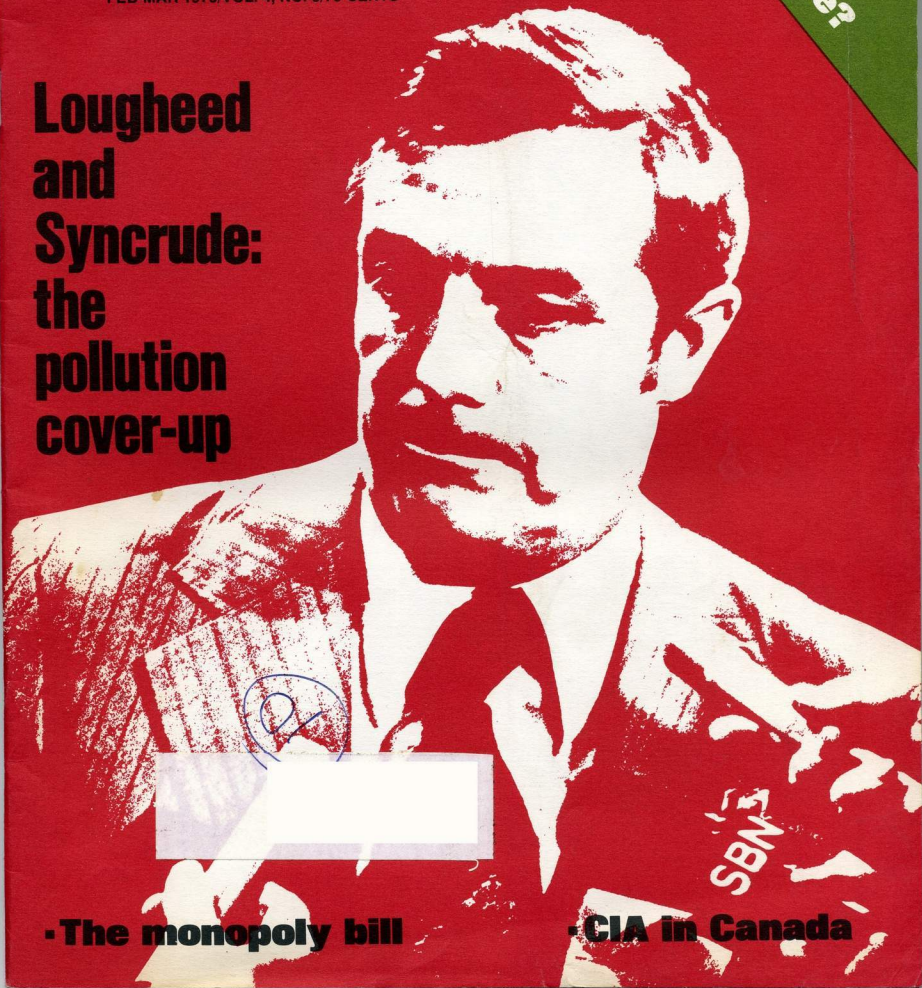


THE LAST POST

FEB-MAR 1975/VOL. 4, NO. 5/75 CENTS

B.C.'s north:
Who will rule?

**Lougheed
and
Syncrude:
the
pollution
cover-up**



• **The monopoly bill**

• **CIA in Canada**



ASLIN '74.

THE LAST POST

Vol. 4, No. 5

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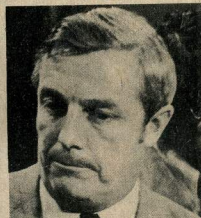
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THE LAST POST LETTERS

Dear Last Post:

You have run articles dealing with Bell Canada, the most recent being in your October-November 1974 issue. I think your readers should be made aware of some of the facts as they really are instead of how they are made to look.

For instance, you refer to the fact that Bell has had five increases in as many years. It was only four; but more important the cumulative total of all Bell increases from 1958 to 1974 amount to 16.2 per cent or an average of one per cent increase a year. In another light, while the basic cost of residence telephone service has risen only 9.9 per cent during the last seven years, the consumer price index has risen 27.6 per cent over that same time period.

You go on to compare Bell Canada rates to those in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta where the telephone systems are government owned, but avoid pointing out that the three Prairie companies pay no income taxes, nor do they pay any significant municipal or provincial business taxes. Bell Canada subscribers will incur in 1974 a total tax obligation equal to more than \$90.00 per main telephone for the average customer.

If you compare Bell Canada's total revenue per telephone with that of the Prairie systems, excluding the tax element, you will find that Bell Canada's is the lower. For example, in 1972, Bell Canada's revenue per telephone was \$11.68 per month, excluding tax, while that of the Prairie systems averaged \$15.66 per telephone.

If you want some efficiency comparisons between government and privately owned telephone companies, let me add that the Prairie companies have one employee for every 113 main telephones while Bell Canada has one employee per 166 phones.

Other statements you make of earnings and rate of return are equally distorted. Comparing the return on Bell's consolidated activities with the return on Bell's regulated activities, which were under review, without indicating that you were doing so, cannot be excused on

the grounds of ignorance as both sets of data appear in Bell's 1973 annual report.

In case you have never travelled outside Canada or the U.S. why don't you do a little research and tell your readers about the service in Great Britain, France and Russia, about how long you have to wait to get a telephone at all, and how much you have to pay for the installation and for monthly rental. State these costs in terms of "hours of work" to make them comparable. Your panacea of the State owning and operating everything may just not look so attractive.

M. V. James

**Director — Information
Bell Canada**

Dear Last Post:

I am usually quite amused by your headline boxes in the Last Post—but not this time! The box on page 6 of your Oct-Nov issue is offensive, sexist and very annoying (especially to one who looks forward each month to reading your magazine). I have always considered you to be thoughtful, serious political people and as such to have some awareness of sexism in this society. To make female sexuality a topic of humour shows a great lack of awareness and respect—and it's not very funny!

**Jane Wingate
Toronto**

Dear Last Post:

Your January issue contains an article by Andrew Brown entitled "Britain votes for the 'good thing'". It is supposed to be an urbane and knowledgeable report on the UK elections of October 1974. But it misinforms badly. Here are some of its errors of fact and analysis:

1. Brown: "The electorate wanted an end to minority government, and the only major party which could hope to cope with the unions instead of 'standing up to them' was the Labour Party.... Majority governments are considered by the British... to be a good thing".

In short: the voters wanted a majority government, the Tories would not pro-

vide a good one, so the voters returned a Labour majority.

This is an absurd explanation of Labour's 4-seat margin over other parties and 2% advantage over the Tories in popular vote. In fact just 26% of the electorate—and 39% of those voting—favoured Labour, who attracted less support than in all other elections since the war. Hardly a deep-seated widely felt sentiment in favour of majority Labour government.

2. Enoch Powell is said to have emerged "victoriously" from his electoral contest in Northern Ireland. While Powell was certainly returned, the implication that he did well is false. He ran in a safe Unionist constituency, and his charisma was supposed—e.g. by him—to bring about an improvement in the previous incumbent's majority. In fact that majority fell appreciably, and Powell's standing with it.

3. Brown is much more generous than the Government is to old age pensioners. He reports them receiving more than twice what they actually get. His figures remain too generous even if his "£" sign is replaced by a "\$" sign, supposing the error was a proofreader's oversight.

4. Wilson is said to be planning to "introduce yet another trade union and labour relations act to make it easier for strikers to picket. No news yet on how it's going to work." This falsely suggests that a large and complicated bill, like the Tories' ill-fated Industrial Relations Act, is in the offing. Wilson knows better than to try that. Nor is it mysterious how picketing will be made easier. Recent legal decisions, exploiting antiquated conspiracy legislations, have prejudiced the right to picket, and no legal genius is required to restore it.

5. It is not true that "some of the shabbiest wages in the country" are paid by the post office, railways, coal mines and steel industry (all nationalized). Few workers earn more than miners and steelworkers, and millions earn less than postal workers and railwaymen.

**G. A. Cohen
London**

Dear Last Post:

Patrick MacFadden is to be congratulated on his development of a new journalistic hybrid ("Margaret is the Message", January, 1975). Who would ever have thought it possible to mate George Steiner and Rex Reed?

**Ken Dewar
Toronto**

THE MONTH

OTTAWA/MONOPOLIES: OUELLET'S "INFINITELY IMPORTANT" BILL

by HENRY AUBIN

It has been eight years now since the federal government began preparing, on a priority basis, legislation to revive the competitive muscle of Canadian business and get some grip on inflated, monopolistic prices.

This month, amid charges from consumer interests that the legislation is a "hoax" and a backdown to big business, the House of Commons' finance committee holds hearings on it. It will not be the first time.

Four times — under four different ministers of consumer and corporate affairs — the government has introduced its legislation. And, though expected to pass easily as a "motherhood" bill, it has yet to come to a vote.

Instead the government has, at the behest of a lobbying effort by some of the country's largest corporations, drafted and redrafted the bill. Intended to meet "the public interest in preserving the highest level of competition in the economy," the legislation would — at least in the form in which it was first introduced in 1971 — crack down on monopolistic mergers, price-fixing, artificial shortages, interlocking directorates among competing firms and other restraints of trade. Lobbyists have contended such regulatory zeal would only put the economy in a straightjacket and stymie large Canadian firms competing in international markets.

Though the argument over the wisdom of reviving old-fashioned free enterprise is far from settled, three things are clear:

- The competition which the original legislation was supposed to "preserve" has, by every indicator, further di-

Henry Aubin is a reporter for the *Montreal Gazette*. We thank the *Gazette* for permission to reprint this article in slightly amended form.



The federal Dept. of Consumer and Corporate Affairs in Hull, Que. Should its name reflect its priorities and be the Dept. of Corporate and Consumer Affairs?

minished during the delay — while the inflation which the legislation was supposed to help combat has climbed to levels unanticipated by the late Guy Favreau and others in the Pearson cabinet in the mid-1960's when they initiated the idea for the legislation. In short, the rationale for the legislation is much stronger today than when the government first accepted it.

- Continued delay in the legislation's enactment is in the interests of the large corporations whose activities would be

affected. It is safe to say, for example, the acquisition last November of Price Co. Ltd., by Abitibi Paper Co. Ltd. (making that firm the world's largest newspaper producer), would have been investigated by the government had the bill's anticipated merger provisions been in effect. (In the U.S., where the two firms sell most of their paper and where tougher anti-trust laws already exist, the merger is being investigated by the Justice Department for possible restraint of trade.)

• During this delay, significant provisions in the legislation "are being weakened at least in technical areas," in the words of one lobbyist source.

Who are these lobbyists?

Among the most conspicuous so far is an eleven-corporation "study group" composed of: Abitibi Paper Co. Ltd., Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd., Canada Packers Ltd., Cominco Ltd., T. Eaton Co. Ltd., John Labatt Ltd., MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Molson Companies Ltd., Moore Corp. Ltd., Noranda Mines Ltd., Power Corp. of Canada Ltd., Simpsons Ltd., and Steel Co. of Canada Ltd. (Stelco). (Stelco's general counsel, J. W. Younger, is a group spokesman.)

Those who are skeptical of adjectival descriptions of power may be interested in a statistic concerning the line-up of witnesses at hearings on the bill by the Senate Standing Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce.

Forty different groups have submitted briefs to the committee. Of these 39 represent industry and business (ranging from the Canadian Chamber of Commerce to the Association of Canadian Advertisers). The lone witness to present a consumer-oriented evaluation of the bill was the Consumers' Association of Canada (CAC).

The 39-to-one ratio does not represent any effort by the influential committee to shut out non-business interests — as one committee source put it, "If we had more consumer types stepping forward to testify, as they do on taxes, we'd be glad to hear them."

But, officials acknowledge, this numerical imbalance does aptly reflect the disproportionate energy of business lobbyists over that of the general public. It might also be noted that the CAC itself, unable to fund itself through donations from the public, cannot sustain itself as an independent force and goes to the federal government for financial assistance — the type of relationship which the Nader school of public interest advocacy says can only result in psychological compromises and a phlegmatic spirit of

reform.

The Senate hearings are potentially significant. Through parliamentary maneuvering, the Senate is taking the unusual step of viewing the legislation *in advance* of the House. The reason? So that the complaints made by witnesses at its hearings may have more impact on the department of consumer and corporate affairs, in charge of the legislation, when it redrafts the bill.

Another statistic evokes the tone of these hearings: Of the committee's 22 members, 12 actively serve as officers or directors of a total of 114 companies, according to the *Financial Post's* "Directory of Directors". (The chairman, Sen. Salter Hayden, is himself director or vice president of 13 companies.)

Andre Ouellet, latest of the four ministers of consumer and corporate affairs to preside over the legislation, denies that the main thrust of the legislation is being softened. He said in a House speech that when the entire package is passed — and that might be one or two years from now — it will open an era of "infinite importance" to consumers and small businesses alike.

Many MP's complain of difficulty in evaluating the legislation because it is split into two parts, unlike the original 1971 version which came in one unit. Both parts come in the form of amendments to the Combines Investigation Act:

- The first part, Bill C-2, is the segment now before Parliament for second reading. It does not confront monopoly power but focuses on shady business practices that are generally more characteristic of small, unsophisticated businesses than of large corporations. It would tighten existing laws against pyramid selling, bait and switch advertising, double ticketing, blatantly misleading advertising, bid-rigging and exclusive dealerships. Ouellet promises more amendments before the House committee.

- The second part will deal with the crux — mergers and monopolies. But



what it will say is a mystery. "We don't have a crystal ball," says one official. Though the lobbying has been vigorous on Part 1, it is simply batting practice for Part 2. Ouellet promises that Part 2 will be introduced to Parliament six months after C-2 is passed, but some persons familiar with his department's pace in redrafting the bill say it may be longer than that.

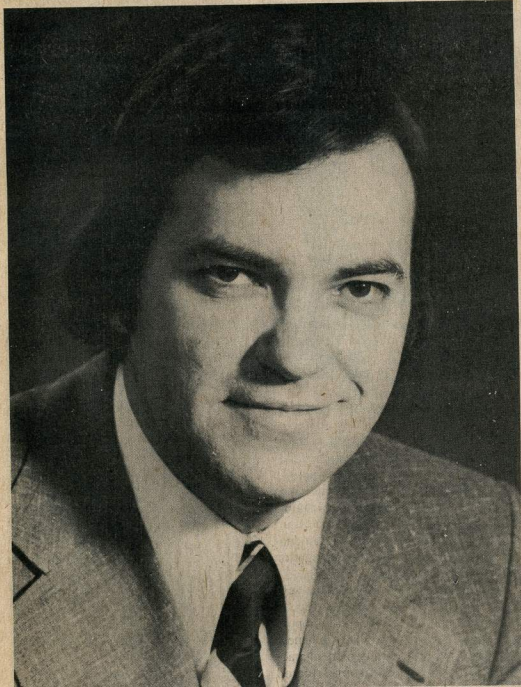
Bill C-2 deals with problems that are more fringe than fundamental to the problem of monopoly power, says the CAC, adding:

"To tighten the law against bid-rigging and other forms of collusive price-fixing will be of limited value to consumers until there is an effective mechanism for restraining individual firms or groups of firms from accom-

REMEMBER, THEY SAID IT

GM Chief Tells the U.S. It's Time to Saddle Up

—New York Daily News, December 22, 1974.



On the left, Andre Ouellet in 1969; above, the groovy new image of 1975

plishing the same economic results via successions of corporate mergers and/or various monopolistic practices."

A bevy of MPs with business backgrounds from the three opposition parties agree. Unimpressed with Part 1, they fear for Part 2. What for Ouellet is "infinite" is for them minute. The bill is:

- "Little more than a hoax," says the Progressive Conservatives' Sinclair Stevens (York-Simcoe), himself a founder of the Bank of Western Canada, former chairman of BIF Corp. Ltd. and Comtech Group International Ltd. as well as ex-director of Cardiff Construction Co. Ltd. and Eagle Star Insurance of Canada. "The controls may be noble in intent, but ... many of them deal with trivia, many are confusing and many are impos-

ble."

- "Camouflage," says the NDP's Max Saltzman (Waterloo-Cambridge), another businessman. "At best it's only marginally useful and in some ways it's harmful — because it pretends to deal with the problem and protect the public."

- "Does not go far enough and leads nowhere," agrees the Creditistes' Leonel Beaudoin (Richmond).

Such controversy makes few headlines outside the business pages — the legislation is complex and, after eight years, it is hardly a breaking story. But emerging from the little-noted House debates are a pair of questions which strike close to the heart of Canada's principle preoccupation, inflation — and to

Ottawa's ability to deal with it.

First, the legislation's apparent dilution and lack of progress — ever since Ron Basford, then minister of consumer and corporate affairs, introduced it four years ago and the government withdrew it in the face of industry protest — inevitably raise questions about the Liberal Party's proximity to big business. (To be sure, the government was *not* responsible when C-2's predecessor died on the order paper last spring after the NDP prompted the election; but Opposition members say its pace in promoting the bill since then suggests little sense of urgency.) Among those raising these questions is Ron Huntington (Capilano), himself a businessman and former Liberal voter who was elected as a Conservative. Calling the Liberals "the party of the big corporations," he says C-2 will "not increase competition or impede the big guy."

The second point coming out in the debates is an even more basic one. Executives like Huntington — he is president of a company which, he estimates, controls more than 56 per cent of Western Canada's dried fruit market — do not question the ability of this or any legislation to harass business, but they do question its ability to curb the evolution toward big and bigger business to allow the re-emergence of bona fide price and quality competition.

The big stick, they argue, can only work to slow the trend toward concentration; it cannot arrest it. Even in the U.S., where the laws are relatively strong, the laws are difficult to enforce — the corporations' lawyers too savvy, the penalties too light to serve as a real deterrent, the political pressures too great to sustain a prolonged attack. But these critics are not pessimists.

What is needed, they say, is a dovetailing of this negative — or punitive — approach with the positive: there must be *incentives* to businessmen to compete. The way things are working today — and senior civil servants admit this — government gives numerous inducements to big business and impediments to small business.

Before looking at various suggestions for encouraging competition, it may be worth looking more closely at what Ouellet's package does and does not do. Because the second half of the legislation has yet to be devised it is, of course, impossible to make categorical assessments. But this is the way things appear to be firming up:

- Neither Part 1 nor 2 will attempt to



GUY FAVREAU
initiated idea for legislation



RON BASFORD
had to withdraw legislation

break up existing concentrations of power. Thus, for example, complexes like George Weston Ltd., with several hundred subsidiaries in the food field, would not be threatened. It would appear unlikely that the new law will have the same dismantling power as in the U.S. where, for instance, International Telephone and Telegraph is being required to divest itself of its Avis subsidiary.

- Neither part will attempt to slow the trend toward vertical integration. Some economists call vertical integration — whereby the same people own different companies which do business largely with one another — a distortion of the marketplace and a factor in inefficiency and the decline of entrepreneurship.

- Neither part will ban the increasingly widespread trend toward "co-packing" — a practice discussed in *Last Post* last issue whereby one brand-name manufacturer secretly

makes a product for a competing brand-name manufacturer which is then sold to the public under the latter's brand-name. Some observers consider this inter-rival rapport to illustrate the entire problem which competition legislation seeks to address. The practice is common in much of the economy, ranging from food to heavy machinery. Thus, for example, Cordon Bleu last year ordered its brand-name hot chicken sauce from Labatt's Catelli subsidiary and Massey-Ferguson gets some of its brand-name farm machinery from the rival Avco corporation. The effects on quality competition are self-evident; the effects on price competition less so.

- Neither part will revive Basford's controversial proposal for establishing a Competitive Prices Tribunal with power to review mergers, monopolies, pricing arrangements, interlocking directorates, etc. Instead, C-2 expands the authority of the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission, a panel within the department of consumer and corporate affairs from which little has been heard in recent years: between 1971 and May 1974 it languished with only two, and at times only one, of its four positions filled. Lobbyists complain that its new quasi-judicial powers are vague. But one thing is probable: it would not have authority to prohibit interlocking directorships where they would lessen competition. (Canadian Manufacturers Association lobbyists successfully argued that "it is inappropriate that the rights of share-

holders to elect shareholders would be overridden.")

- Part 1 would empower the commission to order manufacturers to stop either pressuring retail customers to purchase their goods ("tied selling") or, as the case may be, preventing them from purchasing their goods from rival competitors. No penalty is involved. One potential loophole: in order to successfully order a manufacturer to stop these practices, the commission must find that they "lessen competition substantially." This might be hard to prove. And it might require rival companies to testify against each other — something oligopolists are not celebrated for doing.

- Part 1 would also empower the commission to order brand-name suppliers to stop controlling the prices at which retailers sell their goods when this establishes price differences among competing retailers. Again, there are no penalties, but this is not what concerns Max Saltzman. "Anyone," he says, "with practical experience will know what will happen. The supplier will suddenly decide he cannot produce enough to satisfy everyone. Either this person will receive a very low priority, his shipment will end up halfway across the country when he needs it for Christmas, or he will receive blue shirts when he orders grey. There are a dozen different ways to get the message across that if you cut the price, you will be in trouble. If you want effective competition, you must do it in some other way. . . . It is the monopoly, not the suggested retail price, that creates the problem."

