$5,502. But a bilingual British-Canadian earns an average of \$4,772. A bilingual French Canadian earns \$4,350 a year average, while a unilingual French Canadian earns \$3,099.

If effect, it means that a unilingual British-Canadian in Quebec earns \$1,152 more a year than a bilingual French Canadian.

Furthermore, a British-Canadian who is unilingual earns \$730 more than a fully bilingual British-Canadian in Quebec.

The report leaves unstated what this means for the idea of bilingualism as a solution to the "national problem", but it states the obvious conclusion itself: "In Quebec, it pays to not speak French."

The study further revealed that:

- Quebec is the only province in the country in which a unilingual British Canadian earns more than a bilingual one.
- Canadians of British origin have incomes 10 per cent higher than the average in every province, except in Quebec, where they earn 40 per cent more than the average.
- English managerial personnel in Quebec earn \$6,234 more than English workers, whereas French Canadian managers earn \$3,308 more than French Canadian workers.

It also shows that a French Canadian who goes to university will up his income less than an English, Jewish or Italian Canadian who goes to university (almost invariably English) — demonstrating the economic advantages of English education for immigrants.

Finally, of 14 national groups whose incomes were studied, the British earned the most, while the three lowest groups, from bottom up, were native Indians, Italians, and French Canadians.

Not only are the Quebecois, 83 per cent of the population, not Masters in their Own House, they are servants. And poorly-paid ones at that.

The Liberals had failed to deliver, and the Union Nationale, revamped by its leader, Daniel Johnson, began capitalizing on the frustrated expectations, and the Liberals' neglect of the rural areas. In June, 1966, the Liberals fell by a narrow margin to the Union Nationale, and the policy of low-wages to attract foreign capital returned. But there were some disturbing statistics in the election returns — *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale*; 9 per cent.

Since 1963 the RIN, Quebec's first significant independence party in this century, had been building a base among those who intended to achieve the promise of *Maitres Chez Nous* in the only way that seemed feasible, given the Liberals' failure — through an independent Quebec. The first RIN members, according to surveys at the time, were the rising new middle class and academics, white-collar workers who wanted to reach decision-making levels in business.

The RIN also attracted a mixed bag of groups who rejected the Liberal option: students, journalists, artists, union leaders, and workers. Soon, a left wing took shape.

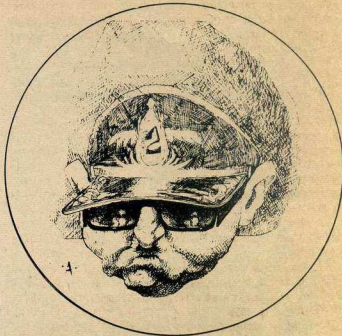
The RIN was sharply split: there was a distinct right and left. The left garnered most of the publicity and organized most of the actions, making the RIN a party that would take to the streets if necessary. The left wing, led by Mme. Andree Ferretti, held that since Quebec was controlled by foreign capital, along with a domestic English elite, there could be no "independence" without reforming the economic and social system.

The ideological differences led to strained relations within the party. After a series of power plays, a final break came in March, 1968 and a radical wing left to form the *Front de Liberation Populaire* (FLP). The FLP, which has participated in organizing every major demonstration in Quebec this year, was formed to fight not only for independence, but for socialist independence.

The growth of support for the independence movement also spawned another party. Rene Levesque, who had built up a vast personal following during the Lesage administration, saw that cutting constitutional ties with Canada would enable the planning of a rational economy in Quebec — and would open up more high positions for the native population. In the fall of 1967 he was forced out of the Liberal Party and formed the *Mouvement Souverainete-Association*, aiming at a separate Quebec in a Common-market economic union with Canada.

Levesque's MSA grew, as disaffected Liberals and left-liberal nationalists rallied behind its charismatic leader. But it was only an interim organization, the first step towards a single, broad-based independence party. In 1968, the right-wing *Rassemblement National* (led by Gilles Gregoire, a former federal *Creditiste* MP) united with the MSA to form the *Parti Quebecois*. The RIN soon dissolved and most of its members joined the new party.

There was no room in the *Parti Quebecois* for socialists of the *Front de Liberation Populaire*. In 1969, the PQ still proposed to continue Quebec's affair with outside investors and drew its support mainly from the middle class. The FLP began to mobilize working class support and prepared to take to the streets.



Outside Quebec it appeared that the changes of the Quiet Revolution were building a strong French Canada within the federal structure, that there would be conflicts but, as Quebec leaders were constantly saying, the final outcome would be good.

However, change within Quebec had its own momentum. The Liberal team of technocrats was opening doors long closed giving the promise of a new tomorrow. When they were unable to keep the promise, many decided to see it fulfilled by other means.

A sense of history and the power of people to make it seeped into Quebec; it was impossible to apply the brakes. Through 1967, 1968, 1969 the pace quickened, the conflicts that had always been there grew sharper, broader, and more bitter.

One of the first things the Liberal government did after taking office was to commission a study of education in Quebec, as a basis for modernizing the system to meet changing needs. The result was the Parent Report — a weighty, historic document that recommended an end to church control, uniting of the English and French systems, and the creation of a new form of higher education to replace the old colleges classiques, whose curriculum had consisted of Latin, Greek, and Thomistic philosophy. These new institutions were to be very different. They were to turn out the technically-trained people so badly needed in the new, confident Quebec, and to serve as pre-university way stations for the apprentices of the new elite.

In 1967, the Union Nationale government finally got the first of these general and professional colleges (CEGEPs) off the ground — but they were a rush job. They were set up in physically inadequate converted colleges classiques, administrative organization was virtually nonexistent, and their creation had not been co-ordinated with other aspects of government planning. Far more students than had been expected chose the pre-university course — and university

places for them did not exist. Worst of all, the jobs the CEGEPs had been created to fill did not exist either.

Two years later, Industry and Commerce Minister Jean-Paul Beaudry admitted, "These schools were set up to raise the technological competence of our labor force. But these activities were not co-ordinated with those of the department of Industry and Commerce...Now students are clamoring and we are just catching up in being able to provide jobs for them."



In September, 1968, sixteen new CEGEPs were added to the seven opened a year earlier. Less than a month later, the lid blew off. CEGEP Lionel-Groulx in the Montreal suburb of Ste. Therese was occupied on October 8, 1968; within a few days the revolt had spread throughout the system, as students struck, occupied their buildings, and forced the schools to close. Two weeks later, 10,000 CEGEPians were in the streets demanding a less repressive education, a new French-language university — and jobs.

But soon they were back in classes, with conditions, if anything, worse than before. The government's response was to intensify repression (student leaders were expelled, newspapers closed, public assemblies banned) and to step up its search for investment ("I intend to make trips to the U.S. — often," Beaudry said. "Possibly Germany will be on the itinerary in the next few months. I'll go anywhere if there is a chance of gaining something for Quebec.")

Out of the CEGEP struggle grew a new student movement in Quebec. Members of the Mouvement Syndical et Politique (MSP), formed in the spring of 1969, had become aware that the problems of the CEGEPs were not isolated. Their organization, unlike the dying Union Generale des Etudiants du Quebec (UGEQ), which had proved unable to meet the needs of the CEGEP students, was voluntary and cellular in structure. The MSP aimed at attacking the whole economic system of Quebec, for no matter what the government wanted, nothing could be done until it controlled Quebec's resources — that was why there was no new university and no jobs.

At the same time, a crisis was developing over another anomaly of the Quebec education system.

Although 83 per cent of the population is French-speaking, the position of the French language in Quebec is under heavy strain. French Canadians had survived for generations by winning "the battle of the cradle," but now the Quebec birth rate is rapidly declining. Also, American media exert a heavy Anglicizing pressure. Most important because the language of work is English, French Quebecois have to learn English in order to get ahead, and immigrants to Quebec assimilate into the higher-income English community 19 times out of 20. The instrument of this assimilation is the separate English education system the Quebec government generously provides for its minority. Indications are that if this trend continues, Montreal will have an English majority within ten years.

In the east-end, working and lower middle class Montreal suburb of St-Leonard, a new group arose in an attempt to reverse the trend. A year later, the leader of the group was being charged with sedition.

In St-Leonard, a substantial minority of Italian immigrants had been going to 'bilingual' primary schools (70 per cent of the class time was English, the rest French) and then on to English secondary schools and jobs. The Mouvement pour l'Integration Scolaire (MIS — school integration movement), contested the 1968 St-Leonard school board elections on a platform of phasing out the bilingual classes and replacing them with French. The MIS candidates won by large majorities, and the reaction in English Montreal was hysterical.

Partly as a result of this, the Union Nationale government introduced a bill in December, 1968, that would entrench the educational privileges of the English minority.

Bill 85 proposed to set up a linguistic committee, with ten French-speaking members and five from the 17 per cent English minority. The Committee would designate schools as French or English, final authority resting with the minister of education. While the bill was not explicit in guaranteeing the English position, it would have served to prevent school boards from taking action that would challenge it. Clauses like the one 'encouraging' immigrants to speak French — while leaving the final choice up to parents and the free play of economic forces — made the purpose of Bill 85 quite clear — there would be no more St-Leonards.

The Bill satisfied nobody. The English complained that it didn't go far enough in guaranteeing their rights. The MIS saw all its work in St-Leonard being scuttled. It realized that its struggle went far beyond the boundaries of a small suburb, and conducted demonstrations against the bill in Quebec City.

Around the same time, a small group of MIS militants occupied the data centre at Montreal's wealthy, English-language McGill University, and were promptly evicted by police.

Attacked from both sides, the government eventually shelved Bill 85 (temporarily, as it turned out) and set up the Gendron Commission to carry out a global study of the language question. Meanwhile, the MIS was growing rapidly, and the time was ripe for an alliance between the unilingualist group and the dispossessed CEGEP students against what both now perceived as a common enemy.

The target they chose was McGill University. The CEGEP students saw the relation between the lack of university places and the existence of an institution that ate up 22

per cent of the government's university grants, but was closed to them — because its fees were the highest in Quebec, because it maintained a discriminatory admissions policy, and most of all, because it was English. The MIS — which had changed its name to the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire (LIS) — saw it as a blatant symbol of English privilege.

Operation McGill consisted of a massive information campaign and a march to the university's locked gates on March 28, 1969. Its slogans were 'McGill francais' and 'McGill aux Quebecois'. It was the first major common front action — allied along with the LIS and the CEGEP students (organized in the MSP and independent action committees) were the FLP, the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), the Mouvement de Liberation du Taxi, action committees in factories, citizens' committees, and a small group of English-speaking McGill radicals who saw that the critical university they sought, serving the people and allied with the progressive forces in society, would, in the specific case of McGill, have to be a French-language institution.

