

Grey Cup champ talks of doped-up athletes

**LAST
POST**

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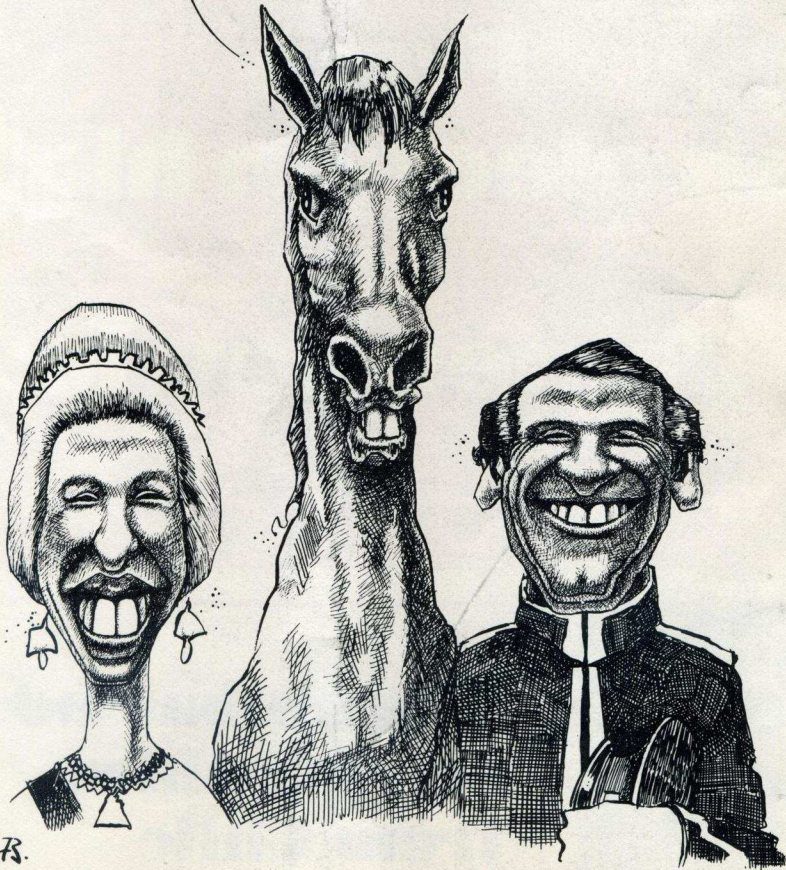
**LAST
POST**

**From
an election high
to
a James Bay low**

**Zolf's book:
the parts
left out**

**The ambassador's
secret cables
from Chile**

I DO!



ARJIN '73.

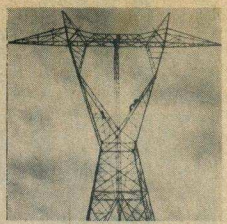
Ulli D James

LAST POST

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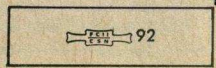
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ENERGY: THE CABINET LEARNS THE NEW MATH

*Canada produces 2,000,000 barrels
of oil a day*

And consumes 1,760,000:

*According to government arithmetic
This is known as a shortage.*

—Contemporary ballad,
recorded by John Allan Cameron

On a precipitous day in mid-September 1973, several hundreds of years after the discovery of arithmetic, Donald Macdonald, the member of parliament for Toronto-Rosedale and Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, furrowed his pate and consulted his abacus. "How is it," he muttered, "that we have so much oil in this country and yet are importing so much, and importing at other people's prices?"

This is an actual quote. The revelation appeared unto the minister just before he announced a price freeze on Canadian crude oil and an export tax increase of 40 cents a barrel on crude shipped to the United States. Neither measure seemed to be directly related to his newfound wisdom. As he had been since he took over the portfolio two years ago, Macdonald was hedging.

The apparent stupidity of the principal

ALSO WRITES LOUGHEED'S SPEECHES?

Dave Furlong, managing director of the Canadian Petroleum Association, says it's his first and last science fiction story, but don't bet on it. With his versatility, he may make the best seller list — after all, combining science and fiction is nothing new in the oil business.

—*Oilweek, October 8, 1973*

characters is, one of the more outstanding features of the rather boring saga of The Energy Crisis. Even with access to all the weighty government investigations and the privilege of breaking Canadian whole-wheat bread with oil company executives, the ministers of the federal government have taken until now to realize what simple folk have known since the first cash was laid on the barrelhead: 2,000,000 minus 1,760,000 is known as a surplus.

To understand their problem, it is necessary to grasp one salient fact: the energy crisis is not a crisis of supply, it is a crisis of *control*. In a comprehensive article in the *New York Review of Books* in July, journalist and economist Emma Rothschild wrote that "the momentum of the present energy crisis comes down to a play to raise prices, a corporate demand for immediate price increases, and for longer term government support."

Despite the oil companies' claims that they were operating at full capacity (and hence needed more money to expand facilities to meet demand), they were in fact producing less at the start of the crisis than they did during the gas booms of the forties and fifties. Since the American government has refused them the price increases they are demanding, the companies have simply changed tactics: they are now aiming to force a rise in prices by cutting off supply.

And sure enough in October, Macdonald's price freeze started to come apart. Gulf increased its retail price for fuel oil by one cent a gallon. Venezuela increased the price of crude produced there, and so did its middle eastern allies in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Persian



MACDONALD
Shades of Joe Greene

Gulf prices were raised by up to 70 per cent, then production was cut back to conserve supply and finally middle eastern exports to the United States were cut in order to force Washington to bring Israel to heel.

The curtailment of middle eastern supplies frightened Canada, although it did not extend to our own imports from the area. Shipments for Montreal going through Portland, Me., were allowed through. Even so, the move inspired visions of crafty Arabs squeezing the lifeblood out of our Toyotas, and the government started casting wildly about for alternatives.

Usually in such circumstances it has huddled closer to the United States. This time it has, at least, moved to redirect resources for internal use. But it is indicative of the Liberal government's approach that, while insisting that Canada continue to be an oil exporting country, it has never even thought of our being a potential member of OPEC. Even if the government now moves in the direction of self-sufficiency and imports and exports become insignificant, it is still a rational course for us to be allied to producing countries rather than being the victim of the consumer — that is the United States.

Under the present arrangements,

Canadian prices were helpless to do anything but follow the upward trend. East of the Ottawa Valley, most of the oil used is Venezuelan. West of the valley supplies come from Alberta, where more than 80 per cent of production is by American-owned companies. This is all in accordance with the national energy policy adopted ten years ago, a policy which critics have been saying all along would lead to exactly the predicament we have now. Supply the east with Alberta crude, they said.

This would necessitate increasing the capacity of the existing Alberta-Ontario pipeline and extending it to Montreal and the maritimes. In September the government (significantly, the statement was not attributed to Macdonald) came out for this, citing the escalating costs of offshore crude, the price of which was completely outside the control of the Canadian government.

On October 19, Macdonald said that no significant amounts of Alberta oil now shipped to the United States could be transported to the Atlantic provinces and Quebec. He hedged on extension of the pipeline, and has in fact never argued very strongly for it.

Three days later, however, External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp said that the government wanted the pipeline not only to be extended to Montreal but to be of even great capacity than proposed in September. Further, Sharp announced that Ottawa was withdrawing the offer it had made to the U.S. to supply refineries in Washington State with

Alberta crude in order to keep supertankers carrying Alaskan oil out of the Juan de Fuca Straits. The oil that would have gone south would now go to Quebec instead. "There are indications," Sharp said, "that we do not have unlimited supplies of oil in Canada."

This forthright statement is reminiscent of Macdonald's earlier remarks. Why then do Macdonald and Sharp reach opposite conclusions? And why is the Secretary of State for External Affairs making policy announcements that should be coming from Macdonald's department?

Because the Energy Minister had unwisely stumbled onto the right track. In June, Macdonald had presented the cabinet with the idea that the government should go into competition with the oil companies; it should set up a national oil company, either from scratch or by buying out Gulf or Royal Dutch Shell operations in Canada.

The cabinet howled and killed the idea. In the energy report tabled that month, the proposal was dismissed with arguments about the exorbitant cost (\$5 to \$6 billion) and the fear that the private companies would retaliate by cutting down on exploration and development.

Macdonald himself denied that he had suggested buying Gulf or Shell. For the next two weeks, he sounded much like his unforgettable predecessor Joe Greene, who had displeased the same cabinet four years earlier first by mentioning the unmentionable — the possibility of a fully integrated continental

energy policy — in Washington and then baring nationalist teeth to the American Petroleum Association in Denver.

Like Greene, Macdonald was forced by the cabinet to deny and backpedal. Then on November 6, the worst fears of the government were confirmed. The headline in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* read: "Tories support NDP plea for national oil company."

Macdonald had brought out of the closet the one issue that could bring down his government. Faced with the prospective desertion of the NDP, the Liberals could now be forced to adopt Macdonald's idea very much against their own will.

The measures Macdonald has so far introduced have not in any way threatened the structure of control in the petroleum industry, as they have dealt with the crisis as a crisis of supply and price. So in November the cabinet allowed him to almost quintuple his previous export tax on crude shipped to the United States, and to allow a two-to-three-cent increase in the price of crude east of the Ottawa Valley.

Even the three-price structure he was discussing with Alberta (low for Albertans, higher for English Canada, and higher still for the U.S.) was permissible. Macdonald preferred simply to maximize profits from exports, but the situation has forced even the die-hard continentalists in the Liberal party to see, finally, the wisdom of the east-west pipeline extension — provided the actual power structure of the industry was not affected, and the American owners not unduly inconvenienced.

But the national oil company was a different matter.

The sober arguments of the energy report can be fairly easily dismissed. The cost is small compared to the long-range costs of the present economically irrational set-up, and it has always been unlikely that oil companies would abandon a fertile field to a new competitor, even a state-owned one, in some sort of fit of pique.

For men like Mitchell Sharp, however, the entry of the state into the oil industry was anathema. Like Robert Winters before him, former Brascan executive Sharp will have no trouble returning to the corporate boardrooms once his government career is over. Only a step away from talk of nationalization, Macdonald's suggestions must have evoked dark visions in a man whose friends had just had such a

HAPPY TRAILS

Anne is widely admired among the British public for her courage, humor and spirited determination to be her own self. Her choice of mate is undoubtedly also widely popular — a native Englishman rather than a foreign princeling, and a soldier, still the most honorable career for a young man in the eyes of most older Britons.

— Carol Kennedy, *Canadian Press*, November 6, 1973

* * *

In their search for privacy, the Princess and Mark were often smuggled around the country in the back of horse-boxes, emerging to spend a quiet weekend together at some big country house.

— John Scott, *Montreal Star*, November 11, 1973

* * *

With conscious dignity Princess Anne, accompanied by the Duke of Edinburgh, walked the length of the long nave as the congregation sang, "Glorious things of Thee are spoken."

His eyes sought hers. To keep from grinning with pride, he lowered his head and bit his lip.

— Frank Jones, *Toronto Star*, November 14, 1973

difficult time retrieving Chile from the clutches of that inveterate nationalizer Salvador Allende.

And here was that same socialist Antichrist, not only galloping loose in the country and the Commons, but defiling the very inner sanctum itself. And even more bizarre, it was appearing in the guise of Donald Macdonald, the same man who had refused unanimous consent to a Commons motion to extend sympathy to the people of Chile on the death of President Allende. A national oil company in Canada is a snowball that Mitchell Sharp would rather not start rolling.

In the next few weeks, the direction of Canada's oil policy will become more firmly established. In all probability, Macdonald's powers will be further eroded, the pipeline to the east as per Mitchell Sharp will be agreed on with the provinces, and the national oil company will be politely discussed.

THE U.S.: WILL IT STOP AT NIXON?

Richard Nixon appears to be in political trouble. In the overwrought prose of *Newsweek* magazine, the last days of November saw the "last and most desperate campaign of Richard Nixon's long life in American politics . . . Mr. Nixon was, in a word, playing the politics of survival."

One day in November, Nixon's politics of survival brought him to the annual meeting of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. It was his kind of audience — a collection of knee-jerk Republicans whose editorial pages had endorsed Nixon down to the last pica a scant year before. It was his kind of place — a convention hotel on site at Disney World, Florida.

Yet the President of the United States just went all flakey, mispronouncing words and scrambling his syntax. Dropping clinker after clinker he danced around the microphones as if his shorts were made of stucco. His hands moved constantly atop the rails of the lectern, sometimes grasping desperately as if he were peering through the bars of a cell.

But he got his message across. "I am not a crook," he said, in what will not be remembered as a soaring moment of presidential rhetoric. He added that he

wasn't going to resign.

For this, they pre-empted the Mary Tyler Moore show.

If there is no question, then, that President Nixon is in political trouble, the question does arise why it is he should be in trouble.

Nixon's policies in Southeast Asia have caused the death and maiming of countless thousands. They have led to the wasteful expenditure of billions of dollars. At home, his policies have increased the miseries of the poor people of the U.S.; they have deferred the dreams of civil rights. Nixon has stopped the construction of low-rental housing, cut back on urban renewal projects, cut medical services, taken free milk from school children. He has even rattled on a deal with the Canadian government to clean up his half of Lake Erie.

But Nixon isn't in trouble for any of these things.

Moreover, Nixon himself can't seem to understand the whys and wherefores of his troubles — thus his lame but in a way logical defence that neither he nor his administration has done anything any previous one hasn't done, or any future one wouldn't do, given the need

FORGIVE-AND-FORGET DEPT.

Another military note is that members of the Royal Canadian Military Institute have an interesting time planned for tonight. A veteran Luftwaffe pilot, Eckehart J. Priebe, will be the after-dinner speaker.

Mr. Priebe became a fighter pilot in 1936, flew in action during the Spanish Civil War, then against Poland in 1939 and in France, Belgium and Denmark.

During the Battle of Britain he was shot down near Folkestone and was a POW in Canada for the rest of the Second World War. He will talk about these experiences and he has promised to answer all questions.

Mr. Priebe is manager for Canada of the German airline Lufthansa.

— Zena Cherry, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, October 9, 1973

And even if the Liberals are forced to accept Macdonald's proposal by the threat of an NDP-Tory alliance, it will hardly be cause for rejoicing. A national oil company in the hands of the likes of Mitchell Sharp or Donald Macdonald will mean business as usual, just one more mouth to feed when the cartel boys have lunch.

And they'll still ask you to turn down your thermostat.

Carole Orr

and the opportunity.

As far back as 1968, when in the topsy-turvy political decade it appeared that instead of leaving the ship the rat would wind up as captain, Theodore White celebrated Nixon in this way: "There had indeed come to be a new Nixon. This one was a competent, able manager. Gone were the old pugnacity, the old sock-and-slash style, the old tendency to buckle under strain; it was a firmer, wiser, thoroughly mature man who was now in command."

Now the talk of the "new Nixon" — the guy who took his cottage cheese and ketchup to Moscow and Peking to get the détente rolling — has been replaced with the image of the "old Nixon" — the shifty-eyed sneak, the unloved bench-warmer. It must be very frustrating.

One Nixon biographer recalls a discussion with the President's mother:

"Instead of fighting with his father or other boys, Richard mashed potatoes. He was the only one of the sons, his mother explained, who never left any lumps. 'He used the whipping motion to make them smooth instead of going up and down the way the other boys did . . . He was the best potato masher one could wish for,' she said. 'Even in these days when I am visiting Richard and Pat in Washington, or when they visit me, he will take over the potato mashing. My feeling is that he actually enjoys it.'"

Those potatoes must be getting a real

NOW BARK

For example, according to Prof. Evans, certain postures of yoga may be naturally expressive of trust in God. He described one in which the subject lies on his back, hands to sides with palms up, and feet apart in an outward direction.

— Gilbert Roxburgh, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1973

pounding in the White House today.

Yet in all the discussion, aside from the dimensions of classical tragedy, apart from the perverse delight we all get from seeing a man like Nixon "twist slowly, slowly in the wind", a number of questions seem to be left begging.

Has Nixon really got the option of resigning?

I.F. Stone advances a rather persuasive argument that Nixon can't resign, because if he does he is liable to go to jail. This argument is based on the logical deduction that Nixon is guilty of being the mastermind of the conspiracy that followed the Watergate break-in, and that is why the evidence keeps disappearing. By hanging on to office, Nixon in effect is buying time and plea bargaining.

Are there actually political grounds for impeachment?

Let it be assumed that Nixon can be found guilty of financial wheeling and dealing for personal gain. Let it also be assumed he is guilty of knowingly exchanging corporate donations to his reelection campaign for subsequent political favours. Let it further be assumed that he participated in a criminal conspiracy to cover up criminal activity. Suppose, even, that he initiated the break-ins himself.

It is possible now that all these charges could stick, and that any one is an impeachable offence — in a legal sense.

However, in a political sense Nixon has not yet committed an impeachable offence. There is presidential precedent for every one of Nixon's actions.

Most American presidents are rich enough when they come to office that they don't have to steal. But for the others, there is nothing like public office to make a rich man out of a poor man. Lyndon Johnson, for example, began life as a poor boy. He was an unemployed Texas school teacher when he got his first government job; yet when he died, the Johnson family were multimillionaires in land and, above all, in radio and television. Prudent investments on the part of the 'little lady', they say. As if indicating his defence at any impeachment trial, Nixon has already said that it was Lyndon Johnson who told him how to screw around with his income tax.

Nixon's defence of the alleged bribe and out-of-court settlement of the ITT case is a model of the American patriot cutting through red tape to help his country. Nixon says simply that it is not in the interests of the United States to harass and weaken its own monopolies,

SELFLESS STATEMENT OF THE MONTH

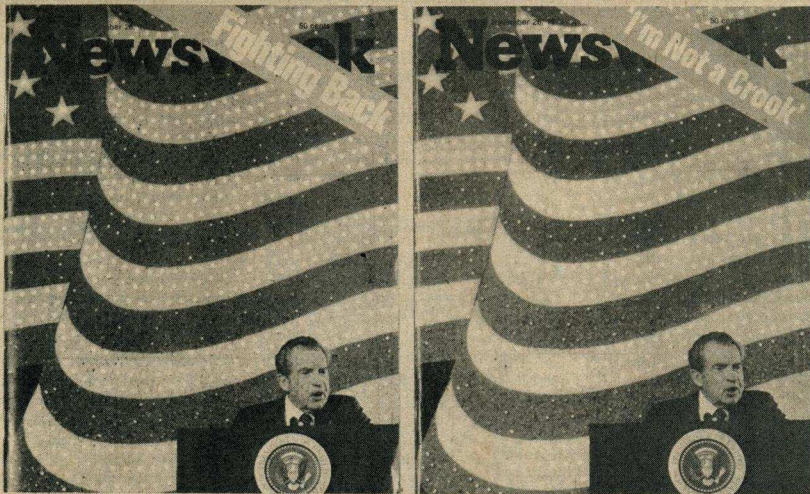
WINNIPEG — In the interests of attracting tourists, Canadians should tone down their anti-American feelings and not sneer at American problems, the president of Commonwealth Holiday Inns of Canada Ltd. said Thursday.

—*Canadian Press, November 17, 1973*

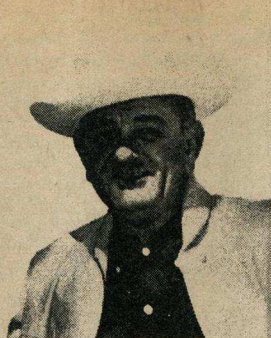
who need all the strength they can muster to compete internationally. ITT needed to get its hands on the treasury of that insurance company, and what president would have dared act differently? And how many other ITT settlements are buried in the vaults of the American Congress?

On ITT and related matters, a lot of skeletons could be rattling in thousands of closets. In defending himself, Nixon may simply have to speak the unspoken: that there is no way one can do business in the twentieth century within a legal framework developed in the revolutions of the eighteenth. And business is, after all, what politics is about.

As for the break-ins, wire-tappings and other messy things which have traumatized American liberals, in a political



Indicative of the toughening stand of large sections of the American establishment against Richard Nixon was the November 26 cover of Newsweek magazine. The relatively mild cover on the left was the one originally planned for the issue, but it was changed at the last moment to the one on the right. Copies with the 'Fighting Back' cover were not supposed to reach the newsstands, explained a spokesman for the magazine, but inadvertently, a few of them did.



KENNEDY (L) AND JOHNSON
Each President makes his predecessor look good

sense the worst Nixon has been guilty of is a breach of etiquette.

Naturally, for a country that has glamorized espionage and romanticized secret agents, that has set up elaborate industrial espionage systems to find the competitor's secret ingredient for vaginal spray, that makes pop heroes of government informers and gumshoes, it is a disappointment to wake up one morning to read about a bumbling group of Cuban gusanos tripping over office furniture, and to discover that James Bond is really something known as an Egil Krogh.

But really, what did Nixon do?

As Nixon points out, there were more telephones tapped in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations than during his. Robert Kennedy had Martin Luther King under surveillance and was tapping his phone. Political dissidents have traditionally had terrible luck with their files and locks. The Old Left, the New Left, no matter: from the Palmer raids to McCarthy through the terror of Chicago and Kent State there is a tradition of waiving the rules. Nixon, of course, breached protocol in raiding the Democrats, but then it wasn't only right-wing Republicans who thought that revolutionaries had taken over the Democratic Party — George Meany said so, and the implication was certainly left by Hubert Humphrey and Mayor Daley.

Even when it comes to campaign "dirty tricks", Nixon operatives didn't act that far from the norm. The tricks, of course, weren't very funny, and some poor wretch is already serving time for some of the stunts that were pulled. But didn't Hubert Humphrey and other Democratic hopefuls clutter up the primaries with stories about McGovern

and dope? McGovern's old Democratic buddies passed around stories of their rival's connections with "known subversives". Why, therefore, couldn't Nixon take Humphrey at his word and dig around the offices to see if he could find any Castro money?

As the Watergate affair boils out of control, it is difficult now to remember that the break-in occurred well over a year ago, that the Ellsberg caper is now ancient history, and that very few people cared much about them at the time. Even as the scandal began to build, it was seen as an effort to embarrass a cocky administration and perhaps to redress the balance between the executive and legislature. The problem with impeachment for the American establishment — and it now seems likely that impeachment proceedings will begin — is that a whole range of issues may bubble to the surface and go through the wringer.

Thus, the tremendous effort to pin the

whole rap on Nixon, as if the man and his career were unique in U.S. history. Robert Kennedy once said that Nixon represented the dark side of the American spirit. That is not true. Nixon is as typical an American politician as Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson and George Wallace. They differ from the Kennedys, the Richardsons and the Rockefellerers in that they started out without family wealth and political backing. But the milieu of their careers was the same — the Cold War and fanatical anti-Communism.

If the American people can be convinced that Nixon is some kind of blight or aberration in U.S. political life, then, of course, he can be got rid of and the game can go on. Fun can be had pointing out that one particular emperor has no clothes; but it is quite another thing to expose the fact that the clothes have no emperor.

A successor for Nixon will have to be chosen. If, as I.F. Stone indicates, Nixon is only plea bargaining now, or if he is successfully impeached in Congressional desperation, Gerald Ford will get the job.

Ford, celebrated in story and song as a colossal nitwit, is every bit as reactionary as Richard Nixon.

The new president the establishment will pick will differ from Nixon in one regard — he won't get caught. And it is an interesting phenomenon of recent U.S. political history that each succeeding president has made his predecessor look good. It took Richard Nixon to come on the scene before anyone could miss Lyndon Johnson. Will the next president — his term won't expire until 1984 — make people long for the happy days of Watergate?

Rae Murphy

ABORTION: A LEGAL PRECEDENT?

Since the Criminal Code was "liberalized" in 1969, the mechanism for deciding whether or not to grant an abortion to a woman who wants one has operated much like a game of chance.

If a woman needs an abortion she must seek the support of her doctor or psychiatrist. He presents her case to a hospital committee composed of at least three medical practitioners, which makes the decision without actually seeing the patient. The code allows

therapeutic abortions in any Canadian hospital if its medical committee concludes that a woman's continued pregnancy "would or would be likely to endanger her life or health."

If your contacts are right, if the attitude of the particular committee is favourable and if you live in the right place (the number of abortions in a busy week in Toronto in 1970 equalled the number in seven months in Roman Catholic Quebec), then you have a fair

chance. But if, for example, your doctor is against abortion under any circumstances, then you have no recourse. And only a fraction of legal abortions are granted for strictly medical reasons. The rest are done for psychiatric reasons — a phrase that can cover as many social and economic factors as the hospital committees can be persuaded to weigh.

Last January the United States Supreme Court ruled that every woman in the U.S. has the same right to abortion during the first six months of pregnancy as she has to any other minor surgery. The ruling was rooted in the Court's view of the right to privacy. Meanwhile, Canada is stuck with the hospital boards.