- It would also authorize the commission to make sure foreign-owned subsidiaries conduct their affairs under Canadian law. This would specifically allow trade between Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. firms and Cuba. Most businessmen like this.

- The new legislation gets praise from the CAC for no longer requiring prosecutors to prove that mergers and restraints of trade are likely to "eliminate, completely or virtually," competition in a particular market; now, simply proving that inter-company deals would "injure competition unduly" would be enough. That, however, may still be a tall order. It is unclear just what "unduly" means and how it will be interpreted by the courts. As courts interpret existing law, many cozy deals between firms are not illegal if the firms do not control at least 50 per cent of their market. Thus, for example, Canada Packers is the second largest stockholder in Dominion Stores

**THE TEDIOUS
ROBERT MILLER**

The elegant Jean Lesage, the combative Dan Johnson, the sombre E.C. Manning, the rustic Walter Shaw, the eager Duff Roblin, the mercurial Louis Robichaud, the loquacious Ross Thatcher, the inscrutable Ike Smith.

—Robert Miller, *Toronto Star*,
September 14, 1974

and supplies that chain with an unusually high proportion of its brand-name and private-label food — a fact which some smaller suppliers, who are getting squeezed out, resent. Neither company controls half the manufacturing or retailing market in the food field, the nation's largest industry — nonetheless, Dominion has more than twice as many supermarkets (393) as any other chain in Canada and Canada Packers is the country's largest food supplier. Would the new law make their type of relationship subject to review? It does not say. Many MPs complain that it is not fair to ask businessmen to act within an ambiguous legal climate; they must be told clearly what the rules are.

• Part 1 would slap fines of up to

\$10,000 and/or prison terms of up to one year on merchants who made customers pay the highest of two or more prices stamped on an article ("double ticketing"). But it would not address a more basic supermarket practice: When a producer says the price of an article has increased, merchants often revalue prices for all those stocks they have already purchased but which are not yet on the shelves. Large inventories therefore pay off. A high official of one Montreal-based chain admits, "This is where the big profits have been in our business lately." The NDP's John Rodriguez (Nickel Belt) concludes of C-2: "This is maintaining the companies' freedom to overprice inventories under the counter rather than over the counter."

• Part 1 would, in a significant step, expand anti-combines law to cover not only manufacturers and retailers but also professional and service groups. This for the first time people like doctors, lawyers, real estate agents, brokers, chartered accountants and trust companies would be subject to competition regulations. Fixed fee schedules would be one aspect at issue here — real estate firms, for example, charge a flat six per cent commission rate on selling homes in the Montreal area. Also at issue would be entrance requirements to professional associations; the object would be to facilitate entry to these professions. However, whatever anti-competitive practices

(Continued on next page)

OTTAWA/ESPIONAGE: WHO'S WHO IN THE CIA IN CANADA?

by IAN ADAMS

It is now common knowledge that Cleveland Cramm, listed simply as an "attache" to the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa, is the Central Intelligence Agency bureau chief in Canada. The problem remains, however, of identifying his staff hidden among the other U.S. Embassy attaches, clerks, and technicians.

The John Marks theory of identification — he is a former State Department employee and co-author with ex-CIA man Victor Marchetti of *The Cult of Intelligence* — is straightforward, and interestingly enough was published last November in the Toronto *Globe and Mail*.

Marks says you simply take two unclassified State Department publications, *The Foreign Service List* and the *Biographic Register*, crosscheck them, and compare them with the list of U.S. Embassy personnel. (The U.S. State Department is, by presidential order, responsible for sustaining and providing cover for CIA agents.)

By using this method we find that in Canada the following individuals are listed in the External Affairs directory as foreign service officers on the U.S. Embassy staff, but do not turn up in the two State Dept. directories described by Marks.

In Ottawa:

- John S. Healey, Attache, 2625 Regina St., Apt. 2005, Ph. 829-3314.
- Joseph A. Marion Jr., Attache, Legal Affairs, 161 Howick St., Ph. 746-5849.
- Richard H. Reynolds, Attache, Treasury, 49 Welkin Cres., Ph. 238-1331.
- Thomas M. Fitzpatrick, Attache, 1909 Broadmoor Ave., Ph. 737-5406.
- Charles E. Wood, Attache, 1098 Elmlea Drive, Ph. 746-0875.

In Quebec:

- Everett K. Melby, Consul General, 1 St. Genevieve Ave., Ph. 522-7089.

The *Biographic Register* is equally interesting, in this

case, for what it does and does not tell you, especially when its terse jargon-ridden information throws up the background of the U.S. Embassy's "political officers".

There is for example on first secretary Goodwin Cooke — better known as "Goody" around the hill, where he shows up every day for question period — his postings as a political-military officer in Belgrade, Rome, and Brussels, and the fact that he put in a year, 1971-72, at our own National Defence College in Kingston — doing what, one wonders — before getting his Ottawa posting.

Then there is Seymour Chalfin, whose special interest is labour unions, with his postings in Zambia, Malawi, and Rhodesia. And what about the mysterious Robert Funseth, who comes and goes. What did he really do to get that "commendation for outstanding service" in 1958 when the American Forces made an unopposed landing on the Lebanon beaches outside Beirut? Why does a "diplomat" like Funseth spend a year at the U.S. National War College in 1968 before being posted to "management of Mexican and Central American Affairs", and then to "co-ordinator of Cuban Affairs" in 1969. What does a man with that kind of background find to do in Canada that is useful to the United States government?

And what about Cleveland Cramm, the CIA bureau chief in Canada, who reportedly spends so much of his time over in Room 336 of the Solicitor-General's department at 340 Laurier Ave. W. with Col. Robert Bourne, poring over the files of Canadian unionists, politicians, academics, journalists, and so on and so on. (Bourne is the assistant-deputy minister who directs the Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group and as such is the conduit for intelligence to the Prime Minister — strange how it always seems to come full circle.)

It probably wouldn't be too difficult to imagine what Cramm and Bourne talk about. But it would be a lot more interesting to find out what Cramm does the rest of the time. If you see him around give the *Last Post* a call. Oh yes, he lives at 136 Dorothea Drive, phone number 731-9403. And the car he usually drives carries the plate CDA 357.

might exist among banks, or marketing boards, or labor unions are exempt from these provisions. Argues Social Credit MP C.-A. Gauthier (Roberval): "If the government is really serious, it will have to come to grips with the most dictatorial of all, since it is the cause of stagnation — the monopoly of banks."

● Part I makes an important change in Basford's original provisions on ads. The 1971 bill said no advertiser "shall make a misleading representation to the public." Period. The 1975 version says no advertiser shall "make a representation to the public that is false or misleading in a material way." In those vague last two words lies all the difference in the legal world. "I do not think this misleading advertising clause will lead to very much," says Saltsman. "The ad-

vertising will become a little more sophisticated."

One Toronto lawyer, a specialist in consumer cases, concludes of C-2: "It's not going to do much for consumers, but it will be great for lawyers. It creates entirely new, uncharted areas for legal argument — the wording is so vague half the time, and then there are those loopholes . . . I bet there will be a lot more indictments and not too many convictions."

The business community is concerned over the extent of government intervention in the marketplace — the as yet undefined scope of the Restrictive Trade Practices Commission is of particular interest.

The Conservatives' Jim Balfour (Regina East) explains: "The bill before us

involves fundamental philosophical considerations of a political, legal, economic and federal-provincial nature. To all intents and purposes it creates a new, highly centralized agency which has the potential of interposing itself into a major segment of Canadian political and economic life. . . . The Legislation will permit the . . . commission to alter or restructure market distribution systems in Canada in an unprecedented fashion."

From where does the government draw the philosophical basis for its legislation? Critics say it is a good question.

Ouellet, like his predecessors, notes the legislation is based on the Economic Council of Canada's interim report of competition policy, issued in 1969. The government requested the study to lay a foundation for adapting the Combines

OTTAWA/BROADCASTING: U.S. FIRM HIRED TO FIND NEW CBC BOSS

by JOHN HALDANE

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is certainly leaving no stone unturned in its "head-hunt" for a new Executive Vice President who would, in due course, succeed Laurent Picard as President of the country's most important broadcasting system. Some of the stones being turned over are strange ones indeed.

Though the current method of selection and the current "short list" of possible appointees remains a closely held secret, the *Last Post* has learned that as of late last summer President Picard had placed the problem in the hands of — of all things — a very prominent American "head-hunting" company called McKinsey & Company Inc. that boasts offices in 16 U.S. and other cities.

Why an American company should have been chosen to advise on this sensitive and senior Canadian appointment is not known, but the choice becomes even stranger in view of the lack of knowledge of this country displayed by McKinsey & Company. At times, its approach seems to have been about as sophisticated as going through the pages of the telephone book (the company literally did go through the *Directory of Directors* and *The Corpus Administrative Index*).

After a search covering academia, broadcasting, the arts, politics, business, journalism and the civil service, McKinsey & Company came up with 417 names. Among the names the U.S. company considered but itself decided not to put on this initial list were Marshall McLuhan, Alan Eagleson, Paul Hellyer, Mel Watkins, John Bassett, David Lewis, "Honest Ed" Mirvish, Murray Cherkover of CTV and Galen Weston of Loblaw's.

After culling over its list of 417 names at least once a week, the U.S. "head-hunters" had, as of late summer, narrowed its recommendations to 15 names: James Burns of Great-West Life Insurance; Barney Danson, urban affairs minister; William Dimma of York Univ.; James Fleck; Tory M.P. James Gillies; Allan Gotlieb of man-

power & immigration; John Houlding (Polar gas project); Regional Economic Expansion Minister Don Jamieson; Albert Johnson (Health & Welfare); H. Ian Macdonald of York University; Donald McCaskill of Connaught Laboratories; Ontario Energy Minister Darcy McKeough; Michael Pitfield, since made clerk of the privy council; William Wilder (Canadian Arctic Gas Study) and Maxwell Yalden (Communications).

Experience of broadcasting seems to have been regarded as unimportant and irrelevant in the eyes of McKinsey & Company, and presumably in the eyes of President Picard as well.

The company also suggested the CBC might abandon its practice of rotating the presidency between French and English speaking Canadians, as well as its practice of not having both the president and executive vice president come from the same "nation" — thereby showing a rather appalling lack of sensitivity to Canadian political reality.

In the event the CBC were to abandon the "two nations" policy, the U.S. "head-hunters" recommended, among other names, Health Minister Marc Lalonde and former Industry Minister Jean Luc Pepin.

It's been public knowledge for some time now that CBC's senior management team is, in general, in a mess and in need of a thorough shaking out. It's hardly surprising that the corporation should be in such bad shape — especially with its television network; the radio system has scored some notable successes — if it is going to rely on such an amateurish selection method as relying on the advice of an American "head-hunting" company.

It may be that since August this strange procedure has been abandoned by President Picard's office. If not, it's going to be an interesting commentary on Canadian content regulations if the new boss of the CBC turns out to have been selected by Americans. If McKinsey & Company pull this one off, maybe they can look forward to an even greater coup — conducting a "head-hunt" for the next prime minister.

Investigation Act to modern market conditions.

It may be worth recalling, however, that page one of that 244-page report, stressing the "interim" character of the study, explains that "further reports are to be issued" to provide "further discussion of combines, mergers, monopolies and restraint of trade."

Though the legislation was to draw from those subsequent reports, none have been issued. And the chairman of the council, Dr. Andre Raynauld, admitted to the PC's Sinclair Stevens that no one in government has ever asked the council for more studies.

Said a not-so-amused Stevens in a floor speech, "Surely it is odd that a minister and a government would refer to this (interim) report as often as they do, using it as a basis for legislation that we have before us today, and yet the report on its face was an interim report, and when we ask the chairman of the Economic Council of Canada whether he has continued with further reports, he is almost startled by the question and admits that nobody even asked for further reports..."

Assessing the Trudeau administration's handling of the legislation, and noting the rapid shuffle of ministers at the department, Stevens concludes: "The government has no over-all perspective of what should be done with regard to competition policy."

What concerns many Opposition members, as well as civil servants, is the way in which a number of government business policies run counter — perhaps, unwittingly — to the anti-monopoly thrust of its competition policy.

These observers say that if vigorous price competition is to return to Canada, the government must not only wave a big stick against monopoly but it must also revise present tendencies which tend to discriminate against small business.



Tory M.P. Ron Huntington says bill "will not increase competition or impede the big guy".

Positive steps to promote competition would include:

- Giving more grants to small firms. As it is now, large corporations receive the bulk of federal largesse for growth and research. Small businessmen complain that it is only big businesses which can afford to hire special staffs to go through the lengthy, complex application procedures for the aid.
- Revising government procurement practices to include more small firms among the suppliers. Civil servants concede that government buys mostly from big business.
- Removing tariff barriers which protect concentrated, uncompetitive industries from imports.
- Removing constraints to the growth of more banks. Huntington is one of many who describe the five main chartered banks as a "cartel."
- Revising the tax laws to allow small

business to pay lower taxes on an accumulated income higher than the present level of \$500,000.

- Making advertising no longer wholly tax-deductible. This idea, highly controversial, is offered by Saltsman as a way to reduce the "psychic" competition of highly advertised brand-names and enable more price and quality competition.
- Establishing a government insurance program to cover bank loans to small companies. This step, Huntington suggests, would ease credit crunch problems for small business and reduce bankruptcies and takeovers.
- Requiring more public disclosure by companies of their finances and ownership, thereby shedding some of the secrecy behind which monopoly can operate.

Some Opposition members, half-jokingly, have another idea — it sometimes surfaces towards the end of a long afternoon of denunciations of this legislation. Expand the misleading advertising provisions, they say, to cover government promises.

But it will probably be another year or so before the second and most important half of the legislation emerges from the department — and the public can properly assess Ouellet's promise that it is to be "infinitely important" to consumers and small businessmen.

EMISSION CONTROLS



The head of the Greek navy, Admiral Petros Arapakis, has been equipped with a propane carburation system.

A government spokesman said in Athens that Arapakis resigned "for personal reasons." Arapakis, 56, became head of the navy in May, 1973, after an abortive naval rebellion to overthrow the then-ruling junta.

— 'Names in the news', Vancouver Sun, January 4, 1975.

QUEBEC: SCANDALS ENGULF LIBERAL MAJORITY

by NICK AUF DER MAUR

The stench of corruption and scandal in Quebec is spreading slowly but surely, engulfing a Liberal Party majority so powerful that only a year ago it seemed destined for a 1,000-year term.

Once again, Quebec is witnessing another of those tragi-comedies that so regularly afflict the population. It takes the form of a multi-ring circus: part of it takes place in two on-going inquiries, the Police Commission Inquiry into organized crime and the Cliche Commission investigation of the construction industry; some more takes place in regular press revelations; but the real buffoonery takes place in the National Assembly.

The various inquiries and revelations have pointed to widespread influence peddling, extortion, underworld criminal influence, conflict of interest, nepotism, dubious distribution of government contracts, election rigging and a wide variety of shady dealings worthy of any third-rate banana republic.

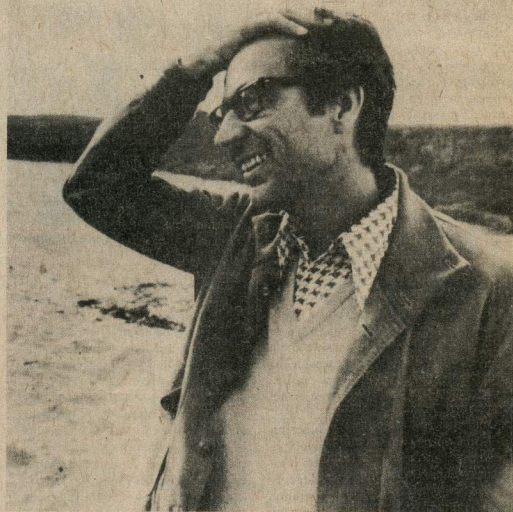
The rot is evidenced by a long line of politicians, judges, bureaucrats, party organizers, crooked union officials, underworld figures and the like feigning innocence, ignorance or indignation. There have been resignations — too numerous to mention — and calls for resignation and impeachment.

During the closing days of the last session of the Quebec National Assembly, one Liberal backbencher threatened to punch out a spectator in the public gallery, others demanded that the press be muzzled and somebody tried to kill an investigating journalist.

The Liberals are trying hard to take away the seat of Jacques Yvan Morin, the Parti Quebecois leader of the opposition, while the PQ sought to impeach three cabinet ministers and the Speaker of the House.

In the middle of this, the labour situation, especially construction, is fouled up. The \$12 billion James Bay project is floundering, the Olympic Games are in trouble, the French CEGEP school system was paralysed for several weeks and some social institutions — notably girls' and boys' detention centres — were shown to be in the middle ages. And then, there's inflation.

However, the orderly processes of



Bourassa's government shaken by string of scandals

government and administration of the law, it is claimed, go on.

• • •

Here is a summary and somewhat random sampling of the goings-on in Quebec.

The National Assembly opera-bouffe started off last summer when the PQ revealed that Liberal backbencher Jean-Claude Boutin violated legislature rules by continuing to work as a crown prosecutor after his election in 1973. Boutin claimed innocence but refused to go before a parliamentary committee and, instead, "took his case to the people" by resigning and seeking re-election in a by-election. He lost to Maurice Bellmare, leader of the nearly extinct Union Nationale Party.

Just before Christmas, Premier Bourassa announced plans to give members of the 110-man National Assembly hefty pay increases, making them the

highest paid parliamentarians in Canada. The Parti Quebecois announced plans to oppose it, saying the province's minimum wage should be increased first.

One evening, the Premier called a leading PQ official asking the PQ to lay off, saying the Liberals would reveal a bit of scandal involving the PQ, if they didn't.

The PQ maintained its opposition and the next day Immigration Minister Jean Bienvenue, the Liberals' hatchet man, declared that Jacques Yvan Morin was "unworthy" of keeping his seat in the house because he had accepted \$1,700 of government money to attend a meeting of French-speaking parliamentarians in Brussels, a violation of house rules. Morin found this strange, since the Speaker of the House had assigned him to visit Brussels and three cabinet ministers had approved it. Oddly, the whole thing was arranged around the time of the Boutin affair. The PQ suspects a frame-

up and almost everyone is inclined to agree.

This new affair is currently before a parliamentary committee. As a result, either Morin or Bienvenue (a monarchist known for his right-wing views — he once called for "virile censorship" during the October crisis) will lose his seat.

Early in the fall, a *Montreal Gazette* freelancer, Ralph Noseworthy, broke a story about an influence-peddling racket involving Quebec municipalities seeking senior government grants. As a result, a former Montreal town planner Roger Gagnon was charged with corrupting or attempting to corrupt a member of the Assembly and a federal MP. Noseworthy's articles indicated three MNA's and two federal MP's were involved.

Shortly before Christmas, Noseworthy's wife received an anonymous phone call saying that if she and her family wanted to have a Merry Christmas, her husband should lay off his investigations. A week later, while Noseworthy was driving on a road outside Montreal a car drew up alongside and a man pumped several shots through the reporter's car window. His car crashed off the road, but Noseworthy was not injured.

Currently, Noseworthy and other reporters are working on a story involving another Bourassa cabinet minister. It involves government grants allegedly being given to companies on condition they do business with another company controlled by the minister's in-laws.

The subject of in-laws is particularly touchy in Quebec ever since the scandal involving the Premier's in-laws, the wealthy Simard clan. It started off when newspapers revealed that Paragon Business Forms, a company controlled by Bourassa's wife, her brother Claude Simard (the current Tourism Minister) and two other Simards, was the recipient of many government contracts. When Claude was vice-president of Paragon, before entering the cabinet, the company had received \$35,000 in government business in 1969. After the Liberals won the 1970 election, Paragon got \$1 million in business. Other cases were mentioned.

Last March, Pierre Lajoie, one of Bourassa's executive assistants, was named president of the Quebec Liberal Party. Shortly after, he accepted another job as "vice-president for expansion" of an engineering company called Lemieux, Morin, Bourdages, Doucet, Simard et Associés. In 1972-73, that firm

BRAVE NEW WORLD

* * *

Toward the day when sex will be irrelevant

—Headline, *Toronto Star*, Sept. 10, 1974

received \$191,000 in government contracts. But during Lajoie's first eight months as Liberal Party president and VP for the company, it got \$1,101,000 in government contracts.

Mr. Lajoie has since been replaced as party president by Claude Desrosiers, a man billed in private by Liberal sources as Mr. Clean.

Further examples of dubious goings-on in Quebec have already been provided in previous issues of *Last Post* (Vol. 4, No. 1; Vol. 3, Nos. 3 & 5).

Other instances are being revealed at the various judicial inquiries, notably the construction inquiry. Actually, at times it's hard to tell apart the construction inquiry, the organized crime inquiry, parliamentary committee hearings, and various trials. Many of the same faces and names appear at each of them.

Odd stores that one would expect to come out of the crime inquiry actually came out at the construction inquiry. For instance, there was the story of a Montreal businessman, Lucien Lallou, soliciting the help of a construction official and a judge, Sessions Court Judge Paul Papineau, in launching a \$200 million Jai-Alai betting scheme. With a million dollar fund provided by an American syndicate, the trio sought ways of amending the law to permit the scheme. At the inquiry, letters from Paul Desrosiers, Bourassa's former right-hand man (some say he still is) and Mayor Jean Drapeau, were introduced as exhibits.