Operation McGill pamphlets, and an eight-page tabloid paper put out by McGill radicals and distributed in CEGEPs and factories, linked the language question to the forces that ran McGill University and were served by it so well. McGill's Board of Governors boasted representatives of major corporations from the Bank of Montreal (seven directors) to Abitibi Paper to Bell Canada to U.S. Steel.

A sensitive spot had been hit, and a powerful alliance rose up to defend it. It included the McGill Administration (and the vast majority of McGill students); the press, both English and French language; local, provincial and federal police; the Union Nationale government, the Liberal opposition, and, significantly, Parti Quebecois leader Rene Levesque (who still talked about the need for American investment in a separate Quebec). An atmosphere of hysteria prevailed. In the week before the march, the media conducted a scare campaign. Operation McGill organizers were arrested on the street and in taverns. The Canadian army was placed on standby.

On March 28, at least 10,000 people took to the streets (led by LIS president Raymond Lemieux and soon-to-be-fired McGill political science lecturer Stanley Gray) but, as the marchers' slogans pointed out, it was only the beginning.

Mourrez Hill au poteau

The new wave that hit Quebec politics in 1960 was not restricted to the Lesage Liberals; that same year Jean Drapeau was elected Mayor of Montreal on promises to "clean up the city" of its corruption, provide better services for its citizens and generally bring progress to the metropolis. As mayor, he toured the world, feted the appropriate visitors, and successively built the city's stainless steel skyline, a super-efficient subway system and an island playland in the St. Lawrence River.

Meanwhile, jobs for unskilled labor steadily decreased; urban unemployment remained higher in Quebec than Ontario. Drapeau could claim 935 low-cost housing units put up during his tenure. Toronto constructed 12,645, Vancouver (with less than half Montreal's population) 1,350 for the same period. Thirty-eight per cent of Montreal citizens were below or teetering precariously on the poverty line — \$3000 a year.

In 1965, a sociologist at l'Universite de Montreal told the Montreal Labour Council: "The heart of Montreal is rotting in poverty". So it was no surprise to find Comites des Citoyens (Citizens' committees) popping up in the poorest areas, organizing service projects to cope with the necessities of life — food cooperatives, medical clinics and revitalization loans. The committees also engaged in political activity, mostly around unemployment and housing.

The Front de Liberation Populaire (FLP) entered the community struggles, linking the poverty and unemployment problems to Montreal and Quebec government policies. Comites des Ouvriers (Workers Committees) began organizing around their factories, as offshoots of the citizens' committees. In August, 1969, the various popular committees and the FLP organized Operation Alerte, a campaign focussing on the critical job shortage. Workers and unemployed demonstrated in front of provincial government offices in Montreal with placards reading "Jobs — or there will be trouble" and "Le faim justifie les moyens" (hunger justifies the means).

But Mayor Drapeau and Executive Committee Chairman Lucien Saulnier were also facing the anger of another group of Montrealers — the taxi drivers. Many of these had supported Drapeau in 1960 by taking voters to the polls; in exchange Drapeau was to grant their demands upon the City. But by the fall of 1968 this had not been done: the drivers were still facing unfair discrimination in favor of the Murray Hill Limousine Service, and were suffering more than the average worker in the city. A militant group decided they had waited long enough. Led by 55-year-old cabbie Germain Archambeault, they formed the Mouvement de Liberation du Taxi, convinced that direct action was the only way of obtaining decent treatment.

There are about 1,000 more cabs in Montreal than the city can support, giving each taxi driver (many more than cars) a wage of between \$.75 and \$1.00 an hour. They have no unemployment, pension or medical benefits. Further, job conditions have made unions impractical. And operating right beside them was one of the largest Canadian transportation firms, the Murray Hill Limousine Service — enjoying a monopoly of Montreal International Airport traffic, as well as running charter buses, ambulances, long distance transport and taxi service from the major hotels to the airport.

In the fall of 1968, a Mouvement de Liberation du Taxi member spoke at a large CEGEP student rally. A few weeks later, student supporters accompanied taxi drivers to the airport. There they celebrated the 60th anniversary of Murray Hill — limousines were overturned and set on fire, and molotov cocktails were hurled at Murray Hill buses.

The pamphlet announcing the action read in part: "4316 taxis times 6 passengers equals 25,896 demonstrators. We demand the complete disparition of the cancer that is daily eating away at our Way Bill. Oct 30 is the beginning of a series of demonstrations that will continue without let up until our complete victory".

But alienating the taxi drivers was not the Drapeau-Saulnier administration's worst blunder.

The job of a policeman in Quebec contains elements not found elsewhere. Apart from normal beat duty, he has to defend institutions like McGill University and the Union Nationale from his ethnic and class brothers. A Quebec cop is a French-speaking worker, only slightly better-paid than the average. In Montreal in particular, where the situation has been hottest over the last year, many police have become conscious of the contradiction between that and wielding a **matraque** or risking being maimed by a molotov cocktail in defense of English capital. On top of that, the police were involved in a protracted dispute with the city over wages and working conditions.

Both the police and the firemen were demanding wage parity with their counterparts in more placid Toronto; but the city, its coffers depleted to the extent that Mayor Drapeau now ran a lottery to raise money, could not or would not agree. Their demands were sent to compulsory arbitration; in each case a judge appointed by the Quebec government, one man appointed by the city and one appointed by the brotherhood were to decide the new contract.

The firemen learned their result first, on October 4. It was \$8,000 — a Toronto fireman earns \$9,009. In a fury they stormed to **Le Vaisseau d'Or**, Drapeau's posh new restaurant in the Windsor Hotel. Montreal police kept them in line. Two days later, the police got theirs — \$8,480, \$700 less than they were demanding.

The next morning, the overnight police shift left work and called a meeting of the Brotherhood at the Paul Sauve Arena. The morning shift came on — and joined them. The city streets were without police. The firefighters were impressed. They walked out too.

The police continued their Brotherhood meeting all day, avoiding a strike declaration. Montreal radicals visited them, chatting with the cops about how their struggles sprang from the same source. The police did not show immediate support, but they discussed the idea seriously.

With the police on strike, the taxi drivers decided to act. In late afternoon they paraded in front of City Hall in support of the cops; to them, Drapeau was a common enemy, and they wanted to impress this upon the policemen. They remembered that Charles Hershorn, President of the formidable Murray Hill Limousine service had, earlier that year when Drapeau threatened to resign, written to *The Montreal Star*:

"... Please call on me for any assistance I can render. Mayor Drapeau has given Montreal unexampled leadership and I join gladly in any movement to keep him at the helm, confident that he will steer through the present choppy waters to calm and sunnier seas with all flags flying — including that of Expo's offspring."

Now the ship was becoming battered and the cabbies were determined to strengthen the storm. They went from City Hall to the Murray Hill garage. First there was a minor skirmish with Murray Hill employees, and a couple of buses were rammed into the side of the garage. Then a couple began firing from the roof of the garage into the cabbies. The fight escalated; in the ensuing barrage of molotov cocktails and gunfire several demonstrators were injured, two buses set aflame and plainclothes Quebec Provincial Police-man Cpl. Robert Dumas killed.

The struggle lasted three hours, then the taxi drivers and their student supporters left for the Murray Hill hotel pick-up points. The windows of the Queen Elizabeth were smashed; the students saw the significance and spread... to IBM, Drapeau's restaurant, the Sheraton Mount Royal, Eaton's McGill University — symbolic violence which picked out only the English rulers and their native supporters.

At that point onlookers got another idea. If Eaton's windows were broken, there was no reason not to sample their "consumer goods". Some took what they wanted, others merely vented their long-repressed frustrations.

But it was not only Montreal that was hitting choppy waters, the Union Nationale government, elected in 1966, was having difficulty combining its nationalistic **Quebec D'Abord** (Quebec First) election slogan with attraction of more outside investment. And the movement against it was growing across Quebec.

Under the leadership of Daniel Johnson, author of *Equality or Independence*, it maintained a tough nationalist image, highlighted by the visit of President de Gaulle and the General's Quebec Libre speech in Montreal in 1967. But Johnson who could draw some fire away from the independence groups and pacify everyone (for a time, at least) died in office in September, 1968. The less skilled, more "moderate" Jean-Jacques Bertrand took over as interim leader and promised a leadership convention for June 1969.

Education Minister Jean-Guy Cardinal, who had been appointed to the cabinet by Johnson as almost his designated successor, ran against Bertrand for the leadership on a platform that emphasized a stronger nationalist stance. But the real opposition lay outside: discontented civil servants and teachers (who had gone two years without a contract) planned to march on the convention in Quebec City. The Front de Liberation Populaire quickly organized its Montreal allies to join in.

Also, the Ligue pour l'Integration Scolaire (LIS) saw a good opportunity to demonstrate against the party's equivocal language policies, and the CEGEP students for jobs and more university space. They all allied, and the result was Operation Congres — a challenge to the overall role of the Union Nationale in Quebec. But probably the most significant element of the growing common front was the participation of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), through the angry civil servants' union and through the Montreal Council.

The CNTU, made up of Quebec-based unions, is not the largest labor body in Quebec, nor has it been involved in the most militant strikes; the rival Quebec Federation of Labor, which encompasses the American-based international unions, has been at centre stage with its large mining and textile locals. But in the last few years it has been CNTU unions (hospital workers, bus drivers, teachers, civil servants) that have had to bargain directly with the government. Shoddy offers, dishonest government negotiating tactics, and Union Nationale back-to-work legislation have led to increasing militancy.

At the heart of the CNTU stands the Montreal Council, whose president, Michel Chartrand, fought the UN in the bloody Asbestos strike of 1949 alongside Pierre Trudeau (then an intellectual working actively against Duplessis), Jean Marchand (then a militant union leader), and Jean Drapeau (then a radical labor lawyer). But Chartrand is

still on the workers' side and he drew cheers with an address to the crowd in Quebec City as it was about to march on the Colisee de Quebec, where the UN congress was being held. Workers saw the links Chartrand was drawing between their interests and those of groups fighting on national and language issues.



Increasingly, the Union Nationale was unable to overcome the contradictions of its traditional policy and the growth of the resistance to it. In October, although the Gendron Commission it had set up had only begun its hearings, it introduced another version of its language of education bill: Bill 63.