But one Dr. Henry Morgentaler, Montreal physician, took the law to task. Born in Poland, he graduated from the University of Montreal Medical School *cum laude* in 1953. Setting up practice in Montreal's east end, Dr. Morgentaler became heavily committed to human rights organizations, was a director of the Civil Liberties Union and is still active in the legal reform committee of the Humanist Society. In October 1967 he presented a brief on behalf of the Humanist Society to the House of Commons arguing that abortion should be a woman's right. In 1968, Morgentaler gave up general practice to specialize in "family planning".

He visited abortion clinics throughout the world, studying and comparing methods and practices. He finally concluded that a technique known as the "vacuum suction method", requiring only a local anaesthetic and no cutting of tissue, was the safest and simplest.

Without advertising publicly, Dr. Morgentaler received patients referred to him by every conceivable organization in Canada and the U.S. and several hundred doctors in Quebec and the Maritimes. The police got wind of his practice and arrested him three years ago. That case is still pending because of a series of legal technicalities.

Following the United States Supreme Court decision, Morgentaler changed his tactic. Assuming it indicated a trend, he started admitting publicly, in fact almost shouting, that he was performing abortions. On March 16 before a national convention of the Women's Coalition for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, Morgentaler delivered a speech in which he announced that he'd performed more than 5,000 abortions. On May 13, he invited a CTV camera crew into his clinic to film him performing

EXPLOITING THE SILENT MAJORITY

On "Billion Dollar Babies," however, Cooper, who has only been in up to his ankles in the turbulent sea of sexual perversion, has decided to take the big leap. The 10 selections that comprise "Billion Dollar Babies" work their way steadily towards the album's finale, "I Love the Dead," a rapturously sung, melodically rich, stout-hearted anthem to necrophilia.

— Henry Edwards, *New York Times*, May 27, 1973

an abortion.

The anti-abortion militants began parading in front of his office. Then came the police. His office was raided on August 15. Six women were resting in the clinic after their abortions. The prosecutor picked out one — a 26-year-old student from Sierra Leone.

Instead of proceeding to the usual preliminary hearing (where charges can be thrown out or fought on technicalities) the prosecution obtained an order for "preferred indictment", which must be signed personally by Quebec's justice minister, and sends the accused directly to trial. Revived during the 1970 October crisis, the preferred indictment has hardly ever been used except against dangerous political enemies of the state. Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette used it against Morgentaler.

Supposedly the case was sealed. The doctor had not only been caught red-handed but had admitted to performing 6,000 to 7,000 operations, all illegally.

But Defence Attorney Claude-Armand Sheppard, a former president



MORGENTALER
Taking the law to task

of the Civil Liberties Union, dug out a rarely used section of the Criminal Code — Article 45. "Every one is protected," the article reads, "from criminal responsibility for performing a surgical operation upon any person for the benefit of that person if (a) the operation is performed with reasonable care and skill, and (b) it is reasonable to perform the operation, having regard to the state of health of the person at the time the operation is performed and to all the circumstances of the case."

Article 45 had never been used for such a defence before — its prime purpose is to protect surgeons against malpractice claims. Crown Prosecutor Louis Guy Robichaud described the defence as "legal heresy". There was no legal precedent for the use of Article 45 in such a context and Mr. Justice James Hugessen was faced with an abortionist who had freely admitted to performing not one operation, but thousands.

Using his own judgment, he at first issued a reserved approval subject to further study. By the end of the trial, he had concluded that the use of Article 45 was perfectly appropriate and instructed the jury to arrive at its verdict within the article's framework.

The prosecution was now forced to prove that Morgentaler had performed the operation unnecessarily, improperly, or unsafely. The crown's witnesses included professional anti-abortion militants and a rather embarrassed Montreal physician who, under cross-examination, admitted to having referred patients to Morgentaler and even to having expressed written satisfaction with the results. The defence brought in respected physicians who declared Morgentaler an excellent physician and surgeon and an expert in the field of abortion.

The jury consisted of eleven men and one woman. All the men were blue-collar workers and most of them were union members. All twelve were French-speaking. After two days of deliberation, the jury delivered an unqualified acquittal.

Defence lawyer Sheppard exuberantly hailed the decision as one that could lead to a revolution. "And this revolution wasn't brought about by the legislators, the lawyers and the judges. It is the work of ordinary people."

How much local factors influenced the case is an open question. The facts clearly worked in Dr. Morgentaler's favour. He has never lost a patient, there

are seldom any complications, and his clinic is well-staffed, spacious and modern. The Quebec College of Physicians hasn't found anything medically wrong with his practice, including the technique which he pioneered in Canada.

But also in his favour were the circumstances of the Crown's case. It was a bad case to begin with — sympathy went out to the unwed, terrified, unilingually English black girl, broke and alone in a foreign country. And, according to co-defence counsel Charles Flam, some of the Crown witnesses helped Morgentaler's case, "especially that Dr. Ryan from New York who came here to preach the Holy Gospel to us. It sug-

gested to the jury that the Crown couldn't find local doctors to speak out against Dr. Morgentaler."

Another factor was Morgentaler's choice of a French-speaking jury, keenly sensitive to the problems of getting an abortion in Quebec, where only 11 of 199 French-language hospitals perform the operation. Also, as Morgentaler said, "French Canadians are more sensitized to the deficiencies of the law as it is applied. French people generally do not see the law as something that is there to prevent anarchy."

If the validity of Article 45 is upheld through the appeal stages, however, it could set a precedent that will stand up anywhere in Canada. But the case is far

from over: the Quebec government seems prepared to go all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada to get a verdict of guilty against Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

Janet Leamen

YOUTH: NO JOY IN MALAYSIA

The newest Canadian multinational launched itself this past summer with a declaration that it would "establish relations, devoid of religious, racial, or ideological discrimination, with every continent and with many cultures." Not only that, but "partisanship, intolerance, exclusivity and propaganda, in any form, are incompatible with [its] philosophy."

The multinational with this odd outlook is Canada/World Youth, which was hatched in 1971 by a group in Quebec that included Jacques Hébert of the Montreal publishing house Les Editions du Jour, the longtime friend and fellow innocent of Pierre Trudeau, in China and elsewhere, and Frank Scott, one of the founders of the CCF and the Prime Minister's mentor.

According to CWY's opening salvo, the idea is to provide an "intense educational and cross-cultural experience" for 240 young Canadians, by sending them on six-month sojourns to five selected foreign countries: Malaysia, Tunisia, Cameroon, Yugoslavia and Mexico. Young people from these countries would in turn visit Canada. The program has been expanded this year to include Senegal, Gambia, Costa Rica, Honduras and Fiji.

One of the first people to raise questions about the program was MP Mark Rose (NDP — Fraser Valley West), who found out the Secretary of State's department was funding the group with a grant of \$2,168,000. The money never appeared as a specific item in the department's estimates, being buried instead in the travel and exchange budget. In fact, Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner originally balked at the thing, but the Prime Minister intervened. "We talked about it," says the PM, "and yes I did intervene. But prime ministers make interventions in a great many matters."

In their pamphlet, the CWY directors expressed their concern that the youths chosen should "accurately reflect the

THEY'RE EVERYWHERE

Two recent stories to arouse the paranoia who dwells within us all:

On her latest visit to North and South Vietnam, Claire Culhane, the former Canadian medical advisor in Vietnam who has carried on a one-woman campaign against this country's less-than-neutral role in Southeast Asia, inquired into the activities of Michel Jutras, Canadian director of the anti-tuberculosis hospital at Quang Ngai, where Ms. Culhane used to work.

Jutras, it appears, had built himself the town's prize bunker, complete with guns, grenades and mines. "To protect himself from whom?" Ms. Culhane wondered.

He was also boasting about a trip he had taken down Highway No. 1 from Quang Ngai to Saigon in late 1972, when the war was still officially on. Such a trip was forbidden to non-military personnel under the terms of the Colombo Plan agreement under which the Canadians are in South Vietnam. An American agricultural advisor had earlier been dismissed for making a similar journey.

Significant information about hamlets, outposts, bridges and the like en route, for which the CIA pays a handsome price, can be recorded on such a trip, according to Ms. Culhane.

She also found it interesting that Jutras was accorded a No. 2 priority rating on Air America, the CIA-operated airline, while other foreign

medical workers rated only a No. 6 priority.

Meanwhile, closer to home, one Michael McCracken, president of the Ottawa-based consulting firm Informetrica Ltd., was revealed in — of all places — the House of Commons to be a former CIA employee.

McCracken, who came to Canada in 1970 and is now a landed immigrant, has also done work for the Economic Council of Canada, and was instrumental in developing the CANDIDE model, the Council's big, expensive, sophisticated new econometric toy.

Further, according to the Edmonton *Journal*, Informetrica, McCracken's firm, has been retained as a senior consulting firm by the huge international consortium seeking to build the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline.

McCracken confirmed that he had been employed by the CIA in economic research on foreign countries and in the development of economic tools. "I'm not ashamed of having worked for them," he told the *Journal*. "It is the principal, and I feel the best, economic research institution in the United States."

He denied that he was still connected with the CIA, adding that the Agency "would not be so stupid" as to send an openly identified former employee to gather intelligence in a foreign country. He said that "would be like sending the president of Imperial Oil to Canada to help formulate a national energy policy."

Council is a mere front for MI6. However that may be, here we were in the British Council's Ottawa branch, being handed steaming mugs of what Mr. Moore referred to as "hot toddy" and being asked to meet the British High Commissioner, a Mr. Malcolm somebody, a tall reedy man with a North British accent, who greeted us with a quip the burden of which now eludes me and who promptly disappeared.

There were some twenty persons at Mr. Moore's residence that evening. The great majority of them appeared to be in what they called with elaborate vagueness "the service". Their accents were all English with so far as I could determine one exception. The exception was a very well-groomed French Canadian whose name regretfully I cannot remember apart from the trivial irrelevance that it contained at least two hyphens. He left early.

My friend and I, after some desultory exchanges with the host, were then allowed to fend for ourselves. The hot toddy was, I fear, not a success and as soon as Mr. Moore had gone away, we dispensed with it down the kitchen sink, under the suspicious and hostile gaze of the frizzle-haired matron in severely starched maid's uniform who was in charge of that part of the house.

Returning to the basement, where the biggest cluster of guests had nestled, we were approached by a Mary Midden (memory again may be playing tricks with the name), who introduced herself as the Press Officer of the High Commission. She told us about the difficulties of her work. Apparently she could not issue a press release or a position paper unless it had been first "cleared" with London, by which time, she indicated, the occasion for the release had long since passed. She added, however, that she enjoyed the Ottawa "posting" and that a favourite venue was the National Press Club where she said one could meet famous people "one might otherwise not have met." My friend and I agreed that this was a truthful and acute observation.

We then talked to a young man called Roger. Roger, it appeared, was married to Mary Midden and he too was in the service. He had, he said, a complaint. He was a composer of short stories, many of which he had sent off to Canadian magazines. He had had indifferent results. This he blamed on the Canada Council. The Council, he averred, supported only "establishment" writers, it lacked guts, it was composed of toadies and their friends, all of whom were "safe". He himself, he intimated, was not safe and this was why he got no money from the Canada Council and was not published by the Council's captive magazines.

Roger remained very intense and hostile while I explained that in my view the Canada Council went out of its way to support avant-garde writers, that if he, Roger, could come up, say, with a play that included an unfrocked priest with an unnatural attraction for a hump-backed logger dying from dropsy, that if the same play also included a wise and fine old Indian whose way of life was being destroyed by a frock-coated capitalist smoothie, why then Roger would find the Council coffers lying eager and open to him and to all his progeny for decades to come.

Roger made no comment on this. But he asked me, in a very small strained voice, what I did. I told him I was unemployed. He then asked me what was because I could not find a suitable job. I told him it was not. He then asked me what I did for money. I explained to him that I was a person of private means. He wandered away disconsolately.

We then repaired to the fireside where about a dozen

people were sitting, some of them holding their palms out towards the fire in what was surely an exaggerated gesture since the house was centrally heated. (In fact the thermostat in the living room had a neatly-written little Centigrade equivalent of the Fahrenheit calibrations on the dial. Whether this exercise had been conducted because Mr. Moore had thought Centigrade to be in use in Ontario or whether he was steeling himself for a later posting in a Common Market country, we shall never know.)

The service people around the fire appeared to be all married. Both men and women bore very wide wedding bands on the appropriate finger, a practice I thought had disappeared. Clearly, we had fallen among young marrieds. The men did most of the talking. They talked about the results of the World Cup, in which competition it seemed England had done badly. That wouldn't have mattered, they said, had it not been that the Scots had done better.

They then discussed their careers. Where, one asked another, would he like to go next? "I think I'd like to go to a French-speaking country next time," was the reply. This observation elicited great howls of laughter from the assembly. The questioner then asked the young man's wife how she, Janet, "felt about that?" Janet, who had been knitting, paused from her work long enough to tell us that she didn't really mind. But she added, next time "it had better be proper French." A round of "hear hear" and "bravo" accompanied Janet as she returned to her knitting.

Soon after this, Mr. Moore rejoined us. He told us that he'd just visited Newfoundland for the first time and had found it "absolutely charming". He had been told that they were all "peasants down there". He had been pleasantly surprised to find that they didn't "act like peasants at all, not at all." Directing his next question to myself and my friend, he asked why it was that there were so many Newfie jokes in this country. We said we didn't know but that perhaps in a situation marked by great economic disparity, reductive humour was often used as a guilt-assuaging mechanism.

This timid little venture into social psychology was strenuously rejected by the young man who earlier had been talking about the World Cup results. Nonsense, he snorted, Newfie jokes are harmless. They are, he added, "just like the jokes we make about the Irish."

Mr. Moore's exquisite nostrils quivered like a pedigree setter. He smelled trouble in the wind. Rallying bravely he jocosely said he hoped "there isn't anyone of Irish descent in the room." The subsequent silence proved to everyone's satisfaction that no such person was indeed present. And conversation resumed.

Soon afterwards, my friend and I said our goodnights and stumbled out onto the glistening street. A cold moon was above and it took a while to get the car started. After I got home, I remembered something I had read about the British living abroad. It was in a short story by Somerset Maugham and I looked it up before I went to bed. Here is the passage: "They will talk to you politely, as though they were entertaining you in a Kentish vicarage, but when you take your leave will show no particular desire to continue the acquaintance. One wonders in vain what strange instinct it is that has driven them to separate themselves from their kith and kin and thus to live apart from all their natural instincts in an alien land. Is it romance they have sought or freedom?"

EMERGING FROM UNDER THE LANDSLIDE

*"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why that I cannot tell, said he;
"But 'twas a famous victory."*

—Robert Southey

Only a short few weeks after the famous victory, sizeable chinks had already started to appear in it.

The most serious chink was the decision of Judge Albert Malouf of Quebec Superior Court that Premier Robert Bourassa had no right to proceed with his cherished James Bay hydroelectric project (see page 20). But there were others as well. There were widespread allegations of election-day irregularities and other campaign frippery. And there was a growing realization that the supposed one-sidedness of Bourassa's victory was more apparent than real.

In English Canada, the joyous election-night howls over the defeat of separatism subsided quickly. The irrepresible Premier Dave Barrett of British Columbia, who on election night had joined most of his NDP colleagues in hailing a victory for federalism, decided a few days later that the Parti Québécois was alive and well after all, and went and arranged a meeting with PQ leader Rene Levesque to discuss some sort of alliance.

(He may have taken note of the fact that the PQ captured 30 per cent of the vote on October 29, while Barrett's brethren in the Quebec NDP, running on essentially the same social platform in the federal election a year earlier, had won six per cent of the vote.)

The gloom that pervaded PQ headquarters on election night quickly gave way to a more sanguine view of the situation. For despite the size of the Liberal sweep, the election was far from being a total defeat for the PQ, which now forms the official opposition in Quebec's National Assembly.

The popular-vote figure of 30 per cent that the party obtained, up six per cent from the 1970 election, matched what it had hoped for and expected. For that to have been translated into a substantial gain in seats, third and fourth parties would have had to maintain a presence



in the election, allowing Péquistes to slip through in three- and four-way races. Instead, both the Parti Cr ditiste and the Union Nationale collapsed beyond anyone's expectation.

The result is the sharpest polarization of its politics Quebec has known in a long time. On one side stand the Liber-

als, representing unfettered free enterprise, increased foreign investment, and a tight federal connection; on the other stands the PQ, representing increased social welfare, state intervention in the economy, and political and economic sovereignty.

They met head on, and this time the

first option has won. In some parts of Quebec, the margin between the two is still substantial; in others it is slight. In the latter category are the Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean region, where the PQ took a seat for the first time, the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River, where Péquiste Lucien Lessard retained his Saguenay seat, Montreal's South Shore, where the PQ came close to upsetting the Liberals in two ridings, and the east end of Montreal, where the PQ and the Liberals won approximately equal votes.

Even in the three east-end seats that were taken from it by the Liberals, the PQ substantially *increased* its share of the vote over last time. Dr. Camille Laurin, for instance, who had taken Bourget in 1970 with only 40 per cent of the vote, lost it in 1973 with 46 per cent. The difference was the total disappearance of the Créditiste and particularly the Union Nationale vote, and its migration toward the Liberals.

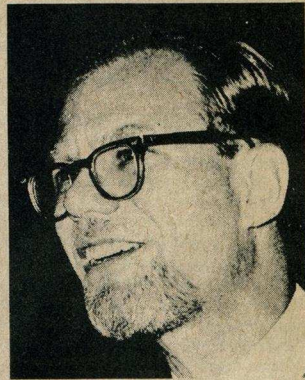
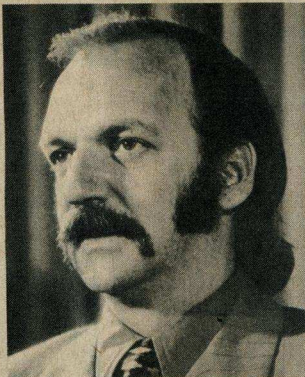
The Liberals, then, won their victory not at the expense of the PQ but at the expense of the Union Nationale and the Parti Créditiste.

But it's not quite that simple either.

There was, in fact, no real Union Nationale or Créditiste campaign on Montreal Island. In some ridings both on and off the island, the PQ has charged that there was collusion between the Liberals and the Union Nationale; the Union Nationale, as the official opposition in the National Assembly, had the right to name poll clerks; in many ridings, the UN simply abdicated this right to the Liberals.

As the tiny official opposition to what is showing every sign of being a haughty and unresponsive government, the Péquistes face a difficult task. It is made no easier by the loss of some of their more effective parliamentarians on election day, and the party's failure to elect any of its Big Three of René Lévesque, Jacques Parizeau and Claude Morin.

Even more of the weight than before will fall on the shoulders of Robert Burns, the former trade-union lawyer who broke the dam on the scandal involving former Liberal Labour Minister Pierre Laporte. Burns retained his seat with a comfortable majority. While Burns speaks for the left wing of the PQ, the right wing of the party also now has a strong voice in Jacques-Yvan Morin, former head of the Estates-



Péquistes Robert Burns (L) and Jacques-Yvan Morin will bear much of the burden of opposing the haughty and unresponsive Liberals.

General of French Canada, elected in Sauvé riding on October 29 and since named to replace the defeated Laurin as the PQ's House Leader.

One analogy gaining currency in Quebec is between the present Liberal government and Maurice Duplessis's Union Nationale governments of the early 1950s. The Liberal platform of "stability", a hard line against labour, sweet words and deeds for foreign investors, and "cultural sovereignty" (a tacit admission that economic and politi-

cal control would be abdicated to others) bore an uncanny resemblance to the Duplessis *politique*. Liberal election tactics had a Union Nationale flavour to them too. And like the Union Nationale, the Liberals have a huge majority in the Assembly based on only a modest majority of the popular vote.

It is also remembered by those making the analogy that the Union Nationale was thrown out of office only a few years after its power seemed at its height.

THE APING OF THE PRESIDENT 1973

Ever since 1960, John Kennedy's successful presidential campaign has been the most popular model for electoral strategists all over the world. Robert Bourassa's Quebec Liberals, however, seem to have been considerably more impressed with Richard Nixon's campaign of 1972.

Like Nixon, they held an exaggerated view of the threat to their remaining in

office and took exaggerated measures to meet that threat. Like Nixon, they ended up with a huge, and perhaps unwieldy, majority on election day. And like Nixon, they may find that their mandate is not nearly so strong as they believed it to be.

Just as Watergate remained an undercurrent all through 1972, with little overt effect on the campaign, so the Quebec campaign had its own undercurrent of dirty tricks, irregular electoral lists, and American-style political bugging. Some of the incidents were in the best Quebec tradition (see following story), but others were straight out of the era of Howard Hunt and Gordon Liddy.

FETISH OF THE MONTH

MOVIES and live shoes continue from 12 noon until 6. The Bodee Shop, 371 Richmond Rd.

— *Ottawa Citizen*, November 5, 1973

The election was conceived in scandal, as the months preceding it were dominated by the Laporte affair, Quebec's own Pandora's Box of revelations, leaks, charges and counter-charges involving links between the cabinet and organized crime (*Last Post*, Vol. 3, No. 5).

The actual calling of the election was accompanied by the adjournment of the Quebec Commission of Inquiry into Organized Crime. On election night, Justice Minister Jérôme Choquette said that the Crime Commission would pursue its inquiry vigorously, in much the tone of President Nixon announcing that the special Watergate prosecutor would have full White House cooperation.

The campaign also witnessed Premier Bourassa invoking the dubious doctrine of executive privilege, and with about the same success as his American counterpart. One of the premier's electoral adventures was a book extolling the benefits that would arise from the James Bay project. Unfortunately the legality of the James Bay project was before the courts at that very moment.

The Indians of Quebec Association, which had filed suit for an injunction stopping the project, contended that publication of the book could conceivably prejudice their case. Chief Justice Jules Deschênes of Quebec Superior Court thought they had a point, and ordered the premier to appear before him.

That was where executive privilege

came in. Premier Bourassa said he didn't have to appear; the court said that he did. Well after the election and even after the Indians were granted their injunction, the premier's case was still dragging on.

Bourassa also took a leaf from Nixon in his personal style. What Gilbert Athot of the Quebec City daily *Le Soleil* described as the premier's "electoral cynicism" reached its height in his pre-packaged and carefully orchestrated campaign. But as early as July, Athot reported the following incident during a visit Bourassa made to James Bay with a group of journalists:

"Mr. Bourassa sat down at a table with some workers and began to eat an ear of corn, to show that he could put himself at the same level as simple working men and eat with them.

"Suddenly, after only a few seconds, he said to the television cameramen who were filming him: 'Do you have enough?' He got up right away, and didn't sit down again. He had done enough to take care of his electoral image... to a point where some found it indecent."

Perhaps the most serious allegation made against the Liberals in the campaign was that they had authorized secret electronic surveillance of political opponents. Jean-Pierre Charbonneau of *Le Devoir*, who has been the recipient of a flood of police leaks over the last few months, revealed that officials of the nationalist St. Jean Baptiste Society in Montreal had been bugged by the

PARTICIPATION

A rumor that the truck had been sold to the Montreal police department proved wrong.

One high-ranking Montreal police officer, denying the rumor, added: "The truck is outdated and the people who take part in riots in Montreal can run much faster than 10 miles an hour."

— *Montreal Star*, August 23, 1973

Quebec Provincial Police.

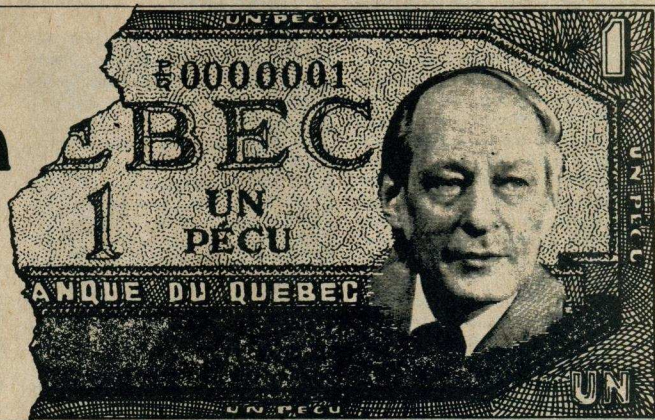
At the same time, *La Presse* revealed the existence of a secret government agency, called the Centre for Analysis and Documentation (CAD), reporting directly to the premier and charged with delving into subversive activities and violations of national security. One of the sources of information for CAD is, of course, the Quebec Provincial Police.

The transcripts of the SJBS tapes were part of a top secret file called "Quebec-95", which, according to Charbonneau's police sources, is a "political" dossier of information on "movements of national influence" in Quebec. Again according to the police sources, "Quebec-95" is not an isolated case.