While this was going on the Police Commission released their report regarding the connections between Pierre Laporte, his political associates and members of the underworld.

It is remembered that the late Labour Minister — along with Liberal organizers Jean Jacques Coté and René Gagnon, recently removed as Immigration Minister Bienvenue's executive assistant — had met frequently with underworld figures Nicola Diorio and Frank D'Asti, who had operated a gaming house for some 10 years in South Shore Montreal.

The report, in the absence of proof of

wrong-doing, exonerated Laporte (saying he didn't necessarily know they were crooks) but said Gagnon and Coté had some explaining to do. D'Asti is currently serving a 20-year term in New Jersey for conspiring to smuggle \$2.5 million worth of heroin. Along with alleged Montreal Godfather Frank Corroni, he faces other charges in a \$3 million cocaine case. A petulant D'Asti recently told an interviewer in the U.S.: "If they want to question me, they're in for a surprise. Ministers, Members of Parliament and judges will get what's coming to them."

The Police Commission report also criticized another National Assembly Liberal Guy Leduc, from the South Shore riding of Taillon, for his dealings with D'Asti. Leduc recently was forced to resign as parliamentary assistant to a cabinet minister. As a matter of fact, Leduc's election in Taillon has been ordered investigated by the other inquiry, the Cliche Commission. It seems construction heavies like Yvan "bulldozer" Duhamel (the man who helped wreck James Bay) and René Mantha were over-zealous in helping Leduc get elected.

While all this nonsense was going on, the Montreal Urban Community Security Council, which oversees the Montreal police, found an electronic bug in their meeting room last October. At the same time, there were several burglaries at the offices of the Construction Commission and of unions placed under trusteeship, as someone rifled through files looking for something.

To the interested observer, it would appear that there is something very peculiar, indeed appalling, going on in Quebec. The stench of the rot permeates everything.

Even Premier Bourassa seems aware of it. Just before the Assembly recessed at Christmas, when his government was under attack from all sides, he declared that "the opposition in Quebec is dangerously sick." What the opposition is sick of is the mess in Quebec.

ALBERTA: YANKS TEACH UNION-BUSTING

by ANNE ROBERTS

"Take the 'You' out of Union".

If that catchy slogan didn't convince businessmen to jump at the chance to attend all-day seminars in Edmonton and Calgary recently, there were equally enticing offers: "How to challenge union organizers and retain a union-free business", and "How to legally challenge the organizers and make their actions difficult and expensive".

The seminars were organized by Central Personnel Services Ltd., an Edmonton-based firm that specializes in hiring out temporary help for office work, but the real know-how was presented by two management consultants from Tennessee, long a haven for runaway shops and a stronghold of open shop laws.

Bennett P. McRacken and Paul Blankman, complete with southern drawl and homespun stories of actual battles against unions, were billed as part of a staff that "has guided management in 'winning' over 90 per cent of their union representation elections conducted by the (American) NLRB during the past 27 years." Both are employed by South-eastern Employers Service Corporation (SESCO) of Bristol, Tenn.

Labour's and the media's response was more dramatic than that of employers — only 40 signed up in Edmonton. Reg Baskin, president of the Alberta Federation of Labour, wrote to Alberta's Minister of Manpower and Labour to protest the seminar and to demand an investigation. "If the holding of such a seminar is not illegal, it should be," he argued. "Alberta's labour law prohibits employers from interfering in the formation of a union and such a seminar certainly violates the spirit, if not the letter, of the law."

Television, radio and the print media provided full coverage of labour's objec-

tions to the seminar and the possibility that the seminar itself might be illegal. But a spokesman for the government dismissed the outcry, saying that they would not investigate. "We are concerned only if an employer actually interferes with a union," he said.

Mr. McRacken and Mr. Blankman, while admitting they were ignorant of Canadian and Alberta labour laws, also dismissed the idea that such a seminar might be illegal. They insisted that they were preaching a totally legal way of preventing employees from organizing. The golden rules offered were meeting employees' needs and, if they still are not satisfied, let your employees know that you are opposed to unions satisfying their needs.

Before the actual speeches began, the businessmen — mostly representing small service firms — clustered around posters that were haphazardly taped to the seminar room walls. Unshaven, beady-eyed gangsters, clearly labeled union representatives, were shown stuffing handfuls of money into their back pockets. Another portrayed a red and green snake sectioned off into dues, initiation fees, lost pay, corruption, etc. winding itself around a frightened clerk. The posters were offered to the businessmen as educational material for their workers.

Interest visibly waned as the morning period proceeded, for Mr. McRacken and Mr. Blankman stressed that the best way to avoid unions was to institute good management procedures. Employers were told that they should meet the following needs, in order of importance as ranked by an introductory psychology text: 1) subsistence, 2) safety and security, 3) a sense of belonging and identification, 4) self-esteem, and 5) self-fulfillment.

Management "must be willing to go that extra mile with its people, put out an effort that is a personal sacrifice," said Mr. McRacken. But to the businessmen, the main question was how, with their limited resources and management personnel they could institute the specific programs to meet their employees' needs. The answer was readily available: hire a consulting firm.

When Mr. McRacken and Mr. Blankman turned their attention to specific tactics to stop a union drive once it had begun, interest picked up and furious notetaking was observed. Most of the suggestions were summarized in SESCO's little red book titled "What Management Can and Cannot Do During a Union Organizing Drive".

Number 1 reads: "You can tell employees it is not necessary now, and it is not going to be necessary for any employee to have to join and pay dues, initiation fees, and possible assessments to any union in order to work at our company." And Number 10 adds: "You can tell employees the union can't guarantee them anything. The union can't guarantee that in a contract they will get the same benefits they now have. The union can't give them anything, they can only ask."

Number 18 reads: "You can tell employees about racketeering, Communist participation, or other undesirable activities of the union. (Relate only established facts wherever possible)." When a businessman pointed out that the Communist Party was legal in Canada, Mr. Blankman said: "Well, scratch that suggestion."

According to the book, the only thing an employer can't do is SPIT — that's S for spy, P for promise, I for intimidate or interrogate, and T for threaten.

Almost all tactics for resisting unions were predicated on a guarantee of freedom of speech. According to Mr. Blankman, "an employer's strongest defense is letting your employees know you don't like unions and are strongly opposed to them."

Mr. Blankman added that this could not be construed as a threat or interference, "it was merely expressing one's own opinions freely."

However, the precedence of freedom of speech over the right to form a union

PROMISES, PROMISES

☆☆☆

The Liberal Party Conspiracy to Destroy Canadian Mass Media

—Headline, *Warpath Magazine*, Ottawa, Vol. 1, No. 1

without interference in the United States is not established in Canada. According to Edmonton labour lawyer Jim Robb, an employer cannot display anti-union posters or communicate, verbally or in written form, anti-union sentiments. "Canadian employers are outlawed from doing anything that is designed to interfere with the covers of a union. The law clearly covers intent."

Mr. Robb said that any employer using the tactics recommended by SESCO "would make it so much easier for a union to be guaranteed certification by the government."

Union representatives who attended the seminar as observers stood up at one point to inform the businessmen they were being misinformed. Fred Pyke,

FEAR AND LOATHING DEPT.

Once at the Cannes Film Festival I remember standing incredulously to one side while Federico Fellini made his way down the grand staircase of the Palais des Festivals thronged on all sides by a surging mob of vociferous admirers who kept shouting their love and approval with deafening intensity — to the point where one feared being trampled in a riot. I was notably quiet on that occasion, though I had a strong urge (if only I had the vocal power) to drown out the shouts of the mob and address one devastating bellow to the great man himself: "Federico — you're boring!"

— Martin Knelman, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, January 2, 1975.

CUPÉ national representative, explained that SESCO recommended anti-union propaganda during the period before an election is held. Though the majority of unions in the United States are certified only after a secret election, unions are, for the most part, established in Canada

after a majority have signed up.

Mr. Pyke concluded that such a foreign implant would have difficulty thriving in Alberta soil. "Large corporations in Ontario might find it worthwhile to hire these types, but they aren't apt to drum up much business here."

FOREIGN POLICY: KIND WORDS FOR CHILE'S JUNTA

by D. BURGESS

This country's foreign policy makers have again slipped on their press releases and revealed the meanness that often lies behind the high-minded image that Ottawa seeks to project to the public.

The slippee this time is Mr. D. G. Adam, an employee of the department of industry, trade and commerce, who is Canada's First Secretary (Commercial) in Santiago, Chile. He joins a high-ranking colleague — the Canadian Ambassador to Chile, Andrew Ross, whose telegrams to Ottawa at the time of the military putsch in September 1973 were leaked to the public, showing Mr. Ross to be a supporter of the junta (*Last Post*, Vol. 3, No. 7).

Mr. Adam delivers himself of some revealing opinions in a short article on Chilean farming in the magazine *Agriculture Canada*, published by the federal department of agriculture.

"Generally," writes Mr. Adam, "the policy of the new Government is based on a relatively free enterprise system. Having re-established law and order by eliminating the great social and political unrest which was characteristic of the past three years, the new authorities have sought to restore confidence on a permanent basis. . . ."

The "great social and political unrest" to which Mr. Adam refers was caused by the richer classes in Chile who were not prepared to accept a democratically-elected socialist government.

They were helped with money and advice from the Central Intelligence Agency (currently under heavy attack in the U.S.) and by economic penalties imposed by the American, Canadian and other governments.

Though it is well-documented that murder, torture and a denial of civil liberties continue to leave the Chilean people at the mercy of random terror, and though most reports claim that the inflation-ridden Chilean economy is in a mess, Mr. Adam has discovered that "the decline in Chilean agriculture production . . . seems to have been arrested in the atmosphere of confidence and sound economic measures introduced by the new administration since September 11, 1973" [the date of the coup d'état].

Mr. Adam has much to say about the farm price policy of what he terms "the previous Government" (as if it had been routinely removed from office in a dull election) and pointedly notes that it "intended to over-protect consumers by fixing prices. . . ."

Over-protecting consumers is, at any rate, one policy that the military junta cannot be accused of following.

The business side of Canada's foreign policy is often overlooked. Mr. Adam has performed a useful service by reminding the public of the type of government that the department of industry, trade and commerce — whose attitudes Mr. Adam presumably reflects — likes to smile upon.



International Report

compiled by the staff of the Last Post

Gold supply draws U.S. into southern Africa

The recent liberal sounds being emitted from Rhodesia and South Africa, leading up to the mysterious Lusaka conference, have created no small amount of confusion.

Explanations that suggest the two white regimes see the writing on the wall and seek peace on the African continent are too sudden to be convincing; certainly they are not sufficient to explain the ill-disguised curtness with which Vorster advised Smith to stop stalling and start negotiating with Black African leaders.

As frequently happens, sudden changes of heart are preceded by sudden changes in economics; in fact, heart doesn't enter into the matter at all.

Gold is the factor that, surprisingly, has been almost totally omitted from the public discussion of Vorster's current policy of detente in Southern Africa.

A remarkably lucid confidential report from one of the three biggest American banks, dated November 25, quoted extensively in a British economic news service, casts light on the matter. (Confidential economic reports are issued by banks and some prominent economic organizations quite regularly. They are "confidential" only in that the subscriber undertakes never to quote and attribute the source of the information.)

These analyses link the situation in Southern Africa to the world gold markets and the end, at the beginning of this new year, of the ban on Americans owning gold.

Fears of an upward bound in the price of gold (which failed to materialize) were being fed, all through December, by rumours that Arab governments planned to make mass purchases at auctions of American gold stocks. At any rate, what it still boils down to is fear for the stability of the world gold supply, a fear which still remains justified.

Concern over stability of the world's gold supply is enhanced by

the fact that the world's second largest supplier of the metal is the USSR. Therefore, eyes rivet more on South Africa.

The bank report couches this in interesting language: what is needed, it says, is a "rapid re-inforcement of the strong emerging axis between the United States and South Africa."

The report identifies three signs that this is already coming about:

(1) South Africa's decision, first

reported on 8 November, to treble the size of the Simonstown port facilities.

(2) The involvement of a large number of American mining companies in prospecting and exploiting mineral lodes between Springbok and Pofadder in the northern Cape area — where a recent strike by Phelps Dodge is said to indicate major copper deposits.

(3) A more flexible South African line on apartheid.

China becomes major oil producer

China has suddenly (though discreetly) emerged as a major oil producer.

This emergence very much changes some political realities in the Pacific zone, between Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States. Japan is anxious not to become dependent on the massive Soviet Siberian oil and gas supplies, and is courting China in the international oil jockeying. Moscow must view the development of Chinese oil reserves, in competition with its own Siberian fields, as an unwelcome factor affecting Far Eastern politics. Washington is carefully remaining on Peking's good side in the oil business by some little-publicized assistance to the Chinese exploration effort.

The Chinese, as always, are statistically vague about their production trends. But Japanese estimates place this year's production at between 60m and 65m tons and informed guesswork suggests it could rise to over 100m tons next year. It is further believed that if modern pipelines, pumps and equipment are installed (which would involve outside help) next year's production could reach twice that figure.

China's policy, of course, is still based on the ideological belief in self-reliance, but technological equipment, offshore drilling rigs and sea exploration vessels are being quietly accepted from America and Denmark as well as Japan — some on a hire-purchase basis. The Americans are now helping the Chinese to develop offshore oil resources in the southern Po Hai Gulf in the Yellow Sea. The expected Sino-Japanese accord could result in Japan's gradual displacement of American influence. Mitsubishi and Nippon Steel recently agreed to supply China with oil drilling and other equipment for laying overland and undersea pipelines at an estimated cost of \$100m.

Japanese sources claim that the Harbin reserves amount to some 1 billion tons and that the Shunli oilfield in the Shantung peninsula and the offshore oil find near Tientsin, which provide the bulk of present production, may each have reserves of 1.5 billion tons. The richest of all Chinese oil deposits may lie, barely explored, under the bay of Po Hai. There have also been recent strikes in Sinkiang, Szechwan, Kwangtung and Tibet. China's oil refineries are now located at Anshan, Fushun, Taching, Dairen in Manchuria, Lanchow in Kansu, and in the municipalities of Peking, Shanghai and Nanjing. They are still inadequate but new processes are being introduced and new high-grade petroleum products are being produced.

The report suggests that if South Africa's racial policies could be diluted to approximate to those of the liberal Progressive party, American public opinion would be willing to accept a deeper involvement in South Africa. It concludes — and this is the real appetizer — that a likely effect of such involvement would be the diversion of the lion's share of South African gold sales from London and Zürich to New York. Another effect would be the final ditching of Mr. Smith's government in Rhodesia.

The scenario can be faulted in detail, but the assumptions that underlie it appear to be irrefutable: the Americans have a strong interest in securing the supply of South African gold, and the South African economy is vulnerable to American decisions. Both countries would be threatened by a continuing conflict in southern Africa, especially after Mozambique gains its independence next June. Once this was recognized, and Rhodesia seen as the prime obstacle to detente in the region, the new diplomacy was set in train. Vorster's pressure on Rhodesia received strong American backing. If Mozambique is seen as the key factor, the deadline for a settlement may be around June; but the breakneck speed of recent diplomatic moves could be bound up with American anxieties about the gold situation in the New Year. Despite all the efforts, a settlement is by no means in the bag. The constitutional conference, based on the proposal for transition to majority rule over a five-year period, is reported to have been proposed by Vorster, and so will presumably be attended by Smith's representatives. A leader of one of the Rhodesian guerrilla movements in London was told about this plan some weeks ago by Zambian diplomats. Although the two main guerrilla groups, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu) are not exactly enraptured about it, they are now expected to take part in the talks. But the differences of opinion likely to surface at the conference may be insuperable. Key factors include:

(1) Mr. Smith's reservations: Recently Smith reiterated his opposition to African majority rule. He

Chilean government-in-exile-rumoured

There is widespread speculation, both in Santiago and in Mexico City, that an attempt will be made to form a Chilean government-in-exile, based in Mexico — which has conveniently severed diplomatic relations with the junta. The president of such a body would almost certainly be Sr. Clodomiro Almeyda, a Socialist who was formerly Allende's foreign minister and established a reputation as a 'reasonable' man. The next step would be for the Mexicans and the Cubans to sponsor a resolution in the U.N. General Assembly designed to bring about the expulsion of the present Chilean delegates.

seemed prepared to include some black ministers in his cabinet ("If I found Africans of ability and merit I would be prepared to bring them in and give them a chance") but this may be going too far for most of his Rhodesian Front supporters. Rhodesian whites seem to hope that their past experience in framing constitutions which speak of African political rights without conferring real power will stand them in good stead on this occasion. With Africans as full negotiating partners this time, however, such legalistic loopholes and qualifications are unlikely to succeed. On the other hand, if Smith were to concede anything like what even moderate Africans are now demanding, he could share the fate of his predecessors by being replaced in favour of a hardline defender of white supremacy. If the Africans cannot be moved from their demand for a guaranteed transition to majority rule over a fairly short period, negotiations with any serious representative of white opinion seem doomed to failure.

(2) A possible military takeover: The only way out of such a deadlock would then be a takeover by someone capable of imposing a compromise solution on the whites. Since this could probably only be done by force (or threat of force), it might well mean a takeover by the armed forces. This possibility may be remote, but some key army figures have been critical of the government for some time. The former army commander, Major-General Putterill, spoke for some of his active colleagues when he recently disclosed that "political pre-emptive action had failed to keep pace with military measures to meet the threat". There is probably no consensus within the army as a whole, but informed sources suggest that

Smith's agreement to enter into constitutional talks came after the security chiefs had added their warnings to Vorster's pressure. Smith has since stated that he would "readily" stand down as prime minister if he felt himself to be an obstacle to a settlement.

(3) Nationalist rivalries: According to reliable sources, President Kaunda's choice as chairman of the united Rhodesian liberation front was the president of Zapu, Mr. Joshua Nkomo. This preference had historical as well as political reasons — for the moment Mr. Nkomo appears more moderate than his Zanu rival, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. Although Zapu is believed to command more support inside Rhodesia, Zanu spokesmen have pointed out that its men have carried the brunt of the guerrilla war. The president of the African National Council (ANC), Bishop Muzorewa, was therefore a compromise chairman for the new front. There are, however, continuing doubts about whether the black African leaders can function together.

(4) Mugabe's role: The prospects for a genuine alliance were enhanced by the re-emergence in Rhodesia recently of Robert Mugabe as chief spokesman of Zanu. (Herbert Chitepo, the de facto Zanu leader during Sithole's detention, remains in exile to direct Zanu operations — either in enforcing a cease-fire or in launching a new campaign; as developments require.)

Robert Mugabe is a veteran political leader. He appears to be acceptable to supporters of both Zanu and Zapu. Three years ago, there were reports that Sithole and Nkomo, through messages passing back and forth between their prisons, had agreed to merge their organizations

with Mugabe as the compromise leader. Mugabe was also in detention, and the eventual failure of communication frustrated the merger. But the episode gives some idea of his stature among the guerrillas.

Recently he said in Salisbury that Africans wanted "majority rule as a fact" and that the mechanics of the transfer could be discussed only after this fact had been accepted by the Rhodesian government. Although conceding the need for a

transition period, neither he nor more moderate leaders have abandoned their demand that the Rhodesian government must commit itself to the principle of majority rule.

Portugal's Communists stress moderation

Senhor Alvaro Cunhal is the sort of man you would confidently buy a horse from. Grey-haired and sixtyish, he looks as if he might be the elder statesman of the new Portuguese regime. He was, in fact, tortured by the Pridé (the former security police) and given a 20-year prison sentence for his political activity as long ago as 1949. As a minister of state in the present Portuguese cabinet, he has exerted his influence against irresponsible political and industrial agitation. His prestige in the armed forces is high. The drawback, from the point of view of Western governments, is that he is the secretary of the Portuguese Communist party and reputed to be unshakably loyal to Moscow.

His left-wing critics describe him as an introvert, a theorist, unfamiliar with the hurly-burly of open politics and too remote to mobilize the masses. His appearance and normal speaking-style are not those of a firebrand.

His style suits the times. When he visited Moscow at the beginning of November his hosts are believed to have reiterated their earlier advice to Senhor Cunhal to avoid Allende's provocativeness and economic blunders. The Russians, it is thought, will be satisfied if the Portuguese Communists score only a modest success in next spring's planned election, since they do not seem to want to provoke the sort of reaction from the United States that might endanger the moves towards an American-Russian detente.

Longer-term Communist aims most certainly include easing Portugal out of NATO and using it as a channel for extending Soviet influence in Black Africa. But for the moment Senhor Cunhal says: "The problem with NATO is one that should be dealt with in overall discussions on European security; it is

not one that we Communists intend to raise just now." Similarly, the Communist leader tells left-wingers who want immediate nationalization of leading banks and industries that "this is not practical politics just now. It is not in the program of the Armed Forces Movement. We must be realistic." And he tells party workers to avoid creating friction. Some young Communists and veterans of the party's underground struggle are chafing under these tactical restraints and calling for a more revolutionary policy.

The Communist party's role in helping to defuse the right-wing movement at the end of September was good for members' morale and won back many supporters who had drifted away from it since May. But the party was criticized by some officers of the Armed Forces Movement for organizing civilian militia groups.