Bill 63 spelled out what Bill 85 had only hinted at: English-language education would be provided wherever there was demand for it. Partly for that reason, and partly because of the changed climate, the English were now solidly behind the bill—and that meant that it would go through. The French community, on the other hand, was even more solidly opposed. The Front de Quebec Francais (FQF) was formed, uniting over 100 groups including the LIS, the FLP, the MSP, the Chartrand wing of the CNTU (which succeeded in getting the entire Union to reverse an earlier stand in support of the bill), newly formed LIS action committees in universities (Comite d'Action de l'LIS—CALIS, a play on a French swear-word), almost the entire faculty and students, English-speaking radicals in the Committee for a Socialist Independent Quebec, and the St. Jean Baptiste Society. The FQF mobilized 30,000 people in the streets of Montreal on October 29 and even more outside the National Assembly in Quebec City; but their opinions did not count.

For at the same time, the Bank of Montreal was presenting a brief to the Gendron commission saying that since English is the common denominator of high finance in

North America and Europe, it is no surprise that most of the communications from the Bank's head office are in English. It would be a difficult, costly, and an impractical undertaking, the brief went on, to make French the language of the banking business.

In the 1940s and '50s, the primary threat to the power of the Duplessis regime had come from militant labor unions. The premier's response had become a Union Nationale trademark—arrests, clubs, rampaging provincial police. Now, the main threat came from the streets. The response of Duplessis' successors was the same, even down to details.

The crackdown was at first aimed at individual groups—CEGEP students, citizens' committees—and, more recently, has expanded into a general attack on the whole movement.

It started with repression in the CEPEPs after the occupations of October, 1968. Then, during the planning of Operation McGill, the police began harassing organizers, detaining them for questioning, and searching their homes. Later, the offices of Comites des Citoyens and Comites des Ouvriers were raided, their files confiscated, their leaders detained for questioning. During the Union Nationale congress in Quebec City, sixteen people were arrested for distributing the FLP newspaper *La Masse*, and after the Operation Congress march a temporary LIS headquarters was raided and twenty more arrests were made. In September, Michel Chartrand of the CNTU was detained on a year-old ticket and charged that Quebec was becoming a "police state" (a few weeks earlier his statement had been given substance by new Quebec Justice Minister Remi Paul, who announced "anti-terrorist" measures that involved giving the police wide discretionary powers and granting legal sanction to the tactics that had been used since March).

The terrorism which Paul was attacking was the increasing bomb explosions directed by the third Front de Liberation Quebecois. The first, in 1963, hit mailboxes and armories; it was aimed solely at the federal connection. The second, of 1965-66, moved into labor struggles, planting bombs at such places as Dominion Textiles and the LaGrenade Shoe Co., both with anti-labor policies; it was this organization which included Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon.

The third began in 1968, hitting strike bound companies, federal buildings and, significantly, centres of Anglo-American capital and provincial political parties (e.g. 7-Up during a bitter strike, the Stock Exchange, the Liberal Party's Reform Club, the homes of Charles Hershorn, President of Murray Hill and Jean Drapeau, Mayor of Montreal).

Like its predecessors the third FLQ was not organically tied to the movement, but its activities reflected the changes in direction in Quebec.

But the symbols of repression in Quebec were two intellectuals who had been the ideological leaders of the 1966 Front de Liberation Quebecois—Pierre Vallieres and Charles Gagnon.

Vallieres and Gagnon were arrested and charged with murder for their roles in the bombing death of Therese Morin, a strikebreaker at the LaGrenade shoe factory, in 1966.

Vallieres and Gagnon's supporters have maintained that they are not criminals at all, but political prisoners. On October 31, 1969 the state hit them with a political charge—sedition.

The sedition clause in the Criminal Code of Canada reads:

Section 60(4): "Without limiting the generality of the meaning of the expression 'seditious intention', everyone shall be presumed to have a seditious intention who (a) teaches or advocates, or (b) publishes or circulates any writing that advocates the use without the authority of law of force as a means of accomplishing a governmental change within Canada."

Section 62: "Everyone who (a) speaks seditious words, (b) publishes a seditious libel or (c) is a party to a seditious conspiracy is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for 14 years."

The basis of the charge was a book, *Les Negres Blancs d'Amerique*, written by Vallieres in prison. The prosecution presented such excerpts from the book as "global revolution ... must be organized — intelligently, morally, politically and militarily — into a truly revolutionary force..." and "...the white Negroes of America are determined to smash, once and for all, the yoke of slavery and to take over control of their own destiny..." to back up its case.

Sedition is a rarely-used charge, but this was the second time it had been applied within two months. Following an LIS march in St-Leonard in September, during which the riot act was read, Raymond Lemieux, Laurier Gravel, another LIS leader, and ex-boxer Reggie Chartrand of Les Chevaliers de l'Independance, were also hit with sedition charges. Like Vallieres and Gagnon, they are now awaiting trial.

This was one part of a marked intensification of the repression campaign. An anti-repression march called Operation Liberation, demanding the release of Vallieres and

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Gagnon and the resignation of Remi Paul, and tying in repression with such questions as Bill 63, St-Leonard, and McGill was already being planned for November 7 when the police mutiny happened. At that point, Montreal Executive Committee Chairman Saulnier, federal Prime Minister Trudeau and a little-known Quebec lawyer entered the fray.

Saulnier lit out after the Quebec branch of the federally-sponsored Company of Young Canadians, accusing it of harboring subversives and demanding a Royal Commission to investigate it. The nature of the Company's activities had been known for a long time and Saulnier's timing suggested that he was trying to deflect mounting criticism of his administration for its role in the October 7 uprising.

Trudeau made the usual attack on "subversives", and threw in another favorite bogeyman — the French-language network of the CBC, some of whose broadcasters are independentists. He demanded the network be "more balanced" politically or the government might "put the lid on." His speech, to a \$50-a-plate Liberal fundraising dinner in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, prompted *Le Devoir* to run a cartoon of an elegantly-dressed man with a key standing on a copy of *Cite Libre*, the intellectual journal through which Trudeau carried on his fight against Duplessis and his "Padlock Law" in the 1950s. "Enough of this nonsense," it quoted from the speech.

Lawyer Anthony Malcolm, chairman of the Canada Committee and vice-president of the Quebec section of the Liberal Federation of Canada was next. In a speech to the Mount Royal Women's club, he named 27 "subversives" operating in Quebec and charged that members of the Quebec movement were being trained in Cuba, had financial support from the Palestinian guerrilla group Al Fatah, and were also receiving help from Algeria, the Soviet Union, and the Black Panther Party in the United States.

Quebecois dans la rue

It was in this atmosphere that 3,000 people gathered in the rain in Montreal's Lafontaine Park on November 7 and marched to the Palais de Justice. The slogans were militant and a few molotov cocktails were thrown, but by and large the demonstration was peaceful. Then, on the way to l'Universite du Quebec for a rally, the cry went up, "A la rue St-Jacques!" and the demonstrators marched through the city's financial district. At first they were only chanting slogans, then someone broke a bank window, and before the police broke up the demonstration with motorcycles the windows of many of Quebec's major corporations and financial institutions had been smashed and several rocks thrown into the offices of *The Montreal Star*.

The next day, Saulnier announced that the Executive Committee would take into its own hands the power to ban demonstrations and public assemblies at will. "It is because we have neither money nor official propaganda on our side that we have to take to the streets," Raymond Lemieux commented. "And we will take to the streets again."

On November 10, Michel Chartrand became the sixth person in less than two months to be charged with sedition in Quebec.

One member of the Toronto left came to Montreal for the Operation Liberation march, and found himself on St. James St. being charged by rows of cops on motorcycles. Horrified, he grabbed the midnight flight back to Toronto.

Another Toronto radical listened to a Montreal friend describe the feelings of liberation and collective consciousness in the crowd that marched down Ste-Catherine St. during the police strike, smashing the windows of English businesses. "I don't believe this kind of thing can happen," he said.

But Quebecois had grown used to motorcycle cops, arbitrary arrests, and sedition charges.

And they know that the kind of thing that occurred October 7 can and does happen, and would happen again.

This report on recent events in Quebec was compiled by Peter Allnutt and Robert Chodos.



THE POLITICS OF WHEAT

SASKATOON

When this country's eastern millionaire Prime Minister came to the west last July, he muffed his lines. He came, he saw, but he did not conquer. Faced with a crisis among western farmers that had already led to tractor demonstrations and mass rallies, Trudeau chose to inflame, rather than to calm the farmers' anger.

"I didn't get into politics to be insulted," he told several thousand demonstrating farmers.

Whatever he did get into politics for, it doesn't seem to be to help farmers. In April, 7,000 farmers demonstrated in Saskatoon to demand changes in the authority of the government-run Canadian Wheat Board within three months. The government did nothing. On July 14, 5,000 farmers blocked major Saskatchewan highways with their tractors to back up demands. Two days later, Trudeau came to Regina, and the

next day to Saskatoon. In a telegram the previous week, he had refused to meet farmers' representatives, so the farmers met him in the Regina and Saskatoon streets.

At the end of the month, a founding convention in Winnipeg approved the formation of a National Farmers Union.

In turning a deaf ear to the farmers' long-standing grievances, Trudeau continued the federal government tradition of protecting the giant corporations that dominate Canadian society.

Many western farmers today can't pay fuel and power bills, taxes or even basic living costs. They have no minimum wage or similar income guarantee. Many are living on borrowed capital to finance a losing operation and working 14 hours a day to do it.

Their situation has deteriorated in the last year because international wheat markets have been lost and farmers can't sell their grain. A bumper crop this year is no help because half of last year's harvest is still in storage. Farmers are faced with

Hobson's choice—borrow still more money for new storage bins or dump the wheat on the ground.

Western farmers are often regarded as wealthy because of their capital assets. A typical Saskatchewan grain farmer with about 1,000 acres will have assets worth about \$100,000–\$48,000 in land, \$40,000 in machinery and \$20,000 in buildings.

But this is often mere paper value unmatched by his income. A federal task force on agriculture reported last spring that 77.6 per cent of all farms had gross sales of \$10,000 or less a year. Net average income for that same 77.6 per cent in 1966 was under \$4,900 a year, with a total of 65 per cent earning less than \$3,800.

"Poverty does not always go around in rags," is the way National Farmers Union president Roy Atkinson puts it.

by DON MITCHELL

Further, much of what appear to be assets of the farmers are the property of banks. From 1960 to 1967 the collective debt of Canadian farmers increased 143 per cent to 3.9 billion dollars. Even assets the farmers do own are now hard to sell because nobody wants to buy a business that's going bankrupt. And the farmer tends to go deeper in debt so he can retain the only means he has of making a living.

Although some farmers own their own means of production, they have little control over their standard of living. Corporate businesses, with government approval, dominate the farmers' markets and their sources of supply.

Two economic forces, in particular, have pushed the farmer's back against the wall—vertical integration in the food industry and the "cost-price squeeze".