In other words, the police are bugging not only supposedly "terrorist" groups but moderate, conservative nationalist organizations like the St. Jean Baptiste Society. And the police are also supplying information to a top-secret govern-

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'Lévesque dollar' was part of the Liberal scare campaign against the PQ.

ment body, responsible directly to Premier Bourassa.

Furthermore, Charbonneau said that the bugging of the SJBS was directed primarily toward "finding out the links tying the St. Jean Baptiste Society to the independentist movement and more particularly to the Parti Québécois."

Shortly after the election, the president of the Montreal Policemen's Brotherhood, Guy Marcil, complained that police in Quebec are coming more and more under "political control." It was he who said last summer that Quebec is heading toward a police state under the policies of the Liberal government.

It appears that the government and the police directors are moving to render dissident elements in the police forces ineffective. Several members of the organized crime investigative squad have been transferred to mental tasks and the Organized Crime Inquiry was again postponed after the election.

"I don't believe that the police should be totally tied to political power," said Choquette after the election. "However, it should not benefit from absolute independence either."

Choquette was at one point considering the formal creation of a Ministry of Police patterned after France's Ministry

ASK FOR WHITE WINE

Although some outstanding wines are individually made, none of these arrive on our shores and a personal visit to South Africa is almost in order if you want to sample examples of their very best wines.

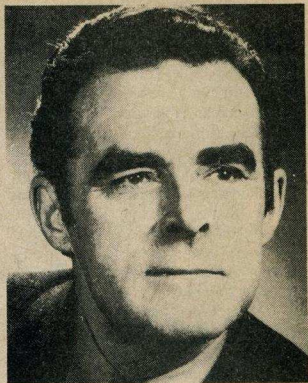
— Norman Gilchrist, Ottawa Citizen, November 17, 1973

of the Interior. He now appears to have dropped the idea, but may be moving toward the same practical results by other means.

All this only began to come out toward the end of the campaign, and thus few details are available and conclusions are necessarily uncertain. Once again, however, the pattern of a regime with an extreme fear of its political opponents emerges.

A little more than a year ago, at the time of his re-election, President Richard Nixon was unchallenged and seemed unchallengeable. Now there is considerable doubt about whether he will be able to finish out his term.

It is not beyond possibility that the same thing will happen to Robert Bourassa.



Charles Tremblay's defeat was marked by old-style election tricks.

Schneider, publisher of the crime weekly *Photo-Police*, encountered two acquaintances of his in a cabaret in Ste-Marie. He knew them to be members of the Montreal underworld and experts in "dirty electioneering." In the past, they had worked in the pay of the Union Nationale, but this time, they told Schneider, they were paid by both the Liberals and the UN to help defeat the Péquistes. They told him they had succeeded in telegraphing a large number ("un bon paquet") of votes election day. They also had numerous ballots left over and gave one to Schneider as a souvenir.

A resident of south-shore Longueuil met a former UN organizer in another Ste-Marie tavern. The organizer had in his possession a booklet of 25 ballots. He explained that his group had not been able to get all its ballots stuffed. He gave one of the unused ballots to the Longueuil resident, who forwarded it to the Parti Québécois. The number of the ballot did not correspond to that of any of the 175 stolen the day before the election.

In Ste-Marie there is a residence for mentally retarded and chronically ill people — the Foyer Gamelin. There, as in two regular mental institutions in Montreal, Liberals got out the vote and, despite protests from PQ scrutineers, helped the patients inscribe their X's in the right place.

The tabulation of results in Ste-Marie had to be suspended election night and postponed until the next day because of

THE DUBIOUS BATTLE OF STE-MARIE RIDING

Ste-Marie, bordering on the St. Lawrence River in the heart of east-end Montreal, is the poorest riding in the city. The unemployment rate and the proportion of dilapidated buildings are both higher than in any other Montreal riding. The population is 96-percent French-speaking (with Haitians and Italians making up the rest), and in the last National Assembly the riding was represented by Charles Tremblay of the Parti Québécois.

Tremblay, a 51-year-old trade unionist and ex-NDPer, had captured the seat from the Union Nationale in 1970 with a 2,513-vote majority. This time around, he increased his share of the vote but lost by 44 votes to Jean-Claude Malepart, the Liberal candidate and a former organizer for Gérard Pelletier.

But enough evidence has come to light of irregularities in Ste-Marie that by any standard of decency the result should be annulled.

The day before the election, somebody claiming to have been sent by the riding's chief returning officer called on a poll clerk's home, took from her the envelope containing the 175 ballots for her poll, and gave her another envelope instead. When the poll opened the next day, the replacement envelope was found to contain blank paper.

This particular incident of ballot theft was widely reported in the French Montreal papers, but as of this writing the Liberal-appointed returning officer, Léopold Paquin, had failed to report it officially to the police.

The day after the election, Pierre

the large number of irregularities — the PQ was complaining of telegraphing and illegal procedures used by the Liberal- and UN-appointed poll captains and election officers. The riding's 176 ballot boxes were left overnight in the home of returning officer Paquin, who said a Montreal policeman guarded them personally. The police department has said the policeman was only asked to stand outside Paquin's home.

When the official counting resumed the next morning in the presence of scrutineers from all parties, 37 boxes were found to be unlocked and 11 others improperly sealed in violation of the electoral laws. In at least six of the boxes, the number of ballots was greater than the number of people who had voted in that poll according to PQ scrutineers' lists.

In all, the PQ association noted well over a hundred irregularities on election day, not counting widespread pre-election irregularities in making up electoral lists and post-election irregularities in ballot-counting. The same story is repeated in most ridings where the PQ had a good chance of winning. In many respects, October 29 was reminiscent of old-style Quebec elections when it was conceded by all that a riding could easily be stolen with a little money and muscle.

The PQ national executive is not making too much of the irregularities, considering the size of the province-wide Liberal sweep, but on a riding level it is a different story. Several ridings will be contested before the courts, although the PQ is not optimistic about the chances of overturning any seated Liberals.

After the 1970 election, the PQ succeeded in proving that hundreds of irregularities had taken place. In at least two ridings, they managed to show that the number of people who had voted illegally was greater than the Liberal majority. But the Quebec Court of Appeals ruled that since there was no proof that one party was favoured more than another, the results should be allowed to stand.

Some Péquistes' thoughts are running along different lines. In the south-shore riding of Taillon, where the PQ lost by fewer than 600 votes, the narrowly defeated candidate Guy Bisailon declared: "If, in our county, a machine succeeded in electing a deputy, a con-

scious population also elected at the same time a parallel deputy. They didn't want a genuine opposition in the Assembly, so we will organize the opposition where we have been relegated, in the streets with the ordinary people."

GOD ON WHOSE SIDE?

One of the most profound social changes that has taken place in Quebec over the last 15 years has been the decline of the Catholic Church. In the days when Maurice Duplessis was premier, the Church had power, size and wealth. Now, all that has changed. Church attendance, once the highest in the Christian world, is down to a marginal level in many areas. Revenues are off sharply, and churches in many near-bankrupt parishes have fallen to the wrecking hammers of developers.

In the old days the Church was a tight ship run by a group of largely reactionary bishops close to the seats of influence. Today, the Bishop of Valleyfield holds seminars on the torture of political prisoners in South Vietnam and many of the priests are Christian Marxists (as they are called in France) and work in factories. Instead of finding themselves on the side of power, the priests find themselves in the opposition, espousing workers' power and socialism.



L'Abbé Louis O'Neil was one of three priests running for the PQ.

(One strong influence on the Quebec Catholic Church has been the Chilean experiment of Salvador Allende. Since the military coup that overthrew him, hardly a week has gone by without some group of Quebec Catholic priests popping up on television after having been expelled from Chile. Their reports and manifestos, all anti-fascist and pro-left, have appeared regularly in the Quebec papers.)

In its decline the Church is divided, but the progressive wing is increasingly gaining the upper hand. One tradition that has gone by the boards is the Church's habit of always supporting the party in power. In Union Nationale days, priests would exhort their parishioners to vote *bleu* (UN) rather than *rouge* (Liberal). "The sky is still *bleu*," they would say, "and hell, as always, *rouge*."

But in this election, for the first time, it was harder to find clerics supporting the ruling Liberals than it was to find those supporting the opposition — the Parti Québécois. Three priests, and at least two ex-priests, ran as PQ candidates in the election. Both major Church magazines — *Rélatious*, put out by the Jesuits, and *Maintenant*, an unofficial organ of the Dominicans — backed the PQ.

Both magazines cited the party's social program in giving their reasons for supporting the PQ. Similarly, the 29 priests in the Quebec City area who issued a statement in mid-campaign denouncing the Liberals' campaign of fear against the PQ said that the PQ deserves to be listened to because it is the only party that even mildly questions capitalism. Many priests are closer to the spirit of the seven Gaspé clerics who supported the anti-capitalist arguments of the FLQ manifesto three years ago.

Priests, bishops and clerical organizations have consistently over the past three years issued manifestos, declarations and sermons denouncing capitalist values and praising socialism. They have come to the defence of workers and been involved in numerous strikes. And when they criticize the PQ, it is more often than not on the grounds that the party is too bourgeois and not enough of the left.

This section was prepared by Nick Auf der Maur, André Dufresne and Robert Chodos.



by Claude Balloune

Reports emanating from Parti Québécois sources in Montreal now suggest that *René Lévesque* will not stand for re-election as leader at the next party congress, expected to take place sometime in 1974. . . . *Jacques Parizeau*, who has resigned as PQ vice-president, may move into a senior position with the new daily newspaper the party is planning. A committee headed by another defeated PQ candidate, *Yves Michaud*, is now working on organizing the paper, which it hopes to start within the next couple of months. To be called *Le Québécois*, the paper will be patterned after France's *Le Monde* and have province-wide distribution. One of the aims of the paper is to put the boots to *Claude Ryan's* daily *Le Devoir*, which the PQ feels betrayed it in the last election by coming out in support of the Liberals.

Always be prepared dept.

For the *Queen's* visit this summer, I am told that a special new limousine was built, from the outside a typical long black VIP car. The car was equipped with \$25,000 worth of electronic equipment — telephones, two-way radios, the works, costlier than the car itself — by a large electronics corporation. When the car was brought to this corporation's plant for these installations, security was super-tight. The squad of Mounties let no ordinary workers near to gawk. With top officials of the company, however, they were more relaxed, and after a while began to show off some of the car's features.

One official particularly remembers the compartments built into the backs of the two jump seats, very unobtrusive but surprisingly roomy. One of them opened to reveal a row of immaculately-furled British brollies. The other, directly in front of the Queen, contained two pump shotguns and four submachine guns.

It seems, however, that the Royal Visit was only a pretext for producing this automobile, which the government was to order anyway. Immediately after the visit it was turned over to the *Prime Minister*. So Canadians who might be minded to demonstrate opposition to one or another of the government's policies should perhaps be alerted that the next time Mr. Trudeau feels called upon to assert his masculinity, he will be in a position to do more than mutter "Mangez d'la merde" when he rolls down his window.

The media grape-vine

When *John Scott*, the rather affable editor who set up *Time* magazine's Canadian operation back in 1962, was transferred to London last April *Time's* New York

headquarters was hard-pressed to come up with a suitable Canadian to replace him. A Canadian was needed because NYC fears Ottawa may some day remove *Time* Canada's special tax-related privileges, as recommended by the Davey and O'Leary commissions; so a Canadian face is essential. They settled on *Clell Bryant*, a B.A. man born in Alberta who joined *Time* in 1962.

It now comes to my attention that Bryant is a rather dubious Canadian. In 1968 he asked for and received a transfer to New York. Upon applying for his immigration papers he was obligingly informed by U.S. officials that since his father was American-born, he had a choice of either Canadian or American citizenship. Bryant proudly chose to be an American. But now that he's back representing *Time's* interest in Canada, he lets the impression stand that he's a "Canadian".

Incidentally, only one of *Time's* Canadian writers is Canadian. And as a fail-safe mechanism, all stories for the Canada section are sent to New York for "stylistic" corrections before being printed. *Time* and *Readers' Digest* (which enjoys the same special privilege) now control well over half of all magazine advertising revenue in this country. . . .

Still on the media front, an executive recruiting agency is looking for an editor for a "City" magazine for an unnamed employer. This employer, I'm told, is *Beland Honderich*, publisher of the *Toronto Star*, richest newspaper in the country. It seems Honderich is unhappy with the *Canadian* magazine that many papers run as a weekend supplement. He wants his own supplement which could, perhaps, be the forerunner of a new, weekly, Canadian newsmagazine. Qualified readers could save Mr. Honderich the recruiting agency fee by applying directly to him. . . .

That other famous, but much less rich Canadian publisher, *Claude Ryan* of *Le Devoir*, is going to join the Conservative Party, or so the word is in Montreal. Like his brother *Yves*, the mayor of Montreal North, he plans to run in the next federal election, along with *Marcel Masse* and a few other former Union Nationale cabinet ministers — plus, of course, *Claude Wagner*, who took the plunge in the last election. As an Ottawa wit remarked, two Claudes are better than one. In the last week of the Quebec election campaign, Mr. Ryan had been agonizing whether or not to support the Parti Québécois editorially. He chose instead to back the Liberals, a party his paper had done much to discredit, in order to save his future political career. In the process, he lost much of his credibility in Quebec. Interestingly enough, his presence on a Conservative ticket will now prevent a lot of anti-Trudeau nationalists from supporting that party.

Harold Ballard has quite a flair for PR. One of my sports columnist friends received the following impossible-to-believe press release from *Maple Leaf Gardens*. Read it and you'll discover all the secrets of PR.

LAD
PSSD



MAPLE LEAF GARDENS, LIMITED
80 CARLTON STREET, TORONTO, ONTARIO M5B 1L3 • (416) 368-1647

HAROLD BALLARD IS BACK AT HIS MAPLE LEAF GARDENS

The President and Managing Director, Harold E. Ballard, is back at his office in Maple Leaf Gardens.

The most famous building in Canada and the best known hockey arena in the world once again knows his energetic leadership.

Saying it simply, the commander is back at the helm. Soon there will be new promotions, new concepts and new directions sprouting from his great idea factory. Expect anything to happen now!

Harold wishes personally to thank the thousands of kind people from all over Canada and even the United States who wrote his touching letters. Even now, as he goes about Toronto and Maple Leaf Gardens, it is pleasing for him to be stopped by dozens of people asking for his autograph and offering him warm wishes.

"Furthermore", he says, "I wish to thank the press for all their assistance to me in the past year. The television and the radio people too".

It was very rewarding for Harold Ballard to see the opening game of the season in Maple Leaf Gardens and be along with many fans "is most excited about the future of the Leafs". At the opening game he was able to pose with the Swedish Ambassador, Mr. Ake Halmaeus, and receive his best wishes for the future. Many other political, influential and celebrated people have sent good wishes.

Harold Ballard is already being asked by organizations and charitable institutions to serve on boards and honorary directorates. In the past he worked closely with the Ontario Society of Crippled Children, the Cancer Fund, the Retarded Children and many others.

- 2 -

At the same time it is worthwhile to note the wonderful job done by Vice-President Bill Ballard for the past year in the absence of his father. In many situations it was run better than when I was here! generously stated Harold Ballard.

"We look forward to the future", says Harold Ballard. "The people of Toronto deserve a Stanley Cup winner and we are building to that goal. They deserve some of the world's best shows and we are working to satisfy them in those areas. Once again I must say that if you are not at Maple Leaf Gardens for all the sports presented here and the various entertainments introduced by us, you are missing a great part of the action of Canadian life. Look to Maple Leaf Gardens for the best; you won't be disappointed."

Just one year ago Harold Ballard was the guiding father of Team Canada and its great success with the Soviet Union. His personal bequests and initiation of ideas represented a value in excess of one million dollars. He gave Maple Leaf Gardens to Team Canada for its training camp which was a period of three weeks. Harold also initiated the lucrative radio and television deal for the Team Canada-USSR series which brought great sums to Hockey Canada. And it was his great, burlly rapport with Russian personalities in visits to the Soviet Union negotiating cultural and sporting visits that had a profound effect on the subsequent success of that memorable series.

Expect an explosion of ideas in the future from Harold to match what he did for Team Canada and the unification created for this country by that unforgettable event.

In conclusion, the employees of Maple Leaf Gardens are very happy to see Harold Ballard back. He always has a joke or cheering word for all his employees, so you can see confidence about the building about on the countenance of many faces.

WELCOME BACK, HAROLD!

STAN OBDIAC.

As you may have noticed, there's no mention of where Mr. Ballard has been for the past year. He has been in jail, serving a sentence for fraud, having defrauded Maple Leaf Gardens of a large sum of money. Now he's out on parole, after serving a rather easy jail term in conditions few ordinary prisoners get to enjoy. By his own admission he received terrific

treatment, including numerous weekend passes, steak dinners, etc. . . .

While on the subject of jails, I recently visited the maximum security sections of *Archambault penitentiary* north of Montreal. The prisoners' treatment there is not terrific. They had just received a five-cent raise in daily pay for making such things as mail bags and ballot boxes. That brings them to 65 cents a day, and just about covers the increase in the price of Schick razor blades from \$1.39 to \$1.70. They are denied little things like transistor radios. However, some of the inmates assured me they were not worried about the dogs used to guard the prison and, so far, none of them has been bitten. Several of the guards have been, though.

The blue-eyed Arabs

Rumours floating around Alberta indicate that *Canadian Arctic Gas Study Ltd.*, the 27-company international consortium which plans to build the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline, may be on the verge of dissolving. The reason for this is the new emphasis in Washington, prompted by the reduction in oil shipments from the Middle East, on domestic American sources of energy supply. The *El Paso scheme*, an alternative to the Mackenzie Valley plan involving piping Alaskan gas through American territory and then tanking it down the Pacific Coast to the U.S., is now receiving more and more serious consideration. Canadian companies in the consortium are reported thinking of a smaller version of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline that would supply only the Canadian market.

Energy observers at first dismissed these rumours as a pressure tactic on the part of the petroleum companies to try to get Ottawa to give assurance of security and press forward with the settlement of native land claims. However, the shifting of the energy equation brought on by the Middle East war indicates that the rumours may well have some substance behind them. . . .

I'm told that *John Turner*, the man most likely to lead the Liberals in the next election when *Pierre Trudeau* goes off to head up Simon Fraser University or wherever, has in his office wall-to-wall pictures of John Turner. The most prominent one — in his secretary's office — shows him dancing with *Princess Margaret*. Some of my younger readers may not recall, but at one time Turner was strongly mooted as a possible suitor to the Princess. I recall a student meeting in the 1965 elections when one student broke up the house with the question "Tell me, Mr. Turner, do you still harbour residual feelings of bitterness towards Antony Armstrong-Jones?"

James Bay: the first assault on Bourassa's Bunker

by Last Post staff

The legal chess game continued and became ever more complicated. The Quebec Court of Appeals was considering an appeal against Judge Albert Malouf's decision that the massive James Bay hydroelectric project had to be suspended. And the Supreme Court of Canada was considering an appeal against the Appeals Court's decision that work could continue on the project while the appeal against Judge Malouf's decision was being considered.

This Appeals Court decision ignored Judge Malouf's warning that if construction work on the project were allowed to continue much longer, the effects of the development would become irreversible (see excerpts page 23). And it specifically contradicted his finding that any inconvenience or financial loss to the James Bay Development Corporation (JBDC) was simply not the point at issue.

The sudden reversal of what had seemed like an improbable victory for the native peoples of northern Quebec did much to justify the contention of cynics who had maintained that a few thousand Indians and Inuit were not going to stop a project backed, not only by the Quebec government, but also by the Rockefellers, Rothschilds, Bechtels and other potentates of international finance.

But at the very least, Judge Malouf's historic decision may have convinced Premier Robert Bourassa and the other inhabitants of the Liberal bunker in Quebec City that the Indians' legal battle against the project was serious.

"We told Bourassa over and over that this would happen," said one senior adviser to federal Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien, just after Judge Malouf brought down his decision November 15. "The minister told them. I told them. But they would never believe us.

"Maybe now they believe us."

The Cree and Inuit people who trekked across an area twice the size of Britain — about one fourth of all Quebec — mobilizing to take the fight to the government greeted Judge Malouf's decision as nothing less than apocalyptic.

"We've waited a few centuries for this one," said one Cree chief. "They've been making us eat shit for a very long time. We were nothing more than Les Sauvages —

illiterate savages who could be bought off by junior civil servants with a few drinks in a Quebec City bar.

"Well now Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Rothschild and the other big ones who put up the billions to make a billion must be making Bourassa eat some of his own *merde*."

He may have been exaggerating, particularly in the light of the subsequent Appeals Court decision, but his joy was understandable. For Bourassa had long treated the Indians' pretensions to have a say in what was done to their lands with open disdain. When all the chiefs journeyed to Quebec City last winter to plead their case before him, the premier brushed them off scornfully and did everything but laugh in their face.

The laughter in Quebec City would henceforth be somewhat more subdued. But if Quebec Liberals were stinging from a defeat only partially mitigated by the Appeals Court decision, Ottawa Liberals were hailing Judge Malouf's decision as a victory.

Jean Chrétien rose in the House of Commons and expressed his pleasure at the decision. When speaker Lucien Lamoureux criticized the minister for not dealing with the question before the House, Chrétien said, "Excuse me, Mr. Speaker, but after five years, four months and ten days in this job I thought I could have a few moments of satisfaction."

It seemed like an odd breach of solidarity with the Bourassa government. In fact, Ottawa's attitude all through the James Bay case had been lukewarm. On the one hand, the feds didn't want to see the Quebec Liberals get burned. On the other hand, they saw what was coming and didn't want to get burned themselves.

The federal position of financing the Indians' legal case to the tune of \$505,000 was the result of a compromise between Chrétien, who wanted the government to exercise its legal responsibility for the land and fight the case itself, and hardliners in the cabinet who would not hear of any action that might hurt the Quebec premier.

The government quickly came up with the rationalization that to intervene actively on the Indians' behalf would be



Premier Bourassa: suddenly, he has to take his job a little more seriously

"paternalistic", although the natives had specifically requested federal intervention.

This position was developed by John Ciaccia, then assistant deputy minister of Indian Affairs. His role was interesting in that the Inuits of Northern Quebec have been represented in court by a Montreal law firm in which he is a partner.

Ciaccia has since resigned his federal post and run successfully for the Quebec National Assembly, after being parachuted into the securely Liberal Mount Royal riding without the formality of a nominating convention. In the wake of the Malouf decision, Bourassa has named him his personal representative in any negotiations with the native peoples or the federal government on James Bay that may get off the ground.

A series of Ottawa cabinet documents, including several not previously published, show clearly the government's ambivalence toward the James Bay development. Never fully

in support of the project, the federal cabinet showed itself nonetheless to be somewhat sympathetic. A change of attitude is evident late in the spring of 1972, due in large part to pressure from the Bourassa government.

At its meeting of May 9, 1972, the cabinet committee on federal-provincial relations decided that "in view of its constitutional position in respect to Indians and the lands reserved for Indians and the conditions in the Quebec Boundaries Extension Act of 1912, the federal government has a vested interest in the settlement of the Indians' claim and should be a party to the negotiations, if the Indians so wish."

The cabinet committee also agreed that "the federal government should take the position that negotiation of a settlement in respect to the Indian interest must precede the advancement of the project. It should also take the position that it is prepared, as the need may arise, to adopt all recourses open to it, including support of such recourses as may be open in law to Indians of the project area, to achieve provincial recognition of the Indian interest and the need to negotiate an early settlement."

Just a few weeks later, the cabinet was receiving different advice. Through a document prepared by Donald Macdonald, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources and responsible for the interdepartmental liaison committee on the James Bay development, the cabinet learned that the government of Quebec had advised the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development "that, as far as the province was concerned, its [the department's] involvement during negotiations between the province of Quebec and the native people would be restricted to that of an observer, and that the federal government would *not* be allowed to participate in negotiations."

This same document noted that the federal government was indirectly supporting the James Bay project through a \$200,000 grant for the Matagami airport. It was also at the time considering a proposal to supply aeradio systems and air navigation beacons worth over \$500,000. Thus, the sum spent by the federal government in support of the project may have been greater than the amount shelled out to fund the Indians' legal case.