The militia groups are no longer visible, although they could probably be called out again fairly quickly in an emergency. But for the time being the Communist party is stressing its reliance on the AFM. "The party is not armed," Senhor Cunhal said recently, "but there are weapons in plenty to defend our democratic revolution and they are in good hands — those of the AFM."

Meanwhile, it is not just the Communists who are getting a little nervous about the possible outcome of the elections for a constituent assembly. The members of the co-ordinating committee of the Armed Forces Movement are looking distinctly jittery as well. Some of their doubts seeped through into an important editorial in the AFM's *Boletim Informativo* on November 26, which warned that "the state of repression to which the working class has been subjected, especially in the countryside, and its limited

understanding of its own conditions of exploitation and oppression mean that it could be manipulated in an electoral process for which the necessary political experience is lacking." The conclusion: that the AFM "will have to guarantee not only that the constituent assembly is truly representative of the people, but also that the new constitution is imbued with the same progressive spirit as (the Movement's) program."

Through the jargon, the message is clear as a warning flare: the people can have democracy, but not if they vote the wrong way. The "wrong way" means the only major party to the right of the coalition cabinet, the Social Democratic Centre (CDS) led by Senhor do Amaral. There are several ways that the co-ordinating committee could move to head off the threat of a centre-right victory at the polls:

(1) It could insist that all parties contesting the election should subscribe to its economic program. But since one of the chief aims of this document is to reassure foreign investors, this would be unlikely to worry the CDS overmuch.

(2) It could insist that members of the AFM should occupy 10-20 per cent of the seats in the assembly — as has been suggested by the Communist party. The presence of the AFM would probably tilt the balance decisively in favour of the left.

(3) The elections could be postponed. Indeed, a tailor-made pretext has appeared: the short space of time (20 days) available for electoral registration. The Communists are already carping about this.

(4) If the elections do go ahead, the AFM will still be able to hold the Damocles' sword of intervention over the assembly's head, if it is reluctant to act according to "progressive" principles. The AFM could, for example, invoke

Portugal's deepening economic crisis, and the possibility of industrial unrest, as a pretext for applying the brakes to the constitutional process it has set in motion.

Attempts to demoralize the CDS have so far taken a passive form. Soldiers invariably turn up too late to defend its meetings from attacks by extreme left-wing organizations like the maoist MRPP and LUAR, an ex-guerrilla group. In the Algarve, for example, the troops took more than three hours to arrive when called to protect the CDS against a mob armed with knives and sticks, and when they came, they made no arrests. Listening to the state-controlled broadcasting services, one would hardly guess that the CDS even existed — despite the public

commitment of Major Vitor Alves, the minister responsible, among other things, for information, to give equal time to the major parties. Financial contributions to the CDS have been frozen at the initiative of bank employees, and the party is consequently short of funds.

But the co-ordinating committee has so far held back from more direct action against the CDS, partly because of the international links the party has forged (it has been accepted as a member of the Christian Democratic Union) and partly because of the split within the AFM itself.

The AFM, which is now claimed to include most serving officers in Portugal (but whose hard core numbers about 400) is divided between

the left-wing, which has gained control of the co-ordinating committee; what remains, after purges, of the right-wing, the Spinoists; and a floating mass of moderates in the middle, now identified with the army's chief of staff, General Fabio. The left have learned much from General Spino's tactical mistake in pushing for a showdown in September, and have been treating this group with kid gloves. On December 6, they even yielded to General Fabio's demand that a plenary session of the AFM be called to discuss key decisions by the co-ordinating committee. The meeting was secret, and the officers came out emphasizing their "indissoluble cohesion". It is likely to be tested again soon.

Women hurt first as Europe's economy dips

Women workers are the first to be chucked overboard when Europe's economic ship is listing. More than 40 per cent of the EEC's 3.3m unemployed are women. A year ago their share of a much smaller total was only 30 per cent. The EEC commission in a report to the Nine says that women are concentrated in lower-grade jobs which, together with fewer years of service and low trade union membership, makes them easier to sack.

The only exceptions in the EEC are Germany and Denmark. In both countries the unusually high rate of layoffs in heavy industry (in Germany particularly in the car and construction industries) have to some extent spared the women workers. Until recently women in Britain, too, were rarely in the dole queue. Last year they made up 37 per cent of the labour force but only 17 per cent of the jobless. Some of the advantage is more apparent than real: a lot of unemployed married women do not bother to register.

The reason why so many women are now getting the sack, the commission says, lies in the jobs they do. Many work only part-time so that they can look after their children. Again, a lot of them work in low-paid, labour-intensive industries most vulnerable to recession, such as textiles, clothing and food. These industries were in trouble even before the EEC economies started sagging. The commission

can do nothing for the growing flock of unemployed women: hiring and firing in member countries is outside its domain.

Nor can it offer much help to women workers in other ways. On paper it has a say in enforcing equal pay legislation, but even equal pay is still largely a myth in community countries, and on job opportunities and working conditions there is usually not even the pretence of equality. A German sociologist, Helge Prose, in a study of women at work in the EEC (confined to the old Six because the field work was completed before the new members joined), after interviewing 7,000 female workers concluded that throughout the community women are markedly worse paid, do far more boring and menial jobs, have less responsibility, and as a rule have to put up with far worse working conditions than men.

Surprisingly, though, very large differences emerged between the way the individual EEC countries treat their women workers. Italy does far worse than anyone else. Women there on average get paid less than half as much as in France or Germany, most of them work in factories in rather unpleasant conditions, their hours are long and they get few perks. Holland is at the other end of the extreme: pay is good, not too far behind that for men, most women work in service industries which do not involve much physical

labour, hours are shorter than in other countries and there is plenty of part-time work available. Even so, Holland is the community country with the lowest proportion of women workers; only a minority of married women have a job outside the home and hardly any mothers of young children go out to work. Working women, apart from the young and single, just seem to be providing the icing on the cake.

The other EEC countries fall somewhere between these extremes: Luxemburg is not unlike Holland, Belgium has a higher proportion of working women who on the whole are well paid. German women workers, too, do well for pleasant working conditions and money, but only, it seems, because Germany is such a rich country anyway; compared with their male colleagues they get a rough deal. The real surprise is France, which emerges as the most egalitarian of the Six. French working women get much the same pay as men for the same kind of job, as well as the same fringe benefits, they tend to be well educated and hold a much higher proportion of responsible and well-paid jobs than in other community countries. Britain is not covered by the study but official figures, giving female average earnings last April as 26.90 pounds a week against 47.50 pounds for men, tell their own story.

The Economist

Last Pssst



by Claude Balloune

Look for the resignation sometime around March of **General Jacques Dextraze**, the Chief of Staff of the Canadian Armed Forces. From what I hear, he'll probably take up to five big generals with him and create a public stink about the military's budget. Gen. Dextraze feels **Trudeau** has been relegating the military to the cupboard, refusing to give them the money for the equipment they want.

Heads should roll over at the *National Energy Board* soon. The Board continues to make its usual bumbling mistakes, buying the oil industry's line, hook and sinker, and messing up Canada's energy position. Cynics like to say that about three-quarters of the energy board staff come from the oil industry and the other quarter is headed for jobs in the oil industry.

Meanwhile over at *Atomic Energy*, there's increasing disgruntlement over all the talk about safeguards in sales of Candu nuclear plants abroad. The civilians feel all the political statements about safeguards is simple nonsense intended for domestic consumption. They feel Canada is embarked on a totally irresponsible course selling plants to all comers, such as South Korea. They say everybody knew about India's plans to build an A-bomb about six months before it exploded, using fissionable material from a Candu plant. They feel **Ivor Head's** junket off to Iran to sell another nuclear plant is mad since everybody knows what the Shah wants.



Everyone knows why the Shah wants a Candu

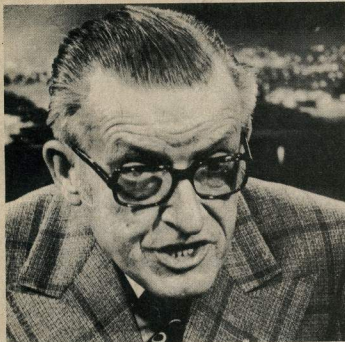
Back to the military for a moment. There's a major scandal brewing regarding Canada's peace-keeping forces in the Mideast and Cyprus. It seems some NCO's and officers were heavily into blackmarketing of food and other items from Armed Forces supplies. Investigations are going on. A figure of \$600,000 is being banded about in Ottawa defence circles.



Mackasey and other Doves take on immigration Hawks

The cabinet is split into Hawks and Doves over the current immigration issue. The Doves, generally from Toronto ridings with heavy immigrant populations, as well as people like **Bryce Mackasey**, favour a liberal attitude, while the Hawks, generally from out west, want to clamp down, some seeking an almost total cut-off. Doves accuse the Hawks of being racist and ultra-conservative, while the latter accuse the Doves of being unrealistic and opportunist.

Tidbits ... Some Ottawa sources claim there's been another fallout between **John Turner** and the P.M. Turner feels **Trudeau's** leadership has been slipshod and



Caouette: where were the investigative reporters?

wishy-washy . . . The press reaction to **Real Caouette's** allegations that politicians buy newsmen was interesting. They were indignant with denials. If, however, Caouette had accused, say, pharmacists, all the investigative reporters would have been out scouring for proof. The cocktail circuit reports that the current crop of cabinet wives wield more power and influence over the ship of state than ever before.

As the financial pages — and front pages — of our papers are filled with gloom and doom forecasts and statistics, it's nice to see that at least one segment of our society is doing all right for itself. While sales of Ford, Chevy, Volks and such makes are down, dealers report sales of Cadillacs and Lincolns are up. Nice to know that while the ordinary folk are forced to bite the inflation bullet, the corps of luxury car drivers is swelling.

There doesn't appear to be any mad rush of declared or undeclared people seeking the federal NDP leadership. Recently, B.C. Premier **Dave Barrett** flew into Ottawa to see the NDP caucus. At one point during discussion about the party's future, Barrett snapped: "All right, which one of you fuckers is running." Most sat glumly and demurred.

On the other hand, there's a mad rush for the Tory leadership. It looks like **Claude Wagner** has the inside track, with about a third of the Conservative's 86-member caucus committed to the former Liberal. He's travelled extensively across the country and is popular with local organizers. Interestingly, he appears to be stronger outside Quebec than in his home province. One of the reasons is his opposition to attempts by Quebec Tories to set up a provincial party. He told Quebec organizers: "Let **Bellemare** do it," meaning that the old Union Nationale workhorse should be left alone to rebuild his tattered party as the logical conservative opposition to the **Bourassa** Liberals. This suggests a private deal between Wagner and Bellemare. As a result, a few Quebec Tories, such as **Michael Meighen**, their national president, **Brian Mulrooney**, one of the three Cliche commission members and **Howard Graffey**, M.P., are considering running for the

Last Pssst

leadership. However, it's Wagner who has become the darling of the Eastern money establishment. He's been plodding on his leadership bid since the last election, has started picking up big Ontario money, and is slowly building up a staff.

Jean Eudes Dube, the not very flamboyant former Veterans Affairs Minister, is headed for a federal judgeship . . . **Herb Gray** has deferred plans to go into private law practice . . . **Stanley Haidasz** sits quietly on his backside on the back benches . . . Originally, **Jean Pierre Goyer** was scheduled to join the aforementioned gentlemen on the backbenches but saved himself a cabinet spot by throwing a temper tantrum and threatening to quit the party and sit as an independent.

Charles Gagnon, former FLQist and his paper *En Lutte* now lean towards the Maoist advocacy of a Canada-wide revolutionary party, rather than working for Quebec independence. Fellow former FLQist **Pierres Vallieres** is now ensconced as a reporter with the federalist *Le Devoir*, where he crosses swords with **Claude Ryan**.

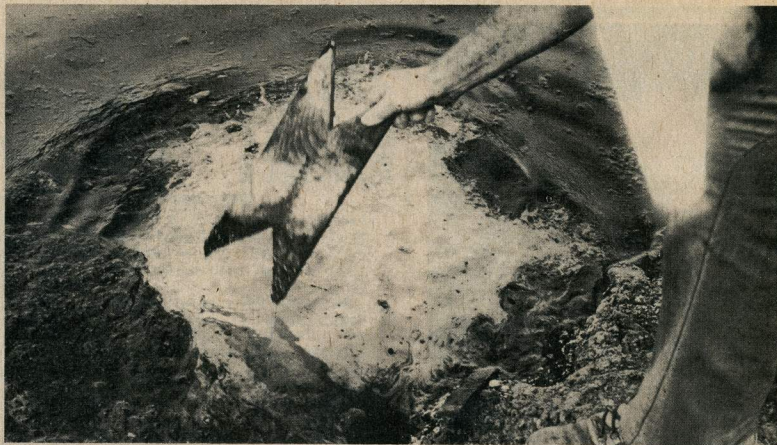


Pierres Vallieres and Charles Gagnon in 1967

Larry Zolf, suffering from a bout of rheumatism, had to decline a dinner invitation from the **Trudeaus** on Sussex Drive recently. The latter couple, regarding it as a snub brought on by a previous episode, struck Zolf off their regular invitation list. Zolf is now forced to dine alone on Tuesdays.

In Ottawa, a wife of a prominent anti-abortionist member of the Trudeau cabinet found out that a neighbouring couple had a mixed marriage and the children didn't go to Catholic schools. She dropped by for a visit and forcefully demanded that the children be enrolled in Catholic schools. They weren't.

Mordecai Richler is currently collaborating with **Candice Berger** on a script based upon the old Charlie McCarthy skits.



Migrating waterfowl are threatened by oil surface of tailings reservoir

THE CRUDE HOAX

by Jim Anderson

In keeping with his proclivity for image politicking, Premier Peter Lougheed of Alberta paid a Toronto-based PR agency, Baker-Lovick Ltd., over \$6,000 to prepare his announcement of the decision to proceed with the massive Syncrude tar sands project in the fall of 1973. Thanks to Lougheed and the eastern ad agency, the Alberta public was treated to a half-hour television spectacular, featuring the premier's stirring Alberta First rhetoric packaged seductively with an impressive use of props, visual aids, scenery and song. The Syncrude deal, Lougheed proudly proclaimed, heralded "... a new era for energy in the province."

The impact was overwhelming. The news media throughout the province greeted the announcement with acclaim. Mayor Dent of Edmonton, an old NDP warhorse, was ecstatic. The town of Fort McMurray, situated in the Athabasca tar sands, declared a holiday.

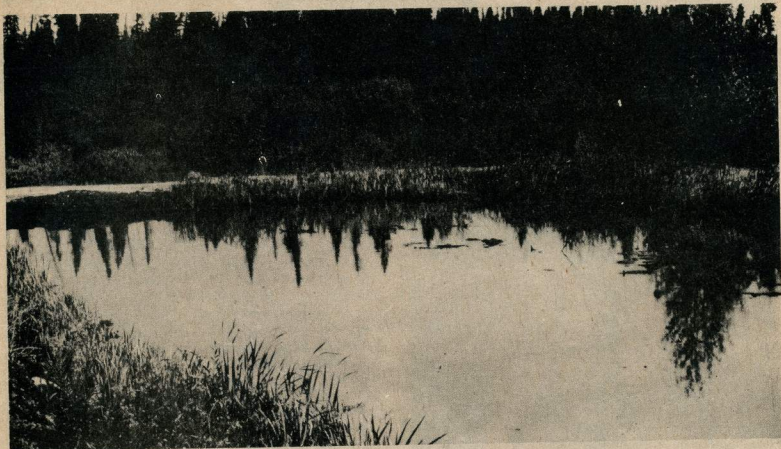
Clearly, the time of the tar sands had come. Syncrude's formidable public relations department was soon at work reinforcing Lougheed's message that the Syncrude deal proved

the commercial viability of mining the sands. Syncrude ran nation-wide television ads showing Gordon Pinsent dropping pebbles in a pond to illustrate the economic benefits of its tar sands plant spreading like waves to all parts of Canada. Albertans were also subjected to a half-hour television "documentary" entitled "Time of the Tar Sands" narrated by Pinsent and produced by none other than Syncrude's versatile public relations manager, John Barr.

The message was easy to believe. The location of the tar sands was known, no exploration was necessary. The extraction method appeared to be proven. Great Canadian Oil Sands had been operating a plant based on the hot water process since 1967. The world was hungry for energy and the price of oil was rising.

Recent setbacks to the vaunted Syncrude project, however, suggest that the gung-ho approach to tar sands development advocated by Premier Lougheed and the oil industry was never really viable. Atlantic Richfield, one of the four U.S. multinationals involved in the Syncrude consortium, recently withdrew its 30 per cent interest in the project. Syncrude's cost estimate skyrocketed from the original figure of \$800 million to more than \$2 billion and the company is now laying off workers. Meanwhile, Lougheed's steadfast hostil-

Jim Anderson writes for the *Last Post* from Edmonton. Now doing graduate studies, he was formerly executive assistant to Alberta NDP leader Grant Notley.



Contaminated pond on Syncrude lease; federal government is not satisfied with Syncrude claims

ABOUT SYNCRUDE

ity to federal involvement in the tar sands has shown a remarkable change and he is now willing to allow Ottawa to become a partner in Syncrude by picking up the 30 per cent stake in the operation formerly held by Atlantic Richfield. These developments suggest that oil sands extraction using the surface mining method — the only technique employed on a large scale to date — is a questionable exercise on economic grounds alone.

The Alberta government's policy — formulated on the advice of U.S. oil consultant Walter Levy (*Last Post*, Vol. 4, No. 4) — calls for construction of one large-scale plant every two years on the average between now and the end of the century.

The impact on the environment of such rapid tar sands development would almost certainly be catastrophic. Despite efforts by the Lougheed government and Syncrude to delude the public about the environmental consequences of their tar sands strategy, enough information has filtered through to provide a frightening view of the ecological effects of the Syncrude plant alone or in combination with a number of similar projects.

The massive scale of the Syncrude operation is the first hint of its potential ecological effect. It will be the world's

largest strip mine, employing huge draglines to scoop up over 13,000 tons of tar sand per hour — five times Canada's hourly coal production. This large volume of tar sand will be sent by conveyor belt to the plant where it will be separated by means of a hot water process to produce about 125,000 barrels of oil per day plus an incredible volume of highly polluting waste material.

Much of this waste will be poured into a 9.3 square mile reservoir euphemistically called a "tailings pond" which will be highly toxic and covered with a layer of oil, posing a serious threat to the millions of waterfowl that breed in the Peace-Athabasca delta and fly directly over the Syncrude lease area on their yearly migrations. The tailings could also devastate the sensitive delta in the event of rupture of the retaining dykes or through seepage into the nearby Athabasca River. According to a report by provincial civil servants, sulphur dioxide emissions from a number of Syncrude-sized plants could combine with water vapour to form a killer-fog similar to the Great London Fog of 1952 which killed 3,500 people. Not only would mine workers and town residents be imperilled, but airborne SO₂ could combine with surface waters in the area to form a lethal acid which would adversely affect vegetation as far away as Saskatchewan.

OTTAWA'S CRITICISM OF SYNCRUDE

Environmental Canada

Environmental Canada

MEMORANDUM

NOTE DE SERVICE

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: THE MINISTER

SUBJECT: DOE CONSULTS - SYNCRUDE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

The attached letter has been prepared for your signature and dispatch, together with the accompanying Regional documents, to the Honourable H. J. Turko, Minister of the Environment, Province of Alberta.

The Regional Task Force, in reviewing the Synchrude documents, encountered great difficulty due to information deficiencies. When asked for more detailed information the informant stated it was confidential and could not be released.

Headquarters staff members, who in turn reviewed the attached document which already had been approved by the Regional Board agreed with it but were of the opinion that even greater emphasis should be placed on the likely major environmental consequences which were identified to be:

a. Waste Water Management - The entire concept of waste water control for Synchrude centers around the principle of zero discharge, i.e., that all wastes are returned to a fallow pond and therefore there can be no discharge to the environment. We feel that Synchrude's stated water balance for the project is incorrect, based on our personal knowledge including data from the West Canadian Oil Sands operation. If this is the case, deleterious discharge to the environment may result because of an instability potential or through direct deposits. Another major concern is that the disposal of large quantities of saline mine water may have a serious environmental impact.

b. Air Waste Management - Synchrude's assessment of environmental effects from sulphur dioxide emissions fails to provide ground level concentrations based on a single stack and ideal weather conditions. This is a simplistic approach because it does not consider total emissions of SO₂, adverse dispersion conditions nor the effect from other operating plants in the area. In addition the long-term potential problem of cumulative deposition of sulphur oxides in regional and transboundary sites was not reviewed by Synchrude. Effect of heavy metal emissions in the plant fuel combustion gases should also be assessed properly.

With the release of large volumes of water vapour, we are concerned with the potential for formation and persistence of mistspread fog in the area. This fog, along with sulphur acidity, could produce a serious human health hazard.

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c. Fisheries - The Alberta Department of Lands and Forests has been keeping up Department's Fisheries and Marine Service informed concerning fisheries aspects, but the Federal Fisheries interests must also be recognized by Synchrude.