Vertical integration means that the farmer competes with, buys from and sells to corporations that establish inflated prices for themselves at every level of agriculture.

Most of Canada's food industry is a monopoly under the volubrious umbrella of the Garfield Weston empire.

According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the basic holding company for the Weston empire is called, appropriately, the "W.G. Weston Charitable Foundation". Corporate charity begins at home and Weston's home is a maze of companies. The "Charitable Foundation" has a controlling ownership of "Wittington Investments Ltd.", which in turn has a controlling ownership of "George Weston Ltd."

After that, the companies proliferate like cockroaches in urban slums. They include such names, many of them household words, as Marven's, McCormick's, W. Neilson Ltd., Weston Bakeries, Willards Chocolate, Eplett Ice Cream, Loblaw's supermarkets and groceries, Westfair Foods, Lanes Bakeries, Dominion Fruit, Ensign Stores, Gateway Foods, High-Low Foods, Western Grocers, Shop-Easy Stores, Northern Potato, etc. For variety, Weston owns the Eddy Paper Company and has lucrative investments in South Africa.

Food that is produced in the maritimes and the prairie provinces must be transported to metropolitan areas like Toronto and Montreal, where processing, packaging, advertising, distribution and sales are controlled by big business. Profits built up along the chain from farm to supermarket represent waste and inefficiency, to the corporations' benefit. Food producers in the maritimes, the prairies and other rural areas are cheated on their produce price, which they cannot control, and pay the highest consumer prices for food. Yet few of the benefits of the food industry return to their community.

Vertical integration in agriculture has expanded beyond the food industry to include supporting industries to agriculture and agricultural production itself.

An example is the National Grain Company, majority owned, according to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, by the U.S.-based Peavey Company. Originally engaged in grain marketing, its operations have expanded to include both food production and the distribution and sale of farm supplies. For instance, a 24,000 capacity hog plant at Abbotsford, B.C., has been started in competition with small farmers.

At the same time, National Grain has joined with U.S. conglomerate Lytton Industries to develop a national chain of farm retail stores to handle everything from farm machinery to refrigerators, groceries and ball point pens.

These National Farm Stores will compete with small town businesses and co-operative stores until the latter are eliminated.

This corporate control of prices and profits creates the "cost-price squeeze" on the farmer. The farmer's income is determined by the difference between his cost of operation and the price he gets when he sells his produce. The "squeeze" between this cost and price is created like this:

- Those who sell to the farmer set for themselves a stable profit-making price, one that has increased steadily over three decades, and has more than doubled since 1945.
- But the farmer, when he sells, cannot set his own price; it is determined by the giants who buy from him and has remained stable or even decreased in the past 20 years.

Both parts of this "cost-price squeeze" are under virtual monopoly control.

For the typical grain farmer, the result of the "cost-price squeeze" is that wheat which once cost less than \$1.00 per bushel to produce, now costs close to \$2.00; while the selling price of wheat, once over \$2.00 per bushel, is now about \$1.65 international and 80 cents domestic feed-grain price.

When faced with western protest movements, the normal response of government has been to set up a royal commission to act as a safety valve, while preserving corporate interests. Compulsory market controls, long demanded by farmers, were only set up in the aftermath of the First World War—not to help the farmers, but to keep prices down. After one year the controls were abandoned until 1943—when it was again necessary to keep prices down. Public marketing authority was set up in 1943, and for a period of 17 years there was relative stability in the wheat market. But, beginning in the late 1950's, corporate agriculture began systematically to break down these controls and place the farmer once more in a position where he could be easily exploited.

The federal government takes its responsibilities to agriculture seriously, and in 1960 it served the corporate interests once again by undermining the authority of the Canadian Wheat Board. A lobby set up through the Canadian Feed Manufacturers Association (CFMA), whose members include elevator companies, feed mills, chemical companies and so on, demanded that feed grains be moved outside the authority of the Wheat Board. Their demand was met.

Today, the vast surplus of wheat which cannot be sold on the international market is being sold on the Canadian wheat market with no price support or control. The members of the CFMA are using their government-approved advantage to move directly into livestock production, making use of the cheap feed they have ensured is available. They are not only breaking grain producers, but also threaten private cattle producers who must involve themselves in the expensive business of growing their own feed.



Government support for agri-business means government support for the trend to larger farming units in more concentrated land areas to ensure cheap farm produce and corporate profits. Department of Agriculture economists predict that only half the present number of farmers will be left in the 1980's. At present, farmers and their families are leaving the farms at the rate of 12,000 a year.

The choice for many thousands of farmers is bleak — rural poverty or urban unemployment. Urban unemployment is already increasing in the west because so much of what industry exists is geared to servicing a declining agricultural community. The hundreds of bankruptcies in small towns dependent on farm income are an accurate reflection of the western farm crisis. Memories of the Depression years may have faded in much of the east; in many parts of the west depression is not a past memory but a present reality.

With monopolies against them on both sides of the "cost-price squeeze", and with government backing the corporate expansion and profit-making, the western farmer must help himself, for no one else will. What can he do?

Western farmers have always been willing to fight.

Collective farmers organizations have been part of western culture since 1900. Their membership has always been voluntary, and has fluctuated according to the political and economic conditions of the region. Lacking formal bargaining power, the farmers unions have always been protest movements, aimed

largely at the federal government in matters of wheat marketing, price supports, and price controls on monopoly products such as farm machinery.

A further stage of co-operation was reached in the 20's and 30's with the co-operative institution which they applied to grain marketing, wholesale and retail consumer sales, and some co-operative farms. Also, they formed the Progressive and United Farmer parties and eventually the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in 1933.

These reformist groups have gradually, but steadily moved away from the base that created them. Always limited in their objectives — reform of the structures of capitalism — they offer the farmers of today no hope.

Signs of the present rebirth of farmer radicalism appeared in the early 1950's when the farmers union in Saskatchewan regenerated itself. But it never went beyond polite politics until the present crisis served as a call to action.

It was the militant atmosphere sparked by this crisis, with its demonstrations and rallies, that greeted Prime Minister Trudeau when he came west last July, and found that farmers took his idea of "participation" more seriously than he ever dreamed, and thought his slogan of "the Just Society" a very bad joke.

The high point of the farmers' militancy was the formation of the National Farmers Union on July 30 and 31, when some 2,000 delegates attended the founding convention in Winnipeg. The purpose was to create a vehicle for collective bargaining, research and organized protest on a national level. Provincial unions, with the exception of Alberta and Quebec, agreed to join the NFU.

The National Farmers Union is still an infant and it is too early to predict how it will grow. Major changes will, however, have to be made if it is to escape the fate of earlier farmers' protest movements.

Those movements failed, to a large extent, because they were, or soon became, reformist rather than radical. In many ways they accepted the traditional concepts of private property, competition and rugged individualism. At best, they might have achieved the same sort of security for their members that has been attained by industrial trade unions.

Today's National Farmers Union also retains many of the basic beliefs of the "free enterprise" system. It is populist, reformist and leadership oriented. It can realistically hope to bargain collectively with the corporate sector to achieve some price controls, and can succeed in lobbying and bringing extra-parliamentary pressure upon the government.

This would help some farmers. But it would not defeat the corporate sector. It would not give the farmers real control over their own lives and over the decisions that shape their future.

To achieve real democracy and justice — a socialist society — the farmers will have to come to grips with the basic question of collective and public ownership.

The radicalism of the militant rank-and-file of the farmers union — considerably greater than that of the leadership — indicates that this road is still open.

Don Mitchell, formerly a vice-president of the Canadian Union of Students, spent the summer organizing for the Farmers Union in Saskatchewan.



GREAT SLAVE LAKE RAILWAY

They
couldn't
have
picked
a
better
name

by Trevor Jones

PINE POINT, Northwest Territories

There were many stories written about the building of the Great Slave Lake Railway in the early sixties, about the drive to reach this "last frontier" in the Canadian Northland. Typical of the romantic indulgence required of journalists on such occasions was this story which appeared in 1964 in *The Ottawa Citizen*:

"The country along the south shore of the Great Slave Lake is as still as death, as it has been for centuries past. It is as if the thick snow in the spruce trees has muffled all the sound.

"Suddenly the stillness is shattered by a sharp, piercing blast from a diesel locomotive.

"Then it really hits home — the realization that steel has penetrated the last frontier; that they've built a railway from

southern Canada to within 400 miles of the Arctic Circle."

But nowhere in the moody epics in any newspaper file in Canada will anyone find the story of R.F. Welch, one of Canadian National Railways favorite construction contractors. And nowhere is there the story of the hundreds of immigrants who built the Great Slave line and the conditions they labored under. Nor did anyone question how they got there.

The Great Slave Lake Railway, extending 378 miles through muskeg, bush and farm land from northern Alberta to the edge of the Great Slave Lake in the Northwest Territories, was built at the cost of \$86 million in federal funds between 1961 and 1967.

Ever since the days of the CPR's Kicking Horse Pass line, in the 1880's hewn out of the Rocky Mountains by a mass labor force of Chinese and Irish immigrants, the Canadian railway industry has learned the value of immigrant labor. Ignorant of the language, of their rights, strangers to labor union traditions, immigrants make the most docile manual labor force available.

The Great Slave Lake Railway is a good example for several reasons.

For one, it is one of the most recent railways built in Canada. For another, it brings us in touch with Ralph F. Welch, a friend of the railway industry and of Ottawa for many years. And it brings us to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, as it was then known, and their splendid co-operation with men like Welch, and with the railway industry as a whole.

Finally, the story of the Great Slave line is pertinent because it has not ended.

The history of the Great Slave Lake Railway is one of the most blatant examples of Ottawa's accommodation of the interests of private profit that one can find.

The GSLR had been promised to the Peace River settlers by the Liberals for almost thirty years, to transport their products to the markets in the south. But when it was finally built, the settlers' interests were quite secondary.

The impending construction of the GSLR was announced by the Liberal Government, in the person of Northern Affairs Minister Jean Lesage, in 1954, and its construction was carried out under the conservative government — much hailed as testimony to John Diefenbaker's "vision of the north".

Diefenbaker's "vision of the north" coincided remarkably with the "vision" of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The GSLR was built, in Diefenbaker's own words, "primarily to bring out the rich lead-zinc deposits in the Pine Point area" on the Great Slave Lake — one of the richest deposits in the world.

Some 90 per cent of the lead-zinc deposits in the Pine Point region belongs to the Pine Point Mines company, which is owned 78.2 per cent by Consolidated Mining and Smelting (COMINCO), in turn owned by Canadian Pacific Investments — the holding company of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

A few Liberals, in opposition, asked loudly in the House why the Conservative government was "selling out to CPR", by using CNR to build a railway for the private company's convenience and profit. But perhaps they, who conceived the project in 1954, knew the answer to that best.