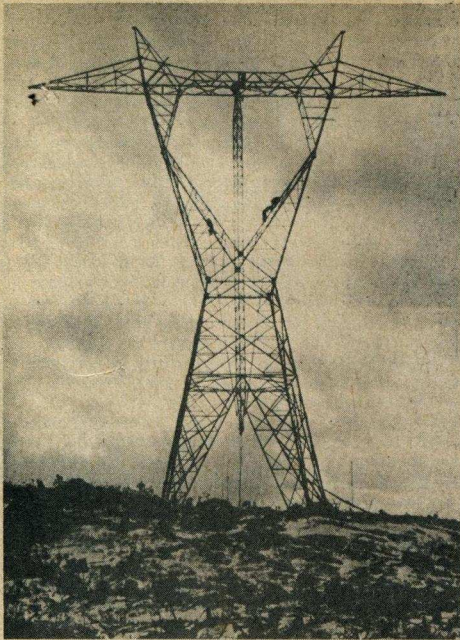
In a later document, Macdonald said that "a difference of opinion has been identified in the appropriate role for the federal government as participant or as observer in negotiations between Indian representatives and the province of Quebec. This issue is a serious one for federal-provincial relations and also of key significance for the entire development of the project."

Two alternatives were presented to the cabinet. One was that "the federal government could advise the province that it is not willing to attend meetings merely as an observer, but that it will participate in the negotiations *as requested by the native people* [our emphasis]."

The other was to "accept, at least temporarily, the role of an observer in discussions between Quebec and the native associations. This would be contrary to the expressed wishes of the associations and could raise criticism that Canada is not adequately discharging its responsibilities towards the native peoples."

The document recommended that "the federal government at this stage should express its concern that it has decided that the federal government cannot participate fully in the negotiations between the Indians and the province." This is a far cry from "adopting all recourses".

As it happened, negotiations never did take place. The



JBDC preferred to go ahead without them, Bourassa preferred to go ahead without them, and federal pressures were unavailing. When the JBDC was taken to court, Chrétien developed his compromise of bearing the natives' legal costs. Quebec's tough stand against direct federal participation had had its effect: despite native requests for federal action, Chrétien had suddenly become concerned about "paternalism."

For Chrétien, who got his moment of satisfaction without having to take any undue risk to achieve it, it was a long way from 1969, when his White Paper suggesting integration of Indians into white society and a winding-up of the federal government's special responsibility for native peoples was rejected both by natives who feared what would befall them at the hands of provincial governments and by bureaucrats who feared for their jobs.

In the intervening years, beset with the sometimes conflicting aims of the two branches of his department (Indian affairs and northern development), bureaucrats who have not given up on the integrationist ideas of the white paper and others who are more interested in keeping their jobs than in helping Indians achieve a measure of independence from the federal government, Chrétien has gained a deeper appreciation of the problems he has to deal with. Now, his moment of satisfaction behind him, he is almost certain to be shifted to a less demanding portfolio in the next cabinet shuffle.

One of the main problems facing his successor will be the thorny question of Indian land claims, and the recent vagaries of the James Bay case will not make the task any easier. In Yellowknife Jerry Sutton, legal counsel for the Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood, said that he was

encouraged by Judge Malouf's decision and expected it to serve as a precedent by which the Mackenzie Valley could be protected from pipeline construction that did not meet with the approval of native peoples in the area.

In the Mackenzie Valley, the Indians have applied for a *caveat* — a document signifying their legal interest in the 400,000 square miles of territory involved. Mr. Justice William Morrow of the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories has ruled favourably on the Indians' right to apply for such a document, and despite the intervention of federal Justice Minister Otto Lang, federal court in the Northwest Territories has refused to quash Morrow's decision.

Unlike the James Bay lands, the Mackenzie Valley lands are covered by treaties, signed in 1899 and 1921. However, a discrepancy between the letter of the treaties and what the Indians at the time believed to be their spirit has called their validity into question. If pipeline construction were to start in the Mackenzie Valley, the Indians, with the James Bay decision behind them, could well apply for an injunction there too.

While the federal government, at Chrétien's urging, has pursued a policy of trying to settle all outstanding land claims through negotiation (a policy that was frustrated by the Bourassa government's insistence on pressing ahead with the James Bay case in court), it has been reluctant to allow the native peoples to bargain from a position of strength.

According to cabinet documents, the basis on which the government preferred to negotiate was that "the native people had the right to use and occupy the land, and have lost it" — a position explicitly rejected by Judge Malouf. The documents point out the danger to the government of unfavourable court settlements, which imply that native people have legal rights instead of having to depend on a benevolent government: the government's interest in negotiations increased considerably after court decisions began to go in favour of native land claims.

A suitable basis for settling land claims has still not been found. The formula of the 1971 Alaska settlement is unacceptable both to the government, which feels that the price tag would be too high, and to less conservative native groups, which feel that the Alaska settlement gave the Indians there too little for what they gave and, beyond that, are dubious about the whole idea of cash settlements, which may add considerably to the exploitation of native people by some of their own.

"The spiritual decay of Indian country," said one Indian organization, "is at a point where that money would be burned up in a desperate blur of booze, cars and good times . . . The bulk of Indian country would never see the monies or ever feel the result of the expenditures."

Significantly, the Cree and Inuit residents of northern Quebec have no enthusiasm for a cash settlement of the James Bay project, unlike their lawyers and southern-based leaders of the Indians of Quebec Association.

In the long term, Judge Malouf's decision may end up having little or no effect on the James Bay project itself. A decision on appeal, even if favourable, will likely come too late to stop the project or even significantly boost the Indians' bargaining position.

What is more probable is that the decision will have a profound effect on the weight attached to native rights in similar projects in the future. It is hard to imagine anyone ever again plunging ahead quite as blindly as Robert Bourassa did.

The verdict of Judge Albert Malouf

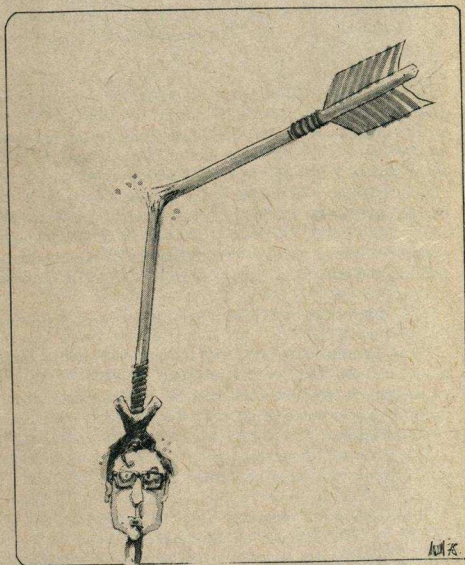
Judge Malouf begins by establishing that, since they have never signed any treaties ceding it, the native peoples have rights to the land in the James Bay area, including the right to fish, hunt and trap there. He then describes the way of life of the people in the area, and concludes that it is based upon the land and that they are dependent on fishing, hunting and trapping for food. The next section discusses the James Bay project itself and the schedule of its construction:

The time table for the construction of the project is described by two witnesses, Einar Skinnarland and Paul Amyot. . . . I intend to deal briefly with this subject with particular emphasis on what will take place during the current year 1973 and in 1974 since these are the important years in so far as the present application for an interlocutory order of injunction is concerned.

An access road from Matagami to Fort George is actually under construction. Work started at the end of 1971. On January 6th 1973. . . . the first 175 miles were passable and contracts for the construction of the remaining 260 miles had been given out. The whole road will be passable by November 1st 1973 and will be completed for all traffic by April 1st 1974.

The road from Fort George to mile 390 and from the latter point to the airport at LG-2 [site of the largest of the four projected dams] will be passable by August 1st 1973 and totally completed one year thereafter.

The existing wharf and dock at Fort George island were repaired and were to be reactivated in June 1973 to receive



heavy equipment delivered by ship. Airports at Fort George and La Grande were scheduled for completion by 15 July and 1 August 1973.

Insofar as the complex La Grande is concerned the first dam and reservoir to be built will be at LG-2. The first contract for the diversion tunnels has been granted and a second contract in respect thereof was to be entered into within a few months from the date Amyot gave his testimony. Delivery of equipment for the tunnels was completed on 15 April 1973. Advertising for tenders to excavate the portals for diversion tunnels has taken place, and construction of the portals was scheduled to start on 1 May 1973. The actual construction of the tunnels will commence on 1 October 1973 with the completion to take place prior to 1 October 1974. Certain preparatory work such as blasting and drilling, and

transporting excavated material will occur between April and October 1973.

Plans are presently being prepared for the principal dam at LG-2 so that the tenders can be called for towards the end of 1973. The construction of the dam at LG-2 will start in 1974 and continue until 1978, and, during this time, the flow of the La Grande River will be diverted through tunnels and there will be no fluctuation in the flow of the river. It will take a year to fill the forebay at LG-2 and during this period (in the year 1978) the entire flow of the La Grande will be cut off.

At the end of 1973 a definite decision will be taken with respect to the quantity of water which will pass through LG-2, and commencing in 1974 tenders will be called for the construction of alternating turbos. Construction of dykes will take place commencing 1974 and the construction of spillway in 1975, but it is possible according to Amyot that the construction of the spillway will commence prior to 1975. Underground work will start in the beginning of 1974 and other works which the witness mentions in detail will also start in 1974. Amyot says that the complex La Grande, as it is presently envisaged, will become finalized at the end of 1973.

In cross-examination Amyot says that the construction of workers' city will commence during the summer of 1973 so that there will be 350 buildings ready in the latter part of 1973 to accommodate the first 1,000 workers. In 1974, there will be 2,000 and in 1975 4,000 workers on the site. At the beginning of winter 1973-74, there will be a total of approximately 5,856 persons installed between Fort George and LG-2. Of these 1,000 will be at LG-2 and the remainder spread out amongst the camps of the contractors building the road from Matagami to LG-2 and LG-2 to Fort George.

The construction of LG-3 will commence in 1975 followed by LG-4 and LG-1.

Great quantities of equipment and materials will be transported into the territory, for example, in 1973 20,000 tons of equipment and materials will be moved into the area, in 1974 75,000 tons and by 1978 this quantity will increase to 400,000 tons.

Extensive topographical, geophysical and hydrological investigations will also be carried out during the next few years.

There will be a very high level of activity in the Fort George to LG-2 area during 1973 and 1974 and these activities will of course increase as the number of men brought into the area increases.

The transmission lines which will be erected to bring the power to Montreal will require the clearing of corridors 600 miles long and approximately 600 to 800 feet wide. Skinnarland says that although the date when the installation of these lines will commence is not mentioned in the schedule, it must be at least two years prior to the completion of the power installation in 1980.

The work envisaged for the whole project will be completed in 1980 at which time the project, if completed, will be producing electricity.

It is also interesting to note that, according to Skinnarland, by the end of 1973 the project as far as LG-2 is concerned becomes irreversible.

There follows a detailed discussion of the effects of the project on the region and on animal and plant life within it. The following are Judge Malouf's concluding comments on the effects of the project:

Although the parties were permitted to adduce proof on the entire project, it must be borne in mind that, since this is a hearing on an application for an interlocutory order of injunction, only the works scheduled to be carried out in the very near future will be considered by the Court in deciding whether the application should succeed. Skinnarland, testifying on behalf of petitioners [the native peoples], and Amyot, testifying on behalf of respondents [the James Bay Development Corporation and Hydro-Quebec], are in agreement that not only will many important works be carried out during the current year and during the year 1974, but that the critical period will occur within the next few months. It is therefore these works which are of greatest importance to the present issues.

In reviewing the evidence I find that petitioners are justified in their apprehension of injury to the rights which they have been exercising. Damages to the flora and fauna have already taken place. Further considerable damage will be caused by the works which are presently going on. Still more extensive and more serious damage will occur as the work progresses.

The major rivers in the territory will be completely transformed. The flow of some will be cut off, reduced, increased, or diverted. Others will be forced into a series of lakes. Changes in the flow of rivers and the creation of reservoirs will flood many lakes. The beds and banks of rivers will be eroded. Areas of dry land will be flooded. The normal spring flood will not occur. The wetland habitat on which so many animals depend will be destroyed. The lichen area will be reduced significantly. The disruptive effects resulting from these changes were discussed in detail by the witnesses. It will therefore serve no useful purpose to summarize what was said by each witness on the various matters referred to in this part. Suffice it to say that the evidence discloses that these works will have an adverse effect on the birds, the fish, the animals, and aquatic life generally. The number of animals will be reduced significantly. Petitioners will no longer be able to make use of the fruits of the soil. They will no longer be able to hunt, trap, and fish in the areas affected. The ecological balance which existed in the region will be seriously disturbed. The mutual relations existing between the organisms and their environment will be completely upset. The environment will be changed. According to Fenton, the whole system which took 8,000 years to develop will be destroyed.

Furthermore regeneration in the area is very slow. Witnesses testified that it will take anywhere from 30 to 50 years for a new wetland habitat to establish itself. It will take many, many years for a new equilibrium to be reached. There are very few species of plants in the region and in



"The environment which took 8,000 years to develop will be destroyed"

addition both the type and numbers of vegetation are limited.

In view of the dependence of the indigenous population on the animals, fish, and vegetation in the territory, the works will have devastating and far reaching effects on the Cree Indians and the Inuits living in the territory and the lands adjacent thereto.

Judge Malouf then considers the question of the "balance of convenience," on which the James Bay Development Corporation and Hydro-Quebec had placed great emphasis:

Respondents plead that balance of convenience is in their favour on the ground that they will suffer a considerable monetary loss if an interlocutory order of injunction suspending the works is issued. Petitioners in reply state that balance of convenience should not be considered in a case of this nature. Under reserve of this argument they add that the sums claimed are grossly exaggerated, and even if balance of convenience were to be considered, it should be resolved in their favour. It is my intention to immediately consider the first proposition submitted by petitioners because if I accept this proposition, it will be unnecessary for me to examine the other arguments submitted by both parties on balance of convenience.

The doctrine and jurisprudence recognize that balance of convenience will not be taken into account when the person seeking to enforce a right has a substantial case to present

to the Court and it appears that his right is clear and certain. It has been amply demonstrated that petitioners have clear rights of possession and occupancy. Their possession, occupancy, and use of the land is measured in terms not of years but of centuries. To use the words found in Kerr (supra) this is not a doubtful case "where the question as to the legal right is one on which the Court is not prepared to pass an opinion." Respondents have interfered with and violated the rights which petitioners have been exercising. According to Ashburner a threatened violation of a proprietary right entitles the party injured to an injunction. In the present case there is more than a threat. Interference is presently taking place and furthermore respondents state that they intend to continue carrying out the works necessary to complete the project. Applying the principle enunciated by High, since petitioner's right is clear and certain, the injurious interruption of that right must be stopped. The evidence permits me to form an opinion. I do not have the slightest doubt that petitioners have established a strong prima facie case. I am convinced that they have a clear right to an interlocutory order of injunction.

In a case of this nature the sums of money expended, even if substantial, must not be permitted to cloud the issues. The nature and extent of the works presently going on and which are scheduled for the next few months have been described in detail elsewhere in this judgment. The proof has convinced me that if these works are allowed to continue, a factual situation will soon occur which will render any final judgment ineffectual because it will then be impossible to put the parties in the position they would have been in had the works not been carried out. To put it another way, a continuation of the works will undoubtedly lead to a fait accompli.

Furthermore if I were to consider balance of convenience in the present case, I would establish a principle which would

lead to strange consequences. It would permit a person to change the statu quo prior to or pending the hearing and subsequently plead balance of convenience. I cannot give effect to such a proposition.

There is one final matter which requires consideration. Respondents of their own accord started work on the project notwithstanding the opposition expressed by petitioners. Even after the present proceedings were instituted, respondents continued with the project and expended large sums of money. This was a most unfortunate decision. Respondents knew that the Indians and Eskimo were in possession of the territory and the land adjacent thereto. They also knew that the Indians and Eskimo were occupying and making use of the land. This situation was not forced upon them. They took the risk of proceeding with the work. A more prudent person would have awaited the decision of the Court.

In l'Association des Propriétaires de Jardins Taché Inc. et al vs. Les Entreprises Dasken Inc. et al the Supreme Court of Canada refused to take into consideration the monetary loss suffered by a contractor who erected apartment buildings in contravention of a zoning by-law. Pigeon J. speaking for the majority says at p. 91:

"In these circumstances the extent of the loss involved in demolition order depends largely on the decision of the owner to take the risk of going ahead with the work after the protest, the institution of proceedings and the motion for an injunction."

Although in the case of Les Entreprises Dasken Inc. the appeal was from a judgment on the merits, I see no reason why this principle should not be applied to the present case.

I therefore conclude that balance of convenience cannot be considered by the Court in the present case. Petitioners' objection to all the proof dealing with balance of convenience is maintained.

However, because of the great importance they attached to it, Judge Malouf examines in detail the evidence presented by the JBDC and Hydro-Quebec regarding balance of convenience. He finds that "the Court has received no convincing or satisfactory proof that a delay in the realization of the project will cause damages to Hydro-Quebec," while in the case of the JBDC, "the damages resulting from a temporary suspension of the works will be very small." He continues:

In addition to the arguments based on monetary damages, respondents argue that the area affected by the works is quite small when compared to the vastness of the region and that consequently petitioners can exercise their rights elsewhere

therein. It is not the vastness of the region that is important but rather the use which petitioners are making of the particular areas where the works are being carried out. Respondents' argument in this respect cannot be retained because the proof reveals that the lands, lakes, rivers, and streams affected by the project are of extreme importance to petitioners.

What this Court would have to decide, if it were considering balance of convenience, is the relative convenience and inconvenience caused to the parties by the works. The damages referred to in this section must be balanced against the damages which petitioners will continue to suffer if the works continue. Elsewhere in this part I said that the damages to petitioners will be great. In many instances such damages will be not only devastating but irreparable. In addition I find it difficult to compare such monetary loss to the damages which such a large group of people will suffer. The right of petitioners to pursue their way of life in the lands subject to dispute far outweighs any consideration that can be given to such monetary damages.

It is my opinion that greater damage would be caused to petitioners by refusing to grant the injunction in the event that the final judgment maintains the rights of petitioners than to respondents by granting the injunction in the event that the Court in considering the final application concludes that the injunction should not issue.

For these reasons, even if I were to consider balance of convenience, I would come to the conclusion that balance of convenience militates in favour of petitioners.

Judge Malouf then concludes:

The Court does hereby order respondents, their officers, directors, employees, agents, servants, and those acting under their authority and pursuant to their instructions:

a) To immediately cease, desist, and refrain from carrying out works, operations, and projects in the territory described in the schedule of Bill-50 including the building of roads, dams, dykes, bridges, and connected works;

b) To cease, desist and refrain from interfering in any way with petitioners' rights, from trespassing in the said territory and from causing damage to the environment and the natural resources of the said territory;

except, in respect to respondent Canadian National Railway Company, in so far as such works, operations and projects may be authorized by applicable valid federal legislation; and provided that in respect to respondent Hydro-Quebec the foregoing injunction shall apply only, in respect to works, operations, and projects outside the territory, to those related to the La Grande complex; and provided also that by the foregoing injunction the respondent Hydro-Quebec shall not be prevented from producing, transmitting, and distributing in the territory contemplated by Bill-50 the energy required to meet the requests of the inhabitants of the said territory for electricity in accordance with its present practice;

the whole with costs including the costs of all exhibits and expert evidence.

The Unauthorized History of the 'Dance of the Dialectic'

by Larry Zolf

(being Chapter 12, 'The Greering
of the Land', unpublished in the
Saturday Night or James Lewis &
Samuel editions)

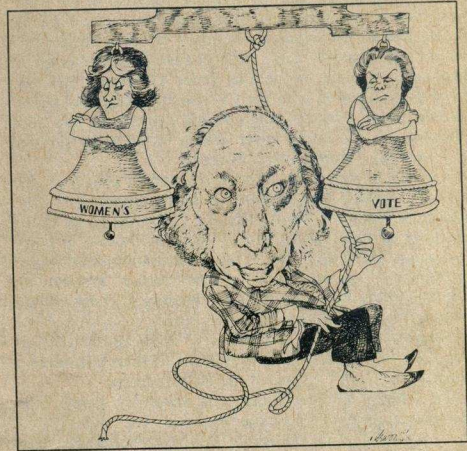
The plot so far: In 1968, after the accession of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Ottawa was Athens, and the East Block and the Prime Minister's Office were the Lyceum. In the Lyceum, homage was paid to the gods of Reason, Planning and Technique. Man might not be perfectible, but Society certainly was, and so the Lyceumites went about building the Just Society, not piecemeal but peaceable, one and indivisible, bilingual and multicultural.

But it could not last. The Parliamentary Press Gallery, which had been happy to worship at the feet of the Philosopher-Kingdom's charismatic leader, now turned against him. Robert Stanfield and David Lewis, once the Incredible Alternatives, were no longer dismissed so lightly. Worst of all, nationalism, which had always been anathema to Trudeau in any form, was enjoying a resurgence in English Canada, in circles ranging from the Waffle to the University of Toronto faculty club. Although the decay went unnoticed in the Lyceum, the Philosopher-Kingdom was beginning to come apart.

* * *

Nationalism, with its basic tom-tom cry of the territorial imperative, is basically, it would be fair to say, a man's game. (No aspersions meant here to Ms. Jewett or Ms. MacDonald). By the summer of '72 the male portion of the middle and upper middle classes who had so enthusiastically supported Trudeau in '68 were now flying the Red Flag of Revolution.

As Tory Reds they would go to quasi-M. King Stanfield, whose nationalist motto was: "Canada if necessary, but not necessarily Eddie Goodman". As tired Red Tories, Wafflers and Pearson Liberals, they would go to David Lewis. (His



approach of nationalism for the bourgeoisie and international union solidarity for the workers was logically not quite symmetrical, but politically one could live with it if one had to. Ms. Jewett did.)

Now the question was: where would the distaff side of proper-thinking upper and middle class Anglophonia be in the summer of '72? Would the Belles of River Heights and Rosedale ring as loudly for Trudeau in '72 as they did in '68? Or would the Belles sound more ominous political tones?

Once again the Waffle provided clues to any Trudeau Lyceum augurer who cared to poke his way into the entrails of the NDP chicken. For the Belles of River Heights and Rosedale in attendance at NDP conventions reserved their fiercest cries, not for National Liberation, but for Women's Liberation.

But these Waffle Belles were not alone in their cries for emancipation. The Westmount-River Heights-Rosedale Ladies of Anglophonia were bursting out of their salons and kitchens in search of deliverance. Luckily the right Redemptress was at hand to Greer the Land.

What the Hebrew Trinity of Freidan-Steinem-Abzug did for Women's Lib in the American melting pot, which was culturally speaking more Idish-Yiddish Portnoy than Puritan Ethic Campbell-Bannerman, would not work in Anglophonia's melting pot whose culture was more Seagram than Bronfman. In Anglophonia only the Germanic teachings and Quotations of Chairperson Greer filled the obvious vacuum.

Lady Greer's constant allusions to Shakespearean plays, Spenserian sonnets and the happiness of Calabrese "stem families" thrilled the restless Belles of Bishop Strachan-Elmwood-Balmoral Hall-Crofton House-Victoria-St. Hilda's. Their MAs and BAs in English Lit. were languishing

↓

on the domestic clothes vine while Ashbury-Upper Canada-Ravenscourt-Trinity-Oxford hubby was enjoying donnish power in the ivory towers of academe or the ivory towers on the Rideau.

Lady Greer's constant put-down of the Dons of the bourgeoisie nuclear family and her constant extolling of the Calabrese "stem" families whose Dons tend to be of the Carleone variety had all the romantic overtones of Lady Chatterley's lust for the swarthy, dark, male chauvinist gamekeeper of lusty yore. (To the mysterious Jaded Observer, this new Wasp preoccupation with the Charismatic Wop was faintly reminiscent of a former Anglophonia ego trip he had once observed ... the bobby-soxer swoon at the mere sight of sexy, stemmy, Woppy Frank Sinatra.)

Needless to say, Lady Greer's triumphant arrival in and tour of Canada was of almost regal proportions. She addressed Women's Clubs, Faculty Clubs, Kiwanis Clubs and made sporadic forays into TV land. In Ottawa, in Ivory Towerland itself, Ms. Greer, as Sherlock Holmes, made "elementary" minced meat of Dr. Patrick Watson. In Toronto, to the lusty cheers of the liberata of Anglophonia (ranging from stunningly attractive female members of the Westmount Progressive Conservative Association to stunningly attractive male executives from CPR to CBC), Ms. Greer let the "hot" air out of the Zolf Zepplin.

The Ottawa TV encounter was relatively gentle, the Toronto engagement a bit more ferocious. The Thing Called Zolf (title of *Toronto Telegram* Weekend Showcase main feature, Saturday, Sept. 28, 1968) had, just prior to the Greer interview, been described in *Maclean's* magazine as undergoing "slow castration" at the hands of the good Doctor Mengesels of the CBC.

The Thing Called Zolf quite naturally expected from the author of *The Female Eunuch* and the extoller of "stem families" the normal comradely feelings of a female eunuch for a male eunuch, "stem" variety. Noting Ms. Greer's constant invocations to one Friedrich Engels, the Zolf Thing tried to curry favour with the quasi-Marxist Greer by invoking the ancient Marxist battle cry of all eunuchs: "International eunuchs of the World unite! You have nothing to lose but that which you've already lost!"