The documentation of fish populations is inadequate as are references to the nature of emissions and effluents and to their likely effects on the aquatic environment.

d. Wetland Birds - The tar sands area is overflowed by a high percentage of the total migratory waterfowl population of North America. The management and protection of this resource is assigned by international treaty jointly to Canada and the United States. The very existence of extensive tallings zones, particularly if they harbour contaminants, can constitute a serious problem which Synchrude has not adequately addressed.

e. Waste Rehabilitation - Sufficient details concerning the eventual reclamation or rehabilitation of the lease were not provided.

f. Contingency Planning - The possible occurrence of an environmental emergency has not been considered. The potential for, and effect of such occurrences should be fully evaluated, and comprehensive contingency plans developed.

If you concur with the attached letter please be signed.

Jean Lupien

The Honourable H. J. Turko,
Minister of the Environment,
Province of Alberta,
200 Legislative Building,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Dear Mr. Turko:

Subject: Synchrude Environmental Impact Assessment

In response to your request dated October 16, 1973, I am enclosing the copies of my Department's comments on the Synchrude Environmental Impact Assessment.

In the context of the incomplete information provided by Synchrude Canada Limited in the documents comprising the Impact Assessment, and the confidentiality of our state-of-the-art technology, the comments presented in this report must not be considered to represent a thorough review of the subject. It does appear however, from an examination of the available information, that Synchrude has failed to appreciate the real scope of environmental concerns and has also failed to address the question of environmental protection in either a realistic or an adequate manner.

The areas of specific concern relate to the management and control of waste waters and Synchrude emissions, the impact of the development on fisheries and migratory birds, the need for environmental engineering planning, and eventual rehabilitation of the site.

In view of our mutual interests in this matter from the standpoint of both the preservation of environmental quality and legislative responsibilities incumbent upon both Federal and Provincial Governments, I believe it is necessary for our respective Departments to jointly determine what further steps are needed in order to satisfy environmental concerns. It may be necessary to meet with Synchrude at a later date in order to resolve any outstanding difficulties. I will request the Regional Director

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of the Environmental Protection Service, Mr. J.J. Fatech, to pursue discussions with your officials at the earliest possible date to further consider the specific concerns identified.

To reiterate, Synchrude's documentation is deficient in detailed information in many areas of environmental concern and we believe that there is a likelihood for major environmental damage.

As our preliminary assessment is based on incomplete information we have classified the enclosed report as "Confidential" and I would respectfully request that your staff treat it accordingly. I have included for your information a copy of a memorandum from my Senior Assistant Deputy Minister, Environment Services, which provides the basis for the comments in my letter.

Please accept my sincere thanks for this opportunity to review and comment on the Synchrude documentation.

Yours sincerely,

Original signed by
Dagmar Boyd

Jeanne Shure.

Reclamation of the 800 square miles of tar sands amenable to strip mining is also likely to be exceedingly slow in the harsh subarctic climate. Twenty to 40 per cent of the total flow of water in the Athabasca River will be drawn off by a number of tar sands plants (Syncrude alone will use 3.5 million gallons per hour) and ecologists warn that this could damage the Peace-Athabasca delta more drastically than the B.C.-Bennett Dam. Potential effects of oil spills have not been assessed by anyone, despite the fact that the single tar sands plant in operation has experienced two spills to date, one of which reached the delta.

Not surprisingly, a number of provincial environmentalists have recognized the profound implications of this massive assault on the ecology of the region and have documented it for their less conscientious political masters. A top-level interdepartmental group of Alberta civil servants, for example, warned their government that if the industry's plan for rapid exploitation of the sands were followed, "the impact on nature could be totally devastating." They noted the absence of any serious environmental studies, stating that "this apparent emphasis on winning the resource is again an indication of the heavy influence of the conventional crude oil industry." The chairman of this group of bureaucrats stated emphatically that the McMurray region could become "a biologically barren wasteland." Another predicted that tar sands activity could turn northeastern Alberta into "a disaster region resembling a lunar landscape." No wonder, then, that an old soldier in the Lougheed cabinet who remembered being on hand when Great Canadian Oil Sands started its operation said it reminded him of "the beaches of Normandy on D-day."

Some civil servants in Alberta and a few of the more ecology-conscious members of the public have actually begun to think the unthinkable about tar sands development, namely that further plants on the Syncrude model cannot be permitted unless and until a less polluting technology is developed which incorporates the best possible abatement practices and technology into its operation. Lougheed's committee of top civil servants, for example, stated "it is obvious that current technology and recovery efficiencies must change drastically before additional plants should be approved." Similarly, a group of 75 citizens forming the Public Advisory Committee to the province's Environmental Conservation Authority called on the government to delay approval of further tar sands plants "until such time as a satisfactory method is demonstrated in the treatment of liquid tailings from the process."

Syncrude itself is concerned that beefed-up environmental controls may be demanded in the future, after the public has witnessed a series of major ecological disasters in the sands. A study of the principal risks of the Syncrude project prepared by Foster Economic Consultants for the Alberta government in 1973 also concluded that "an oil sands operator faces the possibility that future controls of a more strict nature could significantly add to both capital and operating costs." Alberta's Environment Minister, Bill Yurko, is of the view that there is no possibility of pollution standards that could hinder the inexorable advance into the "new era for energy" represented by the oil sands, and as a demonstration of faith the good minister has given Syncrude written assurance that government standards will be reviewed only at five-year intervals regardless of the ecological damage that might occur in the meantime. As Larry Pratt states in his forthcoming book on the tar sands:



Lougheed government and Syncrude have deluded public

William Yurko, Alberta's Minister of the Environment, articulates in his public utterances the same philosophy of development which underlies the advice of the government's oil consultant, Walter J. Levy of New York. This school of opinion favours swift, conscripted exploitation of the tar sands on political and economic grounds.

Indeed Yurko and Syncrude have jointly engaged in an incredible sleight-of-hand in environmental matters, aided by a gaggle of hireling consulting firms which eagerly compete with each other to produce superficial and misleading reports "scientifically" designed to rationalize inadequate pollution abatement practices and to quell public criticism.

Yurko's record as an apologist for Syncrude surely places him in a class by himself. When he was asked by NDP Leader Grant Notley on May 30, 1974 if he had agreed to keep Syncrude's environmental studies confidential if the company so requested, he informed the legislature that he had indeed met with Syncrude on this matter and had "indicated to them, in a very strong way, the government policy in this regard which is that basically all environmental information is public information and only the rarest exceptions will be made." Syncrude's view of a meeting between Yurko and their environmental official is that the minister had agreed that any material given to his department stamped "confidential" would be respected as such. In the same exchange on the floor of the house, Yurko admitted that he had allowed Syncrude to revise one of their reports before it was submitted to his Department.

In a controversy that developed over the death of a number of waterfowl on the Syncrude lease, Yurko denied that a

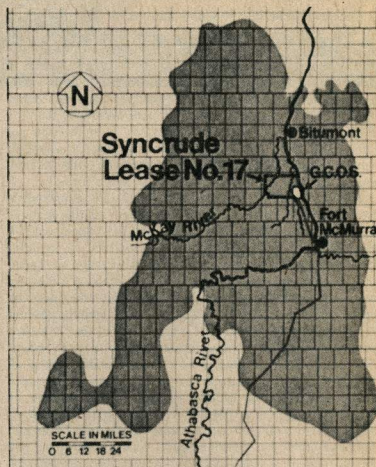
bird-kill of any magnitude had taken place because "Dr. Goforth (Syncrude's environmental director) keeps me advised on almost everything that goes on in the Syncrude lease from an environmental point of view." Meanwhile, a senior biologist in the government's Fish and Wildlife Branch indicated that the last official report the government had received from Syncrude concerning waterfowl hazards on the lease had been a year and a half earlier and had in fact been woefully inadequate. Even if the government were motivated to act as environmental watchdog in the oil sands region, it is difficult to imagine how this could be accomplished in view of information obtained by a local anti-pollution group (Save Tomorrow Oppose Pollution) which revealed that Yurko's department has only four field staff empowered to police the government's Clean Water Act throughout the entire province.

In a statement later confirmed by federal Environment Minister Jeanne Suave, Yurko revealed in early November that Alberta and Ottawa were near an accord regarding "dividing up the responsibilities" for environmental control in the tar sands which would clearly recognize that the province would be the only body engaged in ecological monitoring and enforcement. The companies wish to deal with only one jurisdiction, Yurko explained, and given his record, they naturally want this authority to rest with the province. Yet in a secret document entitled "Oil Sands Development Policy" leaked to the NDP member of the Alberta legislature, provincial civil servants concede that "federal jurisdiction in certain aspects of pollution control (air and water control) appears to override . . . provincial concerns." Federal officials have also noted Ottawa's responsibilities in the tar sands, particularly in relation to migratory birds, fisheries and the almost certain spillover effects beyond Alberta's boundaries — e.g., the Northwest Territories and western Saskatchewan.

Recent federal documentation of Syncrude's environmental mismanagement reveals the extent of the cover up by the company and the Alberta government.

A few weeks ago, Ottawa sources leaked a document to the Alberta NDP which consisted of a letter from Sauve to Yurko written last fall in which the federal minister strongly objected to Syncrude's elaborate Environmental Impact Assessment. While Syncrude boasts on page ten of its assessment document that "the balance of losses and gains resulting from the Syncrude project may be determined on the basis of information presented here," Sauve points out that it does no such thing. In fact, she states, the company "failed to address the question of environmental protection in either a realistic or an adequate manner." Moreover, Sauve predicted "the likelihood for major environmental damage." It seems the assessment therefore failed to make the grade even as an exercise in creative writing — that is, environmental impact assessments (according to the prestigious Canadian Environmental Law Association) are often written not so much to meet the needs of the environment as "to withstand the test of review." Syncrude's study flunked on both criteria. In his reply to the Sauve letter, Yurko comments, quite accurately, that many of the objections raised by federal officials had been identified by his staff and communicated to Syncrude. Needless to say, they had never been communicated to the Alberta public.

The Sauve protest was based on a 70-page report prepared by a task force of federal experts set up to evaluate the Syncrude Impact Assessment. Reading the task force report gives one the impression that the federal officials are hard pressed



The tar sands and Syncrude lease

to express their alarm and indignation at the Syncrude snow job within the confines of the dispassionate prose expected of bureaucrats. Yet, several of the misleading and inadequate aspects of the Syncrude Assessment documented by these federal experts are revealing.

Syncrude's coker burner complex and its sulphur plant will pour 287 long tons of sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere each stream day (a stream day is roughly equivalent to a calendar day). This sulphurous discharge could be reduced to as little as 40 long tons per stream day if the company would employ what federal officials call the "best practicable" pollution abatement equipment. Syncrude refuses to do so on economic grounds despite its "Environmental Policy Statement" — printed proudly in one of its publicity brochures — in which it proclaims its commitment to the use of "the best practicable technology, both in resource development and environmental protection."

These unnecessarily vast sulphur dioxide emissions will mean, the task force continues, that under normal operating conditions the federal and provincial standards for SO₂ concentrations will be exceeded several fold. The Syncrude Assessment minimizes the effects of SO₂ by calculations assuming optimal dispersion rates, conveniently ignoring the fact that dangerous air inversions which trap pollutants close to ground level occur on 90 per cent of winter days in the lease area. The federal statement that SO₂ emissions imposed a "real and serious threat" to vegetation beyond the lease provides an interesting contrast to a statement made by Dr. Goforth, Syncrude's top environmentalist, in a 1973 company PR brochure — "We want to confine all environmental effects to our Lease." The federal experts note that SO₂ emissions will have to be decreased with only two plants in operation. At the very least this calls into question Alberta's grandiose plans for a multi-plant operation in the sands. The

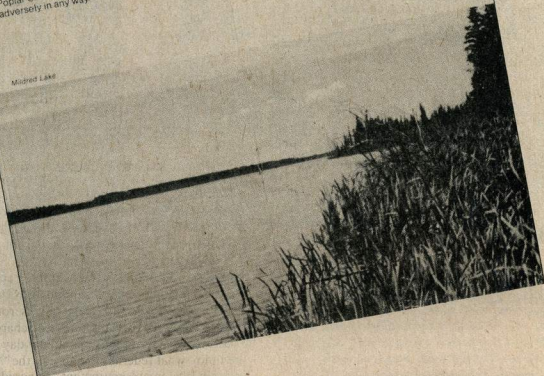
THERE ARE SEVERAL LAKES NEAR THE SYNCRUDE PROJECT. HOW WILL THEY BE AFFECTED?

The two lakes nearby—Ruth Lake and Mikrod Lake—are both shallow, weedy northern lakes used primarily as a stopover point by migratory ducks and geese. Neither contains any sport fish or offers any swimming or boating potential. Water quality of Mikrod Lake will be improved by the Syncrude Project, as it will be used for fresh water storage. Ruth Lake will become a part of the Beaver Creek Diversion and will act, in effect, as a reservoir for water flowing from Beaver Creek into Poplar Creek. This will not affect the lake adversely in any way.

I UNDERSTAND THE PROJECT WILL HAVE A NINE SQUARE MILE POND. IMPOUNDED BY A DIKE. ARE THERE ANY DANGERS TO THE ATHABASCA RIVER FROM THESE WATERS?

No, the pond will be several miles from the river, well back from the Athabasca Valley itself and held by a dam composed of earth fill. It will be as stable as other large earth-filled structures of this kind. It should be noted that it is by virtue of this pond that no water discharge from the project will be necessary. The effects of this pond on ground water are being investigated thoroughly.

Mikrod Lake



Syncrude's publicity booklets paint a rosy picture

Syncrude plant itself will produce air pollution levels presenting "hazards to mining and plant personnel."

The federal report emphasizes the threat posed by the 9.3 mile tailings "pond" as a major deficiency in Syncrude's assessment document. The company's "complete omission of any effects on groundwater" is criticized. Again, a company PR brochure states, "the effects of this pond on ground water are being investigated thoroughly."

These remarkable company brochures provide a couple of additional contrasts in relation to the tailing reservoir. Thus, one brochure states that "the area does not support any rare or endangered bird or animal species." Yet Table I of a Syncrude study entitled *Migratory Waterfowl on the Syncrude Tar Sands Lease* (1973) lists a whooping crane as one of the birds observed during the spring waterfowl surveys on the Syncrude study area. This appears to be Syncrude's comment on the disappearing whooping crane — now you see it, now you don't....

The federal environmentalists complain on page 51 of their report that "it is also rather disturbing to read in the Edmon-

ton *Journal* that a Syncrude environmental spokesman stated 'the tailings pond will present little hazard to migrating waterfowl.' " They would likely have been even more disturbed if they knew that this same official had reported to his company that the tailings pond did indeed pose a potential hazard to waterfowl.

The Environmental Department officials, finally, exhibit a profound understanding of the unconscionable attitude of a foreign-owned industry toward the environment of the host country whose resources it seeks to exploit. Thus, on pages 18 and 19 of the federal report, these nationalistic bureaucrats take exception to a line in the Syncrude assessment which states that "United States deficiency (in oil) ... must be filled by Canadian and eastern hemisphere imports by 1980." They wonder why Canada *must* fill the U.S. deficit in energy "... in exchange for disruption of the landscape on a scale not tolerated in the countryside of the trading partner."

Both levels of government would do well to heed this note of caution as they ponder the invitation to be taken in as partners in the ailing Syncrude venture.

Who will develop northern B.C.? (Guess who?)

by Dick Betts

(Dick Betts writes for the *Last Post* from Vancouver. Special thanks to the Vancouver Co-operative Radio and the Muckrakers)

I

Bob Williams figures strongly in any discussion of British Columbia's New Democratic Party. Williams is a straight-ahead idea man with a keen sense of theory and a pronounced fondness for Scandinavian social democracy. He loved Alvin Toffler's *Future Shock* and, in the same genre, sees himself as the "greener of B.C.", the man who will attach humanist values to the exploitation of the province.

Williams is an east end kid. He comes from the working class area of Vancouver and is the grandson of William Arthur Pritchard, British Columbia's most famous socialist and travelling companion of J. S. Woodsworth. With the CCF-NDP tradition fixed in his bloodstream, Williams has emerged as the strongest man in the B.C. government. Virtually every piece of resource, development and conservation legislation that the government has introduced has been due to his drive and initiative within the cabinet.

In 1968, Williams ran for the provincial NDP leadership against Tom Berger and Dave Barrett. Williams received the

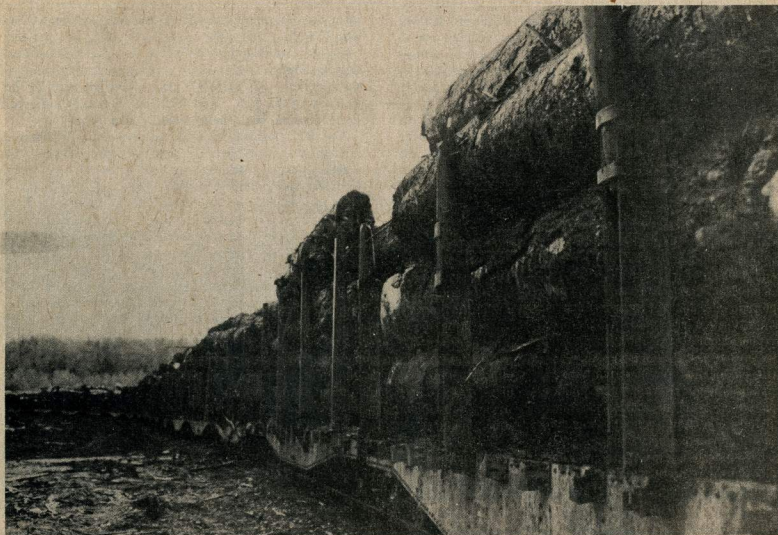


Bob Williams

blessing of retiring leader Robert Strachan, but finished third after Berger's first and Barrett's second. Berger lasted a year and then went on to become a magistrate in the B.C. courts. Barrett succeeded him as leader, while Williams jockeyed himself into his present position where he can function comfortably without the pains of leadership or the need to be public flack-catcher.

Williams' demeanour is deceptive. He looks a well-groomed 55 but is in fact 41, the second-youngest cabinet minister in the government. His mug shot would be consistent with the business ad "Tarantula Investments is proud to announce the appointment of J. Dudley Goodhead to the post of regional vice-president in charge of foreclosures". His charisma quota is infinitesimal, and his speech has a ring of false sincerity that grates upon the listener. He tries always to be polite, while his insides burn with hatred against the corporate status quo.

Inside the B.C. legislature, where politeness and sincerity



The forest industry takes out 100,000,000 cubic feet of wood a year

are non-sequiturs, Williams is a feared and formidable opponent. His favourite victims are B.C. Liberals, who he learned to hate when he attended the University of British Columbia situated in Point Grey, the provincial Liberal stronghold in Vancouver. After following the fortunes of the CCF during his boyhood and early adult life, he has spent years in the legislature attacking the policies of the previous, Social Credit government. It was said of him then that he was the most feared man in the opposition. Things haven't changed now that he is in power.

II

Northwest development has been on Bob Williams' mind since he first sniffed power several years ago. As the then NDP opposition resource and development critic, he hammered away at the Social Credit government's fast buck approach. At that time, resources were seen simply as a source of quick cash by then Premier W.A.C. Bennett's small businessman's mind. With the economic vision and social consciousness of a piranha, Bennett proceeded with sell-out policies designed to accrue quick money to Victoria for another flashy issue of B.C. government bonds. These, in turn, meant more cash for Bennett's much publicized but socially useless billion dollar budgets.

Two of Bennett's bigger lemons were the 1965 sale of water rights to the United States in perpetuity from the Columbia River power project for \$6 million, and the 1967 give-away of Kootenay coal to Kaiser Resources for a mere ten cents a ton royalty. These deals consolidated the hold that San Francisco and New York land offices and businesses were to gain on the province for several years.

No wonder then that Williams' enunciations about planned growth, government regulated business dealings, and the need for social and cultural amenities in the otherwise B.C. northland began to sound like the sublime utterances of a seer.

In August 1972 the old government collapsed under its own scandals and internal divisions. A reawakened public — especially working people and community groups — cleaned the Scredos out of Victoria and gave the NDP a first-time mandate to get the province into the 20th century (*Last Post*, Vol. 2, No. 7). With the fixers and hustlers finally gone, Barrett's team got down to business. The person who got down the most, besides Barrett himself, was Williams. By May 1973, he had a development package ready for the northwestern part of the province.

This target area for development is a 40,000 square mile strip of wilderness running north from the Skeena River, inside the Alaska panhandle to the Yukon. Its seminal communities — kept that way for years by previous plunderbund economic practices — include Cassiar, Hazelton, Smithers, Ft. St. James, Kitimat, and Prince Rupert.

Besides these settlements the area includes huge reserves

of copper and coal, as well as vast stands of timber. Known copper reserves alone total over 800 million tons. The annual output on the part of the forest industry in the area is almost 100,000,000 cubic feet of wood and plans for expansion — when the presently slumping industry revives — will double that figure.

All in all, northwest British Columbia is probably the most profit potential area in the entire province, a fact which made Bennett and his Socreds jabber with excitement about "the great frontier" and all the money to be made. Jabbering is not Williams' style, but he does want it developed.