In 1955, the *Toronto Star* reported: "...a federal proposal for a three-way sharing of costs between CPR, Smelters, and the federal government had been turned down by the CPR and the big mining company which has a 99-year lease on the area."

The president of Pine Point, W.G. Jewett, had the unmitigated cheek in 1960 to complain that the government's delay in implementing its policy to build the railroad was causing Pine Point "great concern", and that if government didn't hustle, "alternate forms of transport" would have to be developed.

Though CPR had to repay the Federal Government some of the money over a 10-year period through freight costs on the millions of tons of ore it carried out to its smelters in Trail, B.C., it still received a convenient loan of \$86 million, which it was not about to shell out of its own pocket.

It was, in the words of a Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development report, "a splendid example of co-operation between government and private enterprise."

This spirit of co-operation was carried through into the construction phase of the railroad.

In those years, the CNR was virtually the private domain of its president, Donald Gordon, a man greatly respected by the government for getting things done. Donald Gordon had that simple formula for building railroads that kept everything neatly within the budget — kill the unions, and make sure you have the cheapest supply of labor possible.

This is why in the case of the GSLR, as in the case of dozens of other railway contracts in the previous thirty years, the CNR turned to the R.F. Welch (B.C.) Company, with its headquarters in Vancouver.

Ralph Welch has enjoyed virtual obscurity and lucrative CNR contracts for over 30 years. As a "manpower and construction contractor", Welch's specialty has been "extra gangs", the large construction and maintenance crews that build and repair this country's thousands of miles of track. Welch provided Gordon with what he wanted: a cheap, fast job, done without publicity and without combesome frills like unions.

Mr. Welch didn't have to worry about unions raising his costs because Donald Gordon was personally fending them off. Gordon engaged for years in a bitter fight with the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way to prevent its bid to unionize extra gangs. But when, in 1956, Gordon had to give in and extra gang labor was finally given certification under the Brotherhood, the CNR insisted on retaining Welch as a manpower agent on main lines, and also as a construction agent on pioneer lines like the GSLR.

In 1965, the Federal Government brought in the Federal Labor Standards Code (regulating federal employees) establishing a 40-hour work week. Railways were allowed to apply for deferments from this standard for their operating employees and extra gangs. But the only private railway construction contractor given the deferment under the umbrella of railway operations was R.F. Welch.

This left Welch free to provide the cheap labor the railway wanted. But Welch didn't restrict himself to dipping into any cheap labor pool he could cull in Canada (Canadians tended to walk off his jobs when they realized what they had to do).

Through arrangements with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and the Department of Labor, Welch agents used to travel to Portugal and Italy to recruit manual labor from the unemployment rolls of Lisbon and Rome, and from the surrounding rural areas. Through these arrangements with the Ottawa authorities, he brought them over by the hundreds to work on his extra gangs.

When it came to the construction of the GSLR, however,

Welch no longer sent agents to Western Europe to recruit labor. His particular "arrangement" (his word) ended in 1957, apparently because the Immigration authorities took it upon themselves to keep up the supply of immigrants, and he no longer had to do active recruiting. He now only needed to phone up any government manpower office, say how many men he needed, and soon a trainload of Portuguese and Italians and other immigrants was on its way to his construction sites.

Technically the Great Slave construction phase should have ended in July of 1967, when the Board of Transport Commissioners authorized commercial traffic on the line. But Ottawa extended the "construction phase" from December 1967 to March 1970. What is now being done on the railway is heavy maintenance, not construction, but the convenient extension means that the line is not regarded as an operational railway, and unions like the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way cannot move in since they are restricted to the operational lines.

The GSLR gangs today do exactly the same work as the unionized men on the operational lines — they lay new steel build up the track bed with ballast and raise the rails where they sag. But they work for Mr. Welch.

Not much has changed on the Great Slave Lake Railway since the early construction days. The immigrant farm laborers and unemployed whom Welch formerly recruited abroad now are obtained in Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. Welch gangs still work on the tracks from 90 to 120 hours a week. They even manage to clear \$600 a month — if they work 500 hours.

Great Slave Part 2

On Thursday morning, June 12, I joined Gang No. 5, a 30-man Portuguese "extra gang", which was then at Rorna, the southern junction of the GSLR and the Northern Alberta Railway of the continental system. Our work went on for 16 hours a day, seven days a week.

The new, unsettled track-bed of the GSLR heaves and shifts in the winter frosts, particularly in muskeg and swamp country. Gang No. 5 was a "lifting gang" which repaired these hazardous dips and tiltings of the rails.

At frequent intervals the entire track was raised two to six inches by a power jack, under the direction of a "sight man", who determined the proper track elevation. He was crouched to the ground, his eyes fastened on the sighting boards ahead. Four men with tamping shovels packed fresh gravel under the raised ties. After only two or three hours of steady pounding, their leg and back muscles were numb and the successive physical jolts stiffened spine and shoulders.

Behind the power-jack, a three-man crew checked the accuracy of the elevation. A second sight man, also crouched on his knees, bent his head to the ground and peered upside down along the rail. Two men fell ill, doing this sight work, and the fellow who finally managed to cope with it suffered from bruised, swollen knees, constant migraine headaches, and severely strained eyesight.

His two partners followed with a hand jack. With a steel lever bar they raised rails missed by the power jack, and rammed in gravel. I saw only two men during the summer able to work the manual lift for any long period of time.

The shovel crew worked in front of a diesel tamping machine. In previous years this crew had 14 to 16 men. This summer, however, it numbered only five to seven, but it had to cover just as many miles per day.

To ensure a "highball" operation, the head foreman walked the gauntlet of shovellers hurling invective and pebbles at those who fell behind. He insisted - even in 90 degree weather - that the tamping machines bear down on the shovel crew. Many of the shovellers were constantly unnerved by the furious, splitting roar of these great yellow machines.

A ballast gang was sent ahead of Gang 5 in order to survey the line and deposit new gravel alongside the track for us to use. Often they had not completed certain areas before our arrival and there were frequent miscalculations. Consequently we had to shovel large uncrushed rocks and packed mud from the very base of the track to get gravel. The ground was hard and rocky, and this task served to push many to the limit of their endurance.

No scheduled rest or supper breaks were provided during the nine-hour afternoon and it was necessary for the men to smoke cigarettes or eat what food they could carry while they worked. On one occasion three men managed to get far ahead of the shovel crew. When a foreman went back to check their work they sat down to await his return. Because of this rest break they were ordered to their bunks, and their wages were docked for the remainder of the day. The isolated nature of the camps and the desire of the men to keep their jobs helped reinforce the arbitrary power and significance of the gang foreman.

One of the few Canadians who worked on the gang, Pat Cummings, a 36-year-old down-and-outer from Saskatchewan, was overcome by the unrelenting pace of the shovelling and the strain of working near the tampers. Like many of his colleagues, he had not been warned in Edmonton about the work nor of the weather conditions in the north and he had neither rain gear nor parka.

After 11 days he stopped working, and refused to speak with anyone in the bunk car. At night we would find him sitting on his bed with glazed eyes, every so often giving out a strange giggle. After three days, a speeder en route to Roma collected him.

Others too broke down, physically and mentally. In the course of the summer, five of the shovel crew who could no longer muster the strength to work also stopped eating and then finally had to leave. They just drifted off up the track, or through the muskég to the nearest town.

Fortunately, the tamping machine broke down once or twice a week. When it did we would stand about folding exquisite red lips in the Lucky Strike bull's-eye or playing with pebbles on the ties.

Even if a man is fired on a Welch gang, he must provide his own exit. This means walking 10 to 15 miles up the track to the nearest road or up through long bush cuts to the Mackenzie Highway. In past years, when dismissed men did not leave the gang within two hours, or insisted that they be deposited at the nearest town, the gang foreman radioed for the RCMP, which came in on a speeder to arrest the man for trespassing on CN property.

The living conditions did little to improve either the health or the humor of the men. The cramped boarding cars, popularly referred to as "ovens", housed 17 to 22 in double bunks. The whole car was given two buckets of cold water for personal hygiene and enough closet space for half the men's belongings. There was no ventilation for men on the upper bunks, and many of the lower windows could not be used.

The workday began shortly after 5 a.m., and if the men dispensed with letters, showers and laundry, they could be asleep by 11 p.m. We often slept in our clothes, and the smell of unwashed bodies and stale air was intensified by the daytime heat retained within the tin shell of the coach. Few men ever managed a full six hours of sleep.

Each man received his sleeping quarters free of charge, but Welch subtracted \$2.85 per day from each man's wages for food. As supplied by Mr. Welch, those meals consisted mainly of macaroni, boiled potatoes, spaghetti, wieners and beef sausages. We never received milk, fresh vegetables or fresh fruit and for much of the time second servings were rare.

On Gang No. 5 over a three-week period in July and August we were fed 23 times with wieners and beef sausages. The beef sausages were often green in the center and most of the men suffered from regular and violent attacks of diarrhea.

The chicken or ham hocks were usually too tough to be eaten. In Roma, a Welch agent came by the food car during lunch one day, asking if any of the men had any complaints about the food. Finally, one of the Portuguese asked for "some meat we can chew on".

Jackson, the agent, told the cook to bring the man more meat, and personally placed it in front of him. "Take your time," said the agent. "Eat slowly. And be out of this camp within two hours."

Six weeks later, when three men refused to work one afternoon because of the food they had been offered at lunch, they were fired.

(Jackson lived in Peace River, in a large mobile home, in which he would brag, he had invested over \$15,000 for wall-to-wall carpeting, panelling, bar facilities, stereo, and color TV. He had absolute control over every man's job on the track. They feared Jackson and his little rolling palace even more than they hated the foremen.)

It was much easier to replace men than it was to replace cooks on the gangs. We survived six cooks within 80 days and two of them left when their order forms to the Welch food commissar at Roma Junction were only half completed. These same cooks stated that much of the meat would be considered unsalable in Edmonton and that meat originally of good quality had been spoiled by careless freezing and thawing procedures.

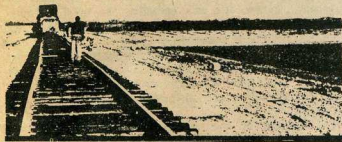
At one point, the cook from gang 8, a maintenance crew stationed near Hotchkiss, ran on to the tracks in front of a CNR inspection car to protest the fact that he had not been sent sufficient food supplies for his men. He was fired the next day by Welch's commissar.

Accordingly, experienced Welch cooks took ludicrous steps to minimize costs. They would serve water rather than kool-aid (to save on sugar), skip fringe-incidentals

such as pastry, gravy or pancakes, and refuse the men napkins or wax-paper with which to wrap up their supper, sandwiches (which, please remember, one ate as one shovelled).

"You're paying \$2.85 a day for your food," a cook who had worked for the Canadian army and in bush camps once explained to us. "The food I get costs Welch a buck. What do you expect?"

There was no medical officer for the gangs. When a laborer fell sick, he found it difficult to leave the isolated camps in order to see doctors in Peace River or Manning. The Portugese, to make matters worse, were wary of the local doctors, because they could not communicate with them. Welch provided no interpreter. A worker with a serious back disorder and another with violent intestinal pain were both counselled by the local medical profession to take aspirin.



The one gang member who came from the Peace River area was a simple-minded, 44-year-old Ukrainian. He severely injured his shoulder and legs on the shovel crew, and could not shovel properly. The foreman refused to believe there was anything wrong with him, and did not allow him leave for medical attention. He finally limped off — without permission — and we heard that when he got to a town he was hospitalized for ten days. The doctors warned him never to return to the rails, but it was the only employment he could find, and two weeks later we saw him back on the shovel crew, stiffly going through the motions.

He had long since applied for compensation, but when I left in August he had not received any reply from Roma Junction.

This man, like most of the Peace River settlers and the Roma Junction administrators, was contemptuous of the Portugese. They were, to everyone around, "DP's", Dumb Portugese (in officialese, "Displaced Persons"). Behind their backs, the Canadians would taunt them with mock accent: "Maka de money, maka de money, eh DP's?"

In the middle of August a friend of mine, who had transferred to the ballast gang, was crushed between two box cars. Medical assistance came eight hours later. "The engineer was bloody lucky it was only a Portugese," the timekeeper, a Canadian remarked when news of his death reached our gang.

Some of the Portugese working on the lines were brought over by Welch during the earlier construction phase. Others were recent immigrants.

Welch men found that the Portugese were hard-working and, above all, docile. They never questioned authority of foremen, 16 hour work days with no breaks, they

ate the food. They would let themselves be herded down the track by a speeder when foremen wanted the job accelerated. The foremen called them "good boy" — the closest human thing to cattle, and like the Chinese, Irish and Ukrainians of earlier decades of the Kicking Horse Pass line they are the muscle for CNR steel.

After the Portugese, the Welch manpower office in Edmonton favors "haywire tramps" who ride the western freights, and Metis from the Edmonton area.

The DP's were family men, who had relatively large families to support in the cities or abroad. Because they spoke no English or French, they had little chance of finding jobs elsewhere in Canada. Those that entered Canada with technical skills could not meet Canadian standards, or were exploited in non-unionized construction work in Winnipeg or Edmonton.

Antonio Martinez, 50, father of three, his family in Toronto, entered Canada in 1968 to work as a TV repairman or electrician. When he was interviewed by immigration officials in Lisbon, they told him if he took a basic language program he would find work easily in Toronto.

"Before I left the immigration office," he explained in broken English mixed with French, "the immigration official in Lisbon asked me if I could do heavy labor. He also asked me to show him the palms of my hands. I should have suspected then that they didn't really expect me to get an electrical job."

Most of the recent immigrants told similar stories, about how they were led to believe by immigration officials that they could get technical jobs in Canada. They felt now that they had, in fact, been imported as cheap construction labor.

The only other Canadian in the gang when I first arrived was the head foreman, a 75 year-old railway man from Ukrainian stock who had been unable to accept retirement from the CN line after 44 years of service. As Welch's head foreman of Gang No. 5, John Chyppha was responsible for herding the men down the track. He often boasted that he hadn't given a smoke break in 44 years, and he terrified the men. Bald, bullet-headed, short and tough, he would drive the men with barrages of obscenities and reward them with nickel candy bars.

One day he astonished the shovel crew by giving them a half-hour break, and he sat down to rap about a long-ago trip to Disneyland. He died that night in the foreman's bunk-wearing his railway pants and railway shirt.

He had overworked the men that July, the hottest month in several summers, and had driven many to the point of physical breakdown and furious temper explosions. Now he was dead, and his workers joked and laughed for several hours. Four men wrapped his body in yellow plastic before carrying it through the 5 a.m. drizzle to the RCMP car on the highway.

One Newfoundlander who had lasted almost 40 days on the job had been planning to get himself fired (by complaining about the food) when Chyppha died. He now turned to the gang and smirked: "Here it is we were going to get fired, and we end up having to carry the bastard out. It was just about the other way around. By tomorrow I'd have been a sack over his back."

I quit Mr. Welch's employ at Mile 164 of the GSLR, near the town of High Level, on Saturday August 30. As the 80-day veteran of the shovel crew I had watched some 45 men come and go.

Great Slave

Part 3

In March of 1955, CNR president Donald Gordon appeared before the House of Commons Sessional Committee on railways and shipping and answered some questions about the railroad's dealings with Welch (the meeting was closed to the press).

Welch had started business as a contractor of rock and quarry gangs. The preponderance of immigrants on these gangs was earlier explained and defended by CNR officials (in a letter to a union) in terms of their having "a natural aptitude" for this rough and dangerous work. By 1950 Welch had expanded into recruiting and boarding laborers for seasonal extra gangs. Manual laborers on these gangs were non-unionized, while the foremen and the machine operators were paid at union rates settled between the CNR and the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way.

It was not until 1951 that the Brotherhood was awarded certification as bargaining agent for extra gang laborers. Because the CNR was bitterly opposed to unionization of their seasonal labor forces, it took two years of negotiations before a wage agreement was reached. Union officials, intimidated by CN's threat to contract all maintenance construction work to Welch, compromised their 40-hour standard week for extra gang laborers and managed to obtain the lowest rate in the railway industry for their men.

The union demanded the end of Welch contracts and, outwardly, the CNR went along. Donald Gordon told the Sessional Committee that "all the Welch contracts are being terminated."

Contrary to what Gordon said, however, the CNR simply filed new contracts with Welch that allowed him to recruit immigrant-laborers and replace regular CN foremen and machine operators with non-unionized retired CN and CP employees. Until union officials threatened further parliamentary action Gordon refused to discuss the Welch contracts. In February of 1956, however, the CNR returned extra gangs to union control but demanded that Welch be retained as a boarding and recruiting agent, and continued to use Welch manpower and construction services on pioneer lines.

Welch's contracts were protected by the CNR so that this public-owned corporation could get by all labor requirements and keep its supply of cheap, sullen labor. When it looked like troubled legislators were all too ready to investigate the contracts, Welch was defended by none other than the CNR President himself.

The advantages of the Welch-CNR contracts were clearly outlined by Donald Gordon when he testified before the Sessional Committee in 1955.

He explained that Welch had saved the Canadian public considerable sums of money (a concern the government didn't seem to have when it paid for a line to service a CPR industry) and he praised the "Welch interests" who employed "their special facilities to secure quickly the fluid casual labor required for extra gangs". Welch's "recruitment of labor in the form of immigrants," said Mr.

Gordon, "is done on a basis that the railway could not tackle at all."—(Minutes and proceedings and evidence, sessional committee on railways and shipping, House of Commons, Tuesday March 29, 1955.)

When questioned about CN's interest in Welch's labor policies, Gordon replied: "what their understanding with labor is in that situation is none of our concern" (why did he fight five years to preserve it, then?) and went on to praise Welch's wage rates: "The rates of pay by the R.F. Welch people have been quite comparable with the railway rates."

When Welch was building the Kitimat spur line in that period, they were indeed comparable: 90 cents an hour. However they weren't particularly comparable to the Kitimat construction rates for manual labor: \$1.58 an hour. The men working for Welch were also paying \$2.50 a day for "room and board"—in other words almost three hours' work a day. What Gordon was saying was that Welch's rates were as depressed as the CNR had succeeded in maintaining everywhere else on the railway.

Officials of the United Steelworkers of America in Kitimat visited the "horrible goddamn boxcars" that housed Welch's men and offered to organize them. Almost none of the Italians spoke English and they professed complete ignorance of their rights as landed immigrants and workers. They feared that any action would cost them their jobs.

Donald Gordon also mentioned the "special services which the Welch people render to immigrants". These immigrants came to public attention in 1953 when the Globe and Mail ran a story reporting complaints about the CNR extension line to Lynn Lake, Manitoba. Once again the manpower and construction contractor for the 600-man operation was R.F. Welch.

The story has German immigrants complaining to authorities in La Pas, Manitoba that they were being forced to work up to 15 hours a day, seven days a week, and that they were being paid \$300 to \$400 a month for 450 hours of work. They also charged that Welch was squeezing 10 men into bunkhouses 8 by 12 feet and extorting \$2.40 a day for "an almost exclusive diet of macaroni."

Archie Moffat, Welch's general manager in Port Arthur, claimed that "90 per cent of the men sleep in single bunks" and that overtime after 10 hours was not compulsory. He explained that because of the isolation the men preferred to work as much as possible. He did admit, however, that the men were obliged to work for 12 months as stipulated by their immigration work contract, and that if they broke this contract they had to repay Welch the cost of their one-way passage to Canada, \$500.

The story (the only one to be found anywhere on Welch incidentally), quotes civic authorities in La Pas complaining the Lynn Lake Line was "being built under conditions bordering on slave labor." CNR spokesmen came to Welch's defense stating that a recent official inspection of the line had found the conditions to be "extremely good", and criticisms were "unwarranted." Ottawa authorities promised an investigation into the complaints. There was no investigation, and the press coverage ends.

Provincial and federal attitudes towards immigrant railway workers, as well as existing legislation concerning railway construction have also provided Welch with few obstacles.

"If you look at the overcrowded, dirty living quarters of these immigrants in the cities it is not hard to visualize the problems they present in railway camps," explained an official of Immigration Research in Edmonton.

These illuminating comments were made recently in the Alberta capital shortly after Provincial Health and Welfare officials disclaimed responsibility for conditions on the GSLR. As a Federal operation, it lies outside their jurisdiction.

"At this point", a Federal labor man apologized, "decent food and decent living quarters depend on the charitable good heart of the employer." Federal legislation on housing and food for federal employees consists of standards and recommendations — not enforceable regulations.

There is, however, a healthy file of complaints against R.F. Welch in the Federal Labor Bureau in Edmonton. From time to time Portuguese and Metis lodge accusations concerning poor food, late pay cheques, slave wage rates, or inhuman treatment of men. There is also mention of an Edmonton drunk who appealed for an "immediate investigation of the business ethics of one R.F. Welch" as officers of the law liberated him from the corner of Jasper and 107th.

The men who registered these complaints — Portuguese, Metis and tramps — represent the most unorganized and least articulate body of workers in Canada. This may explain why Welch prefers them for his gangs and it may also explain the Edmonton official's failure to forward the complaints to Ottawa or to investigate the situation on the ARR and the GSLR for himself. As a result of this inaction and the absence of legislation or jurisdiction, the inspection of the GSLR camps is delegated to CN officials — at their convenience.

"We're not too damn proud of our mobile units", said Dr. C. Mather, chief CNR medical officer in Edmonton, who went on to explain his view of the housing problem: "The men who work on these construction and extra gangs are usually immigrants and itinerants. They have little concern for personal hygiene, much less property or belongings. It probably doesn't matter what they're given to live in — they'd still leave it a mess."

In order to cut costs, over the last few years the CNR has replaced section gangs (which do repair work on the main line) with large extra gangs, which have wage rates that average 50 cents an hour less than section gangs. These extra gangs, consisting largely of immigrants or Canadian transients, have received little union support because they eliminate work for Canadian section men.

When the unions do finally move into the GSLR, after it's declared operational, the railway will be maintained by section gangs. The Portuguese and others who built and maintained the line for the last eight years will have no claim to seniority, and will probably lose their jobs to Canadians the unions will bring in at the higher section gang rates.

Welch's immigrant gang labor receives \$1.65 an hour, 35 to 95 cents less than unionized men doing the same jobs on the continental gangs. Their overtime rates start after 60 hours, whereas unionized gangs get overtime after 40 hours. The wage difference must also take into account the fact that extra gang laborers on the main lines — thanks to the efforts of the unions — themselves

earn the lowest wage rates in the industry. The unions make sure of this, because extra gangs are used by the CNR to reduce regular labor forces. Thus the CNR divides the labor force, and gets its way.

The men who work on the GSLR must work long hours if they are to earn reasonable money. Considering that 10 working hours a day clears \$9 (after taxes and board are deducted), the five to eight hours overtime can hardly be considered "optional". Frills like pensions, job security or grievance rights are, of course, unheard of on the GSLR.

For years the CNR has fought tooth and nail to keep its supply of immigrant labor. It has fought the unions, divided the labor force and obtained deferments from legislation to ensure that these conditions remained constant.

R.F. Welch is himself only a product of that policy, a man who has thrived in the vacuum of labor rights and legislative control that Ottawa so carefully created. Welch is a creation of Ottawa.

The real question is how this policy was permitted to exist, and in fact carefully maintained. When this question is asked, one invariably comes to the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

But there the answers stop. Officials plead knowledge of no special "arrangements" for contractors like Welch.

Then how did Welch operate his overseas recruitment until 1957? And after 1957, how was this convenient supply of labor maintained by the manpower offices? How did these men arrive to take their place in the labor pool for the Welchs to dip into, if they were not imported on a regular basis by the immigration authorities to maintain the pool?

When I went to Ottawa to pose these questions, the answers were not forthcoming. Immigration files are confidential and protected from release to the public for 35 years, under regulations affecting government documents.

A New Democratic Party MP posed the questions for me to the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, Allan MacEachen, and received a confidential letter in reply from him stating that preliminary reports from internal investigations suggested "there may well be some irregularities or illegalities involved" in the importation of Portuguese and Italian laborers for work on the railways.

And there the matter rests, on the level of a few polite inquiries and a wall of blank faces. The history of Canadian importation of cheap labor will probably remain unwritten, stashed in the unaccessible archives of the Immigration authorities.

Perhaps the most acute comment on the whole matter was made by Mr. McLean, Welch's labor recruitment supervisor in Edmonton, when he reacted with wounded dignity to questions posed to him about GSLR working conditions and labor importation.

"Really," he pleaded, "we don't deal in chattel. We deal in human beings."

So, apparently, does our government. Wholesale.

Trevor Jones is a free-lance writer based in Montreal, who worked on the GSLR 80 days earlier this year as part of a labor-sociology study.

FORD...HAS A BETTER IDEA

by JOHN ZARITSKY

OTTAWA

Last month after Herb Gray was appointed to the cabinet as a minister without portfolio, nobody laughed when the Windsor East MP's special duties were described as keeping a watch on U.S. investment in Canada.

Everybody had forgotten how Herb had been cheering for his good friends, the Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd., when the Commons Public Accounts Committee investigated why the U.S.-controlled firm had been "forgiven" more than \$75 million in duties it owed Ottawa.

But that happened way back in the spring when the Trudeau government, still making loud noises about tightening the belt to fight inflation, didn't want anybody to find out how they threw away \$75 million in taxes.

There were, in fact, a lot of things that the Liberals and Gray would like the Canadian public to stop wondering about in its dealings with Ford.

There is the matter of a curious lapse of time between when the Auditor-General blew the whistle on Ford and reported how much they owed in duties for failure to meet the requirements of the 1965 Canada-U.S. auto pact — and 18 months later when the Trudeau cabinet quietly got around to forgiving Ford the debt.

Nobody really knows why it took the Liberal government so long to take action, but some observers note that sandwiched halfway between the start and the close of the Ford affair came the June 1968 election.

How much Ford threw into the party coffers, and why, are matters both the company and the government would like to forget about. There are questions a small number of people might still be wondering about, especially since the Trudeau government did wait until the campaign bills were paid and the election was over before passing its blessing on Ford.

And if only a few people are wondering about this, it is because Herb Gray did his job well last spring. This fall, presumably, he passed on to his reward.

Presumably, a glimmer of how well Gray will behave as a Canadian economic nationalist, a review of the Ford hearings — and some facts the daily press chose, for their own reasons, to ignore — raises interesting points.

The 1965 auto pact, which provided for limited free trade in cars and parts between Canada and the United States, laid down certain conditions Canadian auto makers had to meet in order to avoid customs duties.

On the day the pact was signed Ford's President, Karl Scott, wrote a letter to Ottawa stating that the company would have certain difficulties meeting the conditions. Few saw it strange that one of the wealthiest corporations in the country should encounter such difficulties. At any rate, Scott's letter was tabled in the House and therefore made public.

But the government's response from then Industry Minister C.M. Drury was not made public until introduced before Herb Gray's committee last June.

It came out in the committee's hearings (much to Gray's obvious discomfort) that Drury replied to Scott on March 1, 1965, in the following manner: "I am confident that the government will give sympathetic consideration to Ford's problems and to your request that Ford should not be disqualified from the benefits of the automotive program."

Drury's confidence proved not to be misplaced, and on January 28, 1969 the Trudeau cabinet decided to remit \$80 million owed by Ford and 13 other companies. By an order-in-council the account owed and the names of the companies involved were not mentioned.

An Order-in-Council — a Cabinet decision — does not have to be approved by Parliament and it wasn't until weeks later that the news of the Order was published (as is required) in the Canada Gazette, the government's official paper.

This was also curious, because it is commonly known that the Gazette rarely contains anything significant except letters of incorporation and the like, and therefore has virtually no public readership. The government might as well have announced it in a graveyard at midnight.

A newspaper reporter did notice, however, and that partially sparked the embarrassing committee enquiry Mr. Gray had to attend in June.

But at the hearings, government officials maintained that the names of the companies and the amounts owed should be kept confidential. Committee Chairman Alfred Hales (PC—Wellington) pointed out however, that four years earlier the government had publicly disclosed the name of

another delinquent auto maker and the amount he owed.

Gray and other Liberals stated the committee should seek a legal opinion and consequently the release of such information (as requested by a 16-year veteran committee member Harold Winch, NDP Vancouver E.) should be delayed. Hales however cast the deciding vote in favor of Winch's motion, and G.R. Long, assistant Auditor-General was ordered to supply the breakdown.

Winch told reporters at the time: "I was really surprised that it was so tough to get the names. Just why it was so tough is a mighty interesting question."

It proved to be. After it was revealed by Long that Ford was forgiven \$75,051,877, Liberal committee members — Mr. Gray in the lead — were sent scurrying. In Winch's words "the government propaganda machine went into high gear."

Trade, Commerce and Industry Minister Jean-Luc Pepin headed a list of hastily-dug-up government witnesses who stoutly defended Ford. Pepin told the committee that Ford, which had then been restructuring its operations, faced difficulties meeting the Canadian value added requirement for its cars. But, he added, it later went out into Canadian industry and far exceeded the government's requirement by generating an additional \$200 million worth of business to compensate for its difficulties. (Out of sheer charity, no doubt.)

"This represents new production over and above the company's promise and includes considerable new employment that would not otherwise have developed," hailed Pepin, who added he had "only praise" for Ford.

And E. A. McIntyre, a Trade and Commerce official, said that if the government had strictly interpreted the regulations and forced Ford to pay up, anywhere from 2,000 to 3,500 jobs would have been lost and five expanding Canadian companies would have gone out of business.

Mr. McIntyre was hard put to back up his interesting figures and convenient fears.

Then came Herb Gray's turn, and, in Winch's own words, he fairly tripped over himself in rushing to Ford's defense. He amplified what Pepin had said, spoke of the company's "splendid record", pointing out how the two new plants Pepin had spoken of had been built in his own home town of Windsor.

Gray "questioned" government officials, frequently consulting with them privately before, and asked them to "please briefly explain to the committee" the wonderful achievements of the Ford company.

Committee Chairman Hales himself also found it "odd" that his committee members spent a great deal of time criticizing Auditor-General Maxwell Henderson for blowing the whistle on Ford and the 13 other companies in his 1967 and 1968 reports — even though Henderson acted properly, and though he didn't even name the companies or amounts.

Gray blustered that Henderson's reports were an "insult to Ford", and attacked him for not investigating further and discovering that the government planned to forget about the duties owed.

Hales noted that Henderson "fulfilled his functions properly" and Winch put it a bit stronger: "When the auditor-general brings in things that they don't like, then they try to run down the man and discredit what he says. It's a disgraceful way to avoid the truth." He dismissed Gray as "nothing but an apologist for Ford."

Winch didn't get too far trying to get a straight answer from witnesses about why Ford's two major competitors — General Motors and Chrysler — had no difficulty meeting the pact's requirements.

"The only answer I got, as far as I'm concerned, was that Ford experienced some difficulties," Winch summarized. "Well it seems strange to me that the other two didn't have the same difficulties meeting the requirements. Why was Ford singled out for special treatment?"

Winch also remarked that since the government's case rested on the overall "contributions" Ford had made to the general economy, it was important to know what contributions GM and Chrysler had made while meeting the requirements.

But McIntyre told Winch during the hearings that such information was probably "confidential", although he would look into it. He didn't.

•Even more importantly, the committee, while it considered Ford's "contributions", should have also reviewed the company's financial position and profits.

But when Winch pointed out to the committee that Ford's profits had jumped from \$7,351,000 in 1964 — the year before the pact — to \$50,200,000 in 1968, Herb Gray and his Liberal colleagues cried out "Red herring!"

Pepin said that the government hadn't considered Ford's profits in reaching a decision and Hales ordered Winch to stop that line of questioning.

"They just weren't interested," said Winch, "in hearing anything but what was good for Ford. If it's relevant to know what Ford did for the economy, then surely it's relevant to know whether they needed \$75 million of the taxpayer's money."

He also casts some doubt on Ford's accomplishments in the last four years, which Gray and the officials heralded as reason enough to forget about the duties.

During the years 1962-65, Ford spent more investment capital and gave more additional employment than it did in the last four years.

"But again, this was ruled irrelevant. I wonder why."

Winch also wonders why the government, which knew in 1967 that Ford had failed to meet the requirements waited more than 18 months before issuing its forgiveness Order.

Perhaps Ford's contributions were not so much to the general economy, enough to merit such government under-standing, but to the Liberal Party.

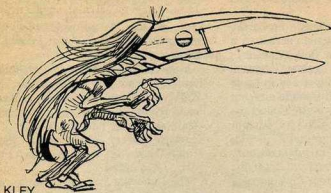
"I'd also like to know Ford's campaign contributions," Winch told reporters (but was never quoted in any newspaper) "I'm sure they did contribute, but to whom?"

Winch vainly asked for a commission of inquiry, "since the public accounts committee has failed to do its job."

"You don't see the government rushing to forgive an old age pensioner or a veteran a penny of income tax," he said, "But they rush to bootlick the millionaires and a lot of people wonder why."

Great things should be expected from the new minister in charge of keeping a watch on American investment.

John Zaritsky is a reporter for the Toronto Star and worked in that paper's Ottawa bureau during the last session.



KLEY

REVIEWS

4,333 equals one

Inter-Corporate Ownership
Queen's Printer, 1969, 834pp. \$8.50

Inter-Corporate ownership is not a book written by radicals, nor was it intended for them. Its seemingly dry content is a list, without commentary, of 4,333 corporation "ownership complexes". But no one who looks at **Inter-Corporate Ownership** thoroughly can fail to notice some clear, and implicitly radical themes emerging: that business, in its present stage, is international and largely American; that the large corporations that dominate the Canadian economy all own each other; and that, as a result, the idea of free competition in our society is a mystification.

The book was published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics under the Corporations and Labor Unions Reporting Act, passed by the Diefenbaker government in April 1962. The act required corporations to tell the government which of them ("reporting corporations") were owned by which other ones ("holding corporations"), and the hard-working civil servants at DBS cross-tabulated and compiled the information. The results vary in interest and importance from complex number 3,599 which informs us that Paper Novelty Mfg. Co. wholly owns Paper Novelty Mfg. Co. Ltd., to complex number 723 which traces the tentacles of the rapidly growing Warnock Hershey-Power Corporation conglomerate.

A complex like number 723 takes up almost three of the book's large pages, and

involves some 200 corporations, but the revealing thing is that the links go far beyond the bounds of individual complexes.

For instance, complex number 100 deals with the holdings of Argus Corp., the umbrella for E.P. Taylor's diverse interests, one of which is a 14.2 per cent share of Hollinger Consolidated Gold Mines Ltd. Hollinger Consolidated has interests in a wide variety of mining concerns (complex number 477) including 14.3 per cent of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, the rest of which is owned by a consortium of American steel companies. Another Hollinger holding, (regrettably not reported in **Inter-Corporate Ownership**, which only lists holdings of 10 per cent or more) is 7.2 per cent of Noranda Mines Ltd. (complex number 663) which itself has mining interests from Gaspé Copper at the eastern tip of Québec to Craigmont in British Columbia to Nicaragua.

The 10 per cent minimum is only one of the book's limitations. The most serious is that actual ownership of one corporation by another is only one form of inter-corporate linkage: there is no hint in **Inter-Corporate Ownership** of interlocking directorships and the like. To go deeper than this, several publications put out by another radical (sic) organization, Maclean-Hunter Ltd., are useful: **The Directory of Directors** lists corporate positions held by prominent individuals, as well as the boards of directors of major Canadian corporations; the Financial Post Corporation Service describes the operations, interests, history and financial position of major corporations and is constantly being brought up to date. Both of these are deliberately made prohibitively

expensive to keep them out of the hands of people who might make improper use of the information, but they are available in many libraries.

As well, the volume fails to document the full extent of foreign control. While it does have a code which tells you which corporations are Canadian, which American and so forth, the criterion used is place of incorporation, not place of control. Thus, Canadair Ltd., 98.5 per cent owned by the American aircraft giant General Dynamics, is listed as a "Canadian" corporation.

Finally, the book was out of date even before it was published early this year, because it describes the situation as it existed in 1965. Since then, the trend toward the growth of conglomerates and foreign control has accelerated; **Inter-Corporate Ownership's** treatment of Power Corporation leaves out its monopoly takeover of the Québec communications media, and its recent purchase of 10 per cent of Argus. Meanwhile, 500 Canadian corporations have fallen into foreign hands in the last 20 months alone.

Still, the basic picture does come through. That picture is a line-drawing of monopoly capitalism, and its message is that there are not 4,333 ownership complexes at all, but one. Beyond that is the part that is missing in the line-drawing, the part that **Inter-Corporate Ownership** fails to flesh out, the men behind the corporations. They, too, form one group, and a group that the people who are responsible for the publication of the volume would never admit exists — the ruling class.

by Robert Chodos

ROUGH RIDER

A Gentleman of the Press

by Floyd S. Chalmers (Doubleday, 1969)
368 pages

In 1968, Maclean-Hunter Publishing Ltd. changed its name to Maclean-Hunter Ltd., a move which signalled the diversified expansion of the company started in 1887 by John Bayne Maclean and a \$3000 investment.

Now one of Canada's largest communications empires, (worth \$65 million at the last estimate), the company publishes 87 business magazines in two languages and five countries, 13 trade annuals, and six consumer publications, including Maclean's, *Chatelaine* and the *Financial Post*. Besides this, it puts on about 25 trade shows a year, owns four radio stations, one TV channel and is buying up every cable TV network in sight.

This biography of the company's energetic yet eccentric founder, written by Floyd Chalmers, recently-retired Chairman of the Board, traces its beginnings back to the weekly, *Canadian Grocer*, started by the 25-year-old J.B.M. and his brother Hugh.

Son of a Scottish minister, the "Colonel" (so-called because of his fondness for the militia) operated his rapidly multiplying trade magazine chain out of Toronto, then British-dominated, Tory and Orange. A born crusader and moralist, Maclean took up editorial cudgels on a number of controversial subjects. The first Canadian anti-trust investigation was sparked off by the Colonel's exposure of a price-fixing ring in the Wholesale Grocers' Guild. Not all his pet causes were equally worthy, however. Though he inveighed against putrid salmon canners, and French Canadian conscription during the First World War, at the same time he opposed free textbooks for school children and carried on a life-long campaign against the "International Bolshevik Conspiracy".

Chalmers admirably resists the temptation to glamorize, and does not try to conceal the shortcomings of his crotchety mentor. "He turned out millions of words, yet never achieved true skill, let alone literary distinction... Sometimes his campaigns in print were ill-judged and impractical; quite frequently, they were repetitious and boring; almost always they were wandering in theme and style..." Toward the end of his life, the Colonel's embarrassing contributions to the *Financial Post* were completely rewritten, if not

deleted altogether, by Chalmers, then FP Editor.

Anticipating Senator Joseph McCarthy by thirty years, the Colonel carried on a relentless campaign in both *Maclean's* and the *Financial Post* against Communists on university campuses and in trade unions. He believed that Canada's recent enemies, the Germans, were behind the Bolshevik threats and the 1919 attempt to set up a "Soviet government" in Winnipeg. Always ignorant of financial matters, he came to distrust international bankers and blamed them for financing the hated revolutionaries.

Despite all the energy expounded, however, the campaign was a dismal failure. The only person to take Maclean seriously was Sir Arthur Currie, principal of McGill University, who would write to the Colonel for confidential reports on prospective campus speakers. If their background were at all "suspicious", he would summarily refuse them entry. In Toronto, response to the Colonel's allegations ranged from savage criticism to ridicule. Wrote Toronto Star owner, Joseph Atkinson, in 1923: "He leads a phantom army against a phantom foe, he fires soundless cannon at unseen targets, and all the casualties are shadows".

The old man died in 1950 at the age of 88, leaving an estate of a little over a million dollars, though he could have been a multi-millionaire. Chalmers' final judgment of him: "John Bayne Maclean could not have built the complex as it now operates, but he provided the strong base, the leadership and inspiration". Yet, in the years since Maclean's death, the trad-

ition of fierce battle and disregard for the advertisers' censorship attempts has been let down by his successors, whose militancy has decreased in inverse proportion to their wealth.

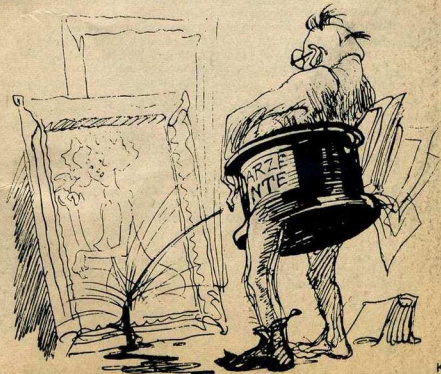
Maclean's magazine, which published the excellent February 1968 article, "Our War", identifying the enemy, in Canada as in Vietnam, as "American imperialism", now takes no political stands, and features cover stories about fishing, football and "the natural superiority of men" (May 1969).


The *Financial Post* continues to recognize the fantastic growth of U.S. control over Canadian industry, but proposes no solutions or remedies.

Saddest of all is the fate of *Le Magazine Maclean*, begun in 1961 in order to "express French Canadian feelings, questions, hopes and aspirations". The editor, who dared to point out the justifiability of Rene Levesque's independence option, resigned last month, when it became evident that this vehicle of French Canadian expression would now be published out of Toronto, and would be serving English Canadian interests.

As the Maclean empire has extended itself more and more into business publication, it has become more and more subservient to the large firms that support it through advertising. No publication that depends on corporate advertising can ever be truly independent. But, as the Colonel's career shows, journalism need not shackle itself to editorial control by advertisers to the alarming extent that the Maclean empire of today has allowed.


S.A.





"I am persona non grata in my home town."
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