In the ensuing process, the hapless, witless, squeaky-voiced Zolf received a richly-deserved German Greer boot in the clang which, in his case, by definition, did not exist. So much for eunuch solidarity. Hell really hath no more futile fury than a male eunuch scorned. For that matter, Hell hath no fury like the subsequent scorn poured on the Zolf eunuch by stunningly attractive female delegates from Westmount at Tory conventions, female broadcasters and critics, the wives of punditi-out and radical chicci* and from liberated non-castrated males from every shade of opinion and walk of life from the top floors of the vertical mosaic to its sub-sub-basements.

In any event, both TV performances by Ms. Greer proved that the Ashley Montagu theory of the superiority of women was not only *natural* but *actual*. The political implications of this Greering of Anglophonia were enormous. The female divisions of the most important rungs in the Vertical Prosaic were in definite revolt.

The Lyceum didn't notice. The Aristophanes-quoting Trudeau seemed not to have digested one of the great man's lesser works ... *Lysistrata*. Trudeau, who had welcomed John Lennon and Yoko, the high priest and priestess of a pop culture rapidly disappearing and of no ultimate political

consequence, did not grant an audience to the high priestess of a rapidly growing culture whose political consequences were immense.

The Lysistrathood had, and has, legitimate grievances. Sexism was and is rampant in the business and political worlds, the Ivory Towers of Academe and the Rideau and the other work places of the upwardly-mobile middle and upper middle classes. (In the non-unionized and some unionized factories and shops, sexism was just one more vicious burden the semi-skilled and unskilled female work stiffs had borne for years.)

When the Lysistrathood offered abortion on demand, and more particularly day-care centres as a means of breaking the cycle of poverty for their less fortunate sisters, their suggestions were not greeted kindly by the Lyceum. Abortion on demand offended the legitimate moral sensibilities and the no less legitimate political sensibilities of the Trudeau-crats.

Day-care centres were given the full East Block Think Tank analysis. The universality of day-care centres, one Trudeauat argued, would enormously increase the female participation rate in the Canadian labour forces. Canada's labour-force participation rate was already the fastest growing in the world. Nor were there enough jobs being created to meet its demands. Day-care centres would push up the participation rate and inevitably the unemployment rate to politically intolerable levels.

The Lysistrathood remained unimpressed. Nor were they convinced that the Lyceum was acting fast enough on the sexist injustices so clearly spelled out in the Status of Women report.

By the summer of '72, the Lysistrathood was in open rebellion against the Sun Palace of Trudeau the Philosopher-Queen Marie Antoinette, a Sun Palace now converted by one more nimble piourette in the Dance of the Dialectic ... into a male chauvinist piggery. To the spears of the paps, the bow and arrows of the banditi, the artillery fire of the radical chicci and the punditi-out were now added the dangerous sparks from the burning bras the Lysistrathood was hurling over the gates of the Lyceum.

*Punditi-out and radical chicci are two of the categories into which members of the Ottawa Press Gallery and other commentators on national affairs are divided in *Dance of the Dialectic*. The other categories are punditi-in, banditi and paparazzi (sometimes shortened to paps). Short definitions of these groups follow:

Punditi-in: Those commentators who, in their columns, books, broadcasts, op-ed Newthink pieces and feature stories, were generally speaking unfavourable to the Trudeau administration in both its Athenian phase and the deluge aftermath. They are invariably male, never fat and do not possess a funny last name, nor a sense of humour.

Punditi-out: Those commentators who, in their columns, books, broadcasts, op-ed Thinkpieces and feature stories, were generally speaking unfavourable to the Trudeau administration in both its Athenian phase and the deluge aftermath. They are not invariably male (witness Dian Cohen, who is definitely not invariably male), are sometimes fat (witness the shocking obesity of Charles Lynch, Professor James Eyras and George Bain) and do possess funny last names (witness Lubor Zink and James Eyras).

Radical Chicci: A nice bunch of kids insisting on an overview of the Ottawa scene which neither the punditi-in nor the punditi-out were in their view providing. Close family or marital ties to newspaper proprietors, publishers or just plain old-fashioned rich people are certainly no bar to admission to this group. Radical chicci loved the Trudeau of '68 but rejected the October Crisis Trudeau, roughly three months after that event.

Banditi: The ancients of the gallery, some dating back to R. B. Bennett many to Mackenzie King, and all, at least, to St. Laurent. The banditi wouldn't know a Lyceum or a PMO if they fell over it.

Paparazzi: This peasant class embraces all broadcasters (with the exception of Bruce Phillips, Geoff Scott, Peter Stursberg and Ron Collier), all members of the wire services and all workaday print journalists who print only the facts and just the facts, man. The paparazzi are strictly non-U, but always fun to be with.

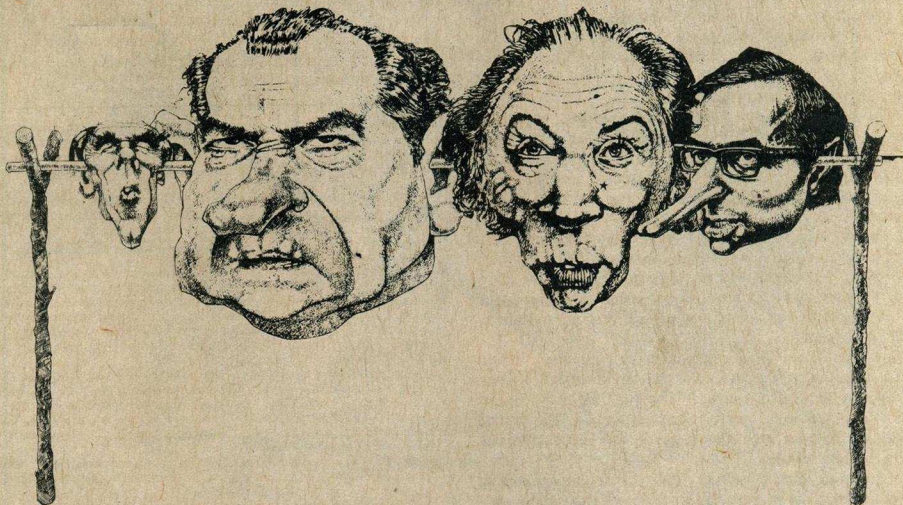
AI SLIN 73

150 CARICATURES

Terry Mosher is well-known to Last Post readers as 'Aislin', whose cartoons have been appearing in the magazine since it was founded four years ago. The drawings in this section are taken from his latest book, 'Aislin 73: 150 Caricatures', which has just been published.

In an introduction to the book, Margaret Atwood notes that "a crisis, an event, a 'personality', a 'trend', and Aislin is there . . . offering his assistance, benevolent as a wolverine. He alarms us because he sees too much; he is our own urge to puncture. . . ."

We hope our readers enjoy the punctures on the next four pages. For those who want still more, Terry's book is available at bookstores or can be ordered from the publisher, Content Publishing Co., 1411 Crescent St., Suite 404, Montreal; it costs \$3.95.

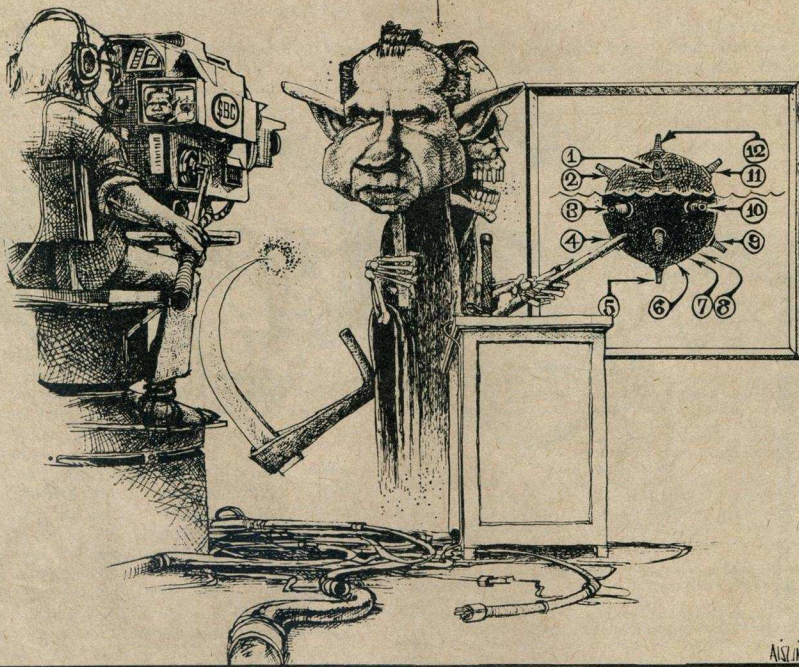


and ESPOSITO FAILS TO CLICK
 on his pss to CLRN
 CDRNWE
 CDRNEE
 CDRN
 CDRNWHY
 CRONIE AYE"
 Originally TZIGANKOV just scored

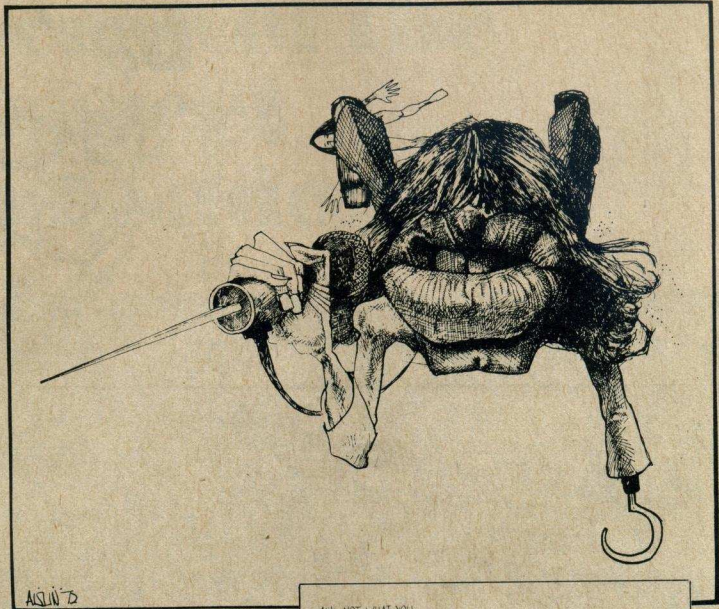


Trilinguisme

...SO BEFORE THERE CAN BE ANY DIALOGUE, THE
 ENEMY MUST SHOW GOOD FAITH BY DEALING WITH
 THE TWELVE POINTS I HAVE JUST MENTIONED.



ALVIN Z



MICK
JAGGER

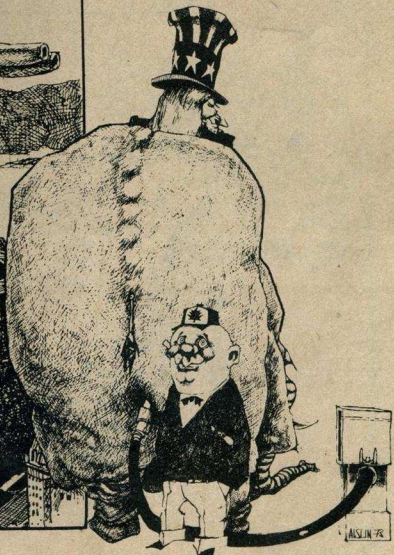
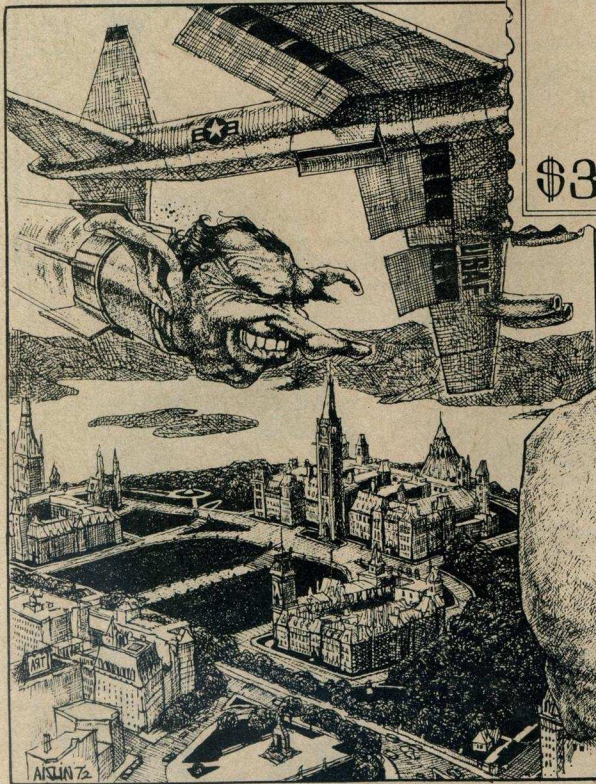


ASK NOT WHAT YOU
CAN DO FOR YOUR COUNTRY.
BUT RATHER, WHAT CAN
YOUR COUNTRY DO
FOR YOU?

Mordecai Richler



ASKLIN 73



YET ANOTHER RAID TO THE NORTH.

The case of the indiscreet ambassador



Santiago's day of the generals: According to Canada's ambassador, it was not a rightist coup

I. THE HONEST BROKER CAUGHT IN THE ACT

by Drummond Burgess

It's not surprising that External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp should be in a testy mood these days. For his efforts to keep up the impression that Canada's foreign policy sticks to the high road, that it is in some superior way even "neutral", have been wearing thin in recent months.

Most recently, Sharp's visit to the Soviet Union was not a success. When he raised the question of Soviet minorities he was told by his hosts emphatically to stop meddling in Soviet domestic affairs, in much the same way that the Pearson government rounded on President de Gaulle in 1967 when that leader visited Quebec and shouted "Vive le Québec libre".

In the Middle East, Canada came close to begging that its troops be allowed to take part in the peace force, and our boys were finally accepted, but strictly in a support role and on condition that the Poles participated also. To others,

such as the Finns, have gone the plums of diplomacy.

That was the product of Canada's record in the Vietnam peace-keeping operation, where the government first insisted the force be genuinely independent as Canada's price for sending a contingent, then itself violated that condition by giving one-sided support to Presidents Thieu and Nixon, and then packed its bags and came home (see story on page 40).

Mixed in with these events, and adding to a growing public uneasiness, has been Canada's reaction to the military *putsch* in Chile, as well as the information that has emerged about Canada's economic policy towards the Allende government during the preceding three years.

Crucial in this development have been a number of confidential telegrams from Andrew Ross, Canada's ambassador in Chile, to the External Affairs Department. They were made public by John Harney, New Democratic Party member of parliament and are reprinted following this article.

There is no reason to believe that the External Affairs Department, known in telegamese as EXTOTT, has any deep-seated objection to Ross's views. Ross has been in Chile since early 1971; as of this writing he is still there; he has been neither recalled nor rebuked.

Indeed, a senior diplomat in the External Affairs Department, Arthur J. Andrew, has been allowed to say in public that "I have read the Ross telegrams and find them to be even-handed. . . ." and feels it important to speak out when "an ambassador is pilloried for doing what he's paid to do."

When the coup d'état took place, Sharp trotted out the usual high-minded statements that the public is supposed to accept as all it needs to know.

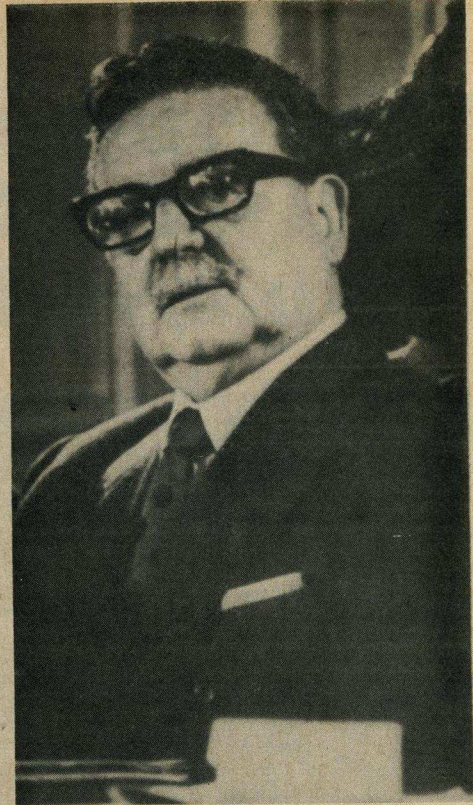
The day after the coup, Sharp told the House of Commons that he would be "extending sympathy to the people of Chile on the death of their President and, of course, my condolences to the family. All of us, I am sure, express the hope that democratic institutions will be restored to Chile without delay."

Andrew Ross in Santiago, known in the telegrams as STAGO, took it for granted that Ottawa didn't quite mean this, and that the government was just as happy as the U.S. administration to see Allende out of the way. Ross's main concern was that his friends in Chile might take the public statement seriously and be offended.

"I assume," he cabled EXTOTT Sept. 20, "it is not fact of Allende's downfall but manner in which it was accomplished that we regret. As it stands statement may well confuse majority public opinion here and even dismay and offend supporters of Christian Democrat and National Parties." The Allende government, he declared, was "surely one of most incompetent in recent times." The military, he felt, were moderate men, and it was "only with greatest reluctance did they decide that institutional disintegration and political madness of recent months had to be arrested by shock treatment."

It has become clear since the coup that the "institutional disintegration" was provoked both by foreign economic sanctions imposed mainly by the U.S., but in which Canada played a minor part, and by deliberate, massive sabotage by Allende's many opponents within Chile. It has also become clear that the military are not at all moderate men, as Ross himself was to admit, after second thoughts, in a later telegram.

Just who were Ross's friends in Chile? Columnist Charles Lynch has tried to defend Ross in a newspaper column by



Allende: Ambassador Ross describes his government as "surely one of the most incompetent in recent times."

writing that his "first-hand impression of Ross earlier this year was that he was on good terms with Allende and those around him. . . ."

But the telegrams make it clear that where Ross's heart lay, and where EXTOTT's heart lay, was exactly where the U.S. State Department's heart lay — with the Christian Democratic Party if possible, and with anyone to the right of that party if necessary.

On Sept. 13 Ross cabled that it would be a mistake to consider the overthrow a rightist coup, claiming that the Christian Democrats, the "largest and most democratic minded of Chile's many parties", had opposed a military coup but had called on Allende to resign. They were not, he wrote, taking part in the junta but would probably "co-operate", and this was a "positive development for had they chosen to actively oppose it position of junta would have been perilous indeed."

On Sept. 20, Ross patted the Christian Democratic and National Parties on the back by deciding that "in Canadian terms currents of opinion represented here are somewhat to



The junta, led by Gen. Augusto Pinochet, is described as having taken on an "exceedingly difficult and probably thankless task."

left of NDP in case of former and of our Liberals and Conservatives in respect to latter." Thus, STAGO's logic would seem to imply the NDP should support the junta.

In another telegram the same day, he excused killings during the actual takeover and due to curfew or other violations as "abhorrent but understandable". The political murders he found "horrifying" and "morally indefensible", but blamed them on a "relatively small gung ho faction of ultra-rightists"; the great majority of military officers were "moderates or apolitical".

But by Sept. 24, Ross was beginning to worry about the junta, which was not living up to his expectations. The junta was "using some methods which are to say least indelicate." They were, he found, a "rather stodgy lot". He questioned their wisdom and declared "real leadership is woefully lacking." The result was that some "who hold ultra-conservative views are operating to date without much direction or control and perpetrating such nonsense as book burning and shearing youths with long hair and beards and possibly condoning political murders." Their "major stupidity", he thought,

was "decision to outlaw all Marxist parties."

This analysis of the junta as rather weak, if not out of the picture, flies in the face of the overwhelming evidence of a massive campaign of terror against leftists, a deliberate militarization of the country, and an appetite for power that seems very forceful indeed.

But Ross seems to have missed the point because his mind was fixed on a definite scenario. The junta, he seems to have thought, should have acted to get rid of the Allende government and socialism while preserving "democracy" through the Christian Democratic and National Parties, and even allowing some Marxist parties to exist.

However, if there were to be both democracy and Marxist parties it is difficult to understand, in Ross's terms, why a coup was necessary since that is precisely the situation that existed, with the Marxists democratically forming the government.

But of course what Ross had in mind was that Chile should, in some unexplained way, suddenly become like Canada or the United States, with the people choosing to give their support to parties like our Liberals and Conservatives, rather than to Marxists. But the people of Chile did not so feel and did not so vote. The junta didn't follow Ross's scenario because they couldn't. They have been smarter than Ross in STAGO or the boys at EXTOTT in that they knew that if anything resembling a free enterprise system acceptable to Washington and Ottawa was to be re-established, it would have to be done through brutality and terror.

Ross has gone on lamenting that the junta has been ignoring the Christian Democrats "to whose generally sensible informal counsel junta should be listening," but still goes on expecting that "once shakedown period is over interim regime will not have particularly conservative complexion."

Canada, it seems clear, wanted the Allende government out of the way, as did the U.S. government, but they wanted this done in a 'nice' way. That they could not have their cake and eat it too has been a major contribution to Mitchell Sharp's testiness.

It's the same contradiction that led Canada to think it could demand the most high-minded and independent role for the peace-keeping force in Vietnam, at the same time as it supported U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam. It's the same contradiction that led Sharp to think he could interfere in the Soviet Union's nationalities policy, while at the same time being a welcome visitor.

It was possible, at the height of the cold war, to paper over this sort of contradiction in one way or another. It was possible to go to war for U.S. foreign policy in Korea while proclaiming deep devotion to the international principles of the United Nations. It was possible to be a member of a military alliance, NATO, while keeping Canadians happy about their 'independent' policy by urging that NATO adopt high-minded non-military goals (to which no one ever paid more than lip service).

But in the era of Henry Kissinger and all the talk about détente, the mask has somehow slipped and the juggling act no longer works. EXTOTT tries to sound Canadian and high-minded, but as long as it ends up looking like a stalking-horse for Washington, it can't expect its act to play anywhere except Peoria.

Drummond Burgess is a member of the Last Post editorial board.

II. THE SECRET CABLES FROM SANTIAGO TO OTTAWA SENT BY AMBASSADOR ANDREW ROSS



TELEGRAM ONE

CONFIDENTIAL

FM STAGO (SANTIAGO) 475 SEP 6/73
TO EXTOTT (EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OTTAWA) GWL
REF OURTEL 762 AUG 31
— CRISIS CONTINUES

FOLLOWING BRIEF LULL BOTH LEVEL AND SERIOUSNESS OF VIOLENCE ESCALATED CONSIDERABLY THIS WEEK AND RECOURSE TO FIREARMS BECAME MORE FREQUENT BOTH IN CAPITAL AND PROVINCIAL CENTRES. WHAT WERE LITTLE SHORT OF SMALL BATTLES WERE FOUGHT BETWEEN CARABINEROS AND EXTREME LEFTISTS IN RANCAGUA, CONCEPCION AND VALPARAISO, LATTER LASTED OVER TWO HOURS AND ONLY ENDED WHEN MARINES CALLED IN. ANOTHER INCIDENT NEAR SAN ANTONIO INVOLVING TRUCKERS ROADBLOCK RESULTED IN DEATH OF ONE AND SERIOUS WOUNDS TO THREE OTHERS ALL SHOT IN BACK BY CARABINERO MACHINE GUN FIRE. LAST EVENING HUGE DEMONSTRATION BY TENS OF THOUSANDS OPPOSITION WOMEN CALLING FOR ALLENDE RESIGNATION WAS BROKEN UP BY RIOT SQUADS USING TEAR GAS AND WATER CANNON. SOME TEAR GAS CANNISTERS APPARENTLY FIRED INDISCRIMINATELY SMASHED WINDOWS OF FLOORS BELOW CHANCERY FILLING OFFICES WITH TEAR GAS AND FORCING ADAM AND MOESER WHO WERE WORKING LATE TO ABANDON BLDG. THERE WAS ALSO SPORADIC SMALL ARMS FIRE BUT NOT/NOT CLEAR WHO RESPONSIBLE PERHAPS ACTIVISTS OF BOTH EXTREMES. SOME FORTY IN HOSPITAL. ONE OF OUR CHAUFFEURS TRAPPED IN BASEMENT GARAGE FOR TWO HOURS. NIGHTLY BOMBING OF RESIDENCES IN BARRIO ALTO CONTINUE.

2. ARMED FORCES HAVE CONDUCTED MANY RAIDS ON FACTORIES AND OTHER CENTRES WHERE ARMS CACHES ARE SUSPECTED BUT SECRECY IN PREPARATIONS DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF INFORMERS WITH DIVIDED LOYALTIES. MIR (REVOLUTIONARY LEFT MOVEMENT) GUERRILLA TRAINING CAMP NEAR COAST IN CAUTIN PROVINCE INCLUDING SMALL FACTORY FOR BOMBS GRENADES DISCOVERED AND RAIDED IN COMBINED ARMY AIR FORCE ACTION. 27 CAPTURED AND ACCORDING TO PRESS BOATS INCLUDING BAZOOKAS. SUPPLIES HAD BEEN LANDING AT IMPROVISED DOCK FROM FISHING CRAFT.

3. STATES OF EMERGENCY HAVE OFTEN BEEN DECLARED DURING LAST TWO YEARS FOR LESS CAUSE HOWEVER ALLENDE AND/OR MOST COMPOSING UP (UNIDAD POPULAR) NOW APPARENTLY ARE AFRAID TO GIVE SUCH WIDE AUTHORITY TO MILITARY.

4. IF ALLENDE'S OBJECTIVE IS TO SOW DISUNITY AND DISCORD WITHIN AND AMONG ARMED FORCES HE IS SUCCEEDING THERE IS NO/NO QUESTION THAT MORE EXTREME SECTORS OF HIS UP SUPPORTERS HAVE NOW ADOPTED OPENLY HOSTILE

ATTITUDE TOWARD OFFICERS AND ARE AGITATING MEN IN RANKS TO DISOBEY ANY ORDERS THEY INTERPRET AS BEING CONTRARY TO INTERESTS OF UP WORKERS OR PROLETARIAT. ADMIRAL MERINO COMMANDER VALPARAISO NAVAL ZONE HAS TAKEN LEGAL STEPS TO REMOVE CONGRESSIONAL IMMUNITY OF ALTAMIRANO AND GERRETON (MAKPU) SO THEY MAY BE PROSECUTED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN CONSPIRACY RE QUOTE CELLS UNQUOTE UNCOVERED IN CRUISER AND FRIGATE. CINC MONTERO HAS BEEN REJECTED BY OFFICER CORPS BUT AS PART OF TREMENDOUS PRESSURE CAMPAIGN TO AVOID LEGAL PROCESS AGAINST ALTAMIRANO AND GERRETON ALLENDE HAS REFUSED TO ACCEPT MONTEROS RESIGNATION.

5. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE CONTINUES BUT TENDING TO BE OVERSHADOWED BY CONTEST FOR RAW POWER OUTSIDE EXISTING INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ARE MOVING IN CONGRESS TO IMPEACH ENTIRE CABINET AND GREMIALIST STRIKES SEEM ON VERGE OF MERGING INTO INDEFINITE TOTAL NATIONWIDE STOPPAGE.

6. TEMPERATURE CERTAINLY HAS RISEN AGAIN BUT WHAT WE ARE WITNESSING NOW SEEMS RATHER LIKE FIRST FEW ERUPTIONS IN PORRIDGE POT WHICH ALLENDE PROBABLY CAN STILL STOP IF HE WISHES TO TURN HEAT DOWN. EVEN IF HE EVENTUALLY INTENDS TO DO SO, I DOUBT ALLENDE OR RESPONSIBLE OPPOSITION YET READY TO ABANDON CONSTITUTIONALITY. HOWEVER BECAUSE OF ACTIVITIES OF BOTH EXTREMES TURMOIL AND TERRORISM PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE AT PRESENT LEVEL OR EVEN ESCALATE IN WEEKS AHEAD.

ROSS

TELEGRAM TWO

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BAIRS (BUENOS AIRES) 786 SEP 13/73
TO EXTOTT GWL IMMEDIATE DELIVERY BY 0900 SEP 14
— CHILES MILITARY GOVT

IN OVERTHROWING ALLENDE GOVT CHILES MILITARY AND POLICE HAVE ACCEPTED EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT AND PROBABLY THANKLESS TASK. OUR REGRET THAT EXTRA CONSTITUTIONAL AND UNDEMOCRATIC MEANS WERE ADOPTED MUST BE TEMPERED IN MY VIEW BY FOLLOWING MAIN CONSIDERATIONS:

A. DISINTEGRATION OF NORMAL INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM HAD BROUGHT COUNTRY TO VERGE OF ANARCHY AND, GIVEN INTRANSIGENCE OF POLITICIANS, ARMED FORCES COMMAND STRUCTURE OFFERED ONLY APPARENTLY VIABLE TEMPORARY ALTERNATIVE.

B. MILITARY HAD EXHAUSTED, AT LEAST IN OWN VIEW,

POSSIBILITIES OF PARTICIPATING OR COLLABORATING WITH ALLENDE SHORT OF BEING COMPROMISED AND EXPLOITED FOR HIS POLITICAL PURPOSES.

C. UNITY AND CONSTITUTIONAL IMPARTIALITY OF MILITARY WAS UNDER IMMEDIATE THREAT THROUGH ACTIVE AND OPEN CAMPAIGNS BY MARXISTS BOTH WITHIN UP AND MIR ON LEFT AND ULTRAS ON RIGHT WHICH MIGHT HAVE SET STAGE FOR FULL SCALE CIVIL WAR.

D. POPULATION MUST BE FED WHICH IN TURN MADE IT IMPERATIVE THAT TRUCKERS BE PUT BACK TO WORK AND SEEDING AND FERTILIZING OF THIS YEAR'S CROPS PROCEED IN SOME SEMBLANCE OF CIVIL ORDER.

E. INFLEXIBILITY OF CHILEAN CONSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTED DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF IMPASSE.

2. PRESS REPORTS REACHING ARGENTINA INDICATE CABINET WILL BE ENTIRELY MILITARY. I CONSIDER THIS HOPEFUL SIGN THAT ARMED FORCES ARE DETERMINED TO AVOID BECOMING IDENTIFIED WITH ANY POLITICAL CURRENT AND OF COURSE MOST CONDUCIVE TO OBTAINING SUPPORT I AM SURE THEY WILL SEEK FROM WORKERS. IT WOULD BE MISTAKE TO CONSIDER ACTION MILITARY TOOK AS QUOTE RIGHTIST COUP UNQUOTE. CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, LARGEST AND MOST DEMOCRATIC MINDED OF CHILES MANY PARTIES, WERE ON RECORD AS OPPOSING MILITARY OVERTHROW BUT HAD CALLED ON ALLENDE TO QUOTE RECTIFY OR RESIGN UNQUOTE AND LAST WEEK OFFICIALLY PROPOSED SIMULTANEOUS RESIGNATION OF PRES AND ALL MEMBERS CONGRESS FOLLOWED BY NEW ELECTIONS WITHIN 30 DAYS. NOW THAT COUP HAS OCCURRED ACCORDING REPORTS HERE PARTY HAS INSTRUCTED MEMBERS TO DECLINE POSITIONS IN GOVT. I INTERPRET THIS AS INDICATION THAT PDC WHILE NOT WILLING TO PARTICIPATE PROBABLY IN PRACTICE WILL COOPERATE WITH JUNTA IN SETTING STAGE FOR FUTURE ELECTIONS. THIS TOO IS POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT FOR HAD THEY CHOSEN TO ACTIVELY OPPOSE IT POSITION OF JUNTA

WOULD HAVE BEEN PERILOUS INDEED.

3. SOME STUBBORN EXTREME LEFT RESISTANCE OBVIOUSLY CONTINUES AND MAY PERSIST FOR LONG TIME BUT I ASSUME MODERATES OF ALL POLITICAL PERSUASIONS WILL TEND TO SWING BEHIND INTERIM GOVT IF FOR NO/NO OTHER REASON THAN ALTERNATIVE NOW SEEMS CIVIL WAR AND UTTER CHAOS.

4. RUMOURS HERE THAT GEN PRATS MAY BE TRYING TO LEAD COUNTER COUP. EVEN IF TRUE (WHICH I DOUBT) AND SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED OUT RESULT WOULD BE SUBSTITUTION OF ONE UNCONSTITUTIONAL REGIME FOR ANOTHER AT COST OF FURTHER BLOODSHED.

5. ASAP AFTER I RETURN TO STAGO I WILL TRY TO ASSESS EXTENT OF JUNTAS EFFECTIVE CONTROL. HOWEVER ON PRESENT READING AND AT THIS DISTANCE I CAN SEE NO USEFUL PURPOSE IN WITHHOLDING RECOGNITION UNDELY. INDEED SUCH ACTION MIGHT EVEN TEND TO DELAY CHILES EVENTUAL RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. FROM MY KNOWLEDGE OF VIEWS OF SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS UNLIKE BRAZILIAN OR PERUVIAN MODELS THEY WOULD INTEND TO TURN GOVT BACK TO CIVIL AUTHORITY WITH MINIMUM DELAY FEASIBLE.

ROSS

TELEGRAM THREE

CONFIDENTIAL

FM EXTOTT GWL 305 SEP 17/73

TO STAGO IMMED

REF YOURTEL 501 SEP 14 AND BAIRS TEL 786 SEP 13

— CHILE RECOGNITION

WE ARE NOT/NOT INCLINED TO RUSH INTL RECOGNITION OF NEW REGIME. PREFER TO WAIT UNTIL SEVERAL COUNTRIES PARTICULARLY IN LATAM (LATIN AMERICA) NOT/NOT NECESSARILY IN AGREEMENT WITH COUP OR ITS IDEOLOGY HAVE ACTED. INTERESTED IN HEARING FROM POSTS LISTED.

2. WE WILL ALSO WANT TO BE REASSURED ABOUT WELL-BEING OF CDNS (CANADIANS) IN PROVINCIAL DISTRICTS.

OTTAWA'S 'NON-BOYCOTT'

The federal government has denied that it helped bring about the economic collapse of Chile by joining in the U.S.-sponsored international economic boycott, denying credits by such institutions as Ottawa's Export Development Corporation.

The reason credits were not extended by the EDC during the Allende period, whereas \$24.6 million had been arranged during the sixties, was because this would have been bad for business, the government maintains. The government has noted sarcastically that "trade means getting paid on the due date. Bad debts and slow payments do not help the balance of trade."

However, the reason for the international economic boycott in the first place (which the government explicitly admits took place) was that the Allende government was socialist, and therefore bad for business — which indeed it was.

If the Allende government had been good for business, and in particular, good for the foreign corporations with investments there, there would have been no U.S.-led boycott.

The government's explanation for its alleged non-boycott is precisely the reason why there was a boycott in the first place.

The government has gone on to note that in April 1973, the EDC actually approved a \$5 million loan to Chile for aircraft and transmission equipment, and it argues this shows the government was generous towards the Allende government in spite of Chile's problems.

Unfortunately, according to EDC officials the loan was never signed. The EDC board, it transpires, was willing to 'negotiate' a loan, as long as it didn't have to sign it.

TELEGRAM FOUR

CONFIDENTIAL

FM STAGO 538 SEP 20/73

TO EXTOTT DELIVER TODAY SEP 20

REF YOURTEL GWL 305 SEP 17 AND PST 80

— CHILE: RECOGNITION-IDEOLOGY

IT WOULD BE USEFUL HERE IF MIN WOULD TAKE EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO CLARIFY STATEMENT IN PST 80 WHICH COULD BE MISINTERPRETED. I ASSUME IT IS NOT/NOT FACT OF ALLENDES DOWNFALL BUT MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED THAT WE REGRET. AS IT STANDS STATEMENT MAY WELL CONFUSE MAJORITY PUBLIC OPINION HERE AND EVEN DISMAY AND OFFEND SUPPORTERS OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT AND NATIONAL PARTIES. VERY GENERALLY IN CDN TERMS CURRENTS OF OPINION REPRESENTED ARE SOMEWHAT LEFT OF NDP IN CASE OF FORMER AND OF OUR LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES IN RESPECT TO LATTER. NATIONAL PARTY HAS SMALL ULTRA CONSERVATIVE WING. THESE ARE LARGEST INDIVIDUAL PARTIES IN CHILE AND CONSISTENTLY HAVE COME CLOSEST IN THEIR BEHAVIOUR TO REPRESENTING DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AS WE UNDERSTAND IT. IN THIS RESPECT I RECOMMEND READING OF CENSURE MOTION PASSED BY CONGRESS AUG 22 (TEXT WITH OURTEL 259 AUG 29) UNLESS THEY FALL TO SQUABBLING AMONG THEMSELVES THESE TWO PARTIES AND SMALLER QUOTE DEMOCRATIC UNQUOTE ALLIES SHOULD COMFORTABLY WIN BOTH PRESIDENCY AND CONTROL OF CONGRESS IN NEXT ELECTIONS.

2. YOUR ALLUSION TO QUOTE IDEOLOGY UNQUOTE IN GWL 305 RAISES INTERESTING QUESTION WHETHER MILITARY HAS ANY OTHER THAN TO BE ANTI THE KIND OF MARX-LENINISM MANIFEST. BY ALLENDE GOVT SURELY ONE OF MOST INCOMPETENT IN RECENT TIMES. WE SHOULD NOT/NOT BE MISLED BY CLAMOUR FROM COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST CIRCLES OUTSIDE CHILE (SOME OF LATTER OBVIOUSLY

MISINFORMED) THAT COUP WAS QUOTE RIGHTIST UNQUOTE WHICH IS PERHAPS NARROWLY TRUE ONLY IN PECULIAR CHILEAN CONTEXT WHERE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS MOST CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT IN UP. IN MY VIEW THOSE BOTH HERE AND ABROAD WHO THINK THAT WHAT IS HAPPENING REPRESENTS QUOTE RESTORATION UNQUOTE ARE IN FOR RUDE SHOCK. ADMIRAL HUERTA NEW FOREIGN MINISTER WAS ONE OF FIRST (WITH PRATS) TO ENTER ALLENDE CABINET TO SOLVE NATIONAL STRIKES LAST NOV. HE WILL SPEAK AT UN IN FEW DAYS. SENIOR MILITARY ARE AS UNAWARE AS ANYONE THAT THERE IS BROAD CONSENSUS AMONG CHILEANS IN FAVOUR OF RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE AND ONLY WITH GREATEST RELUCTANCE DID THEY DECIDE THAT INSTITUTIONAL DISINTEGRATION AND POLITICAL MADNESS OF RECENT MONTHS HAD TO BE ARRESTED BY SHOCK TREATMENT. 3. WE HAVE CHECKED AS BEST WE CAN BY PHONE AND KNOW OF NO/NO INSTANCE OF INJURY OR MISTREATMENT OF CDNS IN PROVINCES. BECAUSE ALL FOREIGNERS ARE SUBJ TO SUSPICION AND INVESTIGATION IT IS POSSIBLE FEW WILL BE PICKED UP FOR QUESTIONING (AS HAPPENED IN STAGO) AND AS NECESSARY OR APPROPRIATE WE WILL INTERCEDE ON THEIR BEHALF. SO FAR SUCH ACTION HAS NOT/NOT BEEN INHIBITED BY LACK OF RECOGNITION.

ROSS

TELEGRAM FIVE

CONFIDENTIAL

FM STAGO 540 SEP 20/73

TO EXTOTT GWL IMMED

REF OURTEL 539 SEP 20

— CHILE: BLOODLETTING

THERE ARE NO/NO ACCURATE FIGURES AND PROBABLY NEVER WILL BE OF NUMBERS KILLED AS A RESULT OF COUP SEP 11.

MITCHELL SHARP'S PROMISES

External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp has made some rather exact promises that Canada will accept refugees from Chile. In the House of Commons on November 16 he said that "the humanitarian attitude taken by Liberal administrations towards the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Tibetans and the Ugandans will be continued."

He also said that "very special steps are being taken to deal with cases of Chileans either in Chile or outside of Chile who wish to come to Canada."

But these promises must be seen in the light of the government's instructions that no Chileans will be allowed refuge at the embassy in Santiago unless they are being hotly pursued; in the light of Ambassador Andrew Ross's comments about "riff-raff of Latin American left"; and in light of Sharp's claim that "within Chile there has been a very limited interest in coming to Canada."

It is not surprising that Chileans should be showing a "very limited interest" in applying to come to Canada. The "very special steps" that Ottawa says it is taking will have to be very special indeed if they are to overcome the distinctly hostile attitude the Canadian embassy in Santiago has shown in the past. They will also have to give Chileans some assurance they won't be grabbed by the police if they try to get anywhere near the embassy door.

However, Canada has been able to get around such problems in the past in regard to "the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Tibetans and the Ugandans." It remains to be seen if the External Affairs Department will be able to add "the Chileans" to that list, or whether Sharp's feeling that there is "very limited interest" will be a prophecy fulfilled.

DEATHS FALL INTO THREE CATEGORIES (A) THOSE KILLED IN ORIGINAL MILITARY OPERATION LASTING FEW DAYS (B) VIOLATORS OF SUBSEQUENT EDICT AGAINST CARRYING ARMS OR CURFEW (C) POLITICAL MURDERS.

2. FIRST TWO CATEGORIES ABHORRENT BUT UNDERSTANDABLE HOWEVER REVENGE KILLINGS MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE AND PROFFER HORRIFYING EVIDENCE OF DEPTH OF HATRED CREATED BY POLITICIANS AND PRE-COUP EXCESSES OF BOTH EXTREMES. THERE ARE INNUMERABLE STORIES OF ATROCITIES AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE TRUTH FROM RUMOUR AND TALES SPREAD DELIBERATELY TO CREATE TERROR AMONG ACTIVE SUPPORTERS OF FORMER UP REGIME. RESULT OF COURSE IS PANIC ATMOSPHERE CAUSING INCREASING NUMBERS TO SEEK ASYLUM OR REFUGE IN EMBASSIES.

3. ALTHOUGH GREAT MAJORITY OF MILITARY OFFICERS ARE MODERATES OR APOLITICAL THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN RELATIVELY SMALL GUNG HO FACTION OF ULTRA-RIGHTISTS (EG SILLY COUP ATTEMPT JUN 29) IN LEAGUE WITH NEO FASCIST PATRIA Y LIBERTAD AND THEY ARE PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR KILLING SOME LEADERS OF SOCIALIST PARTY MAPU AND MIR ACCORDING TO PLAN DURING FIRST PHASE OF COUP POSSIBLY KILLING WHETHER OR NOT/NOT VICTIMS ARMED OR OFFERED RESISTANCE. FURTHERMORE XENOPHOBIA SEEMS INVOLVED IN KILLING OF FOREIGNERS WHO HAD BEEN WORKING WITH UP PARTICULARLY CUBANS AND BRAZILIANS DURING RECENT CONSOLIDATION PHASE. I VERY MUCH DOUBT THAT POLITICAL MURDERS ARE AUTHORIZED BY JUNTA AND ONE HOPES THAT NOW THAT GENERAL CONTROL HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED REGIME WILL SUPPRESS THESE EXTREMISTS IN MANNER ALLENDE WAS NEVER ABLE OR WILLING TO APPLY TO FREE WHEELING ULTRA LEFT WHICH ACCORDING TO OPPOSITION PARTIES WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR OVER THREE HUNDRED KILLINGS DURING ALLENDES THREE YEARS.

4. ONE ASPECT OF BLOODLETTING WHICH BEARS FURTHER STUDY WITH COLLEAGUES IS APPARENT RELATIVE IMMUNITY OF COMMUNIST PARTY FROM REVENGE ACTIVITY. IT WAS OF COURSE MOST MODERATE AND RESPONSIBLE ELEMENT IN UP BUT THERE MAY BE MORE TO IT THAN THAT. MOST OF LEADERSHIP IN CUSTODY BUT VERY FEW RUMOURS OF COMMUNISTS HAVING BEEN KILLED.

ROSS

TELEGRAM SIX

CONFIDENTIAL

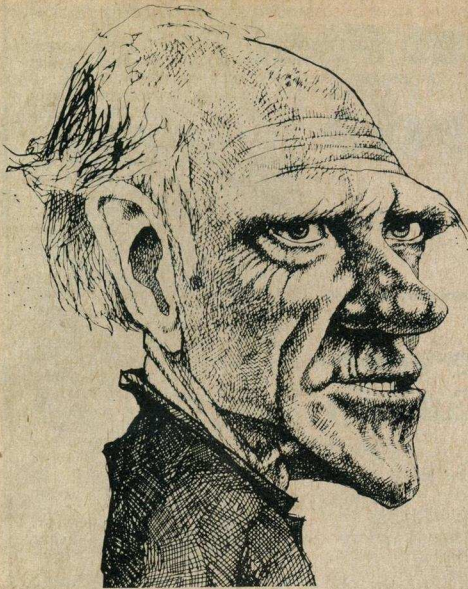
FM STAGO 563 SEP 24/73

TO EXTOTT GWL IMMED

— CHILE: SITREP

JUNTA CONTINUES TO CONSOLIDATE PHYSICAL CONTROL USING SOME METHODS WHICH ARE TO SAY LEAST INDELICATE AND HAS MOVED IN MILITARY MANNER TO REORGANIZE ADMIN APPARATUS ALTHOUGH CIVILIAN SVC STILL IN DISORDER WITH PERS CHANGES. COUNTLESS PROBLEMS FACE NEW REGIME MOST PRESSING BEING FOOD SUPPLIES. WAREHOUSE RESERVES BEING USED TO GIVE TEMPORARY RELIEF BUT MEDIUM AND LONG TERM PROSPECTS RATHER ALARMING. TOUGH MEASURES AND INCREASED CONFIDENCE IN BUSINESS CIRCLES HAS AT LEAST TEMPORARILY REVERSED BLACK MARKET AND INFLATIONARY TRENDS AND STOCK MARKET SUCH AS IT IS IS BOOMING. EVIDENCE PILING UP OF CORRUPTION IN ALLENDE GOVT EG USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS FOR UP PARTY PURPOSES INCLUDING GUERRILLA TRAINING, BLACK MARKET OPERATIONS AND CONVERSION STATE OWNED VEHICLES TO PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

2. UNDERSTANDABLY HAND (OF JUNTA) IS MUCH LESS SURE IN POLITICAL SPHERE. JUNTA IS IN QUOTE CONTINUOUS SESSION UNQUOTE AND NO/NO SIGN YET OF STRONG MAN EMERGING ALTHOUGH AIR GEN LEIGH APPEARS MOST INTELLIGENT AND FORCEFUL OF RATHER STODGY LOT. WISDOM IS ANOTHER MATTER. WHILE IT MAY BE TEMPORARY REMARKABLE PARALLEL WITH ALLENDE GOVT IN THAT REAL LEADERSHIP IS WOEFULLY LACKING. IN CASE OF UP IT WAS CAUSED OR INHIBITED IN LARGE MEASURE BY SECTARIANISM WITHIN AND AMONG COMPONENT PARTIES WITH OFFICIALS AT INTERMEDIATE LEVELS GOING THEIR OWN UNCOORDINATED WAYS AND LEFTIST EXTREMISTS HAVING ALMOST FREE REIN.



Cartoon by Aislin

Mitchell Sharp has had cause to be testy lately.

SINCE MOST OF MILITARY ARE APOLITICAL IT APPEARS THAT SOME AT TERCINARY LEVELS WHO HOLD ULTRA CONSERVATIVE VIEWS ARE OPERATING TO DATE WITHOUT MUCH DIRECTION OR CONTROL AND PERPETRATING SUCH NONSENSE AS BOOK BURNING AND SHEARING YOUTHS WITH LONG HAIR AND BEARDS AND POSSIBLY CONDONING POLITICAL MURDERS. HOWEVER IN MY VIEW MAJOR STUPIDITY SO FAR COMMITTED COLLECTIVELY AT TOP WAS DECISION TO OUTLAW ALL MARXIST PARTIES. JUXTAPOSITION THIS DECISION AND THAT OF USSR TO BREAK RELATIONS NOT/NOT CLEAR BUT RUSSIAN MOVE COULD HAVE BEEN PREEMPTIVE.

3. AT RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE GEN LEIGH ALSO WAS LED INTO POLITICAL TRAP OF DISCUSSING ALBEIT IN GEN TERMS KIND OF FUTURE CONSTITUTION HE FORESEES WITH RESULT BEING SHARP ADVERSE REACTION FROM CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS LARGEST SINGLE PARTY REPRESENTING AROUND THIRTY PERCENT OR MORE OF PUBLIC OPINION AND TO WHOSE GENERALLY SENSIBLE INFORMAL COUNSEL JUNTA SHOULD BE LISTENING IF THEY WISH TO AVOID ALIENATING ALL BUT NATIONALS WHO REPRESENT ONLY SOME TWENTY PERCENT. HOWEVER I CONTINUE TO EXPECT THAT ONCE SHAKEDOWN PERIOD IS OVER INTERIM REGIME WILL NOT/NOT HAVE PARTICULARLY CONSERVATIVE COMPLEXION. INDEED IT HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED THAT WORKERS QUOTE GAINS UNQUOTE UNDER ALLENDE WILL BE PRESERVED, LEGALLY EXPROPRIATED LAND WILL REMAIN UNDER OWNERSHIP OF CAMPESINOS, FIRMS LEGALLY NATIONALIZED WILL REMAIN IN STATE SECTOR AND ONLY PROPERTY AND COMPANIES ILLEGALLY TAKEN OVER WILL BE RETURNED TO FORMER OWNERS.

4. CHILE HAS BEEN ON PROLONGED POLITICAL BINGE OR TRIP AND MILITARY HAVE ASSUMED PROBABLY THANKLESS TASK OF SOBERING IT UP. AS BEFITS CARETAKER ROLE ONCE PAINFUL WITHDRAWAL SYMPTOMS HAVE BEEN OVERCOME THEY WILL PROBABLY BE DELIGHTED TO ARRANGE ELECTIONS. IN LEIGHS WORDS CHILE HAD BECOME VERITABLE TOWER OF BABEL BUT WILL, REGAIN DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER. ONE CAN ONLY

SPECULATE AS TO TIMING OF MILITARY DECISION THAT COUNTRY IS READY TO RESUME DEMOCRATIC PROCESS BUT MOST OBSERVERS DOUBT ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD WITHIN FIRST YEAR AND SOME ANTICIPATE JUNTA WILL GOVERN UNTIL 1976 WHEN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION NORMALLY WOULD BE DUE.

5. WHILE ONE IS CONDITIONED TO DISCOUNT EFFORTS TO JUSTIFY GOLPE [PUTSCH] AFTER EVENT JUNTA CONTENTION THAT SOME KIND OF AUTOGOLPE WAS BEING PLANNED MUST BE ACCORDED SOME CREDENCE IN VIEW OF IMPRESSIVE WEIGHT OF EVIDENCE TURNING UP. ARMED SVCS SEARCHING RIGOROUSLY HAVE DISCOVERED ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF ILLICIT SMALL ARMS AMMUNITION GRENADES BOMBS MORTARS BAZOOKAS SMALL ROCKETS AND LAUNCHERS OTHER WAR PARAPHERNALIA FOR PLACING EXPLOSIVES — ALMOST ALL SOVIET OR CZECH MANUFACTURE — GUERILLA TRAINING ESTABLISHMENTS ARMS FACTORIES AND DOCUMENTATION. WHETHER ALLENDE WAS PERSONALLY PARTY TO THESE PLANS OR WHETHER CONSPIRACY WAS CONFINED TO ALTAMIRANO SOCIALISTS MAPU AND MIR REMAINS MATTER FOR CONJECTURE HOWEVER ASTONISHING QUANTITIES WERE STORED AT PALACE AND PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCES. IT IS BARELY CONCEIVABLE THAT THESE CACHES COULD HAVE BEEN INSTALLED WITHOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE BY HIS NOTORIOUS PERSONAL BODYGUARD QUOTE GROUP OF FRIENDS OF PRESIDENT UNQUOTE (GAP) COMPOSED OF MIRISTAS MOST OF WHOM WERE RELEASED FROM PRISON IN HIS ORIGINAL AMNESTY ON ASSUMING PRESIDENCY.

6. WITH ALMOST ENTIRE LEADERSHIP DEAD OR IN CUSTODY CHILES MARXIST LEFT IS DECAPITATED AND ON RUN. COUNTRYS NON POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS RETURNING TO NORMAL PROGRESSIVELY AND QUOTE RAPIDLY BUT CURFEW STILL IMPOSED 8PM TO 7AM REPRISALS AND SEARCHES HAVE CREATED PANIC ATMOSPHERE AFFECTING PARTICULARLY EXPATRIATES INCLUDING RIFF-RAFF OF LATAM LEFT TO WHOM ALLENDE GAVE ASYLUM. HOPEFULLY UN WILL BE ABLE TO ARRANGE REFUGE ALTHOUGH SOME OF THESE QUOTE ACTIVISTS UNQUOTE ARE RUNNING OUT OF COUNTRIES WILLING TO ACCEPT THEM.

7. HOPEFULLY BRUTALITIES AND WITCHHUNTING PERPETRATED BY ULTRAS AND ALL TOO REMINISCENT OF NAZI METHODS WILL SOON BE CURBED BY JUNTA. THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLE DIMINUTION IN HORROR RUMOURS DURING PAST FEW DAYS AND THERE SHOULD BE COMENSURATE LESSENING OF PRESSURES ON US AND OTHER EMBASSIES FOR REFUGE OR ASYLUM.

ROSS

TELEGRAM SEVEN

UNCLASSIFIED

FM EXTOTT FPR4 SEP 29/73

TO STAGO FLASH

— RECOGNITION OF CHILEAN GOVT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT TO BE MADE BY SSEA (SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS) AT APPROX 1900 HOURS TODAY. BEGINS QUOTE IN THE PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES BY OUR EMB IN STAGO TO ASSIST CDN CITIZENS AND MANY OTHER PERSONS AFFECTED BY THE RECENT EVENTS IN CHILE, IT HAS BECOME CLEARLY DESIRABLE FOR OUR REPS IN THAT COUNTRY TO BE PLACED IN A POSITION TO DEAL WITH THE GOVT WHICH IS IN EFFECTIVE CONTROL IN THAT COUNTRY. RELATIONS WITH THAT GOVT ARE ALSO REQUIRED FOR THE PURPOSE OF HANDLING OTHER CDN INTERESTS ARISING FROM PREVIOUS AND CONTINUING EXCHANGES BETWEEN CDA AND CHILE.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE CDN GOVT IS PROCEEDING WITH CONTACTS WITH THE NEW CHILEAN GOVT.

IN KEEPING WITH THE ESTABLISHED PRACTICE OF THE CDN GOVT THIS ACT OF RECOGNITION, AS STATED ON MANY PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, DOES NOT/NOT IMPLY ANY PARTICULAR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVT BEING RECOGNIZED. IN TAKING THIS ACTION THE CDN GOVT IS FOLLOWING A COURSE ALREADY ADOPTED BY SOME THIRTY COUNTRIES WHICH EITHER HAVE NOT/NOT WITHDRAWN RECOGNITION OR HAVE FORMALLY GRANTED IT. UNQUOTE.

First Annual Last Post Yahoo Awards

Yahoo of the year: Michel Gauvin



1973 was a big year for Canada's foreign service. The boys and girls at "External" got a big new building strategically placed by the Ottawa river as a listening post into darkest Quebec. After years of financial austerity, selected ambassadors were even allowed to send their cables collect.

Hitherto, Canada's foreign service had little to do. After years of training in code rooms — trying to find the verbs in Paul Martin speeches — our career diplomats languished in the back streets of foreign capitals, buying knick-knacks at native bazaars to adorn the fireplaces of countless Rockcliffe homes, and clipping the *New York Times* for dispatches home.

All this changed in 1973. "Quiet Diplomacy", which was the code name for all the things external affairs didn't do in the 1960s, became "Open Mouth Diplomacy" in 1973.

The open mouth chosen for the first big job was Michel Gauvin.

Michel Gauvin has had a rather curious career. According to the Alumni magazine of Carleton University, his old alma mater, Gauvin "has served in trouble spots such as his post as Canadian Chargé d'Affaires in the Congo during the Leopoldville crisis, 1962, and the Stanleyville crisis in November 1964."

Gauvin was, according to this same biographical sketch, "on a special mission to the Dominican Republic during the civil war of 1965." Actually, there was an American invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, not a civil

war. But let us not be picky. What, however, was the nature of Gauvin's special mission? And who was it for?

From the Dominican Republic Gauvin, we are told, went on to Ethiopia, and from there, with stays in such places as Portugal, he finally hit Greece in 1970. Unmentioned is that in 1965, presumably before his "special mission" to the Dominican Republic, Gauvin was the political adviser to the Canadian delegation to the first truce commission in Vietnam.

The Pentagon Papers have already told us of the essential role and function of the Canadians on the ICC in Vietnam, but it is interesting to know that in Michel Gauvin, Lyndon Johnson had a true believer.

According to one profile, by James Anderson in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, Gauvin developed "strong feelings" about Vietnam. "Those feelings included an unmistakable set of views on the merits of the Vietnam war and personal sympathies clearly closer to the South Vietnamese government than the Communists."

All well and good, but Gauvin is also on record as favouring the permanent division of Vietnam — and that is in complete contradiction to the spirit and letter of both the Geneva accords and the more recent Paris agreements which brought about the two ceasefires Gauvin was twice supposed to be upholding.

In 1973, Gauvin became head of the Canadian delegation and first chairman of the International Commission for Control and Supervision in Vietnam. He

was given leave from the congenial atmosphere of the Athens of the Colonels, where he played ambassador (Gauvin himself is a military man; a major and member of the Régiment de la Chaudière, he even co-authored a book, *Le Geste du Régiment de la Chaudière*).

Gauvin's political admiration for things Greek earned him the nickname Zorba from his Canadian associates. There is no report on nicknames other members of the ICC gave him, although, according to James Anderson, Gauvin was "considered something of a cold warrior with a rigid approach to the commission's work." So combative was Gauvin that those closet-Pinkos, the Indonesians, thought Gauvin "sometimes too aggressive and outspoken."

The Poles and Hungarians didn't get along too well with Michel Gauvin either. A Polish member of the commission once commented that "Gauvin liked to play God." Well, who cares? If the "Quiet Canadian" is going to turn ugly he may as well reach for the top — and those Poles are a bunch of atheists anyway.

When Gauvin finally left Vietnam only a delegation of President Theiu's generals bade him fond farewell.

It was a success story of sorts: at least somebody waved goodbye.



Runner-up: Beryl Plumptre

Special Chivalry Citation: Lougheed & Poyen

A special chivalry citation goes jointly to those twin knights from the oil industry, John Poyen and Peter Lougheed. Lougheed, the Premier of Alberta, has been trying to negotiate the continental energy package from Edmonton since coming to power in 1971, and despite his limited powers, has been successful to a remarkable degree.

Natural gas continues to pour out of the country at something between one third and one half its actual value, aiding needy Americans such as Anaconda Copper's main smelter in Butte, Montana, and the Pacific Gas and Electric Corp. of San Francisco. Conventional oil, whose reserves now stand at about ten years, is leaving the country in unprecedented quantities. The Syncrude deal, which Lougheed announced dramatically in September, will allow the oil giants to walk away with the Athabasca tar sands. Lougheed has also been behind the oil industry in its tussle with the feds, a good indication of where power lies in Alberta. For his efforts *Oilweek* has dubbed the premier "Lochinvar" Lougheed.

Lochinvar has to share his award, however, with John "Don't Kick 'Em While They're Down" Poyen, the long-time Imperial Oil executive who now heads up the Canadian Petroleum Association, the Canadian lobby of the U.S. oil industry. Poyen's recent public speeches have been characterized by such an alarming lack of logic that not



a few observers are wondering whether the energy crisis may have claimed its first victim.

Poyen's chivalrous nature came out most clearly in his reaction to Ottawa's escalated oil export tax. It was ungentlemanly behaviour, he implied, and unbecoming of good North Americans.

A little later, Poyen warned an energy forum in Edmonton that Canada might lose its chance to supply the United States with energy through the Mackenzie Valley route. Trotting out the new scare suggestion of an all-American route, Poyen said he had thought that the Mackenzie Valley "had an excellent chance of success in this competition, however now I'm not so optimistic. An all-American route is probably an odds-on favourite. We've now matched the American Secretariat against our Canadian Myopia."

In an era where deference to our neighbour seems to be going out of style, it was nice to see someone keeping the old tradition up.

Canadian newsmen, whose store of referentials is as limited as Canadian magazines at a Loblaw's check-out counter, have tended to see in Mrs. Beryl Plumptre an embryonic Marie Antoinette. This is surely unfair to both women.

There is nothing of the ultramontane about the Chairman of the Food Prices Review Board. Difficult though it may be to gauge from the maunderings of Mrs. Plumptre what it is she does in fact mean, one central theme is obvious: she means well. The trouble lies in what meaning well means.

The more sensible of her critics from the Conservative side have lamented the fact that someone with more "clout" — a big Conservative word these days — was not elevated to the position; the social democrats, for their part, have contented themselves with screaming, like the White Queen, off with her head.

Both of these positions are misguided. The relation of a Prices Review Board to the matter of prices and inflation is somewhat similar to that of the recent purchase of some \$30 million worth of British surface-to-air missiles to national defence. These missiles are known as "Blowpipes". If the Defence Ministry's buyers have come up with a Blowpipe, what the unfortunate Mrs. Plumptre has come up with is a Blow-job.

As a family, the Plumptres are not to be sniffed at. Mr. Plumptre, who has thus far evaded the attention of the media, has done the state some service. The elevation of his spouse may therefore be seen as a political appointment. But political appointments in Ottawa are as prevalent as falling leaves in autumn in the Gatineaus. The real point is that someone thought it would work. First of all, a woman — strong voter identification; second, a matron — not one of your skinny, whining Libbers, but a full-bosomed, paid-up member of the scooped-out-avocado-under-the-chandelier set. In a word, someone throaty with certitude. A woman whose accents would carry a kind of *gravitas* in Westmount, English Bay and Rosedale.

That none of it quite worked out is not the fault of anyone in particular. It served Mrs. Plumptre no purpose to round suddenly on poor Mr. Herb Gray and say that he didn't send enough help around.

As people of Mrs. Plumptre's class are increasingly aware, good help is hard to find these days.

Edgar Benson Memorial Award: John Munro

An apocryphal story making the rounds concerns Mr. John Munro. It is said that during his stint as Minister of Health and Welfare, a worried underling came to him for advice on how Canada should approach the then morally vexatious question of heart and kidney transplants. (It will be recalled that some surgeons, in an excess of enthusiasm, had ripped out the hearts of potential donors before the unfortunates had properly expired.) Mr. Munro gave the matter a moment's thought, turned to the anxious functionary and replied: "I honestly don't think a heart can be replaced by a kidney."

Only a fellow sadist can fully appreciate the thinking behind Pierre Trudeau's decision to throw Munro into the cauldron of the labour portfolio in a year marked by thousands of contracts expiring from coast to coast. Burn, baby, burn has been the cry ever since. Safe in the mahogany boardrooms of management his predecessor, Mr. Bryce Mackasey, must take a grim satisfaction from watching the gremlin from Hamilton twist and turn, roasted on the spit of the class struggle. The Prime Minister's vintage mixture of Pascal and Machiavelli has once more been used to good effect: John Munro has become, if not quite the sacrificial lamb, at least a badly-burned sheep.

It might be thought that in a dispute involving the means of transport of

goods and people from place to place, the Minister of Transport would be in the hot seat. Not so in Ottawa. Mr. Munro was left to carry the can. All through August, photographed over his umpteenth coffee in the bowels of Ottawa's Carleton Towers Hotel, collar rumpled, eyes like piss-holes in the snow, Munro continued to tell giggling gaggles of newsmen that the train of amicable relations was tooting toward

the light at the end of the tunnel.

A few days later, the very bastion of managed politics itself, the House of Commons, was stormed by angry railwaymen. Yet through all the *sturm und drang*, Mr. Munro was to be seen putting a brave face on things. All would be well, he insisted: what we had here was a failure to communicate; only connect, he seemed to be saying.

While in the background, Mr. Trudeau, Mr. Marchand and the wlier members of the cabal slapped their thighs and watched John sink lower and lower into the mire, nothing finally to be heard from him except a choked, maniacal gurgle.

Beautiful Losers: Loubier & Dupuis



Gabriel Loubier

The two most unquestionable losers of 1973 were Gabriel Loubier and Yvon Dupuis, both of whom led Quebec political parties to Jubilation T. Cornpone disasters.

Gabriel Loubier, a former lacklustre provincial minister of Tourism, Fish and Game who spends much of his time in Florida, gave his first demonstration of his leadership qualities in Quebec's October election. He promptly led the Union Nationale, once Quebec's most powerful political machine, to almost total oblivion, reducing its popular support to 4.8 per cent.

While Loubier was preparing the UN

wake, Yvon Dupuis took over the provincial Cr ditistes in a flagrantly rigged convention. Once a federal Liberal cabinet minister until he was turfed out for influence-peddling, Dupuis quickly put the Cr ditistes' promising future firmly behind them and led the party into an unmitigated disaster at the polls. Not only did he fail to bring about a Cr ditiste penetration of urban areas, but he carefully managed to dismantle the party's rural power base, losing seats all over.

Although the party's popular vote dipped to below ten per cent, two Cr ditistes, both defeated leadership candidates, managed to retain their seats. However, to consolidate the election debacle still further, Dupuis promptly expelled Camil Samson — half his parliamentary delegation — from the party. The only other sitting member, Fabien Roy, who sees himself as a conciliator and an upholder of party unity, has refused to take sides in the Samson-Dupuis feud. Now neither faction trusts him.

And now, in a shrewd attempt to seal defeat, Dupuis and Loubier are talking coalition. "The Union Nationale has money and we have potential," explains Dupuis. The UN *caisse* is worth an estimated \$5 million and there is a mad scramble to divide it up.

As the old Quebec proverb says, the seats in the National Assembly, *tra la*, have nothing to do with the *caisse*.



John Munro

Reviews

• Chodos
on Berton
—p. 45

• Orr
on nostalgia
—p. 47

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on Smallwood
—p. 48

Doping-up the athletes

by Robert McKeown, offensive centre for the Ottawa Rough Riders

B

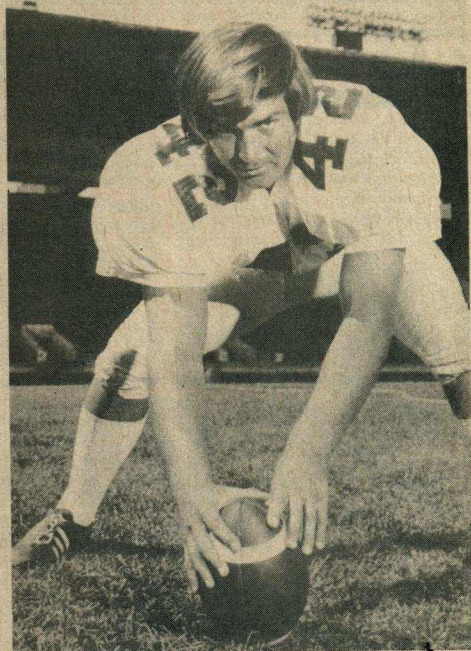
enzedrine Joe is gone now; his name is imprinted somewhere on the Canadian Football League's voluntary retirement list. But in locker rooms in Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg, where Joe played his professional football, he has not been entirely forgotten.

Because, as the nickname suggests, Benezdrine Joe was a classic example of the drug culture in Canadian football — a six-foot-three, 240-pound defensive end who learned the fundamentals of the game on a college gridiron in Michigan, and obviously picked up a few tricks off the field as well.

In fact, the record of Joe's athletic career might well have been written by Timothy Leary. Got to get up for a game? Pop a bennie. Want a little more weight for next season? Try a few steroids. Bad knee acting up? A little cortisone will do the job. There is even a story that Joe liked to save a couple of bennies for after each game so that he could stay up all night carousing.

None of which should be terribly shocking to anyone. In an age when lives are regulated by caffeine in the morning, sleeping pills at night, and alcohol and nicotine in between, it is understandable that athletes are using certain drugs for their purposes also.

There is no highly-competitive sport in which athletes do not drop, shoot or snort something to help them perform faster, longer or harder than they otherwise could. And football, as the most competitive North American sport, probably encompasses a greater quantity and variety of drugs than



Grey Cup champion Bob McKeown

any other pursuit. Uppers, downers, musclebuilders, painkillers — the great autumn pastime has them all.

By far the most controversial of these drugs are amphetamines ("bennies"), the pep pills once thought to be the private domain of overweight matrons and depraved European bicycle racers. Today, bennies can be found in virtually every clubhouse in the CFL, a popularity which can be attributed to two main functions of the drug: first, they mask fatigue by speeding up cardio-vascular activity, and second, they stimulate an I-can-lick-the-world type of euphoria.

One CFL linebacker recalls taking a double dosage of amphetamines before a playoff game. "I was bouncing all over the field," he says. "I was running and jumping along the sidelines yelling 'I'm a super player. They can't block me.' It was really funny. I knew I was saying it, but I just didn't care."

Most medical researchers and even some players feel that amphetamines do not really help an athlete perform beyond his normal capability at all. In fact, some athletes believe that bennies could even detract from top performance since they might give the illusion that a player is doing well when he actually is not.

Still, the pre-game benny is in great demand. And if professional football coaches are not passing the pill bottle around the locker room themselves, they are turning their backs on the practice, probably on the theory that in the long run the drugs help more players than they hurt.

They help the players on the field, that is. Off the field, there are worries about dangerous after-effects, specifically that amphetamines might disguise some of the body's natural

warning signals and jeopardize the user's health. Players on one CFL team still talk about a game played in 90-degree heat in Regina a few years ago, when one benumbed-up defensive lineman collapsed from exhaustion and could not be revived for almost two hours.

But for the players who use them regularly — perhaps 25 per cent of the men in the league — amphetamines have become a necessary evil. "Look," says one veteran tackle, "if you've got the flu and you have a game to play, you just have to dip into the jellybean jar. After a while, it becomes a matter of habit."

Much less clandestine is the use of pain-control drugs in football. For example, every fan knows that New York Jet quarterback Joe Namath must have his fragile knees shot full of xylocaine every Sunday so that they will carry him through another game. Yet no one seems particularly outraged by the fact.

The problem with indiscriminate use of painkillers is that the practice can lead to considerable abuse of an injured football player. Last year in the East, one all-star defensive back received nine shots of painkiller during a crucial game. And although team trainers and physicians will deny risking further injury to a player, off the record there are numerous stories about crippled running backs and quarterbacks whose elbows have deteriorated from too much cortisone.

But there is one other type of drug which is potentially more dangerous than either amphetamines or painkillers. These are the anabolic steroids, synthetic male hormones which are used by players in all positions to gain strength and size. The use of steroids is particularly alarming to physicians because the drugs have the effect of inducing a permanent change in the body.

Medically, the hormones have properties which promote cell growth and muscle development. Athletically, they stimulate increases in size that can only be termed "fantastic". One Canadian college player, a first-round CFL draft choice, gained 17 pounds in one month before attending his team's training camp. At the same time, his performance in the bench press increased by almost 50 per cent.

But anabolic steroids can also have other results. There is evidence that as the hormones responsible for primary sex characteristics, they may temporarily increase the user's sex drive. "Thank goodness," says one athlete, "for the sexual revolution."

Unfortunately, in the long run, use of the artificial hormones may discourage the body from producing its own supply, thus rendering the athlete sterile. Other possible complications include liver damage, jaundice and atrophy of the prostate gland.

Of course, nothing is perfect — least of all, it seems, the world of professional football. The essence of sport, after all, is to match the natural ability of one person against that of another. The use of amphetamines, painkillers or anabolic steroids to gain an unnatural advantage not only corrupts the purpose of sport, but it endangers the health of the athletes involved as well.

But as long as professional football is "professional", and its dominant philosophy is the winning-isn't-everything-it's-the-only-thing kind, the use of drugs is going to continue. Because as Benzedrine Joe liked to say, "A little dope will get you through periods of no talent better than a little talent will get you through periods of no dope."

Where pro football is concerned, Joe was not far wrong.

James Lewis & Samuel, Publishers

An account of life today on the farms and in the small towns of Western Canada. Heather Robertson describes the cycle of boom and bust which is depopulating the West and impoverishing those left behind.



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Heather Robertson

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"There never was such a nose in Canadian journalism..." Kildare Dobbs, Toronto Star

Pierre Berton putt-putts home

by ROBERT CHODOS

Drifting Home, by Pierre Berton, McClelland and Stewart. 174 pp. \$6.95.

Home Country: People, Places and Power Politics, by Peter C. Newman, McClelland and Stewart. 244 pp. \$7.95.

That rather amorphous mafia surrounding such institutions as the CBC, Maclean-Hunter, McClelland and Stewart and the University of Toronto that passes for a cultural élite in English Canada has lately become obsessed with a search for roots. Identity is in. Since identity is something that Toronto is a bit weak on, and since most of the mafiosi don't come from there anyway, we keep being treated to rediscoveries of the fishing hamlets of the east, the wheat fields of the west, and Indian reserves from sea to sea.

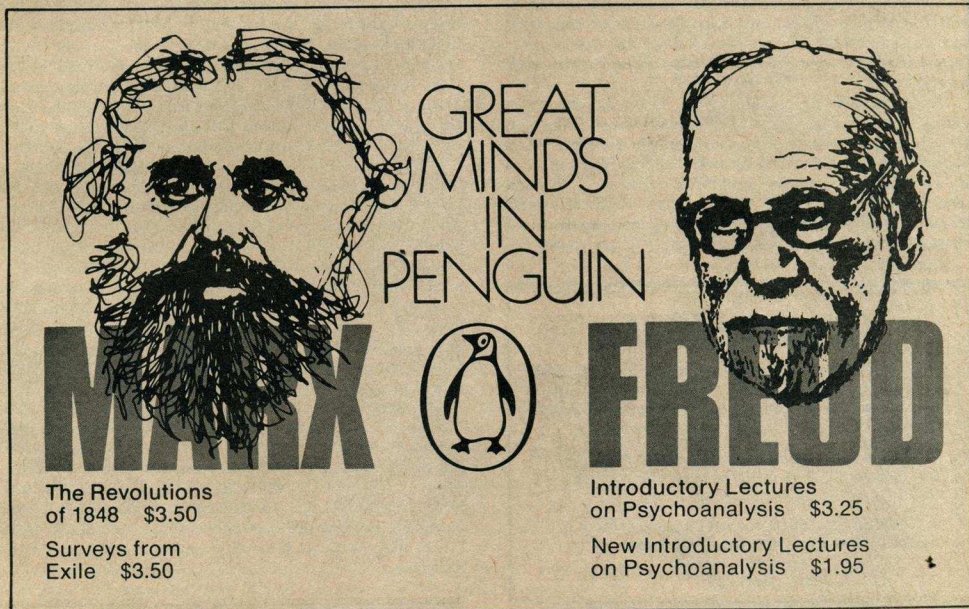
Now, two of the Godfathers of the outfit have undertaken to remind us of their own roots, in an embarrassingly public fashion. For one of these, Pierre Berton, the task was simple. To rediscover his roots, he simply went back to where he was born, which was the Yukon. With his wife and kids, no less. His daughter kept a log (always leave it to Pierre to get someone else to do his research for him). When it was all over Berton conjured a book out of it. And, it must regretfully be added, Jack McClelland published it.

Much of the resulting narrative is straight out of *Dick and Jane Go Camping*. Days begin with someone shouting "Rise and shine!" and the serving of fresh grayling for breakfast, and end with a singsong round a campfire, the telling of ghost stories, or someone seeing the Northern Lights. There are even two guides named Skip and Scotty.

The idea seems to have been to recreate the voyage down the Yukon River that Pierre's father had taken during the gold rush of '98, but Berton is something less than a stickler for authenticity on the Thor Heyerdahl model. The rubber rafts on which Pierre and Janet and the kids went down the Yukon were powered by 25-horsepower Johnson motors (*Putt-putting Home* would have been a more accurate title, but that would never sell). Provisions for the trip included "cooking utensils, asbestos mitts, tongs, knives, J-cloths, spices, condiments." J-cloths? The dangers the Bertons faced were all minor ones:

"We enter Marsh lakes and, not far from Tagish Post, we make camp for the evening. The boats look as if a disaster has hit them, as indeed one has. Our nineteen cardboard boxes have been reduced to sodden mush. Fortunately much of the food has been packed in plastic but some is inedible: a tin box of Peek Frean's biscuits, though tightly sealed, is half full of water."

The story of the camping trip is intercut with reminiscences



The advertisement features two stylized line drawings of faces. On the left is Karl Marx, with a full beard and wild hair. On the right is Sigmund Freud, wearing glasses. Between them is the text "GREAT MINDS IN PENGUIN" in a tall, thin font. Below this text is a small circular logo of a penguin. Underneath the portraits are the names "MARX" and "FREUD" in large, bold, block letters. Below each name is a list of books and their prices.

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of Berton's father and what it's like to grow up in the land of the midnight sun. Sometimes, as might be expected, the fade-ins and fade-outs are a bit awkward. The discovery of the contents of an abandoned store is the occasion for Berton to say that "it is quite possible that some of this discarded packaging might have been left behind by my father's party in the summer of 1898," and then we are back in gold rush days for a couple of paragraphs. That may seem to some like stretching a point, but then *Drifting Home* as a whole uncovers a new level in point-stretching, even for Berton.

Newman's approach isn't quite so straightforward. *Home Country* is not a new manuscript, but a collection of his articles in the *Toronto Star*, *Maclean's* and other places over the last dozen years or so. They range from political columns to travel pieces to articles about jazz, and have no particular unifying theme except that which Newman himself chooses to attach to them.

This theme, it turns out, is Canadian nationalism and how Newman came by it. So here we have young Peter, his graceful and sheltered life in his homeland of Czechoslovakia shattered by the Nazis, fleeing across borders, sleeping in fields, "desperately trying to find the right official to bribe so we could get yet another worthless exit visa," finally hopping onto a Belgian freighter and landing in Canada.

"When I first emigrated to Canada from Czechoslovakia in the early forties," he begins an essay about — of all subjects — Stan Kenton. "I used to put myself to sleep listening to the Eaton's catalogue radio I got for my eleventh birthday, and it turned out to be one of the most important formative influences of my life. I could not speak much English then, but I soaked up the earnest CBC documentaries about Canada, turning myself into a loving nationalist in the process."

Newman's traumatic introduction to our shores turned him into more than a nationalist. It turned him into a person whose conception of his position in this country is somewhat precarious, someone who knows his place and defers to his betters. Canada, what a godsend! Who could criticize such a good country?

Hence Newman the toothless tiger, Newman who really comes alive when he is writing effulgently favourable prose about some politician or other, Newman who can only attack a cabinet minister (such as Jack Pickersgill) in relation to the generally praiseworthy norm of his colleagues, Newman who repeatedly seeks after — and finds — a Great Leader to pull this unaccountably not quite together paradise into shape. "What I've learned," he says, "is not to believe

in magical leaders any more." At the age of forty-four, it's about time.

Newman refers to *Home Country* as the "chronicle of a political education, my own." But anyone who expects the book to take him through Newman's enthusiasm for and subsequent disillusionment with John Diefenbaker, his enthusiasm for and subsequent disillusionment with Lester Pearson, and his enthusiasm for and subsequent disillusionment with Pierre Elliott Trudeau is bound to be disappointed.

When Trudeau declared his candidacy for the Liberal leadership in February 1968, Newman wrote in the *Toronto Star* that "what gives Trudeau the aura of youth, or more explicitly of being contemporary, is his willingness to tell it like it is. . . . Trudeau's attitude embodies the new generation's outlook: the disdain for pomposity, the impatience with the tenets, the postures and the pieties of the past, the longing for fulfillment through involvement." That column is not in the book. Neither are some of the more adoring descriptions of him at the leadership convention in April ("his voice is beautiful, an instrument"). Neither is the piece in which Newman said, "Trudeau represents a new look at politics in this country, he is the swinging young man I think the country needs. What we need is a guy with ideas so fresh and so different that he is going to be able to view the country from a different point of view."

(That last quote isn't strictly speaking from Newman at all. It is from Berton, quoted in a Newman column in January 1968. When they're down in the trough together it is hard to tell the two apart.)

The only pieces included from that period are those in which Newman appears to place more distance between himself and Trudeauania than really existed, and which thus make him seem more clairvoyant than he in fact was. Also missing is the notorious "provisional government" piece of October 1970 in which Newman gave credence to rumours being floated by the government to justify retroactively its imposition of the War Measures Act, rumours that would never have been believed even by Newman except in the mass hysteria of the time. But a more recent piece about Trudeau, in which Newman pronounces him politically dead for exactly the same reasons he had pronounced him politically indispensable four years earlier, is there in its entirety.

(1968, and not in *Home Country*: "By going with a man with such a fresh point of view, the other members of the Pearson cabinet would suddenly be made to look old and faded. How are you going to keep them loyal to Paul Martin, after they've seen Pierre?" 1972: "None of this would have mattered very much if Trudeau had not allowed himself the most dangerous alienation of all — that from his own party apparatus. . . . From June 1968 to early 1972 he deliberately ignored the party regulars. . . . There was no one in his orbit like Jimmy Gardiner, Jack Pickersgill, James Ilesley, or Chubby Power, except perhaps Paul Martin, and he was consulted only rarely.")

The better pieces in the book deal with places other than Canada, where Newman seems to be able to exercise a certain measure of unaccustomed detachment. In one of those pieces, Newman quotes I.F. Stone as saying that "the Eichmann trial taught the world the banality of evil. Richard Nixon is teaching the world the evil of banality." As for Newman, Berton and their circle, it can be said in their favour that the form of banality they represent is relatively harmless.

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Nostalgia for the mud

by CAROLE ORR

On the surface, the Francis Ford Coppola film *American Graffiti* seems to be part of the search for the fountain of youth that has gripped a large segment of the North American public, and particularly — oddly enough — its younger generation. Sixteen-year-olds are flocking to see Marlene Dietrich, while their older brothers and sisters are canonizing the Five Satins, Sock Hops, and now the writing on the washroom wall.

Tom Wolfe, the chief apologist for the so-called New Journalism, satirized what he called *nostalgie de la boue*, literally nostalgia for the mud, the vague yearning of the middle class to return to its primeval working-class roots. *Graffiti* says that nostalgia is mud. Its advice is to get out of town, leave the green grass of home behind, and get on with it.

The story, by 29-year-old director George Lucas with Willard Huyck and Gloria Katz, follows a group of California teenagers on the last night of the 1962 summer holidays, opening at the inevitable small-town hamburger drive-in where two of the boys are arguing over whether or not to leave town the next day for higher learning in the big city. For the duration of the movie, Lucas gives them every reason to go.

The main activity of the town adolescents is cruising up and down the main drags calling feeble witticisms to each other and abusing the internal-combustion engine. Over it all is the seductive voice of Wolfman, the man on the radio. Romantic leads are the class president and the head cheerleader, who undergo a touching epiphany at the Hop.

(If this had been suburbia instead of a small town, these roles would have been played by the head boy and girl prefect. Prefects operated, and probably still do, like a cross between a company union and an internal plainclothes police force. The class president was part of

that too. Cheerleaders were notable mainly for their pompons.)

The only person in town who comes even close to being a runaway is the promiscuous wife of a local merchant. Wolfman, poor sod, can't keep his pompsicles erect because the fridge at the radio station is on the fritz. The local hoods are the only self-starters around.

The casual observer would be justified in asking what the attraction is in all this, either for the angry young children of the 1960s or for their heirs, apart from the stirring rhythms of Flash Cadillac and the Convertible Five and the talentless Del Shannon. But it has been noted by writers from Wolfe to Andrew Kopkind that the activists of the sixties have taken their marbles and gone to the back forty, and the children of the seventies have followed suit.

Instead of discovering their own culture, or even developing the old, they have taken refuge in the tried and true, in Dietrich, Bogart and, as a kind of youthful Bobby Curtola, Donny Osmond. To choose Dietrich as an idol is indicative of a withdrawal from some of the modern realities and an attempt to return to the days when we were the good guys, the Nazis were the bad guys, and women were Marlene. The seventies look to be a period of growing isolationism in North America, a reversion to the state of mind that prevailed before Vietnam hit the collective consciousness as all of a sudden American boys were dying in a decades-old war.

It is this pre-Vietnam period that *American Graffiti* looks at. The vacuumousness of it all is emphasized by reverent references to President Kennedy, whose assassination a year later was to mark the beginning of the new politics of the 1960s, when Wolfman had to compete with Abbie Hoffman, Tom Hayden and Eldridge Cleaver for attention. 1962 was peacetime only because nobody knew there was a war going on.

What *American Graffiti* says is that things were *not* better in the good old

days, that what people are looking back to was just so much writing on the washroom wall. If the film approves of anyone, it approves of the one boy who does leave town, who eventually, as the credits tell us, becomes a writer living in Canada. This may not be much, but he is the only one who, potentially at least, might create something new, who might actually learn to think for himself, while the conformers stay home to become insurance salesmen, victims of drunk drivers, and station-wagon wives.

The past in *Graffiti* is a lavatory of faded dreams. The film reminds us that American graffiti have after all never really ascended above the level of kindergarten existentialism and the usual anatomical trivia.

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Joey, a carpet-bagger's dream

by RON CROCKER

I Chose Canada, by Joey Smallwood. Macmillan. 600 pp. \$13.95.

The year was 1900.

There was war in South Africa. There was war in China. There was war in Manchuria. There was war in the Philippines. There was war in the Ashanti. There was war in Dahomey. There was war in Colombia.

In Borneo there was revolution. In Panama there was revolution. In Colombia there was revolution. In Uganda there was revolution. In Argentina there was revolution. In Martinique there was revolution.

Revolutionary disorders occurred in Spain. Anti-Semitic rioting in Germany. A reign of terror against the Romanians in Bulgaria.

But in Gambo, a placid little railway and logging settlement in central New-

foundland, glory shone around. For even as Aunt Providence Shepherd washed her husband's socks by night, there came to pass the nativity of one Joseph Roberts Smallwood. And, lo, he grew up and chose Canada.

In the year of his birth, Joey tells us in *I Chose Canada*, the first of the big thick books he plans to write in retirement, no fewer than 10 wars raged in one corner or another of the globe. There was fighting, but insufficient of scale to be called wars, in 11 other countries, while revolution progressed in another 11 arenas. Miscellaneous mischief, as we have seen, bedevilled Spain, Germany and Bulgaria.

When Joey joined their ranks in 1900, as if by divine right, Alexander Graham Bell was 53; Sun Yat-sen, 34; Nikolai Lenin, 30; Mohandas Gandhi, 31; Leon Trotsky, 21; Mustapha Kemal Atatürk, 19; Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (Pope John XXIII), 19; Chou En-lai, 2 and Mao, 7.

"I am not," he says, "one of that remarkable crew. But a cabin boy, perhaps?"

There we have Joey. And in *I Chose Canada's* 600 tiresome and sloppily-edited pages (not only are there large banks of extraneous wordage that could have been pruned to the book's improvement, there are countless technical gremlins: the word magnetometer gets two different spellings in a single paragraph; the cutlines for a couple of photos appear mysteriously 30 pages earlier than the photos) we have considerably more of him as the old boy holds forth unbridled upon his favourite topic.

As autobiography, *I Chose Canada* fails the two essential tests. It provides almost no new information. The Confederation fight is more readably and more thoroughly chronicled by Dick Gwyn who wrote Smallwood's life (*The Unlikely Revolutionary*) a few years ago; there are only a few tidbits of insight into the behind-the-scenes schemes to develop the new province industrially; there is not a scrap of fresh news about the Newfoundland political gyrations of 1971-72.

Second, Joey fails to be introspective, except in the most contrived fashion.

Gwyn constantly hinted in his book that the Smallwood mind is a wonder. Joey fails to bear him out. There are no accounts of wrenching, emotional decision-making. There is no soul-searching. Joey blunders along as if propelled by a main-spring.

When we learn something from Joey, it serves only to pronounce our sense of gloom over the 23 power-mongering, egomaniacal years of his premiership. For instance, we learn from his chapter on the Churchill Falls power project that a nationalized development of the resource not only was possible but extremely attractive, using American money and the so-called Anglo-Saxon route to bypass Quebec and take surplus energy to the American market.

Why did Joey, the lifelong socialist, opt for private enterprise?

"It was not merely that some members of the Royal Family, and Winston Churchill, and other great personages in England were shareholders in BRINCO, though obviously that was no insignificant aspect. Rather, it was because it would represent a vile piece of treachery on Newfoundland's part."

The most captivating part of this not overly captivating work deals with Joey's early years in St. John's, and the redeeming feature of these chapters is the fact that the author occasionally wrests himself away from the central topic to describe the conditions of the times. Contrary to popular wisdom, Joey did not grow up among the downtrodden Newfoundland backwoodsmen, learning his struggle and emerging to champion his cause. Except for a few months immediately after his birth, he actually spent all of his early life in St. John's.

He went to one of the city's most select and elitist schools, Bishop Feild College, though he was, admittedly, the most raggedy-assed scholar of the lot. The person who influenced him most during those formative years was not some left-leaning mentor but his grandfather, David Smallwood, a successful Water Street merchant.

Joey's vast energy, his spirited imagination and his apparent bankruptcy of conviction led him in his younger days from one misadventure to another, most

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of them recorded by him as major triumphs.

We follow the little fellow through his days in New York, hob-nobbing with the ranking socialists of the day, campaigning for Eugene V. Debs in the 1920 presidential election; thence back to Newfoundland to resume his celebrated career as a "journalist", hacking this time for the corruption-tainted Liberal party of the 1920s, under the stewardship of Sir Richard Squires.

In '25 he trucked most of the distance across Newfoundland by the railway, organizing section crews into a new union. He signed them almost to the man, and there are old codgers in Newfoundland to this day who recall paying their 50 cents to Smallwood... "and never hearing tell of him after." His sectionmen's union has no niche in Newfoundland history, and no record of accomplishment.

Forsaking the railroaders, Smallwood went on to organize a new fishermen's union, in the wake of William Coaker's famous, and for a decade successful, Fishermen's Protective Union. Joey

claims to have signed up 8,000 northeast-coast fishermen between 1932 and 1935. During those hard years he lived among the fishermen in Bonavista; their gifts of fuel and food kept him and his family alive. But like the sectionmen's union before it, the Fishermen's Co-operative Union was soon abandoned, its impact on the workers' lot negligible.

Rehashing some of the economic development brain-waves of the '50s, Joey removes all doubt that most of his tenure as premier was spent on or beyond the fringe. One of his great disappointments, he tells us, was his failure to duplicate in Newfoundland the little town of Rothenburg in Germany, and people it completely with Germans. Another of his great ambitions was to take an abandoned cove in Newfoundland and build a perfect replica of a 16th or 17th century fishing settlement. This was the most curious aim of all, especially considering how much greater would have been the challenge of taking any of the 1,000 or so 17th century fishing settlements in Newfoundland and converting it into a 20th century community.

He turns to accomplishments; "There were 9,022 passenger cars in 1949 and 104,873 in 1972. There were 4,443 trucks in 1949 and 22,559 in 1972. There were 110 trailers in 1949 and 10,891 in 1972. There were 18,438 drivers' licences in 1949 and 180,000 in 1972. The government's revenue from motor vehicle and drivers' licences was \$337,095 in 1949 and \$6,490,861 in 1972."

He acknowledges mistakes: The quest for a chancellor for Memorial University had boiled down to three choices, one of them being Izaak Walton Killam of Nova Scotia, who had the final word, dismissed Killam immediately... "I didn't like the name."

Presently Killam perished and Joey learned that the Canadian government collected tens of millions of dollars in estate duties from his fortune. The Widow Killam bought the Brooklyn Dodgers and donated \$10 million to Dalhousie University in Halifax.

"I hang my head in shame every time I remember my stupid failure to invite Mr. Killam to become chancellor." (The chancellorship subsequently fell to media baron Lord Thompson of Fleet who, treating the university like another newsroom, swiftly quit the job when he discovered the cost of keeping it.)

Predictably, we get few references to

Joe's shame-faced failure to give any kind of comprehensive help to the fishery. But one reference we do get is a telling one. He mentions Richardson Wood, an official of the Rockefeller-owned International Basic Economy Corporation, which he was trying to attract to Newfoundland, and he recalls that Wood had done "one of the many investigations that I have made of our fishing industry." One of Wood's recommendations was that the fish, before being shipped to market, should be treated chemically so as to make it smell like some fruit, such as oranges or bananas. Smallwood tells the yarn without comment.

There is no question that the essential Smallwood emerges in *I Chose Canada*. From a safe distance he is amusing, his child-like fascination with just about everything a delight to behold. An unemployed Smallwood probably would be good company; Smallwood as premier — the universal sucker, the carpet-bagger's dream, the grovelling groupie with every fly-by-night entrepreneurial jug-band on the international circuit — could only be the disaster that he was.

For the aging Smallwood, *I Chose Canada* is the thrill of a life-time. For members of his family it may be mildly amusing. For the not insignificant number of local Liberals who still think the sun shines out of Joey's ears, the book may be tolerable.

For others? A crashing bore, really.

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LAST POST

LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

Rae Murphy tries to deal with the difficult business of the national question and Socialism in his review of (*Canada*) Ltd., *the Political Economy of Dependency* in the last issue. In the process he takes a number of swipes at me which don't matter at all except that they reveal a misunderstanding of the role of the national question in the struggle for Socialism in Canada.

If Canadians are going to begin seriously working for what I am happy to call national liberation, they are going to have to have self-respect, confidence in their identity, and an understanding of where they have been. In order to get to that state of heightened awareness they are going to have to know a lot more than they presently do about their 'culture'.

An important part of the culture is the literature. Serious and sensitive men and women have imagined credible situations into which they have placed Canadians inhabiting this place and Canadian terms of society since the beginning.

When we study the literature, when we look at the *real history* of Canada we discover a people we can respect, aspirations that are not foreign to us, and the roots of a feeling for community that is directly related to a socialist ideal and which *must be related to a socialist ideal* for Canada if we are going to have an indigenous and deeply rooted development towards socialism in this

country.

The past Canadian writers don't say what Rae Murphy or Robin Mathews would say in 1973 or 1974. But if we deny their relevance, we deny our own past, our own grandfathers. A people that denies its past has to accept the past of another people or live in fantasy. Canada has been moving to an acceptance of the U.S. past after having used the British past during British dominance in Canada. The U.S. denied its real past and so lives in a realm of historical fantasy. U.S. literature is very much built upon 'the new Adam' and other formulations which attempt to describe the U.S. hero as a-historical, personally unconditioned by society, and, above all, perfectible. We see the results of their fantasy life every day, in and out of literature.

When I write about Canadian literature and events, I am not, as Murphy says, trying "to recast Canadian history to accord with present sensibilities". I am trying, rather, to move over some of the false history we have accepted so that Canadians can see where the Canadian people have really been.

Let me use Susanna Moodie as an example since she is a very sensitive point in every discussion of the national question, for some reason. She was an anti-slavist in England before coming to Canada. She ghost-wrote a book for a negro woman to show the horrors of slavery. She had one hell of a time in Canada, not the least because there was so much land speculation by gougers that settlers found it difficult to find land that was good. Her husband did go to fight against Mackenzie in the 1837 rebellion, and she wrote inspiring verses to spur on the fighters against Mackenzie.

But later she tells us that when they got out of the bush and learned what was *really* going on, they realized they had been misled. She goes on to praise William Lyon Mackenzie as noble and courageous and the father of Canada!!! It was possible to make a mistake when you lived in the bush and a runner came through saying the society was threatened. It seems to me that much more sophisticated Canadians with much better systems of communication have been much more dearly misled in our own time. Must we not see Moodie's going to fight Mackenzie in perspective, when even Mrs. Moodie sees it in perspective a little later?

I'm tired, moreover, of hearing Hugh MacLennan dismissed as "an old reac-

tionary". Hugh MacLennan does not have my politics, Rae Murphy's politics, or the politics of the left in Canada. But he has dealt in his novels with the colonial mind under British domination, some of the important terms of Quebec/Canadian relations, an idea of Canadian and U.S. character interacting, and a view of personal struggle in the difficult times of the thirties. Any Canadian who wants to deal with the Canadian character and the Canadian twentieth century *has to know* Hugh MacLennan. Not because MacLennan is right. But because MacLennan deals with major conflicts and ideas of character in the Canadian experience. We don't read MacLennan to approve. We read him to help regain our past, to understand some of the forces at work in the people of this country, to know where we have been (which isn't to approve of where we have been).

Mrs. Moodie accepts the idea of a class structure and so does Hugh MacLennan. So I suspect does Margaret Atwood, Mordy Richler, Irving Layton, Walter Gordon, Peter Newman and a number of other contemporaries. Why do they? Some of the roots of the answer are in Moodie and MacLennan. Mrs. Moodie admired William Lyon Mackenzie, and Hugh MacLennan is often very suspicious of capitalists. They resemble in those characteristics many contemporary Canadians. Read Moodie and MacLennan and they help you to understand the mildly progressive contemporary Canadians.

Both Moodie and MacLennan disliked, finally, the aristocracy of birth and pushed for recognition of merit. Mrs. Moodie says the people willing to work should govern. MacLennan has a bright woman as a first-class s.h.p designer, totally psychologically liberated (in 1940, please note). Those are *progressive* ideas. To know why those writers have them is to know what progressive ideas are about in Canada as they have been thrown up *among the people*. Unless we marry intellectual ideology to a genuine analysis of our past experience, uniting *both* with the progressive ideas that have surfaced *among the people of Canada* there can be no rooted Socialism in this country. That's why I take the positions I do. That's why I beg Rae Murphy and some others to stop crapping on the Canadian tradition and to start looking at its real meaning for the Canadian future.

Robin Mathews
Ottawa

LAST POST

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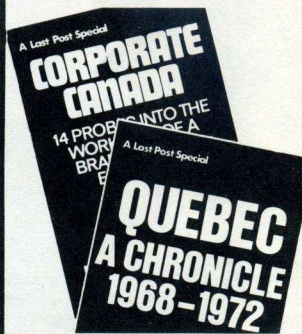
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