His plans call for an eventual expenditure of \$500 million from both private and public sources, an increased transportation network of thousands of miles of all-weather highways and rail lines, air service and port facilities, and — possibly — a municipal framework which could resemble that of any of the more densely settled areas in Canada. Initial estimates of the jobs to be created run in the neighbourhood of 25,000. This is for industry alone. Other departments of the government — among them Health, Municipal Affairs, and Human Resources — are involved in the plan, so that five to ten years could see over half-a-million people move into the area when the service personnel arrive to face the cold and the growing social and administrative problems of a boom area. As well there will be merchants — store owners, hotelmen, pub keepers and others — who will want to cash in on some of the traffic resulting from the 25,000 new pay cheques issued every two weeks.



But Newboombtown, B.C., is still a fair ways off. There are numerous problems which stand in the way of any realization of a metropolitan northwest, and some of these problems are locally generated.

People in the north have been getting the shaft for years, ever since the promise of high wages coupled with the scarcity of employment in the south attracted them to the hard, lacklustre existence of northern workers. Various labour councils and community groups want a say in how the north is to look. These include groups embracing such concerns as native territorial rights and ecology, and workers rebelling against poor working conditions — notably the shopmen of the government-owned British Columbia Railway, currently on strike and keeping remote areas of the province fairly well tied up. So far the government has kept its distance from the problems, briefs and actions of these people.

Ecologically many questions are raised by any development of this size. Fish and wildlife are sure to be threatened if the NDP government doesn't initiate and maintain a careful scrutiny over the animal kingdom's greatest enemy — the corporations. To date government departments have not been keeping a close eye on each other. A Vancouver environmental expert reported at the outset of the northwest development plan that the government's fish and wildlife branch didn't even know where half of B.C. mining developments were located.

The Nishka Indian band near Prince Rupert has become increasingly militant in the past few years. Recently, spokesmen from the band have been making some fairly heavy and fundamental demands on the provincial govern-

ment and its publicly-owned pulp and paper operation, Canadian Cellulose. Since the operation is sitting on land which "belongs" to white men through a very questionable treaty, they have been thinking in terms of securing and running half the operation, plus a sizeable piece of any action by the B.C. Railway in the area. Even Williams' normally unflappable demeanour has been shaken by ideas like these.

The B.C. Railway men are not striking at northern development as such, but rather against a publicly-owned utility whose working conditions are said to be the worst in the Canadian transportation industry. They are showing that organized workers in an important industry can put the brakes on any development scheme if they are not treated properly.

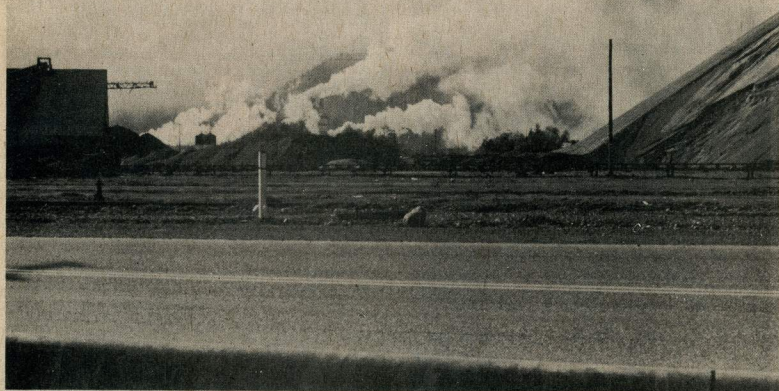
In addition to these and other local problems, British Columbia, with its export economy, is affected by the current dilemmas of international capital. In a time of spiralling inflation and increased costs of production even the largest corporations are finding more and more restrictions on their own expansion. Although prices and profits continue to rise, the actual production carried on by Western economies has been declining. In investment circles once lucrative sounding projects for many companies are being shelved. To cite a non-B.C. example — but one close enough to home to cause Barrett and Williams to fret a little — Atlantic-Richfield Canada Ltd. (Arcan) recently withdrew its 30 per cent interest in the Alberta oil sands project, a major chunk of that province's version of northern development. Arcan's reasons for pulling out include a doubling of production costs from \$1.2 billion 14 months ago to a current estimate of over \$2 billion, plus its inability to raise a loan from the Import-Export Bank of America for equipment costs.

Other major oil companies are re-evaluating their involvement in the whole mucky thing. Included among these are Shell, Home and Gulf Oil, and the indications are that Alberta's major development project could be in serious trouble. Joke has it that Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed has taken to wearing bat-wing sunglasses and is hanging around the tables in Las Vegas hoping to talk informal turkey with any Middle East oil monarch he might run into. While this idea is fanciful, it does appear that the financial base upon which the oil sands project precariously rests is in danger of sinking slowly beneath the tarry prairie.

Nothing this drastic has occurred yet in B.C., but one pivotal project in the proposed development picture has been abandoned temporarily because of similar problems in international co-ordination.

In July 1969, Brameda Mining, Ltd., began exploration of reported coal deposits in the Sukunka Valley of northwest B.C. The exploration crew found several seams of top-grade coking coal estimated at around 60 million tons. Brameda smelled a fortune and enlisted the aid, through partnership, of the Canadian multinational giant Brascan Ltd. in the form of a 60 per cent-40 per cent split on future development. Brascan got the 60 per cent. The idea was to get the coal out and use the provincially owned B.C. Railway line to move the unearthened fuel to port for overseas shipment. Japan was an obvious customer and because of the shipment problems the past and present governments became directly involved in a business venture.

The former government was interested in a straight transportation contract for the railway — \$250 million in freight rates over twenty years. The NDP saw a chance not only to make money for B.C.R. but also to develop secondary industry in the north by means of a smelter which could draw



The outskirts of Kitimat in northwestern British Columbia

directly from the Sukunka reserves. A Japanese firm, Mitsubishi Steel, was lined up to build the smelter.

Some hurdles had to be overcome before the coal fields could begin producing. B.C.R. had to be expanded to the tune of \$24 million for tracks, cars and locomotives. Provincial and federal financing was agreed to for these additions. Another federal-provincial matter was the location of a deep-sea port. Then Environment Minister Jack Davis — who lost his seat in the last federal election after a massive spill of bunker oil off the coast washed up on the shores of his fashionable West Vancouver riding — favoured a port at Prince Rupert that was under the jurisdiction of the National Harbours Board. Premier Dave Barrett, with the built-in wariness of any Westerner who feels that anything the federal government gets its hands on will ultimately turn to ashes — wanted none of this. He opted for a southern port to be built in Howe Sound, a never-never land 50 miles north of Vancouver and seldom the beneficiary of any development input.

The negotiations over the port site were long and bitter with Barrett and Davis becoming enemies in the process. To date the B.C. government's position has prevailed so far as the location is concerned.

Brascan didn't care where the port was and issued a statement in the spring of 1973 stating the company would wait until the political issues were resolved. Brameda, however, was being caught in a liquidity squeeze and was going to have difficulty meeting its commitments in Sukunka. B.C.R. stepped in and offered \$7 million for Brameda's 40 per cent, and in March 1973, Brameda's shareholders agreed. The new partnership was an unlikely combination of Brascan (*Last Post*, Vol. 3, No. 2) and the British Columbia NDP. Well,

business is business. The NDP went through negotiational gymnastics to get within 10 per cent of an equity position in a provincial project while Brascan squatted like a constipated giant on its majority share.

The last hitch in the Sukunka coal deal came from outside the country and finally hung up the whole project. Mitsubishi suddenly could not build the smelter. The reason why can only be guessed at. No one is talking and Mitsubishi officials in Vancouver remain as shut up as oysters off the coast of Japan. A Vancouver Cooperative Radio reporter was told by a Mitsubishi official during an attempted telephone interview to turn off the tape recorder and forget about finding out any Sukunka or smelter information.

The extent of the set-back is not certain. At this point it appears to be temporary with no one in any particular hurry to get things started. The government has refused to go ahead without the smelter so the project, according to the *Vancouver Province*, is in "temporary suspension". But this suspension, coupled with mining and sawmill closures, has left a lot of unemployment and even more questions as to the viability of a development scheme which includes private corporations and government sharpies in these troubled times. What to do? Put the whole scheme under tight provincial control, nationalizing companies if necessary? Or stick with Williams' position of a government equity position with private business and take the knocks from whatever mess the financial centres of the Western world have gotten themselves into?

Perhaps a look at recent government legislation and a certain economic move made a couple of years ago will help clear up the confusion as to which way the B.C. government is moving.



The countryside surrounding the Eurocan pulp mill. Eurocan recently cut back operations, laying off one-half its staff.

A logged-off area near Kitimat. Stripping right to the road was a common practice while the Social Credit government of Premier W. A. C. Bennett was around



IV

Since B.C.'s major industries are timber and mining it was no surprise that legislation affecting both was recently handed down from the cabinet. It's also no surprise that these industries and their supporters in the press and opposition reacted in panic.

The mining bill was introduced during the summer. Its intent was to increase the public take in royalties from mining profits. The B.C. department of mines had previously issued a report which showed that profits in the traffic of precious metals had soared to \$1.114 billion in 1973, up from \$636.2 million the previous year. This 75 per cent increase flowed easily to the companies. The cause of the profit rise was increased prices for minerals rather than productive expansion. The legislation attempted to re-vamp the royalty system so that the public share would be based more closely on actual profit. A "super-royalty" was introduced that would allow a higher government rake-off if mineral prices ex-

ceeded 20 per cent of a formula worked out using the average prices of minerals over a five year period. The move was both economic and political. It gave Victoria more revenue from mines plus a formula that would allow the government to decide when its take would be increased.

The mining industry, with its atavistic fondness for laissez-faire, issued threats through the media. Full page ads were placed in daily newspapers and mining officials threatened to cease expansion and exploration if the legislation was not withdrawn. At this point, they were opening their mouths to change feet, since reports had shown that in fact no significant developments in exploration or expansion had occurred for three or four years and that the mining industry had, in effect, stagnated and was drawing solely on higher prices from its present level of production.

This do-less, make-more attitude is in flagrant contradiction with a scheme like northwest development and many suspect that the Resources and Mines departments are leveraging themselves into a position of increased influence over the mining industry — that the legislation is a prod to somolent mining companies content to profit from inflation, not production.

A more recent piece of legislation, the Timber Products

Stabilization Act, seeks to firmly implant the government mark on B.C.'s forest industry. The bill, put before the house by Williams, goes further than the mineral act. In its original form the bill set up a board to be the sole authority over the pricing of wood chips (for pulp and paper), logs, lumber, plywood and pulp and paper. In the face of opposition party and forest industry hysteria (generously helped along by the daily press), Williams trimmed the board's powers so that they would deal only with chips and logs. It was a compromise, but the interesting thing is that the B.C. government was in the pulp and paper industry through its own company, Canadian Cellulose (Cancel) and to control the price of chips gave Cancel an opportunity to be used as a political tool as well as just another corporation.

Williams' aim was to get Cancel into a leverage position in the forest industry by legislating chip prices to the point where Cancel and other pulp and paper concerns would have no trouble paying for them, and at the same time boost the lagging sawmill industry. The B.C. forest industry is pretty much integrated and functions like a chain, even in the case of the independents. An increase in residual sawmill chips would in theory rebound through the industry, part of which, Williams claims, is going under.

The physical plant of the forest industry had indeed been shrinking with smaller mills shutting down, unable to compete with monopoly control. In 1952 there were 2,223 mills operating in the province. By 1972 there were 603. Williams sees a proliferation of industry as a prerequisite for development in the northern wilds. The intent of the timber bill was to keep smaller firms in operation and to achieve that industrial growth.

The heavies in the industry — B.C. Forest Products, MacMillan-Bloedal, *et al.* — didn't complain too bitterly about the pricing of products, but balked at the idea of a cabinet appointed board telling them how to do business. In fact, five days after Williams had shaved his board's powers three of the large private pulp and paper concerns in the province, plus Cancel, raised chip prices (the ones they would pay) an average of \$6.00 per bone dry unit.

This legislation fits nicely with the acquisition by the government in April 1973 of the Cancel operation at Prince Rupert. Formerly Columbia Cellulose, a subsidiary of the Celanese Corp., New York, the operation had been losing money hand-over-fist for several years. Celanese wanted to unload its B.C. operation so badly it flogged its sagging enterprise to Williams in exchange for his government's assumption of its bonded debt of \$68 million, plus \$14 million in bank loans. Celanese wrote off its B.C. concern's \$73 million debt. A crown corporation, British Columbia Cellulose, was created to assume 79 per cent ownership of Cancel while the rest is distributed among 8,000 Canadian shareholders.

Cancel's debt wasn't too much of a problem. By November 1973, the company's growth had shot up 664 per cent, more than any other single business in B.C. for that year, and it is still operating in the black. Although Cancel was purchased a month before the master plan of May 1973 was unveiled, its acquisition signals the real beginning of northwest development, NDP-style. Its success has saved 3,000 jobs and secured 9.1 million acres in tree farm licenses. It gives Williams and the government a position of strength, unlike the Sukunka mess, allowing them to go ahead and lay plans for development and call some shots for the forest industry in the process.

V

It would appear that public ownership, not corporate promises are the means to a developed north. The corporate mood at present is "business on our terms". The B.C. government is saying the same thing — on its terms. In this simplified statement of the ensuing confrontation the government has morality on its side (corporations, local and foreign, have grown obese from B.C. over the years) but morality doesn't count for an awful lot when the fight actually begins. It's shaping up this way.

The government has a development concept that is designed to raise the productivity and the standard of living in the province. Because they're a social democratic and not a socialist outfit they have no intention of consolidating productive means under direct public control. They do want a legislative say in the predominant industries, however, a say which would not take over the industries themselves. This grey area — some influence but not all the influence — is where the corporations are squirming at the moment, using the media as ammunition for broadsides against the government. Closures of mines and resultant layoffs (1,073 miners in November and December) are played up in the press to the point that the local business pages resemble scandal sheets using the time-honoured right-wing tabloid technique of playing on people's fear and insecurity.

The corporations' point of view is quite straightforward. In traditional fashion they want all the profit and power they can squeeze out of an area where they were previously allowed to plunder with impunity. The message they are being given is: go ahead and operate in a high yield area where your profits can soar as high as the present economic system will allow — and we'll help you do it. For example, several months ago stumpage rates — rental on tree usage, basically — were lowered for the forest companies. But the corporations will now have to pay back more to the public and will have to conform to a thought-out development plan.

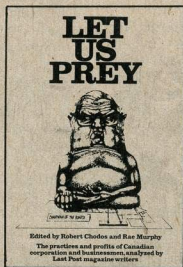
It sounds easy enough to arrange — but only if the government compromises as it did with the timber legislation. The companies, especially the mining firms, are pushing free enterprise ideology to the hilt, while the press pretends there is no other. For example, 18 mining companies are taking the government to court over its mining legislation. They want it declared ultra vires, and claim the taxation will ruin their companies and destroy mining in British Columbia. It's not easy to convince people that slightly higher royalties will ruin a billion dollar industry, but the press is doing its best to do just that — the only real tax threat is on credibility.

It's an open situation so far with two possible solutions. Co-operation with business will mean playing the game on the corporations' level, allowing them power to govern the lives of their workers and of those who live in the communities propped up by them. A case in point: Eurocan Pulp and Paper, a Finnish firm operating in Kitimat which had promised an investment of \$200 million, or two-fifths the cost of the northwest project, recently cut back operations, laying off one-half of its staff. This kind of give-and-take is pretty one-sided, but the NDP government seems bent on pursuing it.

The other solution would be to create two, three, many Cancels. They're not willing to do that and the war will continue.

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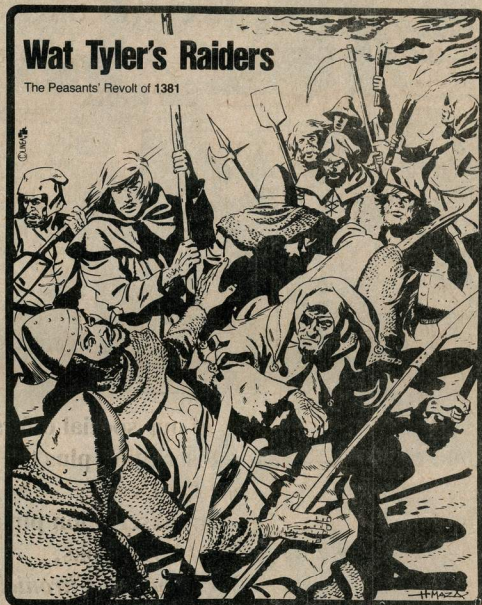
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Comics are no less popular in places like Cuba and Eastern Europe than they are in Canada or the U.S., and we thought our readers might be interested in sampling some of the highly successful comics distributed by the Prensa Latina news service. In this issue we publish the second section of "Wat Tyler's Raiders", to be continued next month. Readers may find a rather different view of English history than they remember from their school books.



THE STORY SO FAR

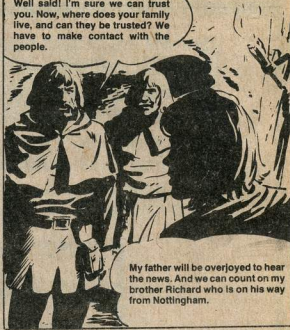
Brian Hayman, under arrest for poaching deer on the Duke of Kent's estates, has been rescued by two hooded strangers. Having reached the Guardian Angel Mine, a refuge for persecuted men, Hayman learns that his rescuers are John Ball, the Preacher of Equality, and Wat Tyler, the Scourge of the Clergy . . .



You're a marked man now, Brian ... marked for the gallows. But we can help you get out of the country to France, or Holland



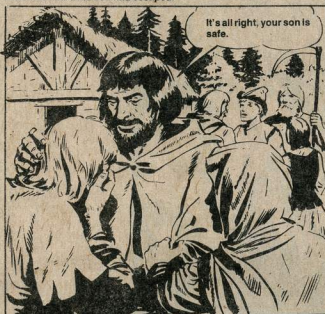
What? Run away? Leave my land, family and betrothed? Never! I'll stay and help you fight tyranny.



Well said! I'm sure we can trust you. Now, where does your family live, and can they be trusted? We have to make contact with the people.

My father will be overjoyed to hear the news. And we can count on my brother Richard who is on his way from Nottingham.

Wat Tyler and John Ball set off to find Brian's family and tell them what had happened. Thomas Hayman, a simple man, wept for joy when he heard his son had escaped.



It's all right, your sons are safe.



Now my friends ... Revolution! We must gather everyone who can be trusted, and I will explain my doctrine of equality. We can raise an army of the Disinherited of the Earth, an army of peasants, farmers and serfs. What do you say?

Good. Every night we'll meet a small group in the mine so as not to raise suspicion. We can elect leaders and Wat Tyler can explain our plans.



You can rely on us. Our people may be humble and tolerant, but never traitors.

Brian is telling us about his brother. Do you think we can count on his help?



Of course, but at present he is in grave danger. When my son Richard was five he was taken away from us to be a serf for another feudal lord.

We've never seen him since, but he has just bought his freedom.

Then why is he in danger?



Brian and Richard are twins. Richard is coming here tomorrow, but since Brian's escape the roads are well guarded and Richard is sure to be taken. You see, they are identical twins, and the authorities don't even know that there is another brother!

Then he must be warned. Who could go?



The Duke's heralds have announced that nobody can leave the village, under penalty of death.

They tried to come up with a plan to save Richard from certain capture.



The door opened and in came a strange figure....

I CAN GO!



The family had always given the hunch-back a place to stay. Everyone was used to his comings and goings as he travelled the countryside with his drum and monkey, dancing in village squares for his living.

Tam-Tam... Are you sure the guards will let you through?

I'm on my way. I am Tam-Tam, entertainer of the people, and the guards make fun of me, laughing and touching my hump. That is my cross to bear... luckily, I'll go and warn Richard.



Proximo Episodio: EL HERMANO GEMELO

Tam-Tam was happy to be able to help the cause. He struck out on the King's Road to Maldstone . . .



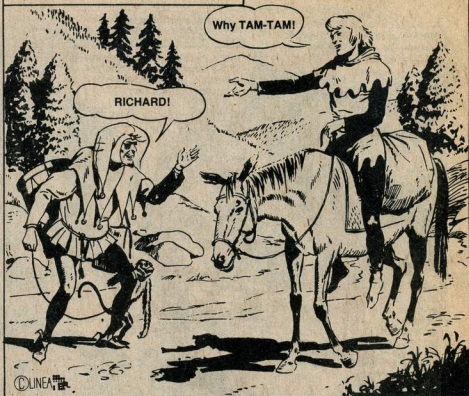
As the hunchback told his story, Richard quickly saw the danger he was in.

I have an idea, Richard. Why don't you disguise yourself as me, so you can get to Guillingham in safety.



Let's get to work. Take out your make-up and turn me into a hunchback.

The two men met the following day.



RICHARD!

Why TAM-TAM!

They change clothes, and soon Richard is unrecognizable.

You're marvelous Tam-Tam!

All we have to do is make your nose look like mine, change your complexion, give you a beard.



Richard Hayman crossed the bridge with no trouble, except the kicks and jokes of the guards . . . then he thought of a surprise for his family and friends.

All you need now are the drum and the monkey. Leave me the donkey, and I'll go off to London in search of news.

Perfect. Now let's see if I can imitate your croaky voice.



Proximo Episodio LA SORPRESA

He made his way to the mine, where a group of conspirators was meeting to hear Wat Tyler's revolutionary ideas.

Here's Tam-Tam! What news of Richard?



He'll be here in a moment, safe and sound. Now give me a drink and let's drink to England's greatest entertainer, to Tam-Tam!

Loud cheers greeted Tam-Tam as he jumped onto a rock.



Here's to Liberty for the poor of the world, and to Wat Tyler and John Ball, and to the happiness of the betrothed!

And to Tam-Tam!

Let's have a speech! What do you think of the King of England?



A POMPOUS SCOUNDREL!

And the rich bishops, the tax collectors, the Duke of Kent and all our masters?



THEIR DAYS ARE NUMBERED!

And what about feudal servitude, taxes and tithes?



All invented by the devil to suck our blood... And now, Disinherit of the Earth, I give you RICHARD HAYMAN!

So saying, Richard whipped off his disguise. A great shout of joy echoes through the mine.



BROTHER!

RICHARD MY DEAR SON!

Next month: CONSPIRACY.

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Bear View

- *Murphy* on rural migration — p. 40
- *Wright* on Grove's secret life — p. 41
- *Cameron* on Cuban women — p. 43
- *Democritus* on science — p. 46
- *Hamovitch* on the 'Fourth World' — p. 47
- *Gage* on Prairie settlers — p. 48

Life in an anti-welfare state

by RAE MURPHY

The Urbanization of Sophia Firth, by Sophia Firth. Peter Martin Associates/Toronto. 241 pp. \$8.95.

In a sense, the publisher's blurb tells it all:

"Sophia Firth and her family and friends can be called 'the working poor'. Like many thousands of others, they have taken part in the massive internal migration from rural Canada to our metropolitan centres. This migration, a contemporary demographic revolution, has been widely discussed. Sociologists, editorial writers, social workers and politicians talk about the working poor. Economists study their problems. Legislators pass laws about them. Movie makers make movies about them; remember *Goin' Down the Road?*"

The publisher goes on to state that Sophia Firth is "... the first to tell us [my italics] what it is like from the inside where jobs are shortlived and the Unemployment Office a permanent way of life, where life is filled with landlord problems and kids running wild, and struggles with the apparatchiks of the petty bureaucracy of the *welfare state*" [again, my italics].

The blurb also tells us that Ms. Firth's autobiography is "candid, forthright, very revealing and totally unpretentious." It is also a "portrait of the lives of millions of Canadians." Reading the book will be an "extraordinary experience".

It is perhaps unfair to approach a book on the basis of the publisher's blurb. However, in this instance it may be worthwhile because what is good in *The Urbanization of Sophia Firth* is obscured by its pretentiousness. Thus, while the publisher strings out adjectives such as "candid" and "forthright" (the book is really neither) he omits the most obvious. Sophia Firth is a very interesting writer who, when not bogged down trying to reconstruct, or more likely fake,

simple-minded and pointless conversations, possesses a very evocative descriptive and narrative style.

In short, if Ms. Firth and/or her publisher were less intent on producing a "valuable social document" and more willing to let the writer roam within herself then perhaps the excellent opening pages of the book would not have been buried in a rubble of incident and conversations that never resolve. If Sophia Firth hadn't been trying so bloody hard to be "totally unpretentious" a good book would have been so much better; indeed, perhaps it would even be the "social document" which the dust-jacket claims.

The story of the urbanization of Sophia Firth is about a family unable to even scratch out a living in Restigouche County, New Brunswick, who move to Toronto in the 1960's. They are poverty-stricken when they arrive and apparently not much better off when the book closes with the mother, Sophia Firth, getting a Canada Council grant to publish her book — I will let the irony of this escape for the moment. Indeed, if there is a consistent theme within the book — with the exception of the Canada Council award — it is to give the lie to the notion that Canada is a "welfare state". Even if by Canada the publisher only means Toronto, the evidence of the Firth family, their neighbours and friends is that urban Canada could more accurately be described as an "anti-welfare state".

The Firths were used as fodder to feed the economic boom in southern Ontario. Exploited more intensively in the jobs they were forced to take, they are also victimized by a social milieu that traps them between the good will and credit capacity of the corner grocer, the landlords of the crummy furnished flats and houses, the unsympathetic school system — the totality of the hostile and destructive urban environment. All things conspire to sap the humanity from Tom Firth and to ensure that the lives of his children would follow a similar pattern. And for most, the chain of circumstance is unbreakable.

The Urbanization of Sophia Firth is also a story of the

destructive pressures on the family and, as we can glean at least indirectly, on a community of relatives, neighbours and friends. With the children it is the struggle to escape: either through frustration and loneliness to home in New Brunswick or westward to Alberta to make it big. But it never works out.

Tom Firth also seeks his escape, most obviously expressed in an aggressive assertion of his "role" as head of the family. No matter how he is buffeted on the job (and out of the job) the home and the family is the one place where he is the boss — or, at least, supposed to be boss. This also never works out. He is too pathetic a figure to be tragic. The urbanization of Tom Firth has done nothing more to him than to make him a stranger to his wife and family. Ms. Firth is at her best as she depicts how the pressures generated by the city are brought into the home. Sophia, who understands her husband better than he does himself, who realizes the pressures he is under more than he does himself, is none the less unable to spare much compassion for him. Nor is she willing to sacrifice herself any longer to perpetuate the myth of the "head of the household". Indeed, the message is rather clear: if the wars of the world are to be fought out in the family then the same rules will still apply — the survival of the fittest. In one episode, Sophia Firth, with a well aimed punch at Tom's last tooth, finishes him off.

Moving concurrently with the difficulties which confront the Firth family is another, perhaps more important story of *The Urbanization of Sophia Firth*. That is, the bonds of family and community solidarity which, unlike the fairy tales, do not flower in adversity. Rather, Sophia Firth has to work harder and harder to keep things together. The family fights become more bitter and serious. The spontaneous unity of the family, the commonality of the plight as well as the interests of relatives is lost sight of. Sophia Firth, as the dominant personality appears, we assume, to realize that the community must consciously recognize itself and then move in its own interests: alone one can conduct a spirited fight against the vice-principal, the inspector, the unemployment insurance clerk, but nothing really happens. Gradually the reader becomes aware that Ms. Firth has involved herself in the Woman's Liberation Movement and in neighbourhood politics. The impetus to write the book in the first place and the ability to carry it through would indicate a degree of conscious commitment that she seems unwilling to admit. Would that she had — an essentially good book could have been so much better.

Instead, it is in this area that the book is least satisfactory. She is neither candid nor frank. The discussions she records at the community center, the fitful conversations about organizing a union and one very obscure discussion on the nature of the system, rather than being "unpretentious" are simple-minded. The inescapable impression is that she is "writing down" to her audience.

One can only guess why this is done. Perhaps it has to do with what she conceived her audience to be. If we refer again to the publisher's blurb we are told that the book is the first "... to tell us what it is like from the inside."

Who is us?

Hasn't, then, Ms. Firth misdirected her book?

The "inside story" should first be made relevant to the "insiders". I don't feel that Ms. Firth has done this, and on that level, *The Urbanization of Sophia Firth* falls short.

Rae Murphy is a member of the *Last Post* editorial board, and teaches journalism at Conestoga College.

Searching for the real FPG

by PAUL WRIGHT

FPG: The European Years, by Douglas O. Spettigue. Oberon Press/Ottawa. 254 pp. \$11.95.

Frederick Philip Grove is among the most important figures in Canadian literature. His novels and short stories, written during the first half of this century, are a sensitive record of the settlement of the West, an epic chapter in the national experience. His most successful novel, *A Search for America*, is one of the best examples of its kind in North American literature, according to Northrup Frye.

He brought to the vocation of writer a confidence and consciousness of role that was new in this country and did much to legitimize fiction writing here. To the postwar generation of university students this Swedish-born prairie school teacher and sober chronicler of the hardships of western settlement was a towering figure.

Pivotal figure in Canadian literature he remains, but a fascinating piece of literary detection has proven Grove to be quite a different person than the one he claimed to be.

In 1967 Douglas O. Spettigue, a Queen's University professor, was asked to contribute to a series of university textbooks on Canadian writers. His subject was to be Frederick Philip Grove.

After Spettigue had followed for six years a trail that led him through half-a-dozen countries on two continents, his subject was Felix Paul Greve, a German of humble birth and soaring ambition with a gift for translation and something of a con man's reputation in the German literary world at the turn of the century. A major name in Canadian literature had turned out to be an imposter with a secret life of far greater interest than any of his novels.

His autobiography, *In Search of Myself*, tells a melodramatic story of Grove's beginnings. It records that he was born the son of a Swedish landowner and a Scots mother in a manor house in Russia, where his parents had been travelling. Within an hour of his birth the house was struck by lightning and burned to the ground. After the mother's confinement they returned to their Swedish home, Castle Thurov; Grove grew up there and later attended universities in Hamburg, Paris and Rome, associating with important figures in the literary world. Suddenly while he was touring North America this leisured, studious existence was cut short by his father's death and the news that the family fortunes were exhausted. He found himself, at the age of 20, without backing or prospects and lacking the education to make his way in the stable tradition-bound Europe of the period before the First World War. He decided to remain in the new land where birth and education were less important than energy and intrinsic worth. He decided to look for a job — he hap-

pened to be in Toronto at the time — and within two weeks found himself working as a waiter on Yonge St. There followed years as an itinerant harvester on the prairies; finally he applied for a position as a school teacher in a Mennonite colony in Manitoba. At that point, in 1912, the autobiography joins itself to the objective record and Grove's account of himself crosschecks with that of others.

He taught at several places in Manitoba, he married another teacher (from a Mennonite family) and in 1922 after years of trying he published his first book, *Over Prairie Trails*. A son and a daughter were born, the work was hard, money short and literary recognition slow in coming. Finally, a group of academics including the late Arthur L. Phelps, Watson Kirkconnell and Carleton Stanley, began to put the case for Grove's being "the greatest Canadian writer". In 1946 he wrote the autobiography which earned him the Governor General's award in 1947. He was too unwell to attend the ceremony, but when William Arthur Deacon brought the award to him he was moved to tears. In 1948 he died.

The sort of inconsistency which first raised Prof. Spettigue's suspicions was as follows: in different accounts at different times Grove gave no less than four distinct accounts of his whereabouts and activities in the years 1893-95. In his autobiography he was either working on a bush farm in Northern Manitoba or hauling wheat in Southern Saskatchewan. In the foreword to another book he has himself back in Europe; in a private letter he writes that he was teaching school somewhere near Toronto. In fact, according to Spettigue's reasoning he was in none of those places: he was a schoolboy in Germany.

By the time Spettigue had finished reading his way through the Grove collection at the University of Manitoba he was convinced that Grove was an imposter. It was then the spring of 1968 and becoming evident that the job ahead of him would be a long one. He obtained a six-month extension from

his publishers and began to cast about for leads.

His search led him to contact Leonard Grove, son of the author, a lawyer in Toronto. Leonard Grove showed Spettigue an excerpt from the passenger list of a German-American liner. It listed Friedrich Grove of Braunschweig as a passenger to New York. "There," said Leonard Grove, who by then had had some experience with questions of the authenticity of his father's account of himself. "That silences the skeptics." But it didn't silence Spettigue, it suggested to him that Grove was not a Swede but a German.

Or so it seemed: Spettigue, accompanied by his wife, set off in the spring of 1968 for Braunschweig — only to encounter a dead end. But the publication date was now upon him; there was no further time for investigation. *Frederick Phillip Grove*, published in 1969, was able only to "announce the mystery and leave it unsolved." Its author continued his researches.

Among the techniques he had been using to try to develop leads was that of hypothesizing that Frederick Phillip Grove was a pseudonym with the same initials as the real name. The practice is rather common and Grove is known to have followed it in some of his writings. By checking sources of author's names — the catalogues of libraries, for example, and immigration lists — a coincidence of initials might point to Grove's true identity.

In 1971 Spettigue was back in Europe again, this time in the British Museum Library in London. Though tired of the Grove mystery by this time and intending to get on with other writing, he had one or two loose ends to check before putting Grove away. Looking through some material relating to Andre Gide he ran across the name Felix Paul Greve. His eye went on beyond it and then ran across it a second time. Perhaps he read it to himself with the appropriate German phonetics: "Felix Powell Grayfa." He remembered a reference by Mrs. Grove to an unpublished novel of her husband's, *Felix Powell's Career*. The significance of the initials struck him. He realized with a rush that the mystery was solved.

On the following day, still swept along on the excitement of the great discovery, he was able to cross-check the truth of his main conclusion at the Germanic Institute in London. Reference material in its library showed that one Felix Paul Greve had disappeared without a trace in 1909. Grove had first appeared in Manitoba in 1912.

As the details fell into place, the story that took shape was a very different one from that told in *In Search of Myself*, but no less melodramatic. On February 14, 1879, a son was born to Charles Edward Greve, an estate manager in a small village in Eastern Germany. The boy was christened Felix Paul Berthold Friedrich Greve.

By 1881 the family moved to Hamburg where Greve went to school. He attended school in a tough district of Hamburg but graduated with a good record in 1898, one of 12 students pronounced fit to proceed to university. Two months later he enrolled at Friedrich-Wilhelms University at Bonn to study philology. The Felix Greve who graduated bore no resemblance to his ancestral line of yeomen.

He continued at the University through the next two years, but in 1900 dropped out in the middle of the year. He was going to become a poet. It was a great period of development in the arts all over Europe and the keynote was struck by the "aesthetic movement" which had such heroes as Oscar Wilde, Ernest Dowson and Aubrey Beardsley, and later, Andre Gide and Stefan George. All over Europe and later,

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"A major name in Canadian literature had turned out to be an imposter with a secret life of far greater interest than any of his novels."

were adopting a romantic style of dress and publishing small editions of slim volumes of poetry. The reasons for its appeal to Felix Greve were obvious — he had a gift for language and success as a poet of the aesthetic movement required neither wealth nor connections. In 1902 he published a book of poems.

His object was to be recognized as a writer; his method was to cultivate the leading writers of the aesthetic movement in Germany while supporting himself as a translator. He translated Oscar Wilde, in an edition still in print today, and Dowson, Browning, and Pater. He worked hard both on his translating and on the cultivation of the literary influential. But by 1903 when he was still far from an assured place, disaster struck.

In that year, another ex-student and former friend launched a suit against Greve for more than 20,000 marks, borrowed over a period of years on various pretexts. Greve did not dispute the claim and was sentenced to a year in prison. He owned approximately \$13,000, a very large sum in 1903. When he emerged from prison the situation was hopeless. Greve did not at first realize it. During his year in prison his correspondence with his publisher had gone on unabated, and so had the flow of translations: when the public's appetite for Wilde had declined, he went on to Wells and Meredith and Gide — a total of eight novels during that year.

Emerging from prison late in 1904 he turned to the novel, maintaining the same dizzying pace and by 1907 he had written three novels. In 1907–08 he translated the *Thousand and One Nights* and *Don Quixote*, and some novels of Balzac and Swift. The *Thousand and One Nights* alone ran to a dozen volumes and 5,000 pages. Between 1904 and 1909 he wrote or translated more than four books a year.

Then: "One day in 1910 [should be 1909] Anton Kippenberg got a letter from Mrs. Greve; her husband had left behind a note to the effect that he was boarding a steamer for Sweden but would never get there.

The above is quoted by Prof. Spettigue from a piece written by an editor of a publishing house with which Greve had latterly been connected. It is of great importance as the last record of Greve's European existence. Yet it is also very unsatisfactory in its dependence on one man's recollection of hearsay evidence.

If the last evidence of Greve in Europe is one man's recollection of another's account of a letter he had received from Greve's mistress, the first solid evidence of Greve in North America is a poem written in English, titled "At Sea" and datelined Noya Scotia, 1909. The chain of connection between the two rests on four main facts and some supporting detail:

First, many people had long suspected Greve of being German rather than Swedish because he spoke the language so well; and there were remarks made by Greve during his lifetime and statements made in a passport application which supported this suspicion.

Second, the two men had the same initials; and Greve was known to have written a book titled *Felix Powell's Revenge*.

Third, Greve did disappear and Greve did appear; and the two events occurred in the right chronological sequence.

Fourth, Greve's own account of his background is untrue.

Prof. Spettigue's findings shook the little world of Canadian literature studies like an earthquake. Frederick Phillip Grove was, for various reasons, one of its main exhibits; scholars had invested the best part of a lifetime of work on the assumption that his own account of himself was true, and here was a young academic brandishing theory that their gold was lead. It had all the makings of an academic row of first-class proportions.

In 1972 Desmond Pacey, editor-designate of Grove's letters and the critic with the most to lose in any reinterpretation of Grove's life advanced a tentative counter-theory. But he did so in cautious and conciliatory terms, and by the following year as further material became known Spettigue's findings were generally accepted.

The strange case of Frederick Phillip Grove was closed. In his recent book, *F.P.G.: The European Years*, Spettigue writes: "He was unstable, he was dishonest, he was obsessively self-centred; he may have had sexual problems; he was neurotic; he had a martyr complex On the positive side . . . he had a striking appearance . . . and a remarkable command of languages. Moreover he had . . . a powerful will supported by an astonishing capacity for work He could conceal and repress and control and eventually, amazingly, turn to positive account much that had seemed negative in his make-up. . . . A failure in Europe, obsessed with the image of failure, incredulously examining and re-examining the chain of inexorable circumstances that led to failure, he became his own suffering unfulfilled hero and thereby achieved a kind of success as an archetypal Canadian artist."

Paul Wright is executive producer, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, public affairs, Montreal.

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Women in socialist countries

by BARBARA CAMERON

Cuban Women Now: Interviews with Cuban Women, by Margaret Randall. The Women's Press and Dumont Press/Toronto. 375 pp. \$5.50.

A strong tradition in the women's movement of the last decade has been the radical feminist critique of Marxism for its failure to recognize the psychological aspects of women's oppression and for its concentration on the economic. Shulamith Firestone, for example, criticizes Engels for failing to dig deeply enough to discover the "psychosexual roots of class" and Kate Millet charges in *Sexual Politics* that the Soviet Union failed to "set up a new psychic structure in its members to replace that of patriarchy".

Radical feminists have used the experience of women in socialist countries as proof of the weakness of the socialist

approach to women's liberation. Many of their left-wing sisters have attempted to defend Marxism, while agreeing with the radical feminist interpretation of existing socialism. But the feminists have logically argued that the Marxist view of the relationship between consciousness and social structure must be wrong if a fundamental change in the social system results in the same kind of male chauvinism as under capitalism. The only way out of this dilemma for the left-wing feminist has been to argue backwards: since there has been no change in consciousness under socialism therefore the so-called socialist societies cannot really be socialist.

Little proof has been offered in defence of the shared assumption of the radical feminist and the left feminist that socialism has failed women, because no proof seemed necessary. The context of the debate over the validity of socialist theory of women has been the post-Cold War ideology of "superpowers" and "convergence".

According to this new ideology, socialism no longer rips children away from their mothers and communalizes women as it was said to do in the 1920's and 1930's — today it makes absolutely no difference whatsoever. In the face of the hegemony of this conventional wisdom, it is refreshing to come across *Cuban Women Now*, a book published by The Women's Press which deals concretely with the process of the revolutionary transformation of the position of women in a socialist society.

Cuban Women Now is a series of interviews conducted by Margaret Randall with the co-operation of the Federation of Cuban Women over a two-year period and includes an introductory chapter by Randall. The women interviewed range from Haydée Santamaría, a leader in the Cuban revolutionary struggle since the early 1950's and now a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, to Alicia, a prostitute before the revolution and today the head of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution on her block. Through the personal stories of the women a record is presented of the consciousness of women at a specific point in the transformation of Cuban society.

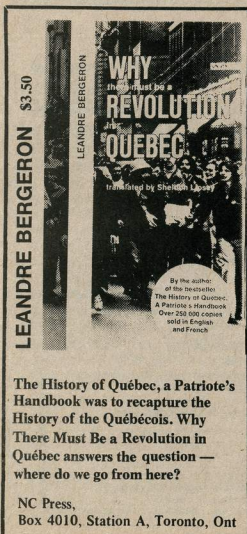
The book has special relevance to

North America because it is written from the perspective of an American woman, once involved in the New Left but now living in Cuba. Through the course of the book the cultural ethnocentrism, often quite dogmatic, of the women's movement of the 1960s dissolves in the face of a genuine transformation of people's lives.

At the beginning, the reader has the feeling that Randall's questions about socialization are artificially imposed on the situation. Concern for the effects of bringing up little girls to play with dolls appears somewhat absurd in the context of the tremendous changes that are taking place in the space of one generation. By the end of the book, however, she is much more willing to let her subjects take over the interviews and present the changes on their own terms.

The contrast between the conditions of women today and conditions before the revolution is constantly before our eyes. We see, for example, the transformation of La Ciénaga, the area which includes the Bay of Pigs, from a swamp where the people were "ignorant, backward, totally without schools, medical aid, newspapers, even radios" into a modern vacation centre. The Guane region was once a desert-like area remote from urban centres where some of the people, including peasants living in terrible misery, opposed the revolution. Today it is a lush region of orchards where the assistant director of the children's circle is the wife of a rehabilitated political prisoner and the wives and daughters of former supporters of the counter-revolution are activists in the Federation of Cuban Women. Profound changes are evident as well in the lives of artists such as dancer Alicia Alonso and actress Raquel Revuelta.

The life-stories of the women provide a picture of how these dramatic changes occurred and show the limitations of both a one-sided radical feminist concern with attitude and a mechanical "Marxist" view that the liberation of women under socialism is somehow automatic. Underlying these personal histories is the complex process of the integration of women into the deep changes in Cuban social life, a process involving profound changes in the consciousness of men as well as women.



The link between the change in the economic structure and the change in consciousness is the many political organizations, such as the Federation of Cuban Women, the Cuban Communist Party, the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution and the numerous schools and voluntary organizations. Even the integration of women into production — a vital necessity in labour-short Cuba — does not occur automatically but is a main task of the Federation of Cuban Women.

The changes in the lives of Cuban maids demonstrates the importance of finding new political and educational forms to incorporate women into the revolutionary process. At the time of the revolution, maids were an extremely backward section of the population politically because they worked in the private service of the bourgeoisie and were subject to its ideological influence. Under the Federation of Cuban Women, schools were opened in the evening to provide revolutionary instruction and job training for domestic servants. The first big struggle was waged to win the right of 20,000 maids to leave their employers' houses to attend the schools. The success of the schools was demonstrated when the counter-revolution tried to weaken the new Cuba by encouraging bank clerks to leave the country. The positions vacated by the fleeing bank clerks were filled by the formerly uneducated maids.

A similar situation existed with the Ana Betancourt Dressmaking Schools for women. These grew up as a form for integrating poor peasant women into the revolution. In order to persuade husbands and brothers to allow "their" women to attend school, the courses were described as sewing instruction and lasted only one year. However, once at school the women also received primary education and studied the agrarian and urban reform measures and other political questions.

In the words of Elena Gil, a member of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party:

"The fact that the daughters, sisters, wives of the farmers were now in direct contact with the new world of the Revolution, helped extraordinarily to break down the old prejudices, habits and customs holding the peasant family back." (p. 210)

The graduates of the schools for peasant women went back to their communities to pass on their new knowledge to their relatives and friends.

The Last Post Spring Reading List

Canadian:

Conversations with Mackenzie King by *Margaret Trudeau*
Comin' Through the Rye and Is There a Doctor in the House
novellas by *Edgar Bronfman*

Pole-Axed! by *Stanley Haidasz*
You Are What You Eat by *George Hees*

Growing Up Absurd by *Stephen Truscott*

How to Cook the Shit out of your Hamburger: A Systems Approach
by *Marc Lalonde*

Great Canadian Foetuses: Their Side of the Story as told to
Adrienne Lang

Fart! The Canadian Half-Baked Beans Cook Book by *Pierre Berton*

Gusher! by *Robert Fulford*

Thumb! by *Jack Horner*

With Rod and Gun on the Great Lakes by *Roman Graliewicz*

I'm Okay, You're Okay by *Roman Graliewicz and John Munro*

Frigate! by *John Munro*

The Gulag Archipelago by *Wally Firth*

James Bay: A Constructive Criticism by *Louis Laberge*

Decision: the Canada Council in Peace and War by *Naim Kattan*

International:

Walkin' Tall by *Haile Selassie*

Next Year in Honolulu by *Chiang Kai Shek*

After Me! by *Madame Chiang Kai Shek*

Surfacing by *Eva Peron*

Wheels! by *George Wallace*

The discovery of appropriate political forms for the involvement of less politically developed sections of the population, in this case women who were poor peasants, prostitutes or maids, is a major political question in the making of all revolutions. It would be a mistake to see this process as a uniquely Cuban phenomenon. The Women's Press collective appears to be taking this view in their preface when they write: "Without economic aid, Cuba's people rallied in support of a series of highly-organized voluntary mobilizations in economic and political programs." Besides ignoring the considerable aid Cuba has received from other socialist countries, this statement implies that the process of finding new political forms described in *Cuban Women Now* was a response to a particular unusual set of circumstances. Rather, it is characteristic of every revolutionary experience and can be studied in other socialist societies.

Cuban Women Now presents a wealth

of information, through the personal histories of individual women, of the revolutionary transformation of society. But the conclusions the reader reaches are mainly his/her own. Margaret Randall undertakes only to present the raw material; her own theoretical framework is still undeveloped. Her main point is that something exciting for women is happening in Cuba today and she is trying to figure out why. The lack of editing is one of the main weaknesses of the book. The contribution of the book to the understanding of the relationship of political and economic change to the changes in women and men's consciousness through the presentation of the details of a specific socialist revolution, however, far outweighs this weakness. The Women's Press is to be congratulated for this new venture.

Barbara Cameron is a Ph.D. student in Russian and East European studies at the University of Toronto and a lecturer in the Women Studies program.

ELEMENTS

SCIENCE REPORT BY DEMOCRITUS

Big bang boom

For those interested in the destiny of the universe, there is now compelling evidence to think it will go on expanding forever.

Two California scientists have independently announced . . . after years of observing the outward flight of galaxies . . . that there is too much speed and not enough matter for the centre to hold.

Most cosmologists believe in the "big bang" . . . that the spreading structure of the universe was created some six billion years ago when a superdense blob of primordial matter exploded.

Many of these believe in the "closed" theory . . . that eventually gravity will slow the expansion and then begin to draw back in all the parts . . . like a motion picture run backwards.

But, Dr. James Gunn of the California Institute of Technology and Dr. Allan Sandage of the Hale Observatories in California, after 15 years of separate search, have concluded that the universe is "open" . . . that it will continue to expand ad infinitum.

Their calculations also indicate our firmament is up to 16 billion years old . . . two and a half times the age of moon rocks.

Sotweed squelch

Soviet scientists claim to have smoked out a discovery which, if it works, could send diplomats around the world puffing off to the Kremlin.

The find is nothing less than a pill to make heavy smokers quit.

Extensive tests have shown, says the trade union newspaper *Trud*, that eight out of ten chronic smokers can be cured after a twenty-day treatment.

The source of the miracle is the Uzbek Academy of Sciences in Tashkent.

The chemical is apparently based on the alkaloid of a common Russian insecticide called anabazin sulphate . . . which the Soviets also say can be used as a kind of super smelling salts to jolt the nearly dead back to health.

You may soon be able to pick up your prescription at GUM . . . as the pill has been given official approval for commercial production.

C'est délicieux

For those possessed of a slight paranoid twist, here's a chance for the warp to take on a cosmic dimension.

American scientists have broadcast the earth's first message to some hypothetical "civilization" in deep space.

The message emanated from the immense dish radio antenna at the Arecibo Observatory in Puerto Rico . . . by far the world's largest.

The space dispatch began, "Calling all (hungry) beings out there . . . please acknowledge."

Transmitted in the form of systematic frequency modulations which can be converted into television pictures for the unwary, the signal was beamed toward a cluster of 300,000 stars known as Messier 13 . . . set on the edge of the Milky Way.

It hopes to convey that a sumptuous civilization of some 4 billion fillets are grazing on the third planet of an insignificant star . . . also on the rim of the galaxy.

If that is *not* enough, it goes on to describe in mouth-watering detail that we are made of delicious DNA molecules.

That 168 seconds of haute cuisine will take about 48,000 years to reach *them* and presumably the same time for a reply . . . by which time the earth may or may not be teeming with tentacle-licking-good protein.

Perfect fit

The last piece of the great continental jigsaw puzzle, illustrating that Africa and South America were once tucked neatly together into one giant supercontinent, has been pressed into the immemorial picture.

Scientists from Columbia University and the University of Birmingham have discovered that a huge chunk of primeval continent lies under two miles of water and sediment east of the tip of South America.

It fills in the last ancient piece in the jigsaw fit between the west coast and Africa and the eastern shoreline of South America.

Scientists in the relatively new discipline of plate tectonics agree that the two continents were once one . . . hundreds of millions of years ago.

Physicists in wonderland

Physicists' minds continue to beoggled by the two particles discovered in November (*Elements*, Jan. 1975), though they have agreed upon names for them. The particles, whose unusual properties include high mass and an unexpectedly slow rate of decay, are to be called J1 and J2.

American physicists are in general agreement that both particles are most likely a combination of a charmed quark and a charmed antiquark, the heavier (J2) being an excited state of the lighter.

Italian researchers, on the other hand, report experiments which contradict this theory and suggest that (as was first thought, then rejected, by Americans) that the particles may be a manifestation of the "weak force", hypothetically one of the four basic forces of the universe (the others being gravity, electromagnetism and the strong force).

The problem for the layman, and presumably for most physicists, in understanding all this is that quarks, charm and weak force are all hypothetical explanations of unobserved phenomena, created to resolve anomalies in

theories established to explain observed phenomena.

Charm is thought to be a fourth, hitherto undiscovered property of matter, which would occur in a quantum manner, as does charge. The quark hypothesis, devised to explain why subnuclear particles break up into so many fragments of differing properties, proposes that protons and neutrons are made up of three subunits (quarks) each bearing a fractional charge. In combination, quarks are supposed to produce a net charge of one, as the quantum theory demands.

The American theory proposes a new, fourth type of quark — with charm — combined with its mirror image — a charmed antiquark — to form the new particles. The Italians report that decay of the new particles is asymmetrical, invalidating the charmed-quark-antiquark hypothesis, but adding new weight to the theory that the new particles manifest or transmit the weak force in the same way that photons manifest or transmit electromagnetism.

It is also possible that there are more than three quarks, or none at all, or that charm simply does not exist. In any event, the particles, when they are more clearly understood, are likely to revolutionize our basic notions of the nature of matter.

And lastly, bad taste

To the untutored there is something faintly humorous in the fact that such biological grotesques as platypi are turned on by other platypi. After all, what can they possi-

bly see in each other?

In fact, the question should be: what can they possibly smell in each other? The answer, of course, is pheromones, the sexual attractant chemicals secreted by the female of almost every known species from insect to elephant. Atlanta researchers have now confirmed the presence of pheromones in humans.

Fifty women wore specially prepared tampons for a few hours every other day for a month. Analysis of the tampons showed the presence of aliphatic acids also found in the vaginal secretions of monkeys and known to stimulate sexual behaviour in male monkeys.

The pheromones have a cyclic production rate, being secreted in larger amounts during the period of greatest fertility, but their secretion is interfered with by the hygienic and contraceptive habits of North Americans. Deodorants, douching and the pill all inhibit the growth of the bacteria that secrete the attractant chemicals, which are described as having a vinegary, unpleasant odour. These practices are also known to inhibit the bacteria which creates an acid vaginal climate, thus engendering ideal conditions for the growth of yeast infections such as *Candida albicans*. North American women therefore have an abnormally high rate of yeast infections, and a low rate of pheromones.

They should not, however, be too alarmed by this, as Democritus' researchers, while sniffing around for more information on this topic, were able to establish through close observation that other factors may play a part in sexual attractiveness.

Suddenly, a barbed-wire fence

by ERIC HAMOVITCH

The Fourth World: An Indian Reality, by George Manuel and Michael Posluns. Collier-Macmillan/Toronto. 266 pp. \$7.95.

"Suddenly there was a gate blocking our way with a barbed-wire fence running away from it in both directions into the bushes. On the gate there was a lock and a white board with black letters."

It was not until the 1920s that the presence of the white man began to make itself felt in the territories of the British Columbia interior occupied for many centuries by the Shuswap nation. Up to that time the Shuswap had maintained their traditional means of livelihood, their language and their own internal system of government. They had dignity and self-respect. That situation quickly changed.

The passage quoted above recounts one of George Manuel's most vivid childhood memories. It was late one

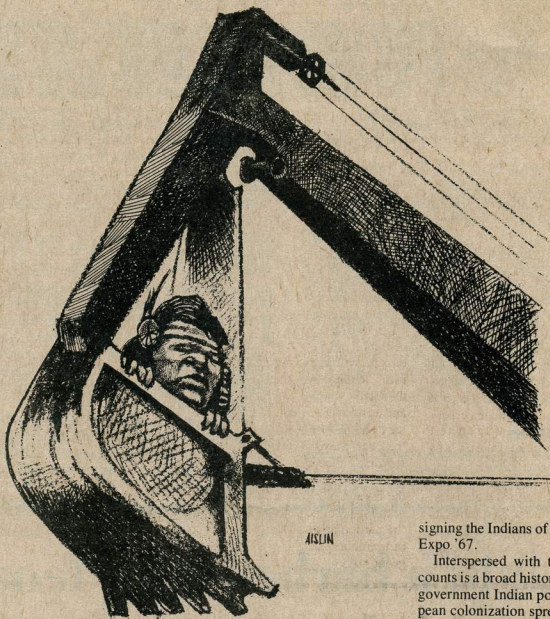
summer when he and his grandparents were on their way to the family berry-picking grounds that they encountered the encroachment of the white man on land which the Shuswap people were quite convinced they owned.

"Within my lifetime I have seen my people, the Shuswap nation, fall from a proud state of independence — when we looked to no man's generosity outside our own bounds but only to our own strength and skill and the raw materials with which we had been blessed for our survival — to a condition of degeneration, servitude and dependence as shameful as any people have ever known. I have also seen my people make the beginning of the long, hard struggle back to the plateau that is our proper place in the world."

This story of degeneration and rebirth, and many other stories as well, are told in *The Fourth World*, the Aboriginal World. The term "Fourth World" was suggested to Manuel by a Tanzanian diplomat, and applies not only to the

native peoples of North America, but also the Maoris, the Australian aborigines, the Lapps and others. Both the Third World and the Fourth World are striving to escape from colonialism and exploitation, Third World peoples in their nation-states and Fourth World peoples in groupings of different kinds.

Although large parts of *The Fourth World* are written in the first person singular, the book is the work of two authors. George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, provides autobiographical sketches of his early life and of this later career as an organizer. Michael Posluns, freelance journalist and frequent contributor to *Akwesasne Notes*, an international newspaper specializing in North American native issues, rounds out the book with descriptions of some of the struggles — political, legal, social and cultural — which native peoples across Canada and North America generally have had to face over the past two centuries.



AISLIN

signing the Indians of Canada pavilion at Expo '67.

Interspersed with these personal accounts is a broad historical perspective of government Indian policy. As the European colonization spread westward over the continent, so did the massacres and the spreading of diseases which had decimated the Indian nations of eastern North America. The slaughter of buffalo, officially encouraged by U.S. authorities, caused severe hardship to the Plains people on both sides of the border (migrating buffalo did not observe international boundaries), and thereby aided the expansionist plans of the young Canadian dominion. Literally starved into submission, Indian leaders had little choice but to sign treaties with the Macdonald government, a prime beneficiary of the American violence. It is little wonder that many Indian people today regard the U.S.-Canada border as artificial.

These treaties were unenforceable in law, and Macdonald's Indian Act showed its clearest statement of intent when it defined a person as "any individual other than an Indian". In British Columbia, a federal-provincial reserve commission left Indians out of the negotiations altogether. In 1882 the potlatch, a traditional gift-giving ceremony,

Manuel provides us with fond accounts of the lifestyles and legends he learned as a child. As he grew older he saw with his own eyes the degradation inflicted upon his people by the state, which parcelled up the land and sold it to white settlers, and by the church, which undermined traditional beliefs, helping to pave the way for the destruction of the traditional economic system. In the church-run boarding school he attended, the priests went to special lengths to ridicule Indian customs, and imposed hard labour upon the underfed pupils in the guise of "industrial training".

The fencing off of the land by white settlers dealt a particularly harsh blow to the Indian people, for their customs and social structures were based on the land with which they had such close ties; take away the land, and you partly destroy the social structures. Petitions and other protests sent to Ottawa were greeted with little more than ridicule.

The authors write with warm affection of the efforts of the great Andy Paull, one of the pioneers of modern Indian political organizing, who travelled through British Columbia and on to Ottawa to press land claims which have not been settled to this day. Paull was one of those who inspired Manuel to take an active part in the struggle for Indian rights.

Across Manuel's career we can see something of the workings of the Indian Affairs department, and how it came in many cases to be regarded as an enemy rather than an ally of the Indian people. An employee of the department for a time, he saw clearly that concepts such as consultation and participation were usually little more than hollow catchphrases, and we see how good intentions which emerged at one bureaucratic level were frustrated at another level. In his running battle with officialdom, Manuel had to fight even for something as elementary as Indian participation in de-

was declared illegal. Why? Because the missionaries didn't like it, even if the Indians did. In 1927 Mackenzie King made it an offence to raise funds for the purpose of pressing any Indian claim. These two laws, which must rank among the most stupid passed by any legislative body, were not repealed until 1951.

Mackenzie King shared with his predecessors the view that Indians should not be allowed to vote or enjoy other rights of citizenship unless they signed away their lands and gave up their identity as Indians. One would hope that this conception of the problem might have been quietly buried over the decades, but in 1969 came the Trudeau-Crétien policy statement which could almost have been written by the ghost of Mackenzie King. It called for Indian bands to give up collective title to their lands (in other words, a policy of "termination", which had meant disaster for the seven U.S. tribes to which it had been applied), and for Indians essentially to become assimilated with the rest of us if they wished to enjoy full rights as Canadians.

Now that Indians have begun to win recognition for land claims in the courts, the government has started to modify its attitude somewhat, but monumental battles lie ahead. Both on and off the reserves the economic situation of the ma-

majority of the native people living within the borders of this country does not compare all that favourably with what is to be found in the more advanced countries of the Third World. The "gee-ain't-it-awful" approach which has characterized much of the recent literature on the subject is a recurrent though not dominant theme in *The Fourth World*. Yes, it is awful, and the book says so. But beneath the bleakness of the recent past is an underlying element of optimism, based on the hope that the wisdom and strength of earlier generations may help to dignify and transform the lives of present and future generations.

This involves much more than a spiritual re-awakening. Needless to say, Indians have cultures and traditions they wish to bring with them into the 21st century, and they don't want to be bulldozed by our technocratic civilization into abandoning them. By deciding themselves which of their own values and customs they wish to keep and which they choose to adopt from other cultures they can move closer to once again determining their own destiny.

This, in essence, is what is meant by the Fourth World. The notion we are left with is somewhat vague: little is said of the particular political and economic arrangements under which aboriginal groups would operate internally or in re-

lation with the larger society. It is also perhaps a bit naive: the bureaucrats at Indian Affairs and the giant corporations which tower over us all have never taken kindly to small and weak groups determining their own destinies. What we are presented with is a very broad outline, with the details remaining to be filled in. The book was obviously not intended as an exercise in futurology or utopianism.

One fundamental question which remains unanswered concerns the most effective sort of tactics to use in furthering Indian aims. George Manuel is one person who has chosen to work through the system, but as he is well aware, many members of a younger generation are growing impatient with the often slow results this has achieved, and are calling for more direct forms of action. This is a matter which lies outside the already wide scope covered by *The Fourth World*, but which will hopefully be considered in some of the forthcoming literature we may expect to see on a subject of increasing interest. *The Fourth World* is a valuable addition to this growing body of literature.

Eric Hamovitch writes regularly for the *Last Post* from Ottawa.

Nuts and bolts of daily living

by SANDY GAGE

Salt of the Earth, by Heather Robertson, James Lorimer & Co./Toronto. 224 pp.

Faces of the Old North, by Cathy Wismer, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd./Toronto. 133 pp.

In the greater scheme of things Canada is still known as a country that exists chiefly for the exploitation of natural resources. And Canada's true history is the history of the men and women who extract those resources. These two books are filled with first person accounts by such people — farmers, trappers and miners.

Just about all the contributors to these books lived within the last 100 years, and yet their experiences are almost completely outside our frame of reference.

outside our powers of remembrance.

The speed of change in this country has been so great that the life styles of those who first tapped the resources of our north and west seem very remote, though they existed not so long ago. The tempo of our consumer society acts as a powerful barrier to the maintenance of any personal link with even our recent past.

These two books seem intended to provide a special kind of link with that past. They are filled with the nuts and bolts of daily living, with raw material only slightly edited. And yet these books are aimed at a mass market, not at history professors. The books are a substitute for the family diaries we no longer keep and for the continuity we shun by putting the last generation in old age homes.

It is a sad statement, but these two books, of times so recently in our collective experience, are fascinating and

unique. We are starved for narrative.

Heather Robertson's book is composed of segments from diaries, memoirs and essays. It covers the settling of the prairies from 1865 until 1914. It contains commentary on every aspect of frontier life.

Robertson's contributors tend to be terse and matter-of-fact, but many of them can convey deep and subtle feelings nevertheless.

Here is a brief description of plowing which is evidently from an essay contest sponsored by the Regina Women's Canadian Club.

"Sometimes Stan would hang the lines on the lever and walk behind the plow, getting a lot of enjoyment watching the moist dark chocolate brown loam soil slide off the mould board and silently roll over upside down, smooth and glossy as an eel, furrow after furrow fourteen inches wide, one half mile long

and straight as a string. Lovely.'

About half of *Salt of the Earth* is taken up with photographs of the time. They are contrived, Victorian compