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ADDRESS CHANGES

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The federal election: English Canada's 'October crisis'

The word that dominated the election night prattle was "inconclusive". And "indecisive" too, not to mention "uncertain". And also, appropriately enough, "horse race".

As we go to press on the 1st of November, the results are still inconclusive, and we find ourselves in the awkward position of not knowing whether Pierre Elliott Trudeau or Robert Stanfield will be Prime Minister when the magazine reaches the news-stands. But if the election was inconclusive, it was by no means unclear.

The clarity emerges if what happened Oct. 30 is regarded as not one, but two elections. In one of them the voters of Quebec opted for the Liberals and their relatively gentle brand of federalism as the best of a limited range of choices. The Liberal victory in Quebec was an emphatic one, with the only challenge of any strength coming from Social Credit.

Despite (or, who knows, perhaps because of) the presence in Tory ranks of Claude Wagner, the voters of Quebec turned thumbs down on the Conservatives, reducing their representation from four seats to two, depriving them of their lone Montreal area seat, giving Wagner himself only a paper thin majority.

The other election, in English Canada, gave the Conservatives a clear majority of the 190 seats at stake. The Liberals, who won a majority of their own only four years ago, now find the New Democrats breathing down their necks in the race for second party status. The Tories took a plurality of seats in every province except British Columbia,

where they lost to the NDP, not the Liberals. The only areas where the Liberals gained were the insular provinces of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, which traditionally make up their minds without regard to mainland trends.

That result, that sharp electoral division between French and English Canada, is something that many people, not least among them Pierre Elliott Trudeau, had hoped would not happen. Now that it has happened, there are two questions to be asked: "why?" and the other is "what now?"

Any full answer to the first question must await a longer perspective, but the most astute instant analysis came from the unlikely mouth of Jean Marchand, the Liberal regional economic expansion minister, who won personal re-election in Quebec City. Marchand said on election night that the Liberal disaster had been the result of three of the government's policies — its policy on bilingualism, its policy on correcting regional disparity and its anti-inflation policy.

The first two of those add up to defeat for the Liberals' concept of federalism. The English Canadians who were supposed to be patient while Trudeau advanced the French Canadians to their rightful place, the rich provinces that were supposed to bear the burden while Marchand ladled out money to develop the poor ones, have decided their patience is at an end.

The second question, what now, is a more urgent one. In theory, either the Liberals or the Conservatives could form a government, but in practice neither

party has a broad enough base to last for very long. The Liberal government would be one with more than half its supporters from the province of Quebec: a Conservative government would have virtually no support from that same key province.

NDP leader David Lewis scotched the possibility of a formal coalition with an election night statement, but that did not mitigate his ability to gain concessions from whatever government is formed. Lewis occupies a classic balance of power situation. Neither party can govern without the NDP's support, either party can govern with the support of the NDP alone.

But if the NDP is in a powerful position, it is also in an extremely delicate one. It ran a vigorous campaign, raised important issues, persuaded many of those discontented with the government that it was the best alternative and ran up substantial gains: all of that has to be considered a major success.

However, the NDP always does well in inconclusive elections. It also always does much less well in the shakedown that invariably follows. Many people who voted NDP on October 30 will be understandably horrified at the prospect of a Conservative government; others simply wanted to get rid of the Liberals. It is not at all clear that those people will vote NDP again in a second election.

There is perhaps only one other party for whose strategists this election offers as rich a variety of possibilities as it does for the NDP, and that is Rene Levesque's Parti Quebecois. One of the

architects of the PQ "anti-campaign" in Quebec was quoted as saying that he hoped the Liberals would be returned, but with most of their members coming from Quebec; he figured that would give Quebec unprecedented power in Ottawa. We now may have the chance to see if he was right.

Unquestionably, the French-English electoral cleavage offers a whole basket of opportunities for the PQ. But although the one candidate that Péquistes actively supported, independent national Roch LaSalle, won easy re-election in Joliette, it is basically English Canada that has presented them with those opportunities, and that must be a little disquieting to Levesque.

Although not half so disquieting as it is to Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Robert Chodos

Slow justice for Pagan

Nobody can accuse the Canadian judiciary of acting with indecent haste in the case of Humberto Pagan Hernandez, the 21-year-old Puerto Rican *independentista* leader who has sought temporary refuge in Canada. At least he thought it was going to be temporary.

Pagan was arrested in Puerto Rico in March 1971 following a clash at the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan and charged with murdering a high-ranking police officer. Released on bail, he fled his homeland after two attempts on his life by right-wing extremists.

He entered Canada late in August 1971, and was arrested in Ottawa several weeks later on a charge of illegal entry. To complicate matters the United States, of which Puerto Rico is a colony, applied for his extradition. (A background to the colonial situation of Puerto Rico and to the earlier part of Pagan's case may be found in *Last Post*, vol. 2, no. 5.)

Humberto Pagan will have seen a good many Canadian courtrooms before he finally leaves the country. He was brought before the Immigration Appeal Board facing possible deportation to the United States. His defence demanded that he be allowed to leave Canada for the country of his choice (Cuba, Chile and Algeria have all offered him asylum) since his life was endangered if he returned to Puerto Rico. Defence witnesses who testified to this effect included a social worker, a district attorney and a bishop, but the judges held their declarations in doubt.

These same judges withheld their decision for five weeks after it had been made and released it only after 200 demonstrators had occupied the Canadian consulate in San Juan. In spite of a particularly inept performance on the

part of the prosecution, they ruled that Pagan should be sent back to his homeland. They said he faced no particular threat of persecution, since all *independentistas* in Puerto Rico are persecuted. A precedent used in this judgment was that of a nonwhite South African who was deported to his native country on the grounds that he was not singled out for ill treatment in South Africa, all nonwhite South Africans being ill treated.

Pagan's deportation case has been appealed to the Supreme Court, but no date has yet been set for a hearing. (Under the Canada Immigration Act, deportations to a country other than that of the birth or nationality of the subject may take place only at the discretion of the minister of immigration, and so the case will still have to go to the minister even if the Supreme Court reverses the Appeal Board ruling.)

Meanwhile, the U.S. government has run into a stumbling-block in its attempts to obtain Pagan's extradition. On July 27, Judge A. E. Honeywell of Carleton County Court, who heard the case, judged that American officials had not produced sufficient evidence to suggest that Pagan was guilty of murder, and he issued an order that extradition proceedings be dropped.

The Americans have not given up: on October 5 the Supreme Court granted them permission for leave to appeal. The U.S. request for appeal will likely be heard some time in January, and if it

They just had to get tough

Much as ladies used to suffer "the vapours" now and then, governments are periodically and vaguely afflicted in the private regions of "internal security."

The latest evidence of this affliction is the case of Dr. Istvan Meszaros, the Hungarian-born Marxist scholar who was refused an immigrant visa to Canada July 14 on the grounds that he was a "threat to internal security." He had been hired by York University in Toronto to teach Social Science.

Dr. Meszaros arrived in Canada on September 19 to contest his case. He said the Canadian functionary who conducted his security interview in London "seemed very ignorant . . . and assumed that all Marxists are bombers and dynamiters."

In September Dr. Meszaros applied for landed-immigrant status, by which procedure he would at least be given clear reasons for refusal. The immigration department responded with an offer of a conditional permit for one year's residence in Canada. Dr. Meszaros refused it, asking for a clear decision.

Piqued, immigration withdrew the offer and announced that Dr. Meszaros constituted a security risk, and anyway

he was in the country illegally. If that were so, it didn't seem to have mattered when they made the first generous offer. But then the professor wouldn't co-operate so they just had to get tough.

Dr. Meszaros is a British citizen, having lived 13 years in Britain after being cleared by British authorities when he came there from Hungary via Italy. Apparently, Canadian immigration has sources of information unknown to the British. According to Gabriel Kolko, a York professor who went through much the same experience when he came to Canada from the United States in 1970, immigration acted in both his own and Dr. Meszaros's cases on the advice of FBI-CIA sources.

While after an initial flurry of attention the Canadian press has largely ignored the case, *The Times* of London, *Le Figaro*, *Pravda* and other European papers have been paying a good deal of attention to the whimsical ways of the Canadian government. Dr. Meszaros, understandably, is now talking about returning to the University of Sussex and leaving us to our quaint ways and Lubor Zink.

is granted, it may be as long as 18 months before the case can be presented, because the Supreme Court is very heavily booked. Pagan's stay in Canada may well be an extended one.

He was released on July 17 from the decrepit Carleton County Jail, on condition that he arrange a total of \$3000 bail, that he report to immigration officials once every two weeks, and that he remain within the province of Ontario (Hull, Quebec, lies right across the river from Ottawa and is served by Ottawa city buses; Pagan could be in big trouble if he misses his stop). This last provision was later modified to allow him to travel to Montreal for the purpose of consulting the lawyer who is now handling his case, Bernard Mergler.

Humberto Pagan is thankful to his defence committee and to those who have provided him with a place which he can call a home. But he wants to leave Canada and go to Latin America, where he feels that revolution provides more hope of improving conditions than it does in this country.

He must first complete his slow journey through a maze of Canadian courts, and the outcome of that journey is far from certain.

Eric Hamovitch

Basford's battered bag of goodies

A new waterfront park in Toronto, redevelopment of Ottawa's Lower Town, restoration work in Quebec City — there's just no telling what lengths the federal government will go to next in order to improve the quality of life in our cities.

We mustn't forget, of course, the new federal assistance plan for the relocation of railway lines in towns and cities. Tracks are ugly, they cut swaths through urban areas, they occupy valuable land.

To the rescue comes Ron Basford, Canada's Mister Clean. The Minister of State for Urban Affairs announces that federal money, lots of it, is going to be made available to move rail lines from city centres. The program, to cost \$10 million in the first year and rising to \$25 million annually within five years, will have a "fantastic urban impact," the minister says. "We are ready to help

move the railways out, to move the people in."

This is how the program will work, if the proposed legislation goes through: Municipal or provincial governments with urban redevelopment plans which involve the relocation or removal of railway facilities apply to the Canadian Transport Commission, which decides whether there is a good case for relocating the tracks. (Thirty towns and cities in eight provinces have already applied.)

If the CTC says yes, a detailed study is carried out, and financial assistance is provided to help move the railways. In addition to the downtown land which may be freed, neighbourhoods sliced up by railways stand to benefit from their relocation.

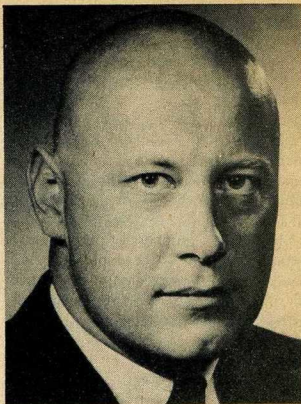
The program certainly will have a "fantastic urban impact" if we are to believe the author of a press release from Basford's office. "Parks, open spaces, public and private housing, housing rehabilitation, traffic improvements in terms of safety and flow, revitalized commercial and industrial sections, and improved facilities such as sewers, street lighting, water supply — can result from rail relocation programs applied to neighbourhoods."

Now that we've discovered the solution to all our urban problems, we must see if there are any possible drawbacks to railway relocation.

A massive railway relocation has already been carried out in Ottawa with federal funds — the only "successful example" of relocating railway tracks and a railway station in the outskirts of a city, says Basford. Many users of the railway station are of a different opinion. The new Ottawa Station is located on an isolated site several miles from the centre of the city (this is called "moving the people in"), and there is not even a direct bus service to the station. As a consequence, fewer people are travelling to and from Ottawa by train, and the frequency of service has dropped.

"The redevelopment of the rail system was an essential contribution to the improved transportation network serving the Ottawa-Hull urban area," states the minister's press release, "and the earlier conflicts between rail and road traffic have largely been removed." The conflicts have indeed been removed — by ignoring the needs of railway passengers and allowing the car to reign supreme.

Quebec City has submitted a proposal to move passenger facilities to the suburbs, and similar proposals are in the works in Winnipeg and Regina. Some



RON BASFORD
Expressways yes, railways no

people feel there is a case to be made for having railway stations where they can easily be reached and where they are most convenient to travellers. Montreal and Toronto both benefit from rail commuter services which bring passengers right into the heart of the city.

How many cities which have applied for railway relocations have laid out plans for improved public transit as part of the redevelopment process? How many of them are simply more interested in the higher tax revenues that can be raised if new buildings are constructed where railway lines once were?

Sault Ste. Marie has proposed a rail relocation plan aimed specifically at making a 100-foot right-of-way available for an east-west expressway. Is this the best way of removing eyesores, breaking down barriers between neighbouring areas, and making the city safer and cleaner? Or will it simply create more noise and contamination than the railway ever did?

Urban expressways do at least as much harm to the cityscape as railways do, but the federal government has not seen fit to provide funds for their relocation. Problems of jurisdiction, says the Department of Urban Affairs: railways are a federal responsibility, but highways are under provincial jurisdiction.

This question of jurisdiction has not stopped the Department of Regional Economic Expansion from providing loans totalling more than \$110 million to the government of Quebec for the construction of an expressway across the centre of Montreal. The partially constructed expressway slashes through

several working-class areas of the city, destroying precious low-income housing, dividing neighbourhoods, destroying communities and rendering the bordering streets unfit for human habitation because of noise and exhaust fumes.

(DREE seems reluctant to admit participation in this project. The *Last Post* had to speak to no fewer than 21 officials before DREE finally owned up to the loan.)

In terms of numbers of people forced from their homes, the expressway will have been more devastating than many floods or tornadoes. It will transport far fewer people, at much higher cost, than proposed subway extensions, which up to now have received not one cent of federal assistance.

The expressway project has been vigorously opposed by citizens' committees, environmental groups and even by a federal cabinet minister, Gérard Pelletier, who deplored what he called the "butchery" of his constituency. (Pelletier's own home, in Westmount, is safe from the ravages of the expressway builders.)

Perhaps one day the different federal departments can sit down and work out a consistent plan for urban development. If they do, the next bag of election goodies several years hence may be greeted without quite as much cynicism.

Eric Hamovitch

One, two, many Auto Pacts

Despite denials by officials in the department of industry, trade and commerce (IT&C), reports persist that the federal government may be considering a continental industrial strategy with the United States.

Such a strategy would have much the same effect as other stages in the long process of selling off Canadian industry: it would mean trading what we have left in the way of control of our economy for short-term material benefits. That certain sectors of the Liberal party are in favour of it, or something very much like it, is a matter of public record.

Trade Minister (until his defeat) Jean-Luc Pepin told reporters in Washington in July after meeting with U.S. Treasury Secretary George Shultz that he had stressed Canada's desire to

HEADLINE AND COMMENT OF THE MONTH

Agnew Trusts President on Watergate

Pressed again on the subject, Mr. Agnew said he was not bothered by the questions of political morality "because I know they do not extend to the White House."

— *New York Times, October 22, 1972*

"proceed to a viable industrial development." This could not be achieved "unless it is done on a co-operative, North American, international basis — you cannot acquire scale and specialization in Canada unless you have access."

One IT&C official said he would be "surprised" if that was a correct quote, while another said that it was "out of context" (the context was that Pepin was saying he and Shultz had talked about the "philosophy, the background" of problems like the dispute over Ottawa's regional development grant to Michelin Tire to produce tires for the American market "in terms of the industrial development of Canada," and this was part of that philosophy).

But Pepin's statement was an echo of what other Liberal cabinet ministers had said before. And the Liberal government of Lester Pearson had succeeded in effecting the organization of one industry, the automobile industry, on a continental basis as early as 1965. After the Auto Pact was signed with the United States, there was intense speculation about which industry would be the next to receive the same treatment.

By 1971 such speculation had long



JEAN-LUC PEPIN
Continental industrial strategy?

since died away. The Auto Pact, which had led to more car production on the Canadian side of the border than had originally been anticipated, was now regarded by the Americans as a major "irritant" in the increasingly chilly trade relations between the two countries. U.S. treasury department officials were sorry the Auto Pact had ever been signed in the first place, and were definitely not interested in any more like it.

Lack of interest on the part of the Americans is one of the main arguments advanced by IT&C officials for the non-existence of the continental industrial strategy. (One official also suggests that "the Canadian people wouldn't tolerate it," which is not a consideration that has always borne weight with the Liberal government in the past.)

But Jim Laxer of the Waffle group believes that the Americans would accept such a plan, and that it would be in their interests. He says that American dissatisfaction with the plan is only with the contentious safeguards for Canadian production, which the Americans expected to last for only a few years but which Canada has (so far successfully) demanded be left in force, and not with the principle of removal of tariff barriers.

In addition, according to Laxer, the growth in the Canadian car industry under the Auto Pact has been largely accidental, since the American manufacturers concentrated in their Canadian plants the models that happened to be most successful in the marketplace. If Laxer is right, the current American intransigence, far from ruling out a continental industrial strategy, simply means that the terms of any such deal would be substantially worse for Canada than those of previous surrenders of economic control.

One IT&C official suggests another, intriguing possibility: that the Americans might be induced to accept more industrial agreements, but only if Canada threw in "a whole bag of tricks" — specifically, a series of resource deals that would add up to the continental industrial strategy's better-known twin, the continental energy policy. For while there is some confusion about the Americans' intentions regarding our manufacturing industries, there is no doubt about their intentions regarding our resources: they want them. A deal for increased American exploitation of Canadian resources tied in with increased American control over Canadian industrial pol-

icy would set the stage for permanent maintenance of Canada as a resource hinterland for the United States.

↑ Although there has been some speculation that the continental industrial strategy is currently under negotiation and has been held up only by the necessity to keep things quiet during the Canadian and American election campaigns, it seems unlikely that we will hear more

than occasional noises about it in the immediate future. But it is clearly very much alive in Ottawa as a long-term possibility. If the American elephant (as Pierre Elliott Trudeau might say) twitches a bit over to the other side and grunts a few friendly grunts, it will find a sizeable contingent of continentalists in Ottawa waiting to respond.

Robert Chodos

Assembly line blues:

The souring of Henry's dream

In recent months, the American automotive industry has been making an effort to redeem itself after the catastrophic recalling of faulty cars fresh from the assembly lines. It has been coming out with ads pointing out safety features, while behind the scenes boards of directors are scratching their collective heads and trying to think of new ways to increase productivity and reduce embarrassment.

The Ford Foundation, the Rand Corporation and the rest of the family are financing epic studies on the nature of the industry, the socio-economics of the coffee break, muzak and Ralph Nader. But all to no avail: Henry Ford's perpetual-motion machine has hit a snag.

General Motors operates the showcase disaster area — its Lordstown, Ohio plant where the recently recalled Vega is produced. In a series of articles in the *New York Review of Books* last summer, Emma Rothschild revealed the full extent of the lunacy of productivity overkill as seen at Lordstown. In an effort to accelerate plant productivity, GM built a streamlined assembly system, automated at various points, and sent the cars through at 100 an hour. The fastest line until then had been 60 per hour.

The men began to break rapidly under the stress of a regime that left not even a split second of leeway. They walked out. Lordstown had to be slowed to half capacity.

Lordstown, since it went to an extreme, illustrated the maniacal qualities of the line more dramatically than had been seen before. The solution hit upon by GM was predictably inadequate: slow the line and add two minutes to the coffee break.

It is a commonly accepted phenomenon of the modern industrial state that

boring, repetitive, uncreative work causes severe mental stress that can develop into catatonic withdrawal or nervous breakdown.

It is such common wisdom, in fact, that no one is studying the phenomenon on a systematic basis anywhere in North America. The Levenson Institute in Cambridge, Mass., set up by Dr. Harry Levenson, formerly with the Meninger Clinic industrial psychology program, comes closest. Dr. Levenson says, however, that his group really has not studied what might be called the psychiatry of the work.

Ford itself, here in Canada, does not

seem to be particularly interested in anything more complicated than a hangover. When asked whether Ford of Canada had any statistics on the incidence of mental breakdown and related problems caused by assembly-line work, Ken Hallsworth, vice-president in charge of labour relations at Ford's enormous Oakville plant outside Toronto replied that no, they did not have any such information.

Fortunately, he was wrong. Jack Carter, a more forthright individual who takes care of Ford's group insurance plan for employees, did have such information.

According to Carter's records, in 1971, 6.2 per cent of total claims under the insurance plan were for "psycho-neuroses" — various forms of mental and emotional breakdown. 8.9 per cent were for related complaints such as vertigo, headaches and ulcers. In one year 40 per cent of Ford's 13,000 employees file claims under this plan. In psychoneuroses and related disorders then, this represents about 800 men, a figure which Carter says is increasing every year, while the actual work force remains relatively constant.

Somebody should tell Mr. Hallsworth.

Some of his men have been trying for

"YOUR JOB AT FORD"

You and the thousands of other men and women who make up the Ford of Canada organization are its most important assets. From the minds and hands of its people have come the new ideas, the new methods, the high standards of quality — the thousand and one things that have shaped our company's progress since the beginning.

Your job at Ford of Canada is to help the company do its job to the best of your ability. Each of the hundreds of operations involved in the making of our products is important, and how well each of us performs his particular job affects the lives and futures of all of us. Here are a few suggestions as to how you can go about doing your own job well:

- Do the work assigned to you to the best of your ability. In some cases, this may mean simply following instructions. But very often it also means asking questions and making constructive suggestions as to better and more efficient ways of doing your job.
- Take pride in your work. Do your job right the first time. Build quality and good workmanship into your work, and in this way help to maintain the company's reputation for top design, quality, and dependability of product.
- Co-operate at all times with your fellow workers and your supervisors — play your part as a member of the team.
- Speak well of the company and its products to your friends and acquaintances. One of the surest ways to show your pride in the company's products is to drive a car or truck that you helped to build.

—from a booklet called "Your job at Ford of Canada" put out by the labour relations and hourly personnel department, Ford of Canada, Oakville, Ontario.

some time. Both Don Walkley and Roy Sim are workers at the Oakville plant who have been on and off work for the last two years for this kind of problem. Walkley was working on a sub-assembly job putting doors together:

"For some reason it just screwed me up. I don't know medically why, it just did. I went home one Saturday — we were working 56 hours a week then — and I really felt bad. I felt like I had a tick in my cheek. It was something going on with my nervous system, like a charley horse, starting from the top and working down. When it got to my throat I was choking to death. They rushed me to the hospital and they gave me a shot of something and finally it went out of my system. I told my doctor I just had to get off that job."

Problems such as these are not covered by Workmen's Compensation, as they are not considered "industrial accidents." Instead, Walkley is covered by a private policy Ford carries with the London Life Insurance Co., the result of an initiative by the United Auto Workers. London Life is not enthusiastic about paying able-bodied young men to stay home and get their heads together. It employs agents from Hooper and Holmes Retail Credit to study the situation and make sure nobody is getting away with anything.

"What happens is they cut your

benefits off," says Sim. "You're covered from say July 1 to September 1, and sometime around the middle of August, nothing. Then you'll all of a sudden be aware of people bothering your neighbours. The people here have told me that they've had London Life come around wanting to know if I'm jumping around playing with my children. They phone my wife at work, my superintendent. Nine times out of ten you get the OK and the money starts again. But meantime there's been nothing. I've lost six or seven weeks like that."

When Don Walkley was well enough to return to work, he was put back on to exactly the same job he had left, but with another man to help.

"That's their solution to my problem. They put another guy in there with me."

The Swedes, having found this unsatisfactory, are now trying a new plan in their Volvo plants: instead of fitting bolts into the holes the guy in front just drilled, each man is a member of a team which works on one car to completion. In cars per hour, it is slower. When decreases in sabotage, repairs, absenteeism and recalls are taken into account, Volvo seems happy enough with the new plan.

Somebody should tell Mr. Halls-worth.

Carole Orr

Apart from the Unofficial Opposition, the Winnipeg *Free Press* (which still marches as if the ghost of Clifford Sifton were at its head), Schreyer's big challenge has been the enemy within.

In the main bout, over government auto insurance (Autopac), Schreyer's party held tight, conscious of its vulnerability. It was one fight they could not afford to lose, or they might all be back teaching political science.

The swing factor was Larry Desjardins, the Push-me / Pull-me Liberal from St. Boniface who joined, then wouldn't join, then did join forces with the government to help squeak Bill 56 through.

After wittering around in the wilderness as a Liberal-Democrat, Desjardins finally came over and was duly rewarded with the Ministry of Tourism, Recreation and Cultural Affairs.

The coming election will show the outcome, but the St. Boniface NDP organization cannot be too big on morale after fighting Desjardins in 1969, only to see him blackmail his way into the Cabinet. The local Liberals, too, will undoubtedly have a strong taste for blood. Ironically, Desjardins is proving to be a fairly good minister.

Cabinet doors in Schreyer's Manitoba are on double hinges. A week before the last session, out went Sidney Green, a tough and able minister, but one whose hatchet still glints occasionally since he lost the leadership to Schreyer in 1969. Green needed room to swing at Schreyer over public aid to separate schools.

He won. Schreyer lost. And Green was back in charge of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

Schreyer seemed to desire history's niche as the man who solved the century-old Manitoba Schools Question. The fact that he is the first Roman Catholic premier may not be entirely irrelevant.

After twice wagering his leadership on state aid and twice retracting the offer, the motion he fell on was an innocuous bid to turn the question over to committee study.

Almost half his caucus deserted him, including a half-dozen ministers. Yet, the real ugliness belonged to the Conservatives, who seemed bent on spiking Schreyer personally to compensate for their tepid political handling of the session. After promising a free vote, the Tories voted as a bloc until PC Whip Warner Jorgensen saw they had won and gave the nod to labour critic Gabe Girard, who voted magnanimously with Schreyer. It was not the Tories' finest

Manitoba:

Don't expect much, Dave

When Dave Barrett added the third hoop to the NDP's Triple Crown, 1969 lucky jockey Ed Schreyer warned him not to expect much from his first term. It was good timing, for Schreyer is almost back at the post himself.

A 1973 election, spring or fall, is a virtual certainty in Manitoba. And if the smart money is riding on the NDP, it is largely because Lady Luck abhors a vacuum.

Not that the NDP's legislative track record is that weak. It's just that ... well, even Schreyer's enemies expected more.

Fortunately, his enemies are no hell. When you discount the insurance industry, which pales in comparison to Saskatchewan's scalpel-wielding medics a decade ago, you are left first with the

front men for the two opposition parties.

The leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Marching Band is Syd Spivak, a grey-flannel mind with a hunger for debating points in the legislature, rather than on the hustings where they taste better.

Liberal leader Israel Asper is a poor man's rich man who still runs a tax column in the Winnipeg *Free Press*. If Izzy Asper has one thing going, apart from a refreshing naïveté which translates as bond-drive charisma, it is an unrelenting instinct for the jugular.

Needless to say, that can be a pain in the neck for Schreyer. Although the Liberals only recently regained official party status with Asper's by-election win this summer, any real threat to the NDP from across the floor would appear to come from them.

hour, and Schreyer was understandably bitter.

Inviting Green back to Cabinet was the best salve for the wound, and the best way to steal Spivak's chance to gloat.

What hurt Schreyer more in bench strength was the April defection of Rupertsland MLA Jean Allard, who saw the Red Peril engulfing the party, followed two months later by Joe Borowski's decision to sit as an Independent untainted by the "pornocrats" who wanted to abolish the film censorship board.

Long before the former Highways Minister from Thompson left, he was Number One thorn in Schreyer's side, although the pain lodged in a more basic part of the prime ministerial anatomy.

If Schreyer was silently asking, "Who will rid me of this meddlesome Pole?" the answer came from the man who said, "Let's classify films instead of censoring them."

Done. But by the narrowest of margins. Exit one meddlesome Pole, who later flirted with the federal Liberals and was unequivocally dubbed *persona non grata* by Mr. Schreyer. Borowski is not saying much these days.

The Allard-Borowski two-shoe walk-out cancelled the NDP by-election gains in Ste. Rose and St. Vital in 1971.

Qualitatively, the biggest loss may prove to be Saul Cherniack, the minister of finance, who announced this fall he wanted out for personal reasons. Cherniack was without question the ablest minister Schreyer had, and one of the most appealing personally. He had piloted the reorganization of Winnipeg into a unicity format. But too much work and a double family bereavement took their toll. Although Cherniack had to beg out, he left no doubt of his continued support of Schreyer and his willingness to contest the next election and answer the call for help again after a rest.

In many respects, Schreyer's nemesis has been his belief in open government. That isn't what Manitoba has after almost four years, at least not at the institutional level. At the caucus and Cabinet levels, it is too open.

There are ministers who talk some of the time to some of the reporters, and others who talk all of the time to all of the reporters. And where you have a hostile press, that's not performance.

Borowski wins the all-time Hero badge for loose lips, but there is also Attorney-General Al Mackling who cannot restrain his own moral rigidity over



SCHREYER
Winner by default?

movies and entertainment. If Manitoba is moving toward a Swedish model, it is only in political terms.

And by no means least is Len Evans, the man from Industry and Commerce, who has handled most of the flack over the Churchill Forest Industries debacle.

(C.F.I. was a Roblin-inspired pulp complex at The Pas, a joint public-private venture which was put into receivership by the NDP after the money had fled to safe little numbered accounts overseas. Public investment: \$93 million, which the government is trying to recoup by operating the complex. Meanwhile, the legal post-mortem continues.)

Evans is known on the inside as a man with a fetish for making announcements. Witness this summer's too-public negotiations with Kraft Corporate Cheese for a rapeseed processing plant in Evans' Brandon constituency. The National Farmers' Union was, and is,

boycotting those wonderful folks who brought you Cheez Whiz and Bruce Marsh. Naturally, in the party and in the NFU, there were some haemorrhoids twitching. Now, it looks as if Kraft is not going to Brandon after all.

Only minor embarrassment has come from Cy Gonick, the anticipated Peck's Bad Boy of the party. Despite his unpalatable Wafflish caste, Gonick has been a good constituency representative in urban Crescentwood, and an articulate left conscience to the caucus.

For all the headwind-bucking he has done, Ed Schreyer goes to the polls next year leaner and tougher than in 1969. This new stance is complemented by the diminutive, urbane and intimidatingly competent Saul Miller, who has acceded to real power as chairman of the Health, Education and Social Policy committee of Cabinet.

There is also the backing of some solid legislative achievements, such as public auto insurance, reform of labour law, public housing, reorganization of Winnipeg, wrist-slapping of the drug industry and rationalization of the delivery of health services.

Recurrent talk of an anti-socialist coalition between the Liberals and Conservatives is unlikely to amount to much. Possible departures from the NDP ticket, even at the ministerial level, will probably not hurt much if the party is organizationally prepared and can entice the right candidates.

Which adds up to a likely NDP victory in 1973. But victory, even by default, is still victory. Spivak is dormant and Asper's moon may be in the right house for 1977, but his time is not yet at hand.

Ken Bolton

Quebec:

Two steps forward

1972 will be remembered as a big year in the history of Quebec labour. A year when it, and not separatism, not terrorism, had the headlines. But it was not a year of triumph. The struggle for an independent socialist Quebec, the class war that underlies the race war, won some and lost some in 1972.

WON: The Common Front, that banding-together of 200,000 state employees to negotiate their way off the poverty threshold, won a contract which met its famous \$100-a-week demand. It

was at the price of a longer-than-usual contract, four years, and comes only in the fourth year. But the hospital cleaning ladies, who couldn't quite believe in their Front's demand for them, will be receiving it in 1975.

What it will be worth then, of course, is the question. It was reached with the right to strike taken away, with 85,000 teachers and liquor board employees left out, and subject to decreed conditions which threatened all if they didn't negotiate the agreement by October 15. But

AND THEY SHALL BEAT THEIR FRISBEES INTO PLOUGHSHARES

WASHINGTON (AP) — In a period of four years, the U.S. Navy spent \$375,000 in a scientific study of Frisbees to see if the flight characteristics of these plastic toys could somehow be adapted for warfare. It was no go

Flares now used by the military burn for three to five minutes as they float to earth by parachute. (Lt.-Cmdr. Hugo) Hardt said the navy was hoping a Frisbee-type flare would do the same job at less cost than the \$50 parachute flares.

But he said the navy scientists found that their burning characteristics caused them to "develop thrust and take off straight up like a rocket" instead of spinning off in horizontal flight.

— Toronto Star, October 23, 1972

Unions, who carried out a threat to pull out of a federation that now frightened them and founded the Centrale des Syndicats Démocratiques (CSD). CSD hardhats began appearing on construction sites. The immortal Asbestos, Que., local of the CNTU mine unions forgot its 1949 war with the bosses and went CSD. An elevator builder in his thirties said at the CSD convention: "The union is one thing and politics is another." But he was for the union getting involved in co-ops for house-building, because the housing situation was terrible. That wasn't politics. The QFL union at Regent Knitting in St-Jérôme noted, as the plant prepared to close, that the company was shifting work to a Montreal plant where the union was CSD.

WON: In his "moral report" to the CNTU convention, written in jail after the days of May, Marcel Pepin didn't speak much about the CSD, but did urge the creation of "people's committees" in each Quebec centre, to fight the Bourassa capitalists and capitalism in general. Also federalism, though presumably not through simple support for the Parti Québécois.

These committees have begun to take shape; in Quebec City not entirely at union initiative, but with prods from citizens' committees, free nurseries, freak leftists and the like. Popular historian Léandre Bergeron, in town to talk socialism with the Quebec group in late



CNTU LEADER PEPIN
Some gains, some losses

October, said the germ of a workers' party to rival the PQ was in them. But they are small, and the citizen movements they co-ordinate are small.

LOST: The keystone union of the Common Front, the Syndicat des Fonctionnaires Provinciaux du Québec, pulled out of the CNTU. Another 30,000 gone — but they didn't join the more ideologically right-wing, anti-white-collar CSD. Just a year before, the union's right had lost a pullout vote, and union president Jean-Paul Breuleux was saying he was solidly for the CNTU's socialist document *Count only on our own means*.

The Common Front, however, had been a bad adventure for many a civil servant — Breuleux said it had fought

The Iron Ore caper

Has the Iron Ore Company of Canada been defrauding the Quebec government of hundreds of thousands of dollars in taxes?

This question was raised October 2 by Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque and PQ vice-president Jacques Parizeau, who had obtained, through what they described as the "involuntary services" of the company, the financial statements of Iron Ore.

Iron Ore is wholly owned by a consortium of seven American steel companies and is not required to issue public reports.

According to a PQ press release, the financial statements "reveal an extraordinary contrast between 1970 and 1971. For 1970, the company declares an operating profit in Quebec equal to one sixth of its total operating profit, while its sales of Quebec ore represent about the same proportion of its total sales.

"But in 1971, a prodigious change takes place. The Iron Ore Company of Canada declares a profit of \$515,000 in Quebec and one of \$55 million in Newfoundland!"

Iron Ore's deposits in the region of the company town of Schefferville straddle the undulating Quebec-

Newfoundland border, making it virtually impossible to determine which ore came from which province. Mining taxes are substantially lower in Newfoundland than in Quebec.

Parizeau said there were three ways that the company could irregularly weight its profits in favour of Newfoundland. First, it could credit ore that had been extracted from Quebec territory to Newfoundland; second, it could manipulate its adjustments of inventory of ore in the two provinces; and third, it could charge to Quebec an abnormally high proportion of its operating expenses.

In a press release of his own, Iron Ore president W. J. Bennett said that the PQ's charges were "absolutely without foundation." He said taxes to the Quebec and Newfoundland governments were paid according to an accounting formula that had been established when the company began exploiting the iron ore deposits in 1954.

Lévesque and Parizeau replied that it was not a question of an accounting formula but rather of how the formula was applied, and specifically of what kind of watch the Quebec government maintained over the application of the formula.

too hard for job security, which civil servants had, and not hard enough for the \$100 minimum, which many didn't. And just a shade over half — 51 percent — voted this time to pull out.

WON: A certain reeducation of the intellectuals and the solidly-convinced to the movement. Pierre Vadeboncoeur, the man who wrote the tracts for the Lapalme Guys during their fight with Trudeau's post office, was said to be yearning for more time to think and write. But now he was back in the letters-to-the-editor columns full of scorn for Paul-Emile Dalpé, Yvon Valcin, and the whole CSD crowd.

Common Front picket-line veterans were pondering the difficulties of solidarity between nurse and mop-wielder, and exploring the cleaning-woman's self-deprecation they'd noted.

LOST: That very Gars de Lapalme struggle. Brave, colourful, justified it was, but lost. The CNTU admitted it at the same convention at which Pepin called for popular committees. "Trudeau and Marchand can pat themselves on the back," said André L'Heureux of CNTU political action, "they've broken a union." Frank Diterlizzi of the Gars was even more bitter. An investigation by CNTU treasurer Jacques Dion into the finances of the Gars had indicated that some unjustified cheques had been issued to the fired mail truck drivers; Dion left shortly afterwards to found the CSD.

Now the CNTU is getting ready to

THEY GOT RHYTHM

He [Mitchell Sharp] has always loved parties. Although he began his friendship with fellow cabinet minister Jean Marchand because he overheard him whistling Schubert one day, they have remained pals because of their party going propensities.

"I love going to parties with Jean. He is a terrific bon vivant. These French Canadians," he shook his head reminiscently, "certainly know how to have fun."

—Toronto Globe and Mail,
October 9, 1972

cut off the cheques. And in an October meeting of its Confederal Council, Diterlizzi was chastising it for not keeping them up just a little bit longer, till the guys could get civil service jobs which were in the offing. The CNTU said this was unrealistic; its idea was to take as many of the guys into union work as possible. Not Frank, but another Gars de Lapalme, was heard to say, "The CNTU is worse than the Liberals."

And was it a win or a loss when the Quebec section of the United Steelworkers opted for Quebec independence? It was a clearer political position than the movement had taken till then; if one is a separatist leftist, a right one. But Jean Gérin-Lajoie, Steelworkers head, had

accompanied it with this kind of reflection: "After a year in which the union movement has gone off the rails in Quebec, we've found it's time to adjust our sights."

Off the rails. And yet he wasn't against the politicization of the unions, nor their nationalism: "He who does not plug in to the national identity of Quebec condemns himself to socio-political sterility." This means the Parti Québécois, but as the left wing of the Steelworkers asked in its rebuttal to the Gérin-Lajoie view: "What have the Métallos done and what are they going to do to make it so that the workers control the PQ?"

Both Gérin-Lajoie, the pro-Péquist, and Bergeron, the anti-Péquist, quoted the October 11 by-election in the north-shore riding of Duplessis to support their case. The PQ was whipped. This was because it hadn't supported the occupiers of Sept-Iles in May, and the occupiers were disillusioned with it, said Bergeron. But the PQ, in defeat, increased its vote in Sept-Iles. So it was more likely — and this is what Jean Gérin-Lajoie has to live with — that the workers had clung to the PQ as their political voice even more closely after it refused to back their struggle; and that the middle class and the unorganized or conservative working class, whose fears the PQ had catered to, still found it too revolutionary, and had voted against it. Workers' politics seem far off, even after labour's year.

Malcolm Reid

Old drama, new players:

The trials of Akwesasne Notes

Does the arrest of the editor of the largest Indian newspaper in North America reflect a new (if hardly novel) trend in the Nixon Administration's Indian policy? And will Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Jean Chrétien hurry to catch up?

The paper in question is *Akwesasne Notes*, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, which has grown in three and a half years from a circulation of 900 to one of 38,000. A typical issue of *Notes* will report events of the month from what the James Bay Crees are doing to fight the attack from Hydro-Québec which wants to flood their lands, to the reclaiming by

the Pit River Indians of lands occupied by the PG&E railroad in California, and on to the napalm bombing of Amazon Indians by the Indian Protection Society of Brazil (American bombs, Canadian planes).

Its very success, its increased visibility and its location in a community whose land is claimed by three governments, but whose people recognize the constitution of a fourth power, have made *Akwesasne Notes* vulnerable to attack. The arrest of Rarihokwats, *Notes'* editor, was ostensibly the result of a "questionable" entry into the United States, but is closely tied into that jurisdictional dispute and to a disagreement

over what the relationship of the Indian community at Akwesasne to the surrounding white community should be.

Akwesasne is a community occupying the islands and south shore of the St. Lawrence River near Cornwall, Ontario and Massena, New York. It is part of the Mohawk Nation, a member of the Six Nations' Confederacy, called the Iroquois by the French but in their own language still called the People of the Great Law.

Mohawks have occupied Akwesasne since long before their Carib and Arawak brothers discovered Columbus in 1492. Canada and the United States have made claims to Akwesasne that would put the

islands into Ontario, the south shore into two separate counties of New York State and three peninsulas into Quebec.

Traditional Mohawks, who have had a recorded federal constitution for perhaps a thousand years, do not see this as a workable form of federalism. Along with the need to remain one community, they quote the treaties and correspondence in which both England and the United States recognized that the Six Nations were sovereign and independent nations that could not be subjected to foreign domination.

Michigan-born Jerry Gambill came to Akwesasne in 1966 as a community development officer with the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs. But his insistence on working with the whole community — and therefore with the Long House people, the traditionalists who continue to recognize only their own Iroquois constitution as having authority — soon led to a parting of the ways with Indian Affairs.

Gambill took the name Rarihokwats four years ago when he was made a naturalized citizen of the Mohawk Nation under the sponsorship of Anna Jock, Clan Mother of the Bear Clan.

Mrs. Jock says, "He has become a Mohawk in all the ways our people have. He understands our Mohawk language and could speak it with ease." Adoption into the Mohawk Nation is not a common thing; there is probably only one other living person who has been accepted into the nation.

Rarihokwats was at graduate school in Vermont when people from Akwesasne blockaded the International Bridge on December 18, 1968. When clippings were sent him from a variety of daily newspapers he pasted them up, had them offset and sent them to every home on the reserve. At the beginning he had no intention of regular publication, but by the end of the next summer, when the demand for the offset sheets had passed the 2,000 mark, he was back at Akwesasne developing *Notes* into a newspaper.

At the beginning the paper had little editorial capability of its own; it was made up almost entirely of clippings from other sources. It also had no permanent home — it was put out from a bus in which its staff travelled across the continent visiting subscribers. In 1970 Mike Boots invited the paper to share his

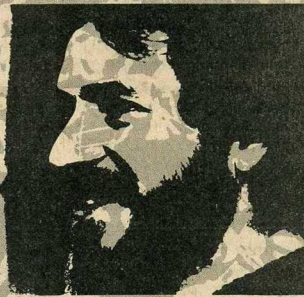
barber shop and storage room on Cornwall Island, and *Notes* had its first permanent residence. The emergence of a volunteer staff with artistic and technical talents transformed it from a news anthology to a newspaper. After a year in the barber shop *Notes* had also become a major distributor of books on Indian matters, and it had begun to distribute crafts, especially those produced by people in remote areas, who lacked a non-government, non-exploitive access to the market.

It was the move in January 1972 from the barber shop on a quiet corner of the reservation to Nation House at Hogansburg, a white village in the heart of Akwesasne on the New York side of the line, that made the newspaper vulnerable to attack. Nation House had been purchased by the Long House people (with funds raised by White Roots of Peace, the communications group that put out *Notes*) as a political and community centre, and its presence had disrupted the balance of power established by the two government-funded "elective systems" on the reserve — the Canadian band council and the New York State tribal trustees.

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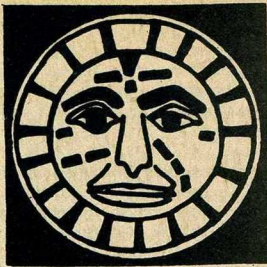


THIRD DOWN, 110 TO GO

Jesse Winchester's "Third Down, 110 to Go" is not an album of football songs. Jesse is a singer and song writer who makes his home in Montreal. The album is a collection of 13 original tunes by Jesse.

Recorded at les Studios
André Perry, Montreal
and Eastern Sound, Toronto.





AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

Volume 4
Number 3

Circulation:
35,000

(The move to Hogansburg also meant that Rarihokwats, in the eyes of both the United States and Canada a Canadian citizen, would have to spend a good deal of time on the other side of the line. "My entry into the United States had been perfectly legal," he says. "It had been with the explicit understanding of the immigration officials of what my role was with the newspaper.")

If the "elective systems" were to maintain the balance of power in their favour they had to strike out at the Long House. In attacking Rarihokwats' presence, they were challenging the right of the Long House to naturalize people — and hence its sovereignty — and the move had the added charm of confusing political and cultural ideas of Indian-ness with a variety of racial overtones.

Lawrence Lazore, the chairman of the New York State tribal trustees, is representative of most of the people with whom he works. After 26 years in the U.S. Navy he retired as a Lieutenant-Commander and came home to lead his people. He is so proud of his Indian heritage that he likes to describe himself as a Pine Tree Chief (a leader added to the normal roll call of chiefs for his greatness) but is embarrassed in the presence of Long House people. Although his office is entirely the creation of New York State, Lazore has recently been commuting to Washington, where he received a birch bark scroll from the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs declaring the tribal trustees to be the only "recognized" body at Akwesasne.

In March a group from the trustees' council succeeded in having Rarihokwats arrested and deported, although the Border Patrol, after interrogating him for some time, said the charges that *Notes* was Communist-inspired were unfounded. Within the hour of his deporta-

tion the Long House chiefs had brought him back to Nation House.

An open letter was circulated accusing Rarihokwats of "recruiting black people from all over the United States to join the Mohawks." The letter warned its recipients to "Act now — It May Already Be Too Late."

When Richard Cook, a Bear Clan Chief at the Long House, proposed to buy a piece of land, the tribal trustees decided they had intended to buy it all along. They also decided that Clarence White, treasurer of the Long House, who lives on the lot next to the one Cook was proposing to buy, should be evicted because he is not on the tribal roll. Neither, they discovered, is Anna Jock, Clan Mother of the Bear Clan and founder of the Indian Way School.

(The New York tribal roll has never pretended to list all the residents of the reserve. It resembles, rather, a personal telephone list of friends of the various trustees who have held office over the years.)

Rarihokwats was arrested by the Border Patrol when he returned to Nation House from the Long House meeting that had been considering the court case over the land Richard Cook was proposing to buy. If Rarihokwats might be masquerading the whole court case it would be good to have him out of the way. If he were sent back to where he came from it would show everyone just who was in charge.

When they came to the door the Border Patrol insisted they only wanted Rarihokwats to come with them for questioning. They even agreed he might take along a friend. Later, they told the local television station he was being jailed "for his own protection."

After the land dispute had been heard in court (the judge told the two parties to settle it between themselves — evicting an Indian from Indian land was not a matter for the court), the Border Patrol

told Rarihokwats that if he was willing to go back to Canada they would drive him right then.

"Right then" meant after friends had come with the bail bond of \$2,000 the officials had earlier required. It also meant after word had come from Washington that there was no reason to hold him, or to require bail. What was being offered now was the normal routine for a "questionable" entry into the United States — twenty-four hours after it is normally given.

The issues that are being worked out at Akwesasne now have been there much longer than any of the present participants. The protagonists have their counterparts in every generation of the past century.

What is new in the situation is *Akwesasne Notes*. It represents the first time in history that a systematic trans-continental hookup of every Indian reserve, every urban Indian centre, every college campus and non-Indian support group has been maintained. It is a challenge to the old dependence on the Indian agent and the local white newspaper.

Within thirty days of Rarihokwats' arrest the tribal council chairman of the Hopi had punched the leader of the traditionalists in the face at the Snake Dance ceremony. The people of Tousukee filed a suit against their tribal council for giving out a 99-year lease to development interests. Members of the Seneca tribal council physically attacked tribe members who had been criticizing the council and suing them for leasing land to Fisher Price.

The Canadian band council at Akwesasne, hurrying to get into the act, is proposing to welcome a British Columbia brewery to Cornwall Island. One of the proposed sites is now in use as a Nation Garden, another White Roots of Peace project.

But then, put in a national perspective, one garden is a pretty small plot lined up against James Bay or the Mackenzie Valley.

Michael Posluns
and Kanatakeniata

Miners for Democracy: The part that they forgot to kill

Oh Lord, the poor miner, will his fight never end.

They'll abuse, even murder him to further their plans.

Where is his victory, how will it stand? It'll stand when poor working men all join hands.

—Hazel Dickens, "The Yablonski Murders"

Have you seen "The Godfather"? They should rename that movie "The United Mine Workers".

—Frank Putsakulish to fellow coal miners in Ebensburg, Pennsylvania

Early in December, the United Mine Workers of America will vote on whether to keep incumbent president W. A. (Tony) Boyle in office or replace him with 49-year-old Arnold Miller, the head of a reform slate. Every dues-paying member of the UMW will have a chance to vote — all except the union's 4,000 Canadian members, that is.

The special election was made necessary in May when U.S. federal judge William Bryant threw out the 1969 elections in which Boyle decisively defeated Joseph (Jock) Yablonski. Bryant placed the overseeing of the new election in the hands of the U.S. labour department, and requested the Canadian labour department to take similar steps where UMW districts function in Canada to

make sure the election is clean. Ottawa chose not to co-operate.

The challenge to Boyle's leadership is the culmination of problems in the UMW dating back to the 1950s, the waning years of the long reign of John L. Lewis, under whose leadership the miners had once supplied the money and organizers to create the CIO. In the fifties, the coal industry was in a slump and Lewis elected to encourage automation of the mines, sacrificing jobs to streamline production. Sweetheart contracts were negotiated with many operators, permitting wages and welfare fund payments to drop below established levels.

In 1962 Boyle inherited this tendency to settle with the coal industry under the table. He also inherited a highly centralized organization with no room for rank-and-file participation — an organization of which he was himself a product, having been promoted by Lewis as a reliable yes-man. It didn't take long to see that Boyle lacked Lewis's intelligence and charisma.

Under Boyle, nepotism is practised as a fine art by the top international officers of the union. Secretary-treasurer John Owens has two sons on the payroll, for example: Willard Owens makes \$35,000 a year on the union legal staff and Ronald Owens is secretary-treasurer of the union's Ohio district, earning \$8,000 more than any other district

secretary-treasurer. Boyle has a brother and a daughter on the payroll and there are at least seven other families with two or more members on the union staff.

Boyle's UMW is also not above helping a coal company out of a tight spot. In 1967 Lewmurken Inc., a front organization with the same business address as the union, received a loan of more than \$1 million from the UMW. Part of that money went to cover an outstanding loan by Lewmurken of \$375,000 to a mining operation that wasn't even a union employer. In effect, the United Mine Workers had a substantial equitable interest in a non-union coal operation.

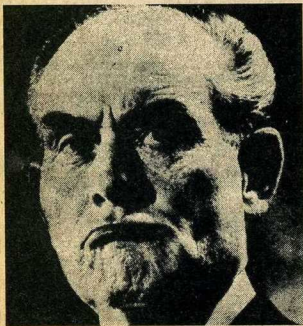
But the crowning moment of the Boyle presidency came in 1968 with the mine disaster at Farmington, West Virginia. Boyle arrived at the scene a few days after the explosion and with 78 men entombed beneath him said "as long as we mine coal there is always this inherent danger." He said he considered the mine owner, Consolidation Coal, "one of the best companies to work with as far as co-operation and safety are concerned."

At every inspection of the Farmington mine by the U.S. Bureau of Mines for five years prior to the disaster Consol had been cited for insufficient rock dusting — the procedure which most likely would have prevented the explosion.

The Farmington disaster led to a new federal coal-mine health and safety law. It also added fuel to the fire building around coal miner's pneumoconiosis — black lung disease. Workmen's compensation for black lung ultimately became part of the federal mine safety law.

Boyle's hierarchy remained insensitive to the needs of the union membership. They had not pushed for stronger federal safety regulations since 1952. Their paid lobbyists in Washington were virtually unseen on Capitol Hill at the time new safety regulations were being considered. The UMW half-heartedly endorsed separate health and safety bills, believing the health regulations would be stricken out anyway.

Boyle's preoccupation at the time was not the threat of another Farmington, but the challenge of Yablonski in the upcoming



BOYLE



MILLER

photo: Earl Dotter

The challenge has a fifty-fifty chance

ing union elections.

Safety crusader Ralph Nader and a few dissident rank-and-filers had convinced Yablonski to leave his position in the UMW's bureaucracy and run against Boyle for the presidency. Once he announced his candidacy, Yablonski was contacted by pockets of resistance throughout the coalfields. He linked up with these dissidents to try to reform the UMW from within.

After Boyle's overwhelming victory in December of 1969, Yablonski was convinced that the Boyle machine had made mincemeat of the Landrum-Griffin Act, which regulates how unions are run in the States. Yablonski had been refused campaign space in the *UMW Journal*, Boyle bureaucrats had their salaries upped before the election so they could "donate" their raises to the election as individuals, and Boyle spent \$9,000 in union dues on pens that endorsed his slate. Yablonski vowed that he would "see Boyle in court."

Within a month Yablonski and his wife and daughter were found murdered in their Clarksville, Pennsylvania home.

Yablonski had been the rallying point for the miners' reform movement, and without him it looked as if the organization might come apart at the seams. But the 1969 campaign had uncovered several men with leadership potential and in April 1970 they met for a memorial service to honour Yablonski and create the Miners for Democracy (MFD).

The MFD was set up to oust Boyle from the leadership of the union, but his autocratic control had made internal reform impossible. They turned to the federal labour laws and the U.S. court system. Soon Boyle was up to his ears in lawsuits for various types of corrupt practices, and he was losing most of them.

But legal sentences were a mixed blessing for the growing reform movement. To old-timers, taking the UMW to court brought shades of John L. facing injunction after injunction in the thirties and forties when he took on the government as well as the coal operators in massive strikes. Coal miners have never trusted judges or their motives, and with some justification. Some critics said the Nixon Administration was using the Boyle cases to create new legal precedents that could be used to manipulate and bust other unions in the future.

Then Judge Bryant's decision turned the initiative back to the coalfields. Meanwhile, the courts had also turned



photo: Mike Abramson

JAKE CAMPBELL IN WHEELING Show of support

up a host of UMW payrollers who were directly involved in the Yablonski murders.

In Canada, President John H. Delaney of District 18 in the Rockies and President William Marsh of District 26 in Nova Scotia decided that their regions would not be influenced by foreign court orders and that they would take orders only from Boyle on international union matters.

The labour department had no intention of forcing the election on the two districts, especially as there is no Canadian equivalent to the Landrum-Griffin Act.

Where the Canadian rank-and-file stands on reform of the UMW is difficult to determine. In 1969 Yablonski won the Michel local in Sparwood, B.C., the largest in District 18, and some observers feel he would have won many more in Canada if ballot boxes hadn't been stuffed. Such charges have not been fully investigated to date.

In 1970 Marsh almost lost the district election to Jake Campbell, a local president in the Sydney area. Campbell came to the MFD nominating convention in Wheeling, West Virginia, as a show of support for the reform movement in Canada.

Over the years the UMW headquarters has not gone out of its way to help its Canadian brothers, and Canadian miners are somewhat skeptical that a reformed union would be any different. They would like to have a visit from Arnold Miller and other members of the MFD slate. Miller would like to see some sign of support before he devotes limited time

and funds to the 4,000 Canadian members out of a 180,000-member union.

Nevertheless, if Miller wins, the effects are sure to be felt in Canada. District 18 is under perpetual trusteeship to UMW headquarters in Washington. Miller is certain to give Delaney the boot in favour of someone who openly supports him. The United Steelworkers have been watching the situation closely, and will be happy to pick up the pieces if the district is badly split.

District 26 has full local autonomy, but is financially dependent on the International. The Glace Bay office collects \$4,500 in dues per month and gets an additional \$5,500 from the States. Lately the subsidy to Marsh has exceeded his monthly expenses by \$4,500. The district is working on a nest egg that already amounts to \$54,000.

If Boyle loses Marsh may try to go it alone, perhaps turning to Devo, the federal crown corporation that owns the mines, to help him meet expenses.

In a speech to the Sydney Rotary Club in September Marsh criticized himself for a selfish concern about his job and his union: "... I put that damn job up there as a false idol and have adored it for the last 14 years. What it means to Marsh rather than say 'what can Marsh do for the people first that he represents and secondly for C., & Breton.'"

If Marsh was hinting at an independent union, he wasn't thinking of a new version of the militant Amalgamated Mine Workers of Nova Scotia of the 1930s. He told the Rotarians, "We have to be statesmen and we have to go in and we have to help manage the coal industry, because it behooves us, it behooves us to take advantage of this great advantage (Devo and Sysco, the provincially-owned steel mill) ..."

Ed Monborne, a native of Glace Bay who now lives in Pennsylvania and acts as Miller's national campaign manager, was not impressed with Marsh's new nationalism. He said of Marsh and Delaney, "It's disgusting to see these men who have been at Boyle's beck and call for so long suddenly wrap themselves in the Canadian flag when their fat salaries might be in jeopardy."

Their fears may be justified; for most observers give the MFD a fifty-fifty chance of beating Boyle at the polls in December. If the reformers can win, it will be the first time the entrenched hierarchy of a major U.S. union has been thrown out by its members in decades.

Sandy Gage



by Claude Balloune

LAPOSTOL
PSSU

The Madam and the Liberals

One of the oddest campaigns in the elections certainly had to be that of Madam Martha Adams, a woman whose trial for living off the avails of prostitution was conveniently postponed so she could run in St. Hyacinthe against Claude Wagner. Running as an independent, her platform was simply in favour of the legalization of prostitution.

Madam Adams gained notoriety during the recent inquiry into the conduct of Montreal Police Chief Jean-Jacques Saulnier. Chief Saulnier, it is remembered, had the misfortune of receiving a gift of a colour TV set from the owner of a downtown hotel which, at the time, specialized in one-night stands. A disgruntled Morality Squad detective had said that Madam Adams's house was informed by Chief Saulnier of impending morality squad raids.

On the witness stand, she said she had indeed received tipoffs, but the caller was always anonymous. She also implied she was well connected with Judges, MPs, cabinet ministers and what have you, having met many people while plying her trade. She also said some of her guests (she did not name them) knew where Pierre Laporte was being kept by the FLQ.

At any rate, when Claude Wagner opted for the Tories, Martha was anxious to run against him because as a judge he had once refused her bail. *Québec-Presse* reports that *Les Editions du Jour*, the publishing house that put out her memoirs, loaned her one of their permanent employees to help run her campaign. This is interesting, because *Les Editions du Jour* is run by Jacques Hébert, who happens to be the close friend and publisher of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. In addition, a group of Liberals in Montreal kicked in several thousand dollars (*Québec-Presse* said \$50,000) to finance her campaign. It was arranged by her lawyer, Auguste Choquette, who used to be a Liberal MP.

It may seem strange that a woman of her reputation could be considered a threat to Mr. Wagner. But attitudes and things in Quebec are sometimes funny. It is to be remembered that when asked if she didn't notice something funny or suspicious about people in the house where Pierre Laporte was held by the FLQ in St. Hubert, a neighbour said "Yes, of course." Why didn't she call the police. "Oh, we all thought it was just a whore house or something."

Of course, Quebec *n'est pas une province comme les autres*

Roger Doucet — the singing waiter at the Montreal restaurant Au Lutin Qui Bouffe who entertains the patrons

with opera — got his lumps during the Russia-Canada hockey series. Doucet is the man who sings the special, bilingual version of O Canada at the Montreal Forum's NHL games. He was really looking forward to singing not only O Canada, but also the beautiful Russian national anthem at the start of the first game in Montreal. So, tremendously excited, he practised for three months so that he would perform perfectly for the biggest live audience in history. He even went to the Soviet consulate to try out — and was told he had given a moving and excellent rendition.

Then, ten hours before game time, Doucet was advised by Forum officials that it was all off and he couldn't sing either anthem. Doucet was livid with rage, and his protests earned him the right to sing O Canada. But the Russian anthem never got sung, only played on the organ. Forum officials blame the Soviets, saying they didn't want the words sung because a new version is now being prepared. But no one knows exactly why the anthem could not be sung . . .

Stephen will have to wait

Stephen Lewis may have to wait a little while after all to become leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the Ontario Legislative Assembly. In my column last month I jumped the gun in announcing the nomination of Ottawa East Liberal MLA Albert Roy as federal Liberal candidate for the same riding. His resignation from the legislature would have given NDP organizers a crack at overtaking the Liberals in Queen's Park.

The nomination meeting was held shortly after we went to press, and the early overwhelming favourite went down to defeat at the hands of former school trustee Jean-Robert Gauthier and his team of card peddlers. In the month preceding the nomination the membership of the Ottawa East Liberal Association nearly quintupled, passing from 1600 to more than 7500. Gauthier's supporters managed to sell or give away 2000 membership cards in one one-week period alone, outperforming their rivals. Memberships cost only one dollar apiece, cheap for a sure Liberal seat.

Gauthier attributes the large turnout at the nomination meeting to his immense personal following in the riding and to his credibility as a candidate, but some cynics disagree. In response to a journalist who asserted that a pig could win Ottawa East on the Liberal ticket, Roy (who will have to stick it out in the Ontario legislature) reluctantly had to concede that Gauthier is not a pig.

On the other hand, not all politics is like that. While all that other stuff was going on, Sophie Lewis, David's wife, turned out to be, according to reporters, the gem

LADY
PRESS

Claude Balloune continued . . .

of the campaign. When a campaign plane reporter popped a shirt button, she immediately offered to sew it back on. When she ran into Margaret and Justin on another plane, she was the perfect Jewish mother, saying the two of them were very nice kids . . . Meanwhile, Eric Kierans, who was feeding David Lewis a lot of that stuff about corporations, was a bit unhappy that David was not a lot tougher, especially in regard to foreign ownership.

But while foreign ownership may not seem like a threat to Canadian sovereignty to some, others — the Canadian Army in particular — feel that Quebec unions are. In July, an RCMP officer dropped by the home of Montreal *La Presse* education reporter Lysiane Gagnon to ask for the inside dope on the Quebec Teachers' Corporation. He claimed he was not on duty, but just interested. "I came on my own, nobody asked or ordered me to," he said. "As you can see, it's lunch time and this is my lunch hour." Quiet.

During the teachers' convention, a Quebec provincial policeman registered as a journalist, was recognized and tossed out. But as evidenced by the Canadian Army Intelligence Force's secret report on the CNTU (released by the Parti Québécois), the police and army intelligence is largely faulty. Lysiane Gagnon, they should have known, is André d'Allemagne's wife. He's a founder of the Quebec independence movement.

Then there was the curious overnight burglary of the Montreal offices of the Mouvement pour la Défense des Prisonniers Politiques and the Agence de Presse Libre du Québec. They lost all their files, addressograph plates, phone listings and bank statements. Things of material value, like electric typewriters, were not touched. Québec, thanks to Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette, now has a law, called Bill 51, which allows police to search any premises and seize any documents without warrant or notification if there is suspicion of "organized crime or subversive" activity. The burglary victims suspect Bill 51 came knocking . . .

But who in all Canada should come out with the most subversive of all statements: Joey Smallwood. In Peking, he told the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, he "saw the future and it works." He added that Mao's Communism is the best thing for India and most of Asia.

Also globetrotting recently was Québec's cultural affairs minister, Claire Kirkland-Casgrain, who was on a cruise in the Caribbean. Passing by Haiti, she reportedly insisted on stopping in for an exchange of good wishes and gifts with "Baby Doc" Jean-François Duvalier.

Since the Canadian dollar went back up above the American, this country has been deluged with a flood of cheap American coins, perhaps the result of currency

speculators out to make a quick buck. A group of Canadian nationalists in Toronto is organizing a campaign to refuse all American coins received in change . . .

At a recent Quebec convention of the United Steelworkers, the 200 delegates were given a chance to vote on where they stood on some of the political questions of the day. The results of the multiple-choice-type questionnaire were intriguing, to say the least. Asked where they thought their union's political action should be directed, the delegates replied: Smash the system — 5 votes; Change the system — 61 votes; Reform the system — 123 votes; overthrow the system — 2 votes; Keep the system — 1 vote; Other opinion — 1 vote. On another issue: "What do you think of our parliamentary system?" the Steelworkers replied as follows: Not democratic enough — 164 votes; Democratic enough — 16 votes; Irrelevant — 1 vote; Other opinion — 2 votes. They were emphatic too on the question: "Are you in favour of a sovereign Québec?", answering: Yes — 138 votes; No — 12 votes; Undecided — 24 votes; Other opinion — 3 votes.

It's often forgotten that Canada has a publishing empire of its own whose tentacles spread through the United States — the *Midnight* stable of some dozen papers including *Midnight*, *National Spotlight* and *National Bulletin*. It's Canada's revenge for American cultural imperialism; they send us their garbage, we send them ours.

One of the more interesting secret documents to come into my hands recently is the *Midnight* style sheet, which lists "Yes Words" and "No-No Words" for the physical functions and parts of the body that are the subject matter of most of *Midnight's* stories. The style sheet, which is mandatory for the paper's writers, seems to go in for the cute and the leering and avoid the earthy and direct. Under "Testicles", for example, "love sacs" is a Yes Word and "balls" a No-No Word; "daisy chain" (sic) is allowed for intercourse but "screw" and "fuck" are not; "creamy hills", "thirty-six's" and "rose-buds" are okay for breasts while "tits" is *verboten*.

It will be reassuring to some people that puritanism, apparently on its last legs in most publications, is at least managing a dying gasp in one unlikely place . . .

And finally, I note with regret the passing of one of the country's best alternative publications, the *Alternate Press* of St. John's, Nfld., which went belly-up last month after thirteen issues and a little more than a year of publication. The *Alternate Press* maintained a high standard of lively and informative journalism, although it never quite succeeded in matching the impact of its first issue, in which a story revealing that the wife of then-Premier Smallwood was a slum landlady in St. John's led to a fist-fight on the floor of the Newfoundland House of Assembly.

The "bucks" roll in, but fans suffer ...

THE GREAT HOCKEY BRAIN-DRAIN

by Nick Auf der Maur

One night a few weeks ago, slightly fewer than 12,000 people showed up at the Montreal Forum to catch the opening yawn of something called the Atlanta Flames. The National Hockey League was back in business, but Montreal fans were not aflame. Aside from one night during last year's crippling blizzard, it was the smallest NHL crowd in Montreal since the war.

The game, like so many we've had to watch since and will be forced (it's the only game in town, right?) to endure all winter, was a monstrous bore. Ken Dryden (22 shots, mostly from the red line) was so underwhelmed that he spent most of the evening counting empty seats.

But the duplicity of the NHL barons has become so ingrained, so weaned into habit that the attendance was announced at 16,002. They added the proxy season ticket holders too apathetic to bring themselves to watch what one newspaper headline described as "Habs, firewagon douses Flames." However for once, the Forum's duplicity is going to cost them money. They used only to count the people who passed through the turnstiles and pocket the amusement tax contained in each season ticket price.

A day earlier, all of Canada had the opportunity of joining in the incredible ennui of some 5,000 Ottawa fans who put up with the Ottawa Nationals and the Alberta Oilers of the World Hockey Association. The TV spectacular demonstrated the appallingly slipshod, sloppy play that expansion and the WHA are foisting on the public.

And yet, at the same time, some 17,000 people crammed into the Long Island Coliseum to watch the New York Islanders do feeble battle against Boom Boom Geoffrion's Atlanta Flames. By all reports, they came away happy. Next year, the NHL will bring further joy to American sports fans by adding Washington, D.C. and Kansas City to their current 16-team circuit. (Washington, apparently, was awarded a franchise because sports-lobbying Congressmen — disgruntled by the loss of the city's baseball team — indicated it would help the NHL avoid prying by Anti-Trust investigators.) That, plus the WHA's 12 teams, means that Canada will be supplying players for a total of 30 supposedly major league teams, up from six in '67.

Who's benefitting from this? More jobs for Canadians through export of our human resources. Four New York Rangers now make more money than their entire team did three years ago. American fans now have a national, all-white sport. Surveys in expansion cities strongly indicate that the

new fans come from upper income brackets and, aside from colour, bear little resemblance to the average Canadian hockey fan. St. Louis boasts that their hockey fans, unlike basketball, baseball and football fans are likely to show up wearing mink coats.

In Philadelphia, undoubtedly to avoid any taint, Quebec hockey players with the Flyers are prohibited from speaking French when English-speaking players are present. They are not even allowed to shout "ici" during games or in practices. This is done, explains the Canadian coaching staff, to avoid any tendency towards "cliquishness."

In Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal people are still forking over nine bucks a ticket to watch the diluted rubbish that passes for hockey. In fact, in Vancouver, after three years of losing garbage, only seven of some 14,000 ticket holders have failed to renew their season passes. But for the average fans, the guys in the taverns and the people at home in front of the TV sets who pay for a lot of it through advertising, hockey is sick and dying.

The product is bad, and what makes it worse, McLaren's Advertising (which owns the rights to "Hockey Night in Canada") is trying to cover up with a cosmetics job.

(McLaren's buys air time from the CBC. Then they rent a CBC production crew, director and equipment to produce the telecast. Then they sell the telecast right back to the CBC.)

McLaren's is worrying about hockey's image — so now they have a representative in the TV control room, hovering over the CBC director. He has the right to break in during telecasts and overrule the director. This, more than anything, underscores how those who are doing the broadcast are producing entertainment, not news. They can't give the straight story, they are drowned in professional PR men, not journalists. This year, by the way, McLaren's in Montreal has stopped leasing equipment and technicians from the CBC, switching to a company known as Editel — a wholly-owned subsidiary of Imperial Tobacco. The Radio Canada producers' association has filed grievance against McLaren's constant interference.

"If some people don't like the new professional approach to hockey," wrote one NHL apologist last year, "they can always fall back on the Juniors." But what has happened to junior, amateur hockey in Canada? The junior leagues have become gladiator schools conforming to the exigencies of the NHL. The high-scoring individual star system is rigidly

Former Boston Bruin player John "Pie" McKenzie impales Barclay Pledger of the St. Louis Blues with his hockey stick during the 1972 Stanley Cup playoffs. It was an example of that professional hockey "finesse" that is souring Canadian fans on the game, and that disgusted Europeans during the Team Canada series with the Soviet Union.



enforced to produce the glamour men needed to push hockey in the U.S. Teamwork, passing and playmaking like the Soviets showed millions of nostalgic fans has been relegated to a rush seat. The prospect of huge profits, fat salaries and the foreign takeover have all contributed to the corruption and decline of the national sport. What's more, hardly anyone's even trying to pretend it's otherwise.

But this fall, Canada's best professionals (except those who had the temerity to move from Chicago to Winnipeg) met the Soviet Union's national team. In a show of rare unanimity, fans and sportswriters agreed that it was the best hockey ever seen, at least as good as anything put out by Campbell's circuit during its heyday in the 50's and early 60's.

It was exciting hockey. It would be no exaggeration to say it was the most attentively followed spectacle in this country's history. And it was followed by an almost orgiastic binge of Canadian nationalism of near hysterical proportions. It was of a fervour that in the 19th century was seen in Imperial powers going off to war, but today manifests itself only in countries suffering inferiority complexes.

Although Canada only managed a tie against Czechoslovakia, the world champions, large parts of the country were awash with the strains of "O Canada" and virile, screeching echos of the American football chant "We're Number One."

But Canada didn't win the hockey series. In effect, the

Soviets did. They accomplished what they, and Canada's expert eight-game-sweep prognosticators, couldn't dream possible. For all intents and purposes, the Soviets destroyed the NHL, crushed its reputation.

They did it by helping to put together a demonstration of skilful, precision hockey (something the NHL manages only rarely) and, in Canadian eyes at least, one of the greatest sports contests in a decade. They did it by firmly convincing everyone that international hockey was hockey at its best.

The NHL season wasn't long underway before fans and sportswriters started to moan about the quality of play and mutter something like "Bring back the Russians." People aren't waiting for the Stanley Cup Playoffs, they're waiting for an anticipated tour by the Soviet Central Army team which wants to play games against Boston, New York and Chicago. If exhibition hockey raises greater interest than regular-season and playoff hockey, then the game has indeed changed.

But the Soviets didn't only win in this category. Canada lost — in respect.

Montreal Star sports columnist John Robertson put it this way:

I don't know how you feel about Team Ugly Canada's behaviour throughout their eight-game series with the Soviets, from that pompous ass Alan Eagleson on down, but I've been sickened by it.

That we won or lost the final hockey game ... has really been relegated to minimal importance.

What is of more consequence? ... Showing the world what kind of hockey players we produce? Or showing the world what kind of people we produce?

I sat and stared at that television screen and asked myself this basic question: If you were watching this from an impartial observer's chair, anywhere in Europe, what conclusions would you draw from the entire series?

I looked, and I saw us as a bunch of barbarians, being led by a man who qualifies as a walking diplomatic disaster.

Or maybe you would like Canada and all Canadians to be judged by the conduct of this uncouth ass? Maybe you would condone it as just the way Canada, a very aggressive people, plays the game.

Who really won this series? What did Canada's last-gasp victory prove? That we play the game better than the Russians do? Should that be so surprising? We dominated them so "thoroughly" they outsourced us 32-31.

How close did our colossal arrogance come to costing us this precious unofficial world title? How many minutes? How many seconds?

We didn't really win anything! We merely salvaged something from the wreckage ... something to cling to; so we can say to the world: "Well, we may be obnoxious barbarians; we may have come across as the most grotesque, uncouth people ever turned loose in an international athletic forum; we may have undone just about everything our diplomats have been able to do for Canada's image; we may have shown the world we have absolutely no respect for game officials, opposing coaches, or the laws and customs in countries where we are guests; we may lead the league in both menacing and obscene gestures; but at least we won the damned hockey game ..."

What the series did was to illustrate graphically the degeneration of the game in Canada. It starts off with R. Alan Eagleson, who boasts of having single-handedly brought off the negotiations that led to the series. He's been described as a one-man cartel, which isn't surprising since he: a) is head of the NHL Players' Association representing the players; b) is a director of Hockey Canada, the managers of the series; c) represents Harold Ballard-Bobby Orr Enterprises which acquired TV rights to the series, selling advertising at \$25,000 per minute.

If the NHL was allowed to grow into one of North America's finest examples of monopoly capital, it's only proper that "Uncle Al, the players' pal," as he's fondly referred to, should be allowed to run things. As he and many of the players never hesitated to claim, they were only in it for the love of country and honour, best illustrated by Eagleson's immediate quip after Henderson scored his second winning goal: "That ought to be worth \$25,000 from Ballard" (the Maple Leafs' owner and Henderson's boss).

During the first half of the series, it looked as if Canada in general and the NHL in particular would learn something from the games. It was also hoped it would do something for international friendship and understanding.

But the first half of the series only seemed to have the effect of bringing out some of the more raucous collegiate attitudes befitting men making \$200,000 a season. That some of the players descended into imbecilic boorishness, both on and off the ice, cannot be denied. It ranged from two of the hardrock players publicly enjoying the pleasures of

fellatio in a Swedish sex club, to the team's moral leader Eagleson getting into shoving matches with Soviet fans, officials and police at each Moscow game.

In fact, when Team Canada reached Moscow, the effects of the first four games' blow to their ego seemed to bring out the cold warrior instincts of almost everyone involved. Sportswriters complained of the lack of Holiday Inn comfort in the Soviet Union, Phil Esposito complained Russian hockey players have bad breath and Bobby Clarke chortled over his maiming of Kharlamov with a slash. Told Kharlamov was limping, Clarke said: "I'm surprised he can walk, let alone limp."

Sportswriters who filed unfavourable copy were treated as traitors by Team Canada. Anyone who dwelt upon incidents such as throwing chairs on the ice, gross obscenities and assault against a 16-year-old girl, and the scratching, clawing rough style of play, was regarded as a Comsymp. The whole series had to be presented as a noble, patriotic display of, if not sportsmanship, national honour.

And in the ensuing national hysteria, it was easy to overlook all these faults.

The national jubilation made it all worth it. Not only that, but Canadian hockey had the magnanimity to admit that international hockey is where it's at. And now the NHL and the WHA are trying to outwit each other in an effort to set up professional leagues in Europe. The NHL dreams of a six-team league, with two in Sweden, two in Czechoslovakia and one each in Finland and the Soviet Union. Professional hockey is going to let Europeans in on the action.

The problem is, they may not want to get in. The player-poor NHL, anxious to rake in American profits, is wolfishly eyeing what it regards as a rich player pool of amateurs in Europe. But what's in it for Europe, aside from the prospect of cash? Czechoslovakia has a 22-team league which provides good hockey in cities and towns of all sizes, accessible to the whole population. They should give that up for the privilege of getting involved with the hockey barons who have done so much for the game in Canada?

The Soviets, apparently, would like to challenge for the Stanley Cup, but want to do it on terms similar to the current World Hockey championships, or the World Cup in soccer — without getting involved in a professional league. This, of course, goes against the sense of the hockey magnates. Anything that underscores the poor quality of expansion play is to be avoided. A European-North American professional league would enable player exchanges.

It would also make for the pollution of European hockey, since no mass spectator sport — not even soccer — is set up in the same manner as professional sport in North America. The NHL is likely to insist that the Europeans conform to the professional standard, rather than the other way around. After all, as the Soviet-Canada series demonstrated, the NHL has everything to lose in terms of profit. Besides, it would be rather humiliating to have a World Cup-type play in which Canada would be represented by a team from Boston or New York.

International hockey offers the greatest hope for saving the game. But if it is done on NHL terms, Canada should get back to Lacrosse for a national sport.

Nick Auf der Maur is a member of the editorial board of the Last Post.



**THE CANADIAN PLAN
TO ATTACK
THE UNITED STATES**

Introduction:

The Great Unfinished Task of Col. J. Sutherland Brown

by Mark Starowicz

Throughout the history of Confederation, one central assumption dominated the Department of External Affairs — whatever enemies Canada might have in the future, the least likely to attack the Dominion was our neighbour and ally, the United States.

In the whole of the public service and the defence forces, no man fundamentally challenged this assumption. Except one. He was Colonel J. Sutherland "Buster" Brown, who between 1920 and 1927 occupied the crucial, if anonymous, post of Director of Military Operations and Intelligence.

D.M.O.&I.'s task was to formulate strategic intelligence for the General Staff. "Buster" Brown's job was to anticipate and plan contingency military strategies for defensive or offensive actions against Canada's potential enemies.

History has rewarded Col. Brown's unflagging years of effort for his country with almost total anonymity. No school textbook mentions his name. Few Canadians today know anything of this unique man, and the terribly secret purpose of his life's work.

Col. Brown anticipated that Japan might be Canada's enemy someday, that another European war might break out, or that Canadian expeditionary forces might have to be sent out to distant conflicts some day. And for these he planned. But Col. J. Sutherland Brown was the only man in the public service who said what everyone else dared not think — the major potential enemy of the Dominion of Canada was the United States of America.

Between the winter of 1920 and spring of 1921, D.M.O.&I. worked intensely on the preparation of one of the most secret documents of Canadian history, next to the Gray Report. And in April of 1921, Col. J. Sutherland Brown completed this 200-page document, modestly entitled "Defence Scheme No. 1".

The central assumption of Defence Scheme No. 1 was that the principal external threat to Canada lay in the possibility of armed invasion by the United States.

And the central strategic plan at the base of Defence Scheme No. 1 was a set of detailed instructions on how to meet such a contingency — how Canadian armed forces were to invade the United States of America.

With a reminder of "the necessity for absolute secrecy," the document was quickly forwarded to the heads of Canada's military districts, who were charged with implementing various parts of the plan. The reaction of these district commanders, with a couple of exceptions, was surprisingly enthusiastic. The Commander of Military District No. 4 (Montreal) objected: "I consider that the most difficult point in the

Scheme is the fact that it is drawn up for forces which are to a certain extent non-existent." But others were not so picky, and even recommended improvements, as did Commander of M.D. No. 12 (Regina): "Insofar as the Defence of this District is concerned, an energetic and dashing thrust must be immediately made to control the area lying between the junctions of Snake Creek with the Missouri River."

For over a decade, Defence Scheme No. 1 was the central basis of Canadian military organization. But after that, it was allowed to lapse, and became impractical because it was outdated. Col. Brown's pleas to have it revised and updated fell on deaf ears.

In October 1933, the General Officers Commanding Military Districts were ordered to destroy by fire "the various chapters, instructions, amendments, appendices, etc., in connection with Defence Scheme No. 1." And so Col. J. Sutherland Brown, then commanding Military District No. 11, put the torch to the central project of his military life.

Nothing is known since of Col. J. Sutherland Brown. James Eayrs, who discovered the original Scheme after it was declassified and ran excerpts of it in his book "In Defence of Canada," wonders if the good Colonel nevertheless continued his lifetime habit of making periodic forays around Portland and Seattle, to sketch out his great strategy to invade the United States of America.

The editors of this journal feel it is time Col. J. Sutherland Brown received the recognition his work has merited, and include, in the next several pages, excerpts from the key portions of "Defence Scheme No. 1."

But another task is pressing.

In 1927, shortly before vacating the post of D.M.O.&I., Col. Brown wrote this urgent plea to the Chief of Staff:

"Canada is slowly, but surely, moulding a national feeling which stands for looking after her own interests and she will show a strong front to any demands from the United States. If the United States knows that the Canadian Military Forces are a factor that cannot be lightly considered . . . they will think before they take any action against us.

" . . . I therefore recommend that as soon as you can get the Honourable the Minister's concurrence, Defence Scheme No. 1 should be rewritten and brought up to date."

Forty-five years later, much has changed, but the urgency of Col. Brown's recommendation remains undiminished.

It is in recognition of our national crisis, and of the increasingly hostile attitude of the United States, that the editors of this journal have undertaken to present, in the subsequent pages, a revision of Col. Brown's great, unfinished task.

Extracts from **DEFENCE SCHEME NO. 1**

12 April, 1921
(Army Records)

*Section 3. General Strategical Situation of Canada
... The first thing apparent then in the defence of Canada
is that we lack depth.*

Depth can only be gained by Offensive Action. To carry out an Offensive Action against the United States, with our population in a ratio of 1 to 12 and the United States' Regular Army of 175,000 Enlisted Men, and with between two and four millions of men who were lately embodied for service, is a difficult and on the surface an almost hopeless task, but on further study, it would be found out that it is not as hopeless as it appears on the surface and that Canada has a good many advantages in her favour.

To carry out an Offensive Action against the United States means, first of all, Quicker Mobilization; secondly, the immediate despatch of Flying Columns on the declaration of War; thirdly, the despatch of our Formations at Peace Strength to be followed rapidly by drafts filling them to War Establishment; fourth, a speedy mobilization of our Reserve Units by General Recruitment and by putting in force the *Levee en Masse*, as soon as Proclamation is made; fifth the completion of the organization of our Formations by the inclusion of Reserve Units; sixth, the despatch of Reserve Units to certain garrisons or certain strategical points; seventh, the early formation of Depots.

Time is of the essence of everything of our mobilization and of our early operations. To keep up this offensive and to continue the successful defence of Canada, will require the timely arrival of reinforcements from the Empire and particularly from the United Kingdom and the full use of the man power and resources of the Empire in other theatres of operation, namely, the Atlantic Seaboard of the United States; the Southern Seaboard, i.e., the Gulf of Mexico, Florida and Mexico; the Pacific Coast.

In order to carry out this Offensive, well chosen lines of Offence should be decided upon, these to produce the greatest results, firstly, to increase our Depth; secondly, to increase our resources by the occupation of hostile territory; thirdly, to increase the moral [*sic*] of our population with a corresponding decrease of moral of the enemy; fourthly, to cover the organization and mobilization of our man power and to prevent the destruction of our resources and lateral communications; fifthly, to gain time until the arrival of help from the various parts of the Empire, as soon as the man power and the resources of the Empire are mobilized and transported to their various spheres of action.

Control of the Great Lakes

Another important strategical feature in the Defence of Canada is the control of the Great Lakes. On all, except Lake Ontario, the Americans have a preponderance of ship-

ping and they have in the States bordering the Great Lakes a Naval Militia of considerable size, which could be made use of to arm and man United States' Mercantile Great Lakes boats.

Timely arrival of British ships of suitable size in Lake Ontario and the proper protection of the Welland Canal, might ultimately give us control of Lake Erie.

Many Canadians, including many navigating officers, are serving in the United States' Great Lakes Mercantile Marine. Further information concerning this question will have to be gathered and action taken to put their service into use at the appointed hour.

WINTER CAMPAIGN

A winter campaign, for obvious reasons, by a large force, is not feasible, but the subject should not be lost sight of, as we might be forced into a winter campaign and in any case mobilization might have to take place during the winter and tactical raiding would be feasible.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS

1. Statesmen decide on the Time, Circumstances and the Locality of War and leave it to the Soldier to make the best of them. It is hoped that our Statesmen will act in such a manner to give us as many advantages as possible in case war becomes inevitable between the British Empire and the United States of America. Members of Parliament and Members of the Senate are drawn from various sources of life, most of them with no War Service and very many of them with no militia connection and no knowledge of the vast machinery required for War and of the terrible disadvantage of loss of the initiative at the commencement of a campaign. It is your duty then to do what you can within your sphere of action to see that such political personages are enlightened on questions of Defence.

2. French Canadians (all Roman Catholics) form nearly one third of the population of Canada. They took little interest in the Great World War. There may have been "Vatican" influence, but it would appear that the main reason for lack of interest was lack of proper political control and leadership from Ottawa. The Roman Catholic Church in Canada is suspicious of the Militia. It has no reason to be so. It has everything to gain and nothing to lose by supporting the Militia. If the United States ever conquered Canada, the dual language would be done away with at once and the Roman Catholic Church would have much less power and influence by one hundred fold.

3. Americans in Canada. Many in British Columbia. Well over 50% in Alberta. Over 50% in Saskatchewan. Many others holding important positions, especially in manufactures

and transportation, in other parts of the country.

4. Census, 1921. Commanders should obtain information from the Census, 1921, as soon as the Census Report is compiled, as it will give the latest information of foreign population and of man power of the various Commands and Districts.

5. Provincial Jealousies. Friendly rivalries between the East and the West and between the various Provinces may help to stimulate matters, but every care should be taken to prevent Provincial or Parochial matters interfering with broad questions. There is a tendency for Provincial politicians to interfere with proper organization and there will probably be the same tendency to prevent the proper distribution of troops in time of war. This tendency may only be eliminated by education.

Section 9: Allies or Possible Allies of Great Britain

Japan. Japan is still an Ally of Great Britain. The question of the renewal of the Japanese Treaty comes up this year. Whatever Japan's attitude may be at any other time, there is not much doubt, in case of war between the British Empire and the United States, that Japan would take immediate military action against the American Republics, in which case it would make matters much more favourable to us, especially at the beginning of the campaign, if we would find that Japan would carry out her traditional policy of delivering their Declaration of War and a Military Operation at the same time

France. France has always taken a friendly interest in the United States. She came to her help during the Revolutionary War and for years the American Army organization and tactics were based on the French system. France has seen more in the last two years of the modern "Yank". She is dissatisfied with American action, with the low rate of exchange of the franc in the United States, with the attitude of the United States towards the League of Nations. It would appear then that the United States would get no support either actively or sympathetically from France.

Mexico. It has a turbulent and unruly population estimated from 12 to 15 millions. For over 100 years it has been a pin-prick on the American Southern Flank. The Mexicans have not shown themselves, generally speaking, opposed to British interests. In case of war with the United States it is not unlikely that Mexico would cause trouble on the Southern Frontier, causing a goodly force of United States' troops to be concentrated towards Mexico. If Mexico became an active participant in a War against the United States, it would be an area of operation for Britanic or British Empire troops against the Southern States, having for its object the capture of Galveston and New Orleans, and blocking the Mississippi River.

The South American Republics. Many of whom are not hostile to British interests and might decide to support the British Empire. Many of these Republics possess Navies of a useful size which would be a tremendous factor in operations against the Panama Canal.

Section 10: The Strategic Importance of Newfoundland, Alaska and West Indies.

Alaska. The Alaskan Coast presents harbours to be used as submarine bases of operation against the British Columbian Coast. A sufficient force of regular troops might be kept on the Southern Alaskan Coast to capture Prince Rupert

by a *coup de main*, immediately after the declaration of war.

Newfoundland enters largely into the Defence of Canada. American occupation of the Island would have far reaching results. It would be on the flank of the sea routes between Great Britain and Canada and it would be a menace to all our shipping and a base for naval operations against Nova Scotia, the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, and the St. Lawrence River generally. Newfoundland would appear to be a rendezvous and a probable base of operations for the British Grand Fleet.

West Indies. The West Indies are admirably situated as bases for naval operations against the Southern States and particularly against the Panama Canal. They are situated on the flank of the Panama Canal route and if, by any chance, the United States' fleet or any great portion of it was in the Pacific at the outbreak of war the use of the Panama Canal for concentration on the Atlantic Coast might be denied absolutely to them.

CHAPTER TWO: PROBABLE ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Main Objectives. The main objective of the United States force would undoubtedly be Montreal and on to Ottawa. The next important objective of the United States would be the occupation of the Ontario Peninsula, including the cities of Hamilton and Toronto. The other objectives at which the American Land Forces would be moved against would be Quebec, Winnipeg, the Island of Vancouver and South Western British Columbia, i.e., the area including Vancouver and New Westminster.

The grain growing Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta which now have a large percentage of Americans, are especially attractive to the United States, and there is just a possibility that they might make the conquest of these Provinces the ultimate objective of their campaign

First attempt Invasion of Canada - Mode of:

It is considered that the first attempt of the invasion of Canada would take place as mentioned above by the use of Flying Columns, to carry out a great strategical stroke to catch us unawares before the Canadian Militia was mobilized. If this was not successful, it is considered that there would be a period elapsing of possibly a couple of weeks before a determined effort would be made to advance on Canada by Divisions of all Arms.

Organization of Our Flying Columns for Immediate Action

This emphasizes the fact that our Flying Columns must be organized for immediate action: that our Divisions must get underway with units at Peace Strength with the least possible delay, that is, within three or four days of the declaration of war. This is the object to work up to in the Scheme for Mobilization.

If, after careful study, and taking into consideration the improvement that is sure to come in the position of Militia recruiting, you consider that your units will not be able to move towards their war station on the third or fourth day of mobilization, please advise the General Staff at Ottawa of that fact and of what time you estimate that your Division will be on the move to its War Station.

Section 2: General Instructions for Offensive Action

All training and organization in Peace and all arrangements during the Precautionary Period will lead up to a general

Limited Offensive against the United States.

Pacific Command. The field troops of the Pacific Command to advance into and occupy the strategic points including Spokane, Seattle, and Portland, Oregon, bounded by the Columbia River

Prairie Command . . . should converge towards Fargo in North Dakota . . . and then continue a general advance in the direction of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The occupation of Minneapolis and St. Paul would cut most of the lines leading to Duluth . . . and would have a tendency to protect our railway communications through the Kenora and Rainy River Districts

Great Lakes Command . . . will, generally speaking, remain on the defensive, but rapid and well organized raids should be made across the Niagara Frontier, the St. Clair Frontier, the Detroit Frontier and the St. Mary's Frontier, with sufficient troops to establish bridgeheads

Quebec Command . . . will take the offensive on both sides of the Adirondack Mountains with a view of converging . . . in the vicinity of Albany, N.Y. . . .

Maritime Command . . . will make an offensive into the State of Maine

Extracts from **DEFENCE SCHEME NO. 1**

(Revised)
31 April, 1972
(Canadian Defence Forces)

(. . .)

Section 4: General Strategical Situation of Canada.

The outbreak of hostilities between Canada and the United States poses, on the surface, an insurmountable challenge to the capacities of the Canadian Armed Forces.

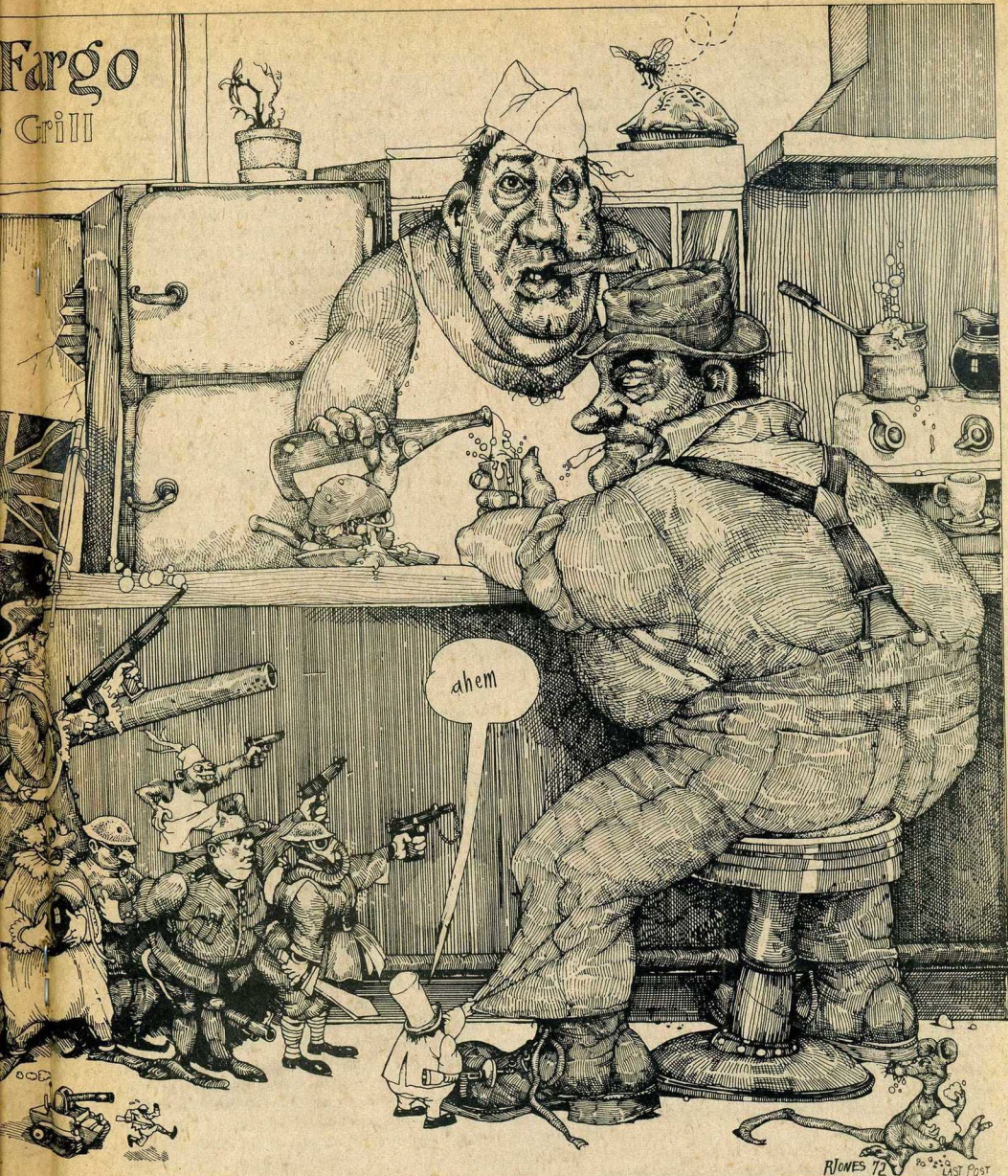
Traditionally, the military option open to a country vastly outnumbered and under-equipped vis-a-vis a large and powerful neighbour is this: Take rapid offensive action against the enemy, capture the maximum number of the enemy's strategic points, and negotiate quickly from such a position of acquired strength. This strategy, the classic Limited Offensive, is the basis of the Imperial General Staff's Defence Scheme No. 1 of 1921.

The General Staff is of the opinion that, given the military imbalance involved, such a classic strategy is no longer feasible. More "unorthodox" and creative military means are required to achieve the same objective. This will be further



"Prairie Command . . . should converge towards Fargo in North Dakota . . . and then continue a general advance in the direction of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The occupation of Minneapolis and St. Paul would cut most of the lines leading to Duluth . . . and would have a tendency to protect our railway communications through the Kenora and Rainy River Districts"

Fargo Grill



I converge towards Fargo in North Dakota ...”

Cartoons by Randy Jones

elaborated in Section 5

Section 5: Strategy for Offensive Action Against the United States.

Introduction:

It must be stressed that the plans outlined in this document are for *offensive* action against the United States, although a *defensive* campaign would also take on much the same shape.

In the introductory remarks to Section 4, the need for "unorthodox" and creative military measures was set out. It is clear that the classic military thinking that equates maximum territorial acquisition with victory has to be abandoned. We must reassess our definitions of victory.

The successful conduct of war, Clausewitz said, consists of doing the maximum damage to the enemy's strength in the shortest time with the minimum depletion of one's own forces.

Victory, Jomini wrote, consists of preventing the enemy from attaining his goals.

What are Canada's primary goals in a war against the United States? In the military area, clearly to do maximum damage to American strength.

What are the primary goals of the United States in a war with Canada? They are: To secure those interests which are most valuable to her strategically and economically, and to destroy our capacity to threaten those interests.

What are the chief strategic and economic interests of the United States in Canada?

They are:

— security of access to our key raw material resources: Oil, minerals, timber, water, hydroelectric power.
— continuation of supply from key secondary industry sectors: Smelters, oil refineries, auto assembly plants, various manufacturing sectors.

— security of transportation: The railroads and pipelines for raw materials, the Seaway for supply and export shipping.

— security of supply of that sizeable industrial sector that now provides a large part of the U.S. defence establishment's specialized needs under the Defence Production Sharing Agreement: Aircraft and components, guidance systems, electronic communication devices, military transport manufacturing.

Several decades of government policy in the economic sector has had the beneficial by-product of placing the United States in a position of significant dependence on some Canadian raw materials, and to some extent, industrial output. These sectors can be identified as a convenient rule of thumb by the fact that they are usually American-owned. Others, though not owned by American interests, may be controlled to the extent that the United States is by far the major customer.

Although the General Staff is aware of a certain amount of controversy having surrounded this particular economic policy, it recognizes that this is not its field of competence. But it observes that this policy has brought about, to the military view, the very circumstances that make an armed campaign against the United States credible today.

Cautionary Observations:

It will be extremely difficult, the General Staff realizes, to change our traditional modes of military thinking for the sort of offensive campaign envisaged.

The General Staff has been unable to find historical analogies for the nature of the campaign envisioned.

The traditional morale-lifting effects of seizing enemy territory will be largely absent, and this will create great difficulties for political leaders in time of such a war.

Above all, there is a great risk involved in controlling public opinion, and getting it to accept and understand such a strategy as outlined here. The difficulty will be made instantly apparent.

In an offensive action against the United States by Canadian Armed Forces, there will be no crossing of the 49th Parallel by Canadian troops. There will be no attempt to seize United States territories or internal strategic points. There will, in sum, be no American expeditionary campaign — no invasion.

The general outline of operations is outlined below in two sections: Stage One: The Offensive. Stage Two: The Defence.

STAGE ONE

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR OFFENSIVE ACTION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

All training and organization is peacetime and all arrangements during the Precautionary Period will lead up to a general Limited Offensive against the United States.

Pacific Command. The field troops of Pacific Command will: Advance into and occupy the strategic points including Kitimat and Prince George affecting total incapacitation of aluminum production and transport; converge towards Trail, occupy and assure incapacitation of lead, zinc, copper and sundry mining and smelting operations; continue a general advance in the direction of High Arrow, incapacitating hydroelectric installations supplying power to Seattle; converge towards Peace River district and seal off and deprive natural gas and oil refining operations and pipeline, advancing upon Alaska Highway to arrest commerce . . . naval forces to transport sufficient troops to east Vancouver Island and Queen Charlotte Islands to assure inoperability of pulp and paper supply routes . . .

Prairie Command . . . should converge simultaneously against chief oil and natural gas installations at Leduc, Redwater, Golden Spike, Woodbend, Drayton Valley and Pembina River District . . . assure inoperability of refining capacities at Edmonton and Calgary . . . field troops within Regina Military District to take petrochemical plants at Regina, Moose Jaw and Saskatoon . . . advancing towards uranium processing installations in Beaverlodge Lake vicinity . . . field troops of Military District No. 10 make an offensive in general region of Thompson, Manitoba, incapacitate nickel smelters assuring enemy denial of access . . . All military districts of Prairie Command to prevent functioning of Trans-Canada Pipeline through general sabotage operations . . .

Great Lakes Command . . . will converge towards the Sudbury Basin, retain control of region and effect total incapacitation of nickel production in region and smelting at Copper Cliff; converge also in vicinity of Elliot Lake with a view towards depriving access to uranium fields; effect total incapacitation of smelters and production facilities at Hamilton, Algoma, Port Colborne . . . assure inoperability of auto manufacturing facilities at Windsor, Oshawa and Oakville . . . destroy petrochemical facilities at Sarnia . . . aircraft manufacturing facilities of Douglas and Hawker Siddeley . . . render unserviceable heavy transport routes through southern

peninsula; concentrated field troops to act against hydroelectric capacity of Niagara peninsula to interdict power supplies to American eastern seaboard . . . Special Commando Units to act against specialized small manufacturing targets outlined in Operational Appendix No. 2 "Strategic Manufacturing Plants — Southern Ontario Sector" . . .

Quebec Command . . . will advance into and occupy the strategic iron ore processing facilities and transportation routes along the North Shore region . . . incapacitate petrochemical facilities at Montreal; act against major port facilities of Port of Montreal and assure inoperability of transportation system on St. Lawrence Seaway both initially and through commando action after enemy occupation of sector . . .

Atlantic Command . . . will converge in the general vicinity of Churchill Falls, Labrador and disrupt hydroelectric installations . . . naval forces to interdict Continental Shelf region to enemy commercial shipping vessels . . .

STAGE TWO
GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR DEFENSIVE
ACTION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

The aims of Stage Two are to retain the objectives captured during Stage One, and to harass the enemy.

The enemy will have little option but to move against our cities — a large and cumbersome field operation which will take several days to effect. The General Staff can see no strategic value in preventing the enemy from taking our cities. They are indefensible anyway, given our limited manpower, and if the enemy takes them he is forced to go to great lengths to garrison them. This will further distract him from recapturing the significant strategic objectives we hold.

Field troops of all Commands assigned to specific installations and targets will remain in their positions and resist enemy attempts at recapture.

Irregular troops of all commands will conduct harassing operations against enemy supply lines outside the urban centres.

Urban militia and Special Commando Units will harass enemy troops within the urban centres, organize resistance groups, and sabotage any listed key installations and industrial plants which the enemy has restored to serviceability.

Section 6: Anticipated Problems

The General Staff strongly recommends to the Minister of National Defence that specialized study groups be established to work out detailed contingency plans for the following problems:

Problem No. 1 — Quebec.

The authors of Defence Scheme No. 1 (1921) were farsighted in their assessment of this problem. Unfortunately, very little amendment can be made to the assessment of "lack of proper control and leadership" by Ottawa. What influence the Vatican has had has been replaced by American influence. A deep strain of sympathy runs in the French Canadian mind for the United States; Republicanism has been a strong historical factor. The provincial government is heavily in debt to American banking houses. The separatist movement has been making steady, and not unrequited overtures (Levesque and Rockefeller) to American industrial interests. There is reason to suspect that at least some of the financing of the separatist movement has come from American corporations which see



"Will Quebec produce its own Moise Tshombe?"

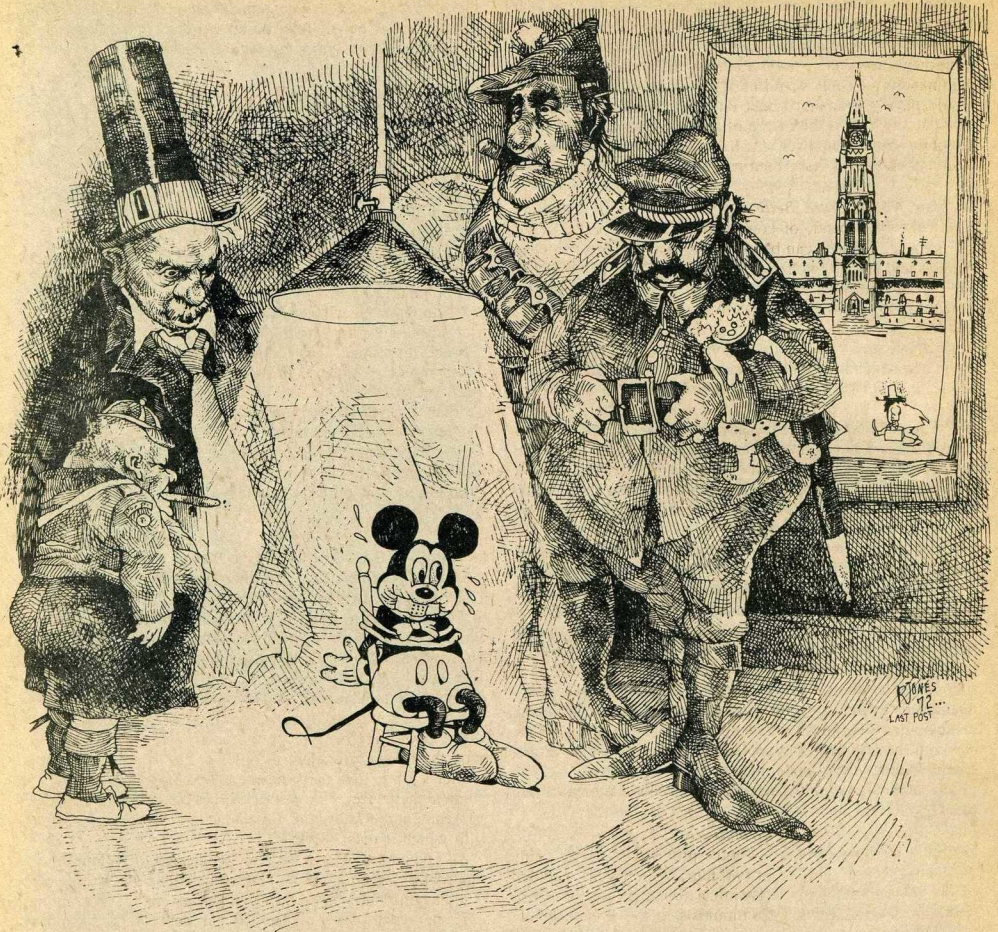
the advantages of a more accessible Quebec market and labour force.

Will Quebecers — separatist or just nationalist — respond to our call to arms? Will they see that we have identical interests? Or can we expect a Katanga situation? Will Quebec produce its own Moise Tshombe?

Will Quebec fight? It is clear that it must, or little hope can be held out for the success of our own campaign. Quebec is our Achilles' heel. It will be necessary to fight for the hearts and minds of the French Canadians. As this will have to be done rapidly, within a fortnight even, unorthodox means will have to be used.

It will be necessary to manufacture incidents which will raise the collective anger of French Canadians against Americans. As soon as the cabinet decides to pursue the course of this Defence Scheme and lead up to a conflict with the United States, such moves to win French Canadians will have to be made before the rest of the offensive is effected. The General Staff recommends exploring these areas:

- the defacing of French Canadian national symbols in such a way as to make it seem the Americans are to blame.
- the death of a popular French Canadian figure may be effected in such a way as to blame it on American



“... Perhaps a prominent American person could be abducted ...”

groups.

— the fabrication of American documents which disparage French Canadians, and arranging that such documents find their way to the French Canadian press.

— encouragements to the Church to support Canadian action, and to urge their members to co-operate with our forces.

— persuading prominent national figures in sport or culture to voice their support for Canada, and publicly encourage French Canadians to support Canada.

— negotiations with separatist leaders to induce them to support us by offering post-war concessions.

It might be possible, in the above, to use the well-known French Canadian propensity for certain sports to our benefit.

Problem No. 2: National Morale

Public opinion will be confused, as noted above, by a strategy that presents none of the tangible rewards of an armed conflict — territorial acquisition — while enemy troops are overrunning our cities. Merely the seizure or destruction of American-controlled industries on our own soil may prove too subtle to arouse the public elan a wartime situation requires.

The General Staff therefore concludes that it will be neces-

sary to conduct limited attacks against non-strategic but highly symbolic American targets. The attack on the American Embassy in Saigon by NLF troops in 1968 is a case in point of small, commando-based action of this kind. Perhaps a prominent American person could be abducted by Canadian commandos — such would be a highly symbolic act which would have a dramatic effect on the Canadian population. This, at any rate, is the nature of action recommended, since it requires little manpower, and has a higher chance of success than any classic military interventions.

Problem No. 3: Casus Belli.

Much will depend, of course, on what incident touches off the war. While it can be presumed that tensions between Canada and the United States will already be extreme before this plan is considered, the General Staff urges that consideration be given by the government to assuring that a proper incident, specifically American aggression against Canada, touches off our attack. A *casus belli* is a touchy matter these days. The severance of Capt. Jenkins' ear by a Spanish naval officer in 1739 was sufficient to touch off the war between England and Spain (The War of Jenkins' Ear) and led to the War of the Austrian Succession. However, the Dogger Bank Incident, in which the Russian Baltic Fleet in the North Sea blew up part of the British North Sea fishing fleet because the Russian admiral, inebriated, thought they were the Imperial Japanese Navy — this brought British reproof, but hardly war. Today, the *casus belli* has to be such as to win the sympathy of the General Assembly of the United Nations, so the United States would be condemned as the aggressor.

It was initially thought by the General Staff that an incident involving American action against our deep sea fishing fleet in the Atlantic had the advantages of involving questions of territorial sovereignty, men's right to make a living, bullying Americans ... etc. However, further consideration frankly raises doubts as to whether the rest of the country would feel an incident involving the Maritimes would merit much bellicose response. Incidents against Ontario by Americans run the risk of being applauded everywhere else in the country, rather than condemned.

The General Staff urges deep consideration of this question.

Problem No. 4: Left-wing Groups.

Left-wing groups pose a knotty problem in a war with the United States. The major problem, of course, is whether or not to arm and train left-wing nationalists — the same problems as with French Communists in the French resistance. To answer the question, we must look at left-wing groups from different perspectives, as they are not monolithic.

Those sectors of the Canadian left that are fundamentally nationalist, the General Staff feels, should be armed. At best they will shoot at Americans. At worst they will shoot at each other.

Those sectors of the left that condemn nationalism are a greater problem, as their politics are often so intricate as to permit the most quaint contortions — support the Americans because of China's neutrality or hostility, oppose the war as exploiting the Canadian working class, etc. Conversations about workers' control in the context of a military unit could prove debilitating. Unsolicited support from Palestinian guerrillas or Japanese students, which such a left might encourage, could possibly tend to cloud the basic issues. They might agitate against Quebec participating in the hos-

ilities. American leftists in Canada currently tend to be more nationalistic than even Canadian leftists, and their propaganda efforts on our behalf may be so extreme in language as to encourage in one sympathy for the Americans.

Problem No. 5: The Press.

Perhaps the most striking example of the tendency of the press to succumb to the pressures of the situation is to be found in a distant, but not altogether irrelevant analogy with the Paris press at the time Napoleon escaped from Elba and started marching on Paris. A famous series of headlines appeared in one leading paper over the two weeks it took Napoleon to reach Paris from the Mediterranean coast:

“The Monster has Escaped his Prison”

“The Traitor Reaches Grenoble”

“Bonaparte Heads for Paris”

“Napoleon Nears Versailles”

“He is in Paris! Vive l'Empereur!”

Since the papers can be expected to support the United States moments after an invasion commences, the General Staff recommends taking control of these papers under national emergency legislation. *The Globe and Mail*, of course, would be excepted.

Our experience during the War Measures Act of 1970 satisfies the General Staff that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation will pose no problems.

(...)

Section 9: The Conclusion of the Peace

General Culmer, the Canadian strategist, once observed: “The distance between strategic points, the exposed nature of communication lines, the difficulty in supplying troops, and the awesome ability of the land to swallow up the largest troop movements — all this makes this country indefensible.” The theory of Defence Scheme No. 1, then, is to force the enemy to be the defender, and to make ourselves the attackers.

It is the opinion of the General Staff that this strategy will remain effective for approximately one year. After that, even the most entrenched troops can be dislodged. It is the soldier's job to give the statesmen the advantages with which to make the peace. The Armed Forces can give the Canadian government the following advantages for that period of time, with which it must work:

— The enemy is deprived of 75 per cent of its aluminum, a major crippling of its industrial capacity; 20 per cent of its petroleum and natural gas; 40 per cent of its uranium; 70 per cent of its nickel; 10 per cent of its secondary industrial minerals; a massive portion of its hydroelectric power.

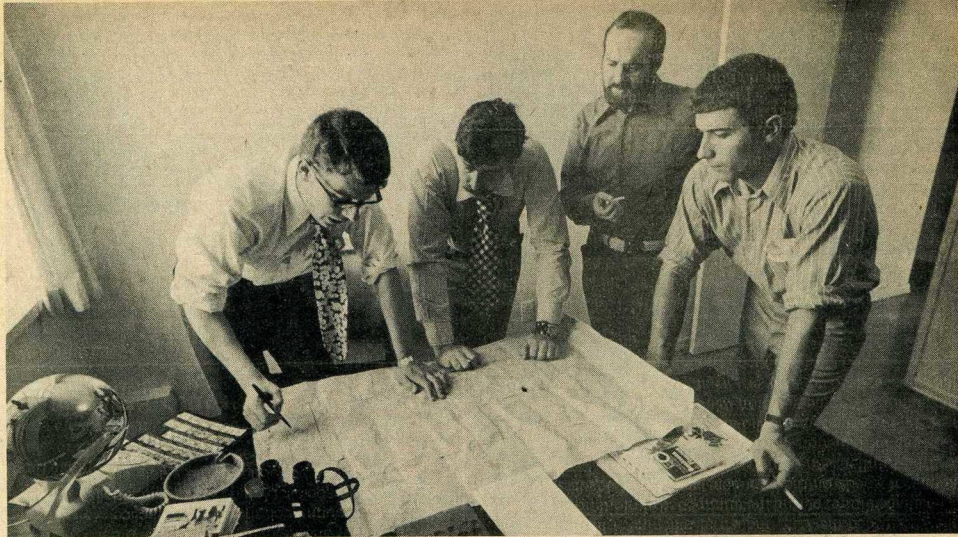
— The enemy has committed tens of thousands of troops to our cities for little apparent strategic purpose.

— The enemy is suffering from adverse world opinion, invading a country which has not even crossed into its borders, has not attacked its territory.

— The enemy has seriously shaken the confidence of its other allies, and strengthened the prestige of the Soviet Union.

The General Staff is convinced that peaceful access to these strategic resources and industries, as in the pre-war period, is more important to the enemy than the continuation of a conflict that saps its strength and deprives that access.

(...)



The inner circle of Canadian Driver Pool in the Fall of 1971 gather at the company's branch office in a high-rise apartment building. From the left: Richard Grange, Kevin McEwan, Peter Paynter and Brian Bertram.

PORTRAIT OF A

The Rise of Richard Grange

Richard Grange didn't ask for the publicity he got unexpectedly in 1971 when the leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party read one of Grange's sales letters to the provincial Legislature. Not that Grange dislikes the notoriety his career has given him. He is perhaps the only strikebreaker in Canada with his own public relations man.

Grange's letter was startling. He openly boasted that 40 companies had used the "services" of his Canadian Driver Pool Limited and that "with our aid, these companies broke the strikes"

The claim of having broken so many strikes was, like much of the contents in the three-page letter, untrue.

Untrue was that "through research and experimentation" Canadian Driver Pool had learned "many different methods of bringing about a fair settlement." Untrue was the claim

that Driver Pool had "a separate security division." Untrue was the assertion that "these men have been trained especially for this type of work." Untrue was the statement that Driver Pool had Doberman pinschers "which are trained for crowd control and plant security." (It was true there were Dobermans, but none was trained, only housebroken.)

Untrue, too, was the impression left by the abstract royal blue and white letterhead that there was a real company called Canadian Driver Pool Limited. At the time the first batch of letters went out in mid-1970, former employees say, no such company existed — except in the mind of Richard Grange.

The letter said "our company was formed two years ago due to circumstances which necessitated the formation of an organized Company, which could offer specialized services to a strike-bound Company." In fact, two years before Grange only had a cartage company.

He did not bother incorporating and registering the company and name Driver Pool until September, 1970 — two years after he was claiming C.D.P. went into business.

From the first batch of letters to company presidents, Grange built his strikebreaking business, a racket he got into almost by accident.

Introduction

When it comes to labour, Canada occupies a unique place in the community of nations. It is the only country of importance where there are no restrictions on the intervention for profit of private, third parties in labour-management relations.

Almost nowhere else is professional strikebreaking tolerated but in Canada.

Even in the United States, where the professional strikebreaking racket began and flourished, it has virtually vanished. In 40 states, there are controls of some kind on professional strikebreakers and anti-union spies. But anti-labour rackets operate openly and lucratively in Canada.

This is the story of one such company, Canadian Driver Pool, and of one man, Richard Grange, professional strikebuster. It is also the story of those in government and police who let him operate.

This article is an abridgement of a special report to the Ontario Federation of Labour, released in July of this year after nearly a year of investigation. That report was written by Marc Zwelling, who is a regular contributor to **The Last Post** on labour matters.

by Marc Zwelling

STRIKEBUSTER

In 1970 Toronto milk truck drivers went on strike. An official of Durham Transport Limited, which regularly hauled milk from suppliers to major dairies, called on Grange for extra trucks and drivers. Grange supplied them. Although Grange now takes credit for breaking the strike by members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in truth his role was minor. The Teamsters got practically the settlement they wanted.

The five trucks Grange supplied for Dominion Dairies Limited and other struck dairies, were from a small local cartage business Grange and former friends set up a year earlier called Cart-Rite Cartage Limited.

It is typical of Grange to be eclectic in his business. He grabs what he can — drivers, ideas, names — from clients and associates. Even the Cart-Rite Cartage, recalls a former partner, occurred to Grange while he was watching the television show "Bonanza." The heroes are the Cartwright family.

Friends helped out, too. They referred business to Grange. Mostly he sold himself.

"Rick's a fantastic salesman," says an ex-strikebreaker who set up Cart-Rite. "He's just got it. He's a fantastic salesman. He's very presentable. People like him automati-

cally."

There is a lot to like. Tall, slim, not a trace of beard, bespectacled, Grange could pass for a stockbroker or a college student. He dresses well, but not flamboyantly, in high fashion clothes. He impressed Sayvette's and got their cartage business. He impressed Canadian General Electric, and got theirs. He impressed Fry-Cadbury, the baking corporation, and got their business. He hauled for Clairtone Sound Corporation.

Grange's reputation was spreading. He was dealing with some of the biggest companies in the country. His trucks were running cargo out and strikebreakers in for corporations in the petroleum industry (Veedol Oil), electrical products (Trane Company of Canada and Pioneer Electric), modular construction (Pre-Con Murray, part of the big St. Mary's Cement conglomerate), heavy machinery (Link-Belt), chemicals (Union Carbide), automotive products (Chrysler Airtemp), computers (Honeywell Controls), construction (National Sewer Pipe and Canadian Phoenix Steel & Pipe) and precious metals (Johnson, Matthey & Mallory).

Specializing in strike work had an unlimited future. "He was starting to see how lucrative the strikebreaking thing was," says a one-time associate who used to do Grange's books.

As he got bigger, he got bolder. He would ask for \$10,000 retainers from a company before going into a strike. Some say he got it, some deny it.

He continued to frequent Granny's, long his favourite hang-out. He would spend fabulous amounts of money at the downtown Toronto "swingles" bar. Friends remember tabs worth hundreds of dollars in a single night. He bought drinks for the band, for strangers, for everyone. He was such a good customer at Granny's, the maitre d' held Grange's favourite table for him. He met young stockbrokers there and played the market. He got introduced to the owner, J. Douglas Crashley. Crashley was the kind of prominent acquaintance Grange liked and courted. Crashley's connections include Elgin Motors (president), the Walker House and Ascot hotels (owner), Toronto Citizens Redevelopment Advisory Board (chairman), Toronto Planning Board (past chairman), and Central Precision Limited (president), a company that repairs car engines. The prominent civic leader became a customer of Driver Pool's services in 1972. Crashley's Central Precision, in the northwestern Rexdale section of Metropolitan Toronto, was the scene of perhaps Grange's most violent strike work.

By the middle of 1971 Grange's operations were generating an \$8,000 weekly payroll. Cheques for \$4,000, \$5,000 and \$6,000 came in simultaneously from his clients.

Not only was the take high, so was the overhead. He bought four trailers at \$7,000 apiece and ordered new tractors to pull them at \$22,000 a cab.



Rasputin in the corporate castle

Grange's business sprouted so quickly, his clients' demands outdistanced his supply of equipment. Handling sometimes four strikes at once, he needed to rent trucks and trailers from other sources. He turned to Avis, Auto-hire (a subsidiary of the big Maislin Transport operation), Rent-way, Dufferin Truck Rental, Triad Trucklease and Transport International Pool. Some were overjoyed at their new business. Some lost their infatuation, like Avis, which reportedly refused to rent Grange any more equipment when the agency learned their trucks were being used for strikebreaking.

His letters to company presidents, his personal calls at their offices (often unannounced) seem farcical to his own friends who helped him. "It was strictly bullshit," says one. "He talked about professional truck drivers, professional dog handlers, professional cameramen. Everything was 'professional.' He even told them he had infra-red cameras for night photography."

Photography has a special meaning for Grange's gang. His promotional letters say the "security team" will "record any acts which could be detrimental in any way to your company."

For executives who don't get the point, he thoughtfully elaborates that "this information is useful in presenting a case with regard to an injunction against the union."

(Policeman at Gidon Industries Limited, a muffler manufacturer in Toronto that employed Grange in 1972, told strikers, "There's nothing illegal about taking pictures."

There is apparently, in flashing hand-held mirrors to reflect sunlight into the eyes of Grange's cameramen. Members of the United Steelworkers of America at Gidon were threatened with arrest if they did not desist.)

Grange has all sizes of companies, from multi-national corporations and domestic corporate mesomorphs down to small manufacturers, eating up, idolizing and proselytizing his stories.

What they get is sometimes not what they pay for. Professional strikebreaking expenses are tax-deductible, however. Grange's sales pitch stresses protection. He will also oblige by comforting executives with peace of mind. Some standard advice is to let Grange's men check office telephone lines and the homes of key company personnel for wiretaps. This was part of the service Redpath Sugars Limited was given for the \$75,000 the company paid Grange in 1971 during a strike by the International Chemical Workers' Union. Kimberly-Clark of Canada also had the homes and offices of chief executives "de-bugged" during a strike by the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers in 1971 at its St. Catharines, Ontario, plant.

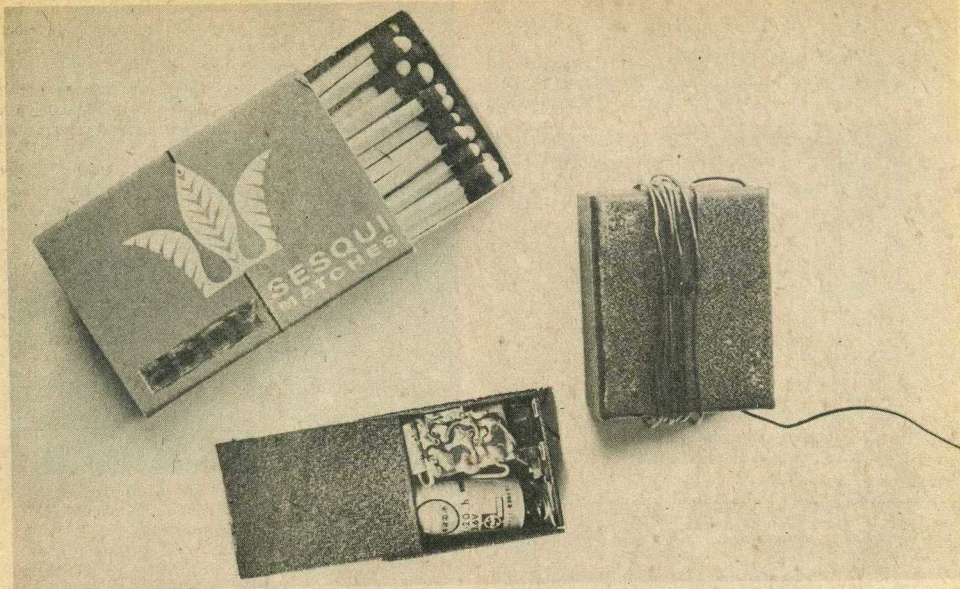
Grange sends in a man with a device called an R.F. Detector (for radio frequency). The apparatus picks up FM radio signals, the type emitted from concealed, wireless microphones. Pioneer Electric also had its offices checked for bugs by Driver Pool during a strike by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America at Toronto in 1971. The same year so did Kenroc Tools in Toronto during a United Steelworkers of America strike.

No "bugs" were found. One Driver Pool operator of the R. F. admits he didn't know how the detector worked and wouldn't know what to do if the mechanism ever found an electronic eavesdropper. Kimberly-Clark paid Grange nearly \$4,400 for that advice and some additional consultation on security.

Having Richard Grange break your strike means never having to do anything for yourself. Managements who engage Canadian Driver Pool literally hand over control of wide areas of their companies to Grange's lieutenants, far more control than any union contract would give the corporation's own employees.

Grange not only recommends what a company will do to operate in a strike, he determines how many of his men the company will use. He will, if management wants, guarantee the company will operate while its employees are on strike. He will recruit scabs. He will handle security. He will warehouse the company's products and guarantee they are shipped to customers.

The company becomes a compound. A Driver Pool manual for employers says "every employee and member of the staff will be issued with a security button." Badges must be shown by anyone — visitors, too — leaving or entering the offices. The building is to be illuminated with floodlights, the manual directs. "This is very important." Not only are they "important," they are intimidating, and probably intentionally so. The extensive strike preparations advised by Grange obviously cause more strikes than they prevent. A company turned suddenly into a fortress looks not only ready for war, but at war already. With a professional strikebreaker over his shoulder, the management negotiator has lost the incentive to bargain. In the eyes of the union negotiating committee, the struggle has already begun. They dig in. A strike becomes nearly inevitable.



Equipment used by strikebreakers in Canada includes this tiny wireless microphone (smaller than a box of matches) that picks up and transmits conversations.

Then Grange moves into strike action. More directives flow, all according to the book.

"Guards will accept parcels at the main entrance." Deliverymen will have to show identification. The licence plates of their vehicles are recorded.

Company supervisors are to be assigned to washrooms, the Grange manual for one employer dictates. Surveillance of the employees will be intensified during lunch hours "to stop anyone spreading discontent or rumour in the washrooms, cafeteria or locker rooms." Supervisors are required by Grange to report "any incident, however small" and record each in "the incident book." Driver Pool will investigate. It says so in the manual.

Grange's scare tactics work well. When a management's telephone lines have been "swept" for nonexistent taps, when floodlights are up, when Grange astonishes them with the exploits of his crew, the company is under his spell. He becomes their security adviser, a confidant of presidents, a Rasputin in the corporate castle. If he tells them they need a new alarm system, he can recommend one. His own. In 1972 he bought a franchise for Ontario to sell burglar alarms under the name Provincial Security Systems Limited.

Communications are handled in army fashion, too. Grange, the ersatz commander, directs the operations through a booming radio signal piped from his base station's 60-foot antenna atop an apartment building at 2240 Weston Road in the north-western section of Metropolitan Toronto. In Apartment 1803 is a branch office of Driver Pool, where the photographic achievements of Grange's men are developed.

Station wagons rented to his clients from another Grange subsidiary, Metro Car Lease, are equipped with two-way

radios that link Grange's human satellites to one of the most powerful radio networks — legal or underground — anywhere in the province. According to the federal transport department, neither Grange nor any one of his various companies and fronts has a citizens' band licence required by law to operate the antenna and equipment at his radio station.

Inside the company, now almost a heavily-secured fort, a Grange trooper co-ordinates manoeuvres.

Grange makes company employees park their cars in the centre of the company lot, away from fences, sidewalks and driveways. The image of covered wagons huddling nervously is appropriate.

Driver Pool's manual explains why. "... To prevent damage from bottles of acid etc., being tossed over the compound fence." Grange has worked more than 30 strikes since 1969, and in not one has a bottle of acid been thrown.



The battle, the soldiers

There are obvious reasons why Grange and other professional strikebreaking agencies intimidate their own clients and the company's employees.

According to one man who worked with Grange on several strikes, "ninety per cent of the violence was provoked by Driver Pool." If photographing the strikers, running trucks

across their picket lines (sometimes empty) or other tactics are successful in causing a disturbance, then more strikeguards will be necessary. Driver Pool and other successful professional strikebreaking concerns create their own markets. Says Greg Ross, another one-time Grange employee, "The company's not going to pay for anything if there's nothing happening."

Professional strikebreakers will do more than just hope for trouble. Trouble is their business, and they know how to make it. During a 1971 strike by the International Chemical Workers' Union at Canadian Johns-Manville in Port Union, Ontario, outside Metro Toronto, the president of the local union says he received telephone calls from men he knows worked for Driver Pool who challenged him to fight. The strike was one of Grange's worst for violent episodes, really the best conditions for Driver Pool.

Six strikers, according to a former Driver Pool employee, were beaten up during the lengthy strike. Driver Pool guards armed with guns and nightsticks patrolled the expansive grounds of the company. When there was no action, says one strikebreaker, Grange's toughs would chase rabbits through the long fields around the Johns-Manville complex in Driver Pool's rented automobiles.

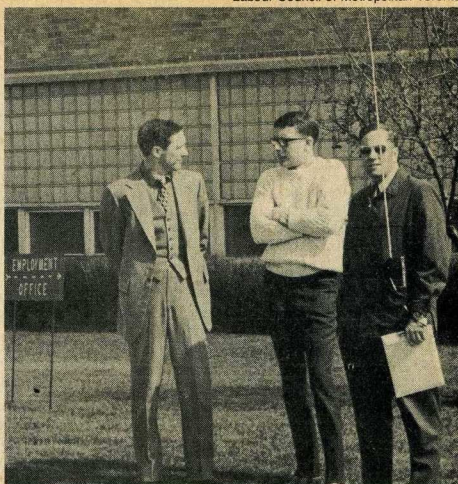
At Gidon Industries in northwest Metro Toronto, a Grange man was charged with assault on two occasions, once when a union supporter was thrown from the plant after being fired. The second charge followed a chase inside the plant after another union sympathizer was accused of loafing and dismissed.

In early 1972 at Central Precision Limited, a suburban Toronto company that rebuilds car engines, the local union president's car was firebombed, and a gang of Driver Pool's toughs, identified from photographs by the strikers, attacked a trailer used for a strike headquarters.

Grange builds his own image by romanticizing the work of his strikebreakers. Readers of an American magazine, in a story by *Toronto Star* reporter Alan Edmonds, saw this embroidered version of how Driver Pool personnel moved a shipment of liquid sugar from Redpath Sugars Limited during a 1971 strike in Grange's own words:

"We spent hours going over the plans of the plant and we set things up for a 60-second exposure at the picket line. First, three support cars swept up to the gate to get it open. It took them 30 seconds. Two photographers were dropped at the gate and started shooting pictures while the cars went on to the front of the building.

"The trucks were all warmed up, ready to go. So one



Driver Pool President Richard Grange at Trane Company strike. On the right, Fred B. Symmes, vice-president for production of the company.

car drops the driver and his crew, who get into the cab and start moving. Another car sweeps out ahead, then comes the truck, and the last car picks up the photographers at the gate.

"We have another car at the rear of the picket line getting pictures of the strikers in case any of them pick up rocks to heave at the truck.

"The truck is going to hit a stop light, we know that. We also know the picketers are going to get in their cars and follow it. So we have pictures taken of the licence plates of the strikers' cars, and then our cars close in behind the truck at the stop light. When it goes green the truck moves off and our cars block the road to the strikers. And the truck gets clean away. It was a very sweet operation."

Grange got at least \$75,000 from Redpath, according to Donald Whitteker, the company sales manager who was the principal contact with Driver Pool during the strike.

There was one side to the trucking adventures that Edmonds and Grange did not point out, however. Grange's driver-crews — typical of professional strikebreaking operations — are so untroubled by the presence of picket lines they tend not to stop at all.

In at least seven strikes Grange had been involved in drivers have hit strikers or missed them so narrowly that charges were laid. Three Grange employees have been convicted of reckless or dangerous driving, had been fined or have lost their driver's licences for running down or nearly hitting strikers. A Driver Pool strikebreaker who lost his licence before he ran down a picketing worker got a new licence using the address of the Napoli Meat Market at 7250 Hutchison Avenue in Montreal and a phony name. Charges were pending against two other Driver Pool heavies in May 1972 for picket-line incidents with cars. Grange's own driving record at the provincial department of transportation showed

**We don't buy
DARE foods
Support
the United Brewery,
Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink
and Distillery Workers
Local 173, Waterloo**

in June 1972 that he had no driver's licence. Driver Pool regular John Vance's driving record shows his licence has been pulled, and he is listed as "unrenewable." Vance's driving record includes convictions for driving with defective brakes, speeding 40 miles per hour over the legal maximum, dangerous driving and driving without a licence, a total of 27 convictions from January 1967 to December 1971.

A big contradiction that stands out in the professional strike-breaking racket is the money paid strikebreakers while the client company insists it cannot meet union contract proposals. Thus, truck drivers paid \$3 or \$4 an hour watch as their jobs are manned by industrial mercenaries for whom Grange gets \$7.75 an hour. A photographer costs \$10 an hour.

Company executives declare that in Grange's first sales talk it sounds incredible that he can offer so much and the potential of union-free management for so little. Some don't think at the time that Grange will assign 10 men, 10 hours a day and invoice the company for \$700 a day. On top of that will be truck rental bills, camera expenses and of course, the dogs (\$2.50 an hour and up). For extra protection, Grange recommends that spies be sent into a plant up to one month before a strike could legally start. Assuming there's a union left, he counsels, spies should be kept around after the strike, to check up on agitators.

Grange runs it like a secret police. An instruction book for new recruits says anyone brought into the band must be sponsored by a present member. After a two-month initiation period, working on trial with his sponsor, the new recruit will be voted on by present employees.

Grange instructs his agents never to reveal whom they really work for. They are to say they are employed by the company whose strike they are trying to break. Cameras are not to be used for personal use. Licence plate numbers of strikers' cars should be photographed. On the strike scene, Driver Pool guards and drivers are required to fill in detailed forms that ask whom they photographed, what licence plates they observed and what "incidents" occurred. Off-duty behaviour should be guarded so the man isn't an embarrassment to the Driver Pool. Carrying weapons on a job will mean instant dismissal. Finally, don't get involved in fighting. The last two rules are enforced loosely.

Grange has a deep streak of conceit in his personality. In a story by Ontario legislative correspondent Harold Greer in November, 1971, Grange was quoted as saying he is "determined to give my life if necessary" to stamp out international unionism. He also considered himself "not interested in money" and described Driver Pool as "not a profit-making organization."

His friends and former strikebreakers say Grange had no distinct political philosophy and rarely talks about politics. He has begun attacking the New Democratic Party by name in his speeches. "I know he was certainly glad to see the Conservative Party win the last [provincial] election," a one-time business aide reports.

His friends and his strikebreakers are apt to react with astonishment at what Rick Grange says and does. Another reaction is fear. He mesmerizes those who follow him. When they talk about him, they ask not to be identified.

A former roommate, remembering that Grange kept a gun in his home, adds, "He loved violence."

He does know how to use guns to make a point. Robert Sowiak, a radio store owner who has sold Grange thousands of dollars of tape recorders, "bugs" and other electronic equip-

ment, explained how in court when Grange was on trial for wiretapping. Sowiak testified he was at Grange's branch office in the Weston Road high-rise shortly after the Driver Pool president's arrest. "Well, we were talking," Sowiak related. "He got charged with wiretapping, and I said, 'I don't want to be involved in anything.' He said like, 'Don't say anything about it. Keep your mouth shut.'" Sowiak told the police later that Grange advised him to check his telephone "to see if it was tapped." Sowiak also related, "He told me the police had one of the tape recorders I had bought for him During this time Grange was playing with a pistol in a holder which he had in his hand." At the trial Sowiak said although the weapon looked like a real gun, "I concluded in my own mind it was a toy gun."

Former members of the Driver Pool gang say guns are ubiquitous. They are traded, bought and sold to one another, trucked across the border from the United States, stashed in vehicles, kept in Driver Pool strikebreakers' apartments and were fired regularly in mass shoot-outs for target practice in the Pool's former warehouses at 28 Tangiers Road and 257 Bridgeland Avenue and at the Oak Street base. "The inside of the warehouse looks like a sieve," is how one strikebreaker describes the impact of the gun battles with invisible invaders.

Another time during a typical Saturday afternoon warehouse shoot-out, bullets sailed through the window of a nearby building. Had it been a business day the building would have been occupied, and "somebody could have been killed," according to an eyewitness.

The guns former strikebreakers say they saw and heard discussed in Driver Pool warehouses include U.S. Army M-1s, the kind used in Vietnam, .22 calibre rifles, AR-15s, machine guns, sawed-off shotguns and assorted hand guns.

The Driver Pool arsenal would be accumulated on regular Saturday "gun hunts," as one insider calls them. Grange's crew are enamoured with weapons. Peter Paynter, for instance, used to keep a carbine in the high-rise apartment he shared with Nicholas Kerr, another Pool regular. Paynter is a reputed one-time mercenary who was expelled from the British Army. To him, Driver Pool is the army all over. On one of his gun hunts he apparently bought a telescopic sight for a rifle and observed in the enthusiasm of a boy with a new hockey stick that it "would be good for Pool." One former strikebreaker at Driver Pool says Grange boasts he can "get anything," guns, airplanes, even bombs, from sources in the United States.

STRIKEBREAKING IS LEGAL VIOLENCE

Demand it be outlawed

**United Electrical,
Radio and Machine
Workers of America**

IV What are friends for?

You see, in this line of work they never asked for no references.

— Sam "Chowderhead" Cohen, a famous American strikebreaker, commenting on his long criminal record.

The Toronto-based strikebreaking organization of Richard Grange was formed under the nose — or under the wing — of the Ontario Department of Labour. The labour department at the highest levels sanctioned Grange's entry into the strikebreaking field. From official labour department records, he was able to contact presidents of companies in bargaining and offer to break their strikes or infiltrate their unions.

That a supposedly neutral government department should turn aggressor against labour by opening the path to Grange and other professional strikebreakers may be considered illegal or immoral but it is not surprising. Professional strikebreaking can exist only under the auspices of business and government. In the case of Grange's Canadian Driver Pool those in government complicit with him include the Metropolitan Toronto Police, the Ontario Provincial Police, the court system, and the provincial departments of the Attorney-General, Transportation, Labour, and Financial and Commercial Affairs.

The first official blessing the Progressive Conservative Government of Ontario gave Richard Grange was in September 1970. Grange had applied a month earlier to incorporate Canadian Driver Pool Limited. In the Companies Branch of the Department of Financial and Commercial Affairs in Toronto, an official, C. A. Mulla, sent a copy of Grange's application to the labour department. Department Solicitor Frank G. Harrington of the labour department wrote back on September 10, 1970: "We have reviewed the objects of the proposed company and have found no conflict with the statutes administered by our Department." Harrington's reply was not unusual since the government then and now considers professional strikebreaking and anti-union espionage perfectly legal.

What was unusual about the labour department official's reply is that from the time the letter from the companies branch arrived in the legal department on the morning of September 4, 1970, it took less than five business days for the labour department to decide that Canadian Driver Pool Limited was no threat to collective bargaining, public welfare or stable industrial relations in Ontario.

The purposes of the company were stated this way on the application for incorporation:

- (a) to acquire the rights to the services of and to employ other persons in any and all fields of endeavour and to contract and deal with others with respect to the services of any such persons;
- (b) to render managerial, supervisory or other services to and to advise with respect to the business or operations of and to take part in the formation, management, supervi-

sion, control or liquidation of the business or operations of any other company, corporation, firm, business or undertaking of any nature or kind and wheresoever carried on.

Notwithstanding that the avowed purposes of the company as set out in its application were so amorphous as to be virtually meaningless, and ignoring the publicity the company's strikebreaking efforts have generated since early 1971, neither the labour department, which sanctioned Driver Pool, nor the financial and commercial affairs department, which ratified its formation, has considered reviewing the application. Frank G. Harrington, the solicitor, has since left the labour department under mysterious circumstances. He lives as a virtual recluse in tiny Wawa, a town in northern Ontario northwest of Sault Ste. Marie.

The official story of why the companies branch referred the Driver Pool application to the labour department is that such a procedure was "routine." "For your information, where the objects in an application for incorporation appear to relate to an activity which may be regulated by legislation by a department of the Government the Companies Branch advises the Department which in turn examines the objects to see if they are in breach of such legislation," Paul Hess, Harrington's successor at the department, stated in 1972. Hess was writing to Ralph Forsey, president of the local union at Redpath Sugars Limited, where Driver Pool worked the year before.

Why a company called "Driver Pool" that stated its business was to "render managerial, supervisory or other services" would not be referred as well to the Department of Transportation, which regulates drivers, remains a mystery to this day. Why an application to incorporate a company that made no reference to employees, employers, unions or any other groups directly affected by legislation administered

Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto

The image shows a detailed government application form for the incorporation of Canadian Driver Pool Limited. The form is filled out with handwritten information, including the company name, address, and various sections for approvals and signatures. A date stamp at the bottom indicates the form was received on September 11, 1970.

Driver Pool's incorporation application got "routine" approval.

by the labour department should be referred to the solicitor's office in that department also remains a mystery.

Hess's subtle-toned letter to Forsey of the Redpath union on April 7, 1972, was a distinct contrast to his tone with a private investigator hired by the International Chemical Workers' Union to dig into the strikebreaking at Redpath. Max Chikofsky, the investigator, says when he tried to talk with Harrington about the Driver Pool application Hess called and "blew his stack." Hess literally shouted at Chikofsky over the telephone, the investigator says, and demanded to know what he aimed to find out and why he was trying to find Hess's predecessor. Hess claimed he had talked with Harrington, Chikofsky states. In May, 1972, Chikofsky submitted a list of detailed questions on the Driver Pool application to the Companies Branch of the Department of Financial and Commercial Affairs. Officials there refused to answer. The "routine" form referring Driver Pool's application to the labour department has disappeared from the company's file.

One question Chikofsky tried futilely to get answered was how extensively Driver Pool and its founder were investigated by the labour department, the financial and commercial affairs department, anybody, in fact, before it was allowed to incorporate.

It is obvious that had Harrington dispatched the labour department's special investigator, R. G. Chappel, or had anyone probed even slightly into the murky affairs of Driver Pool, it would have been disclosed that Grange was already sending out his promotion letters while the application to incorporate was still on Harrington's desk. It would have become obvious that Grange was offering a security guard service that he didn't have a licence to provide. It may have occurred to someone, had anyone wanted to find out, that Grange was assembling a private army of what the labour movement commonly calls "goons." The labour department could have asked what sort of "managerial, supervisory or other services" Grange intended to sell. But Grange's favoured treatment by the labour department didn't end with the endorsement he got from the legal branch.

The labour department's research branch publishes an annual listing of the dates all union contracts expire in Ontario under the provincial jurisdiction and the union and company involved. Primarily it's for the use of legitimate researchers in labour relations, for the department's own conciliation and mediation branch and a few newspaper reporters who regularly cover the labour beat.

The book, a thick document with a blue cover and plastic binding, is considered an internal, almost confidential document. The Metropolitan Toronto police could not get it. The consulting firm of Hedlin-Menzies Associates Limited, which has done hundreds of thousands of dollars in work for the provincial government and has dealt regularly and intimately with high labour department officials, could not get it. Richard Grange got it. For him it became a crucial part of his business. How he got the first list is unclear. The second and third were obviously easier. One former strikebreaker who sent out Grange's letters says, "I called the labour department and said, 'It's Canadian Driver Pool calling; where's your book of contracts?'" One arrived shortly in the mail, he says.

One manufacturer reported to a negotiator for the United Steelworkers of America in 1972 that he would consider using Grange if the union struck. He told the union man



Canadian Driver Pool Ltd.

Dear Sir,

This letter will briefly explain a service which is unique and has never before been advertised, even though it has been in service over the past two years.

Our company was formed two years ago due to circumstances which necessitated the formation of an organized Company, which could offer specialized services to a strike-bound Company. Over the past two years, we have extended our services to forty-three (43) manufacturing and service industries which, in previous years, have been rendered virtually non-productive by strikes. Yet, during their last strike, with our aid, these companies broke the strikes and, in some cases, they managed to achieve levels of up to eighty percent productivity.

(d) Security: Through a separate security division, we can supply an experienced strike security force which specializes in strikes; the most experienced organization in this field on the North American Continent, utilizing latest electronic equipment. These men have been trained especially for this type of work and operate with Dohernan know where to look for attempts of sabotage and are equipped to handle a situation when one is at hand. The security team will also supply cashiers who will record any acts which could be detrimental in any way to your company. This information is useful in presenting a case with regard to an injunction against the union.

Our company was formed to help management take an organized stand and to date, has operated with one hundred percent success in all our strike activities.

Please feel free to call if you have any questions concerning our services.

Sincerely yours,

R.A. Grange,
President Ontario Operations,
Canadian Driver Pool Limited.

Sales letters like this have been sent to hundreds of company presidents.

that during a sales talk with company executives Grange claimed to have "tremendous influence" with the Department of Labour.

In the Department of Justice, too, government employees and other officials responsible to the attorney general of the province again helped Richard Grange build a formidable clientele.

It became apparent soon after Grange's existence, which had been relatively unknown to the public although he had been operating for more than a year, was divulged in June, 1971, that Driver Pool was offering a security guard service. Security guards and private investigators in Ontario and most other provinces have to hold licences. Neither Grange nor any of his companies had a security licence. The justice department, nevertheless, steadfastly refused to prosecute Grange despite an ever-mounting agglomeration of evidence that he was offering and providing guards and investigators. In his original promotion letters that went out as early as 1970, Grange was promising "a separate security division," which he modestly called "the most experienced organization in this field on the North American Continent." He claimed his men and his dogs "are trained for crowd control and plant security." No charges were laid.

Nevertheless, he did show he wanted a licence to shut off possible prosecution by a less friendly and sympathetic justice minister by applying for a licence in June 1971.

The name Grange came up with to apply for a security licence was Canadian Specialized Services. Even before the application for Specialized Services, Grange met personally with high OPP officials to discuss a licence for Driver Pool,



Grange and associates pose with their equipment outside the warehouse used by Grange's various enterprises.

former associates say. He said of the licence in Juné, "... I expect it to come through any day."

Grange, conveniently for the government, got arrested on a wiretap charge for his work on behalf of Redpath Sugars in Toronto.

Grange wrote the OPP on October 19, a few days after his arrest, that "in light of recent events" it would be "unlikely" that he'd get his licence, and he withdrew his application. The day before, another application for a front company already had been submitted.

On the application for the front were the names of Nick Kerr, who was listed as a principal on the earlier application for "Canadian Specialized Services", and James Kevin McEwan.

McEwan, a former Metropolitan Toronto traffic policeman, had moonlighted for Grange before quitting the force, according to former Driver Pool employees. While on the force he supplied Grange with run-downs on people Grange asked him to check out. In anything the two were involved in, says a friend who knows both, "Rick would be the leader, and Kevin the follower." McEwan quit the police October 11, 1971, four days before his new boss was charged in the wiretapping case with another policeman, Metro constable Barry Chapman.

It occurred to McEwan, his lawyer, Ray G. Goodwin (who is also Grange's lawyer), and to Grange that Nick Kerr's name on the security agency application might be a liability. Kerr had a long associatiptn with Grange and was vice-president of Driver Pool. With the president of Driver

Pool due in court (this is 1972) on conspiracy charges, the application for a licence from a company at the same Weston Road office that Driver Pool was using would raise suspicions. McEwan withdrew it on February 7. Then he submitted his own application for a "new" company, Canadian Specialized Security Limited. To cover his ties with Driver Pool — and to protect the government from charges it had licenced a strikebreaker — McEwan swore out an affidavit that he was sole owner of Specialized Security. The application was expedited. Within days, orders had come "from the top," according to OPP sources, to grant the licence. Grange had a front. McEwan was in business. He even bothered to rent a separate apartment, at 265 Dixon Road, No. 708, about a mile from the Driver Pool office.

It was true that McEwan was the sole owner of Canadian Specialized Security Limited. It was true at the time he made the affidavit and at the time the security licence was granted. But days later he agreed to sign over 75 percent ownership in the company to Brian Legge, Grange's friend and an investor in some of Grange's enterprises. Legge did not have his own security licence, as every principal and every employee of a guard or investigation agency must possess. The affidavit McEwan had signed purporting to eschew any connection with Grange and his professional strikebreaking outfits gave the camouflage the justice department wanted to defend the decision to grant McEwan's licence. That is precisely what transpired. On April 6, 1972, Ontario New Democratic Party leader Stephen Lewis raised the question. Attorney General Dalton Bales declared, "There was a sworn

affidavit by the applicant (McEwan) that he was the sole owner." Even before Bales answered, the authority to sign cheques on the guard company that Bales said Grange was not connected with had been given to Ron Wilson, the book-keeper for all the companies in the Grange complex. Clients who supposedly hired Specialized Security actually paid Driver Pool.

Just one day before the Ontario Federation of Labour was to present its annual legislative proposals to the provincial cabinet in June 1972 the OPP at last laid charges against Driver Pool and its president for allegedly breaking the security guards law. The original complaints relied on information about Driver Pool activities that was at least six months old.

At no time, it seems obvious, did anyone in the government seriously investigate what sort of business and individuals composed Canadian Driver Pool.

Grange gets along well with the Metropolitan Toronto police. So well, he has managed, say former Driver Pool strikebreakers, to put police officers at his disposal, to use private telephone numbers to get information reserved for policemen, and to provide the police with photographs his goons take of striking workers.

He has an office in downtown Toronto on Richmond Street East in the same building with the intelligence branch and the members of the old "strike squad."

The fellowship between the Toronto police department and the men of Canadian Driver Pool could be grounds under a stricter administration for charges that officers had breached department rules on fraternizing with undesirables. It is difficult, naturally, for a good policeman to avoid associating with undesirables in undercover work. Grange and the professional strikebreakers of Driver Pool and the police even get along socially. Ex-strikebreakers remember wild parties thrown by Grange at which men identified as policemen attended.

Grange has obtained, apparently from officers on the force, the confidential telephone numbers for night-time checks on criminal records and licence plates. It is against the rules of the department and the Ontario Police Act to divulge such departmental secrets.

Grange confidently tells employers who hire him, in his manual for operating during a strike, that the "police strike squad" has been alerted and that "patrol cars from our division will visit the plant several times during the hours of darkness" Grange also pledges that "the strike squad will be on duty during the day."

Former employees say Grange exchanges photographs of strikers and other tidbits he picks up about unions with Stu Kennedy, head of the intelligence branch section of the Toronto police that used to be the strike squad. Kennedy is a familiar figure with unionists. "The unions trust me," he proudly tells acquaintances. Kennedy in exchange provided Grange with information the police knew about individuals on picket lines. When Grange felt there weren't enough police around to guard his strikebreakers and his trucks, he would call Stu Kennedy "personally," says a one-time Grange cohort.

According to Syd Brown of the Toronto police association, the strike squad also gives information to management about employees who act up on picket lines. This information from police informants can be used by management to take reprisals against strikers up to and including dismissal.

V A national strikebreaking army?

The American worker doesn't yet believe in the class struggle, but the American employer has been Marxist for generations.

— Dwight MacDonald, reporting on the La Follette committee on labour hearing in *The Nation*, February 27, 1937.

The involvement of the Canadian Manufacturers Association in professional strikebreaking is hardly unpredictable. The CMA is an organization of 7,700 businesses. Consistently since its founding more than 100 years ago CMA leaders have gushed anti-union propaganda like a geyser.

It was probably inevitable that the CMA and Richard Grange of Canadian Driver Pool would develop a special relationship. Grange is probably the only professional strikebreaker to serve personally two CMA presidents. In 1970 Driver Pool got its first major assignment during the strike by the United Auto Workers at Honeywell Controls Limited in Scarborough, Ontario. Honeywell's president at the time, the late Leonard F. Wills, was also CMA president during the same year.

The year after the Honeywell strike Grange got a lot of business from another CMA president, A. G. W. Sinclair, president of Canadian Johns-Manville. (Johns-Manville was one of the most violent strikes in Driver Pool's record.)

Richard Grange apparently got deeply involved with the CMA in 1971 when Driver Pool inserted itself into the strike at Trane Company of Canada Limited. Trane vice-president Fred B. Symmes, a CMA activist, got excited about the idea of a strikebreaking army on stand-by at all times at

SOON TO BE A BOOK

The complete text of the report on strike-breaking will soon be available in book form.

Titled **The Strikebreakers**, and written by Marc Zwelling for the strikebreaking committee of the Ontario Federation of Labour and the Labour Council of Metro Toronto, the book will cost \$2.95 for the paperback edition.

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the call of managements. Grange impressed him. With that foot in the door, Grange met William H. Wightman, manager of the industrial relations department at the CMA's downtown Toronto headquarters and a management representative on the Ontario Labour Relations Board, which administers the province's bargaining and organizing laws. Grange met Wightman at the CMA offices several times. When Grange's sales letters to executives offering to break their companies' strikes were divulged in the Legislature, the CMA wrote Grange a letter of endorsement, former employees recall. One says the letter told Grange the CMA was "behind him 100 per cent." His operation was beneficial to industry because Grange's presence would deter strikes before they start. Wightman made big plans for Grange. He took him to Vancouver for a speaking engagement. Former strikebreakers say the CMA planned to take Grange on a nationwide speaking tour, though it never materialized. Some say Grange's arrest for the Redpath Sugars Limited wiretap in October 1971 temporarily interrupted the CMA's plans. In 1972 the speaking tour idea sprang up again. Grange renewed his CMA contacts and met in 1972 with CMA officials in Montreal and British Columbia. Grange is known to be anxious to get into Quebec, which he considers a ripe market for his services. The industrialized West Coast is another fertile area in his mind, Driver Pool sources claim.

If Grange and Canadian Driver Pool do manage to set up in Quebec, the likely front for the operation could be an inconspicuous cartage company on the Montreal waterfront called Vic's Cartage. Grange has visited the owner, Victor Barakett, several times in Montreal. Former insiders believe

Grange will try to use Vic's Cartage, with its warehouse and central location at 375 Ogilvy, as a base for a Quebec Driver Pool. Another location in Grange's expansion plans is Vancouver. Ex-partners say he plans to get a front to apply for a security guard agency licence from the British Columbia Government.

Grange also dreams of expanding to the United States. He went to Chicago in 1972 to see executives of the American parents of one of his Ontario clients, says a source close to the organization.

Since the Ontario Federation of Labour released this report last summer, little has changed for Richard Grange.

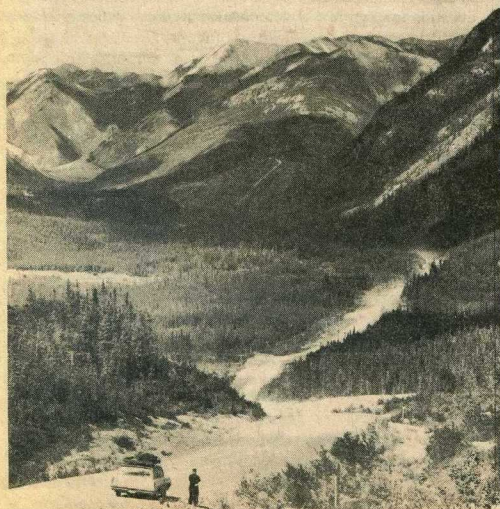
He was fined \$200, and the company \$500, for operating a security service without a licence.

Four of Pool's men have been recently fined \$100 each for public mischief in causing damage to the Steelworkers headquarters van at the Central Precision strike.

A former Pool executive also claimed recently that the company has taken in \$1 million in revenues in the last year.

And Richard Grange has taken to referring to himself in publicity releases as "a management consultant" these days.

Finally, one of the most outstanding examples of raw cheek occurred when Nick Kerr, Grange's former vice-president, wanting to get out of the business, offered to sell his percentage to the Steelworkers and Teamsters unions — suggesting that they might like to get part control of the company, and thus perhaps take it over. Somewhat incredulously, the unions declined. Everything, it seems, is ultimately marketable.



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**LAST
POST****REVIEWS**

The classic case for union with the U.S.

by R. D. MATHEWS

Canada and the Canadian Question, Goldwin Smith, Introduction by Carl Berger, University of Toronto Press, 236 pp. \$3.50.

Goldwin Smith was what we now call a continentalist. He believed that Canada should join with the USA in one country. He meant, by that, that Canada should accept admission to the U.S. union without modification of the U.S. constitution. Nowhere does he suggest a *new North America* (as present continentalist socialists do). Canada, for Smith, should submit to its inevitable "destiny" — to be part of the U.S. as now constituted.

His book, first published in 1891, is described on the cover of this University of Toronto Press reissue as "the classic case for union with the U.S." And it is that. Liberal continentalists there were before and have been after him, but Goldwin Smith has indeed written "the classic case." This is not to say that the work is convincing or even particularly intelligent. It is not.

Its long life is not a function of a high excellence of exposition and logic, but rather of the fact that it has served the interests of a commercial class whose personal and short-term desire for wealth would be satisfied by placing the economy of Canada without restriction on the open market — that

is, inside the government and constitution of the USA. If the U.S. government chose — as it has always done — to erect barriers to the rest of the world, well, that is another question for Smith. Canada mustn't; to do so defies 'nature'. Quite recently the top executive officers of the Bank of Montreal, for instance, (tied closely to U.S. corporate operation in Canada) have expressed the desire for free access to Canada of U.S. capital and banks. All the interests served by the top executives of the Bank of Montreal would be richer as a result, but those interests represent only an infinitesimal portion of the Canadian people — all of whom would be placed under increased U.S. domination as a result. Besides, like Goldwin Smith, the bank executives don't distinguish between *buying* the Canadian economy and being permitted to invest in other, less permanent ways.

Goldwin Smith is easy to place in some aspects, difficult in others. The fundamental philosophy expressed in *Canada and the Canadian Question* begins with Adam Smith (*The Wealth of Nations*, 1776); moves through what is called Manchester Liberalism, a philosophy of untrammelled Free Trade within a capitalist ideology; then, in Canada, through "Liberal thinkers" (from before Goldwin Smith to MacKenzie King, C. D. Howe, Lester Pearson, and such lesser lights as Ramsay Cook, A. E. Safarian, Harry Johnson, Frank Underhill, and the present instrument of continental integration, Jean-Luc Pepin, Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce in the Trudeau government (until his defeat).

The weakness of the reissued volume, apart from Smith's own superficiality, is in Carl Berger's introduction. If *Canada and the Canadian Question* is the classic case for union with the U.S., then it deserves much better than Berger gives it.

A modern reader deserves to know the roots of Smith's argument and position much more clearly than they are set out in the introduction. The reader should be helped to get to the contradictions, the flaws, and the strengths of Smith's position and argument. For instance, in his own introduction, Smith declares that his opinions have not been hastily formed (p. 5). But an editor might usefully point out that Goldwin Smith advocated the union of Canada with the U.S. before ever setting foot in North America. Berger describes the review of Smith's book by George M. Grant at the time of its first publication as "grounded upon a nationalist emotion and a conservative conception of nationality as the product of slow, organic evolution" (p. xv). But Berger does not, as he ought to, make clear that Smith's book, too, is the obverse argument to Grant's: an argument based upon a set of beliefs held "emotionally" because, then as now, they cannot be demonstrated to be true, and, in fact, most of them are, *demonstrably*, being revealed as false. But then Carl Berger is a Liberal

What, then, are the bases of Smith's argument in *Canada and the Canadian Question*?

He believed in the superiority of the anglo-saxon "race", and the inferiority of all others. And he believed in the rights of the anglo-saxon (English-speaking) "race" before all others, as he believed in the rights of what he called the "civilized" before all others of whatever colour.

That permitted him to suggest the erasure of the white French-Canadian culture and to declare that the rebellion of 1837 was "really a war between the two races in Lower Canada" (p. 19). On the same basis of argument Smith can divorce the British commercial hegemony in Montreal from terms of class and economic repression and house it in racial temperament, as he does when he writes that "the commerce and wealth of Montreal are still in British hands, the reactionary ecclesiasticism of the French being little propitious to commercial pursuits" (p. 20). We know also, since later Goldwin Smithites have told us so, that Canadians are, by a kind of racial character, timid, fearful of investing, inferior managers, and afraid to take risks, and so should not be entrusted with the planning and development of their own resources and other wealth.

The argument from racial inferiority is as active today

as it was in Smith's day, and it is used (with certain shifts that relate to shifts of power to and in the U.S.) as frequently among Liberals as ever it was in Goldwin Smith's day.

From that same basis of anglo-saxon superiority and the value of civilization he argues that the U.S. society is an advance in civilization. And he repeatedly rejects criticism of U.S. corruption and declares that the pockets, the "black spots" represent what "remain as traces of slavery." It is an explanation based upon a concept of aberration in a normally superior race. He had a moralistic view of anglo-saxon superiority which permitted him to distort or oversimplify whatever his intellectual gaze fell upon. In saying that the continent would not be too big a country, he waves his hand over all real conditions in North America that might stand in the way of his argument by writing: "If 300,000,000 Chinese can get on well together under a centralised government, surely 100,000,000 of the higher race can get on together under a government much more elastic" (p. 216).

But that is only one of his emotional predispositions. Smith had an unfortunate tendency to think that whatever he advocated as desirable was in fact a part of or based upon "nature" or "natural truth". Thus it was the "bidding of Destiny" that Canada join the U.S. (p. 221). The geographical desirability of union was absolute. To frustrate union would be "extravagantly at variance with the fiat of Nature" (p. 217). Readers might agree as to the existence of either country as a market ("the natural market" as Smith says) for the other. But he goes on to say that "to run a Customs line athwart [the continent] and try to sever its members from each other is to wage a desperate war against nature. Each several Province of the Dominion is by nature wedded to a commercial partner on the south . . ." (p. 224). In fact Smith wants the English speaking people of North America united. But the arguments of adjacent convenience in economic terms can be made for dozens of other countries in the world. Countries naturally trade with their near neighbours. They don't usually submit to their neighbours' forms of government and to rule by their neighbours. But that is what Goldwin Smith advocates for Canada, and that is why he tries to show the U.S. as a country in love with justice and, constitutionally, precisely the same as Canada.

His book has a few good arguments. One is the argument developed against imperial unity. (That same position, apparently unobserved by Smith, can be used against union with the U.S.) And his arguments for the genuine areas of trade existing on the North American continent are irrefutable. But union with the U.S. is not a corollary of them. Adjacent countries trade for a hundred obvious reasons. But one does not necessarily subserve the interests of the other. Goldwin Smith, however, neither advocates nor foresees Canada developing industrial capacity. Rather he advocates a role for Canadians as "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

This aspect of Smith's thought is hard to see through. For the Canadians he cares about are anglo-saxons, part of the superior race, for him. And even if they are "bidden by Destiny" to join the U.S.A., should they not have full freedom to develop within that country?

The answer to that question reveals another of Goldwin Smith's predispositions. He couldn't see Canadians as exploited in such a condition — as hewers of wood and drawers of water in the USA — because he didn't think of wealth in class or regional terms, or as organized by metropolis and hinterland. And so he could state, as Adam Smith did before him: "Whatever yields most wealth will raise

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highest the condition of the people, their standard of living, and their general civilization" (p. 231). Goldwin Smith knew, too, that commerce was the wealth-maker and that Canada had been trading its resource wealth to the U.S. to the profit of one class in Canada. "Hewers of wood for the Yankees they [the Canadians] are already to their own great profit." And he goes on to say that "it is not obvious why the producer of raw materials should be deemed so much beneath the factory hand"

But that is not the point. The tree faller is not concerned with his status in relation to the salmon canner. Or if he is, that is of no concern to Smith's argument. For the nobility of hewing wood and drawing water is not in question. What is in question is the economic subservience, exploitation and colonialism implied in the phrase. What the phrase asks is if Canadians will gain the right to develop their own economy, to process their own raw materials and to offer finished products competitively in the world markets. That way lies real independence and the condition which permits free choice.

But Smith is quite unable to reason on that level. He believes vaguely in Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* ideas. But he sees no contradiction in the fact that even in 1891 U.S. interests were owning huge chunks of Canadian mining and forest interests. How can the condition of a people be raised, even in Goldwin Smith's terms, if its wealth is in the hands of another nation? He doesn't address that question. And he doesn't do so, one suspects, because like most post-Adam Smithites, he believed in the power and sanctity of free-enterprise commerce, the primacy of commerce before all other considerations. Wealth, in general, is good. Commerce produces wealth. And commerce rules. Smith was on the side of commerce. Of commercial union, he writes:

Commerce after a little experience would be too sensible of the benefit to renounce it or allow the politicians, whom, by a resolute effort, she can even in the United States control, to wrest it from her. The line of Custom houses built across a continent which nature has forbidden to be divided, once pulled down, will never be built up again. (p. 234)

Advocating the position he does, Smith ignores the expansionist cries and imperial pretensions towards Canada expressed repeatedly in the U.S. in the nineteenth century. And he, of course, rejects socialism. He praises the stability of banks, refusing to see them as manipulators of capital* for imperialist ends. On the contrary. He defends them: "The banks everywhere, as the great organs of the commercial system, have enemies in the Socialists, who would wreck and plunder them if they could" (pp. 38-9).

Smith ranges quickly and superficially over Canada. He looks at character and custom, social history and politics. But his argument is essentially an economic, imperialist and racist argument. The USA has the right language, blood and kind of enterprise. English Canadians have the right language, blood and vast raw materials. Let Canada join the U.S., feed the U.S. industrial machine, rub out French-Canadian culture, permit the unimpeded exploitation and marketing of goods on the continent and then Canada's destiny will be fulfilled and civilization advanced.

In his introduction Carl Berger writes: "The book is supremely important in Canadian nationalist thought because the author asked the question which all Canadian nationalists have since tried to answer: what positive values does the

country embody and represent that justifies her existence?"

Carl Berger is guilty of writing rubbish. For Goldwin Smith does not ask that question. Rather, he sets out to show, as Frank Underhill does after him, that Canada has no reason to exist. Like Underhill, he uses an economic analysis that in no serious way considers the whole population or foresees the results of an independent, let alone a socialist, economy. Even if Canada in Smith's day, and in our own, was in as dreary a condition as Smith makes out, the solution would surely not be to join the U.S., but to engineer a revolution, peaceful or violent, and to begin, here, the necessary re-ordering of society. To avoid that kind of solution, Smith designs for his book a USA full of justice, energy and civilization. Smith puts a false question to which he manipulates a non-answer.

Only to Liberals could the book be important and only to Liberals willing to accept as reasonable the premises that anglo-saxon racial superiority exists, that a commercial elite should rule unhindered in North America and the world, and that the Canadian role ought to be to serve the U.S. industrial machine. Surprisingly enough, many Liberals will think the book important, and tragically in Ottawa, many of them will be French Canadians such as Jean-Luc Pepin, who will accept all three premises without strain or unease.

R. D. Mathews is a professor of English at Carleton University, and one of the leaders of the movement to Canadianize our universities.

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“The dead, the dead”

by MALCOLM REID

Penguin book of socialist verse, edited with an introduction by Alan Bold. Penguin Books, 550 pp. \$2.50

In 1966, I undertook a trip to Latin America, more because of a chance that came up than because I felt really ready for that rich part of the poor world. A friend, an acquaintance really, was driving down; his passenger had backed out; would I like to go? I and my brother? We said yes.

The plan was Mexico and Central America, more because of a chance that came up than because I felt really ready for that rich part of the poor world. A friend, an acquaintance really, was driving down; his passenger had backed out; would I like to go? I and my brother? We said yes.

The plan was Mexico and Central America, more because of a chance that came up than because I felt really ready for that rich part of the poor world. A friend, an acquaintance really, was driving down; his passenger had backed out; would I like to go? I and my brother? We said yes.

In the days that followed, Gaston Miron told me he knew a guy in South

America — a guy who'd translated his poetry down there — he'd give me the name. I was in touch with Gaston because of a book I was writing on left-wing Quebec literature. When he gave me the name — happy surprise, it was in Central America, in Nicaragua. We would be able to make the call.

When we arrived in Managua, the trip had not been going too well. My brother and I were not getting along with the travelling partner who had proposed the trip, so the project of going to the address Gaston had given us was an uneasy one. It had been he, our companion, who had wanted to drop in on people, lowly peasant to high engineer, and had insisted we take along suits for the purpose. But now we were the ones who had someone to call on, in a neat middle-class section of Managua, and it was one of those leftist-literary contacts Malcolm kept coming up with.

At the home of the Gordillos — the poet's name was a glorious one, Fernando Gordillo Cervantes — we were well received, fed, even our travelling companion couldn't complain. I remember children's toys around the living room couch. Toys of Fernando's brothers and sisters, for this was his parents' house. I remember his father, his gentlemanly father. I remember the silent women in the kitchen.

Fernando invited me to his room and we talked in Spanish and French — both languages presented difficulties. In *The Shouting Signpainters* I recall the main things I learned from him; that writing was largely conservative in Nicaragua, that he was one of a young group of left writers, that it was hard for Latin Americans to accept Québécois as colonized people, hard also to understand their obsessive anti-clericalism. He was struggling with the Miron text from *parti pris* called *Notes on the Poem and the Non-poem*, but he had not yet managed to translate it. I recall him using the word, to wonder if it applied to Miron, *jovent*. I remember thinking Gaston's not old, but somehow I wouldn't call him young either.

I did not use Fernando's name when I spoke of him in the book. Was it because I feared it might hurt him, or

because it was so personal, so little an interview?

I liked him. He was friendly, non-dogmatic, and I did not feel a world away from my world, because here we were in a middle-class room, in middle-class clothes, discussing politics, just like at home. Fernando was sick and had to stay at home a lot; he also went to university, teaching, I think. He gave me a literary magazine his group had put out; I recall a cage. He was pessimistic: literature was not about to crackle with revolution here, and guerrilla war had always failed in Nicaragua. His face is not crystal clear in my memory, but I remember him as dark-haired, rather paler than most Latin Americans, and a bit plump. Very young. He gave me an old Nicaraguan Indian crouching figure carved in volcanic rock, and I gave him a woven necktie. This was in 1966.

* * *

Last month, while working on an article in a friend's study, my eye wandered to a Penguin with an art nouveau engraving on the cover, *The Penguin Book of Socialist Verse*, published in 1970. Socialist verse!

Socialist verse! I didn't like the idea, it went against my feeling that social

new from progress ...

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justice was one of the inspirations of all great poetry, that the right-wing poet is a wierdo, and even the wildest barbarians are socialists who don't know themselves.

But Alan Bold, a brilliant young countryman of the old Red Scots poet Hugh MacDiarmid, made a good argument for his not-too-rigid collection in his introduction, perhaps just a bit *too* insistent that there's nothing wrong with politics in poetry. Above all he made a beautiful selection of lyrics, of social struggle, social perception, social rage. From an amazing range of tongues, and all, he said, made to "work as poems in English." No F. R. Scott, no Chamberland, alas, but A. M. Klein and Margaret Avison translated some of the Hebrew and Hungarian.

There is a wonderful German named Enzensberger who translates himself;

"he puts four dimes into the slot / he gets himself some cigarets / he gets cancer / he gets apartheid / he gets the king of greece."

Old favourites: the International, Neruda, Leadbelly, copyright kept out Dylan. And a particularly good group of young Latin Americans translated by Ed Dorn and Gordon Brotherston.

Then here on page 502 — Fernando Gordillo Cervantes, 1940-67. In the back, the biographical note: "Nicuagaran poet and guerrilla. He was a student revolutionary leader, killed in 1967."

The year after we got back from Central America, we saw photos of riots in Managua, wondered about Fernando, wrote perhaps once without reply.

His four poems in the book are all about revolutionary death, seen as necessary but still death. *This is the dead:*

The dead, the dead
will brace the arms of the
revolutionaries
sustain the voice of the multitudes
guide the plough of the countryman

The dead . . .

who's going to hold the hands of the
dead

Fernando's small, poor country gave the Spanish language one of its greatest poets ever. He is in the book too. This is from *To Roosevelt* (which meant Teddy, for the poet died in 1916) by Rubén Darío:

. . . our America
trembling with hurricanes, trembling
with love:

O men with Saxon eyes and barbarous
souls,
our America lives. And dreams. And
loves.

And it is the daughter of the Sun. Be
careful.

*Malcolm Reid is the Last Post's
Quebec parliamentary correspondent.*

Is our Umwelt too hot for us?

by G. S. ADAM

Relations in Public, by Erving Goffman. Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Toronto, 396 pp. \$5.95.

There are two questions I would ask Erving Goffman were I to meet him. "Erving," I would say (deploying the conventional mode of address which he of all people would recognize as part of access ritual, uh, greeting), "Why did your parents spell your first name with an 'E'?" My second question would be more serious. "Erving," I would say, "Why don't you write novels or plays or even political theory instead of social science?" To the second of these two questions I would breathlessly await an answer.

For Goffman has written yet another of his books on the nature of interaction between primates of the people persuasion.

He's written it competently, even ingeniously, but he's done it with the straight face of scientific neutrality. And from one point of view, that is too bad, for it is a subject on which the artistic imagination has a prior claim. The conventions he documents and analyses exhaustively can be recorded for pleasure or destroyed, if such destruction is a possibility, with laughter. Alternatively, I suppose, if we become truly sullen about these conventions, we can engage in active dissent. In either case, the social order becomes more bearable.

He writes in the preface:

My concern in this volume is with the ground rules and the associated orderings of behavior that pertain to public life — to persons co-mingling and to places and social occasions where this face-to-face contact occurs. My special concern then is with the "public order."

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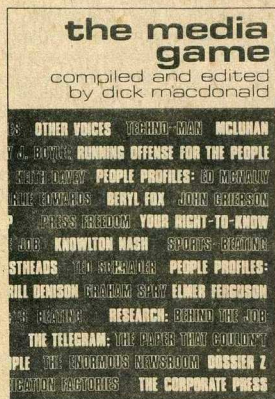
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His concern takes him and those of us who have the patience to read to the end through an imaginative but somehow joyless examination of the cues, signs, methods, claims, rights and qualities that are manifest in the commerce of daily life, those elements of culture that maintain the social order at the grass roots.

It is not the case that the presentation lacks relief. But where humour infiltrates the text, it is either unintentional or *ad hoc* so as not to distract from the deadly scientific seriousness that is its manifest tone.

The unintentional humour invites parody. For example, Goffman provides in the preface a standard methodological disclaimer that "... a great number of assertions must be made without solid quantitative evidence." Much later, he writes:

... urinals in public toilets in America bring men very close to each other under circumstances where, for a period of time, they must expose themselves. In such places considerable care is taken in regard to eyes lest privacy be violated more than necessary.

The image that arises as these fragments of the narrative are recalled belongs to art — to novels or the theatre — perhaps to "Beyond the Fringe" or "Spring Thaw." The scenario would include Goffmanesque research commissars recording in the name of science the furtive glances of men in the queue (as it were) during intermission at Maple Leaf Gardens. It would only be after such research labours that 'solid quantitative evidence' would be available.

We can laugh at illustrations in the same spirit:

In nudist camps ... apparently considerable effort is taken to avoid appearing to be looking at the private parts of others. A rule in our society: When bodies are naked, glances are clothed.

A happy aphorism which, thank God, relieves rather than oppresses.

And such relief is important in a text which teaches among other things that "hand-holding signifies an open side-involvement of two ends in an exclusive, sexually potential, equalitarian relation." "No kidding, Irv-oops!" I would say deploying the devices of remedial interchange to assure him I intend no slight. "I mean, Erving."

Of course Goffman and his disciples would reject such a cheerful caricature

of his work. Goffman belongs to social science rather than the literary tradition and by fleshing out that region of existence where the individual meets society he has given it greater clarity and meaning.

Much of the text is devoted to the classification of the modes of self-definition in the western world. For example, with a sharp eye for the habits we hardly acknowledge, Goffman records how personal territory is defined for permanent or temporary use. It is often best, he writes, "to consider personal space not as a permanently possessed, egocentric claim but as a temporary, situational preserve into whose center the individual moves."

By way of illustration:

Obviously, to stand or sit next to a stranger when the setting is all but empty is more of an intrusion than the same act would be when the place is packed and all can see only this niche remains.

The effect of such habits, whether they provide a means for staking claims over space, or are used to correct an individual *faux-pas*, or signal status, is to preserve the equilibrium of the public world. It is an intrinsically interesting and challenging enterprise.

But caution is warranted. For Goffman moves well beyond this classificatory and descriptive task into an explicit but somewhat muted political theme. For example, he reminds us that much of human behaviour is determined by structural and cultural sources. As he writes:

... the mutual dealings associated with any set of ground rules could probably be sustained with fewer rules or different ones, that some of the rules which do apply produce more inconvenience than they are worth, and that some participants profit considerably more than others from the order.

Much later, in a footnote which recalls the disorders at Columbia University, he quotes President Grayson Kirk's comment on the devastation he found in his office after student demonstrators had been cleared. "My God," Kirk is reported to have said, "how could human beings do a thing like this?" Goffman's comment:

The great sociological question ... is not how could it be that human beings would do a thing like this, but rather how is it that human beings do this sort of thing so rarely. How come persons in authority have been so overwhelmingly successful in conning

those beneath them into keeping the hell out of their offices?

Thus, there is a clear instruction that the social order embodies a certain tyranny. But with the picture of tyranny — a theme which many including de Tocqueville, Freud and modern radicals have explored — goes a sociologist's concern over the ruins that follow its destruction. He provides a portrait of man in society but no exhortation or program for his future.

The program is missing perhaps because as a sociologist his theoretical outlook states quite directly that rules are essential to order: no rules, no order. Such a program is also missing because of his desire to apply the findings of ethologists — students of animal behaviour — to the interpretation of human life. He adds such notions as territoriality to the vocabulary of social analysis and, more to the point, the notion of *Umwelt*. The *Umwelt* is the sphere around an individual within which sources of alarm are found. Just as animals scan the environment for danger so, Goffman asserts, do humans. Such scanning is an essential preface to purposeful behaviour.

The meaning of this notion is explored in his essay on "Normal Appearances", a chapter which could well become a paranoiac's handbook. His purpose is to demonstrate that the apparent commerce of trust and deference in possession, territory and exchange can itself be the condition of surveillance, espionage and assault. We are much more vulnerable than we care to imagine not only because the manifest world may be deceptive but because, alas, there are always blind spots or areas such as those behind our back we cannot account for.

Thus as we scan for normalcy so that we may allay our 'instinctive' anxiety and attend to our business, we can become suspicious.

He writes:

It is theoretically possible . . . for the immediate environment around an individual to be transformed into something he must suspect, the suspicion falling on persons present, objects present, sounds and movements, and finally on places not directly gazed at. When this suspicion occurs, say, during times of inter-necine warfare, then the individual may become anxious indeed . . . His *Umwelt* becomes hot for him.

The point, if I can take some licence with Goffman's analysis, is that the civil-

ity of contemporary urban life is fragile and behind its normal appearances lie individuals or groups who are likely to suspend the ground rules in the name of anarchy, justice or whatever, or alternatively, use them for undisclosed advantage.

He is right no doubt. But by couching such concerns in the language of scientific neutrality, he hedges at the present point where analysis could become the basis for devastating social criticism. Furthermore by providing two frames of reference — one broadly cultural and indigenous to the social realm, the other ethological and, so to speak, natural — he complicates what could be simply and directly ascertained. Goffman hedges at the point where programmatic statements are warranted.

Perhaps, as I said earlier, this is because he views the contemporary social order with considerable apprehension. He, therefore, leaves us with a scientifically-conceived image and vocabulary which can be used for both criticism and defence of the order.

This duality is always possible when no clear method is provided for discriminations between that which is natural, or necessary, or both, and that which is unnecessary. Undoubtedly *Umwelten* can heat up, but when they do, and who is being melted, can be easily settled. Accordingly, a text which tackles questions of legitimacy and authority but avoids both the analyses of specific conditions and concepts of justice should be approached with caution.

There is much more to Goffman than I have reported here. His final essay, an appendix, is an interesting and subtle analysis of the relationship between mental illness and the family structure. Its clinical applications should be left to specialists. Its more general application is an understanding of the family as a major unit of social control for better or for worse.

Goffman has earned his reputation as an imaginative and thorough scholar. But this outline of the commonplace world tends like much of social science simply to mystify the things we already know. Unless we find joy in our world, and unless we postulate real goals, it will oppress us.

G. S. Adam is a professor of journalism at Carleton University

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THE LAST PAGE

MIND AT THE END OF ITS TETHER

by PATRICK MACFADDEN

Things are not going very well.
And they're getting worse.

To watch on television the arrival of Team Ugly at Toronto City Hall on a wet night was to see things coming unstuck. Health and Welfare Minister Munro started to make a speech to the rain-soaked fans. He said hockey was indeed an art form and that he himself was a man of the people.

But the people would have none of it. They booed. Bravely the Minister tried to continue. To no avail. The hapless man had to be led, still babbling of art, away. He had not been a success.

Why are things not working out any more? Not even such a simple manipulative tactic as the one just described, what the historian Halévy termed "the systematic organization of enthusiasm"?

Matters are no better when we turn to technology. William Irwin Thompson of York University, in his book "At the Edge of History," relates the true-life parable of I. M. Pei's Earth Sciences Building at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Architect Pei is one of MIT's more illustrious alumni. His new building, some twenty stories high, was designed to represent the triumph of Man, or at any rate American Man, over his environment. Its windows were bronzed to keep out the sun, it stood miraculously on four thin pylons, its bottom two floors were stylishly missing. It was, in short, a whiz.

Alas. Quite soon the ingeniously built-in structural stresses caused the windows to crack, showering spikes of heavy bronze glass on the unfortunates below. As Professor Thompson relates it: "MIT had to suffer the ignominy of having to rope off the courtyard to protect its students from the work of one of its graduates."

But it is in the ordinary day-to-day business of living, and its reflections in popular culture, that you find the real illustrations of a generalized breakdown. None of them is as dramatic as the spectacular failures of a Pei or a Munro — although in the case of the latter, his name has already become almost a generic form. (Small child to his mother: "I think I've done a munro.") But all of them point to something being *wrong*.

Some time ago, two boys in Hull, Québec were on their way to the store after school. They were killed by a car. Their deaths were reported in *The Ottawa Journal*. The headline read: DEATH MARS SHOPPING EXPEDITION.

In a film about the Los Angeles Police Department called "The New Centurions," George C. Scott plays a tough-but-kindly policeman who, upon retirement, puts a gun in his mouth and blows his head off. Formally speaking this is a fiction; but the division has ceased to count. Retirement is clearly a dreadful blow, death is to be preferred. Jacques Ellul has characterized Western Man as one for whom "the ideology of work has become the dominant ideology." And

so when work ceases, man ceases. If this is so, then the land is not really strong at all.

There's a vague, unfocussed sense that we're all being proletarianized. This premonition, not yet a full-blown realization, is not as strong as it might be because it's been obscured by works of popular sociology that argue the opposite.

Yet these ideas, based on the continuing and central importance of vertical social stratification, seem less and less true of what people see and feel in their *real* lives. The \$20,000-a-year man isn't getting the same kick any more out of contemplating the man on half or a quarter of that. The surround that maintained status-satisfaction, that gave it meaning, has been chipped away. We are all proletarians now, a state of affairs the official culture of consumption-cum-reward serves to hide.

But since the top of the heap is now held by the dozen or so corporations that run capitalism, there's little point in pretending any more. For the rest, it's merely a matter of which brand of car or whiskey. But these are not satisfying considerations for any length of time. And so people become angry, hopping mad. They know they have been misled. They do not know by whom. They cry out against their tormentors. They hit the wrong targets. The media call this activity backlash. It is all very sad.

However, it's likely that the business culture can successfully maintain the illusion of the validity of vertical stratification for some time to come. When it looks as if this illusion is losing its grip, then the businessman steps into the field himself. His message tends to be quite brutal and direct, unmediated by the more discursive codings of the social scientists. As in this, from the current issue of the Royal Bank of Canada newsletter:

"If you find that you are awkward in good company, that you are more at ease with third raters than with people of a higher order it may be because you have allowed yourself to drift into unrefined society. The remedy is to so order your life that you meet and associate with people of the sort you admire."

Beland Honderich, the publisher of the *Toronto Star*, is perplexed. One day, a few weeks ago, he noticed his paper was carrying twice as many Jobs Vacant columns as Jobs Wanted. How, he enquired philosophically — for such is his way — how come?

The media, for their part, contribute a great deal to the breakdown. Consider the mug-shots of businessmen suffering promotions in the financial sections of the press. More and more they look like out-takes from "The Godfather." This is not very nice for children; it certainly strikes terror into the hearts of our old people.

Media also help to develop self-awareness. This is not a good thing. Henri Lefebvre talks of the Kierkegaardian character who, in front of his stunned wife and family, ripped his newspaper to shreds screaming: "Everything, everything has now become possible!"

No wonder lots of people are running, even figuratively, away. As John Lennon remarked, there's nothing worth stealing in the stores any more.

Erving Goffman's study of lunatic asylums portrays an institution functioning smoothly according to the classic principle of capitalism, the exchange of equivalents, *quid pro quo*.

It's reassuring to know that in at least one section of the polity things are still all right. Because out here, it's beginning to get cold.

Oh no! It's Christmas-shopping time again!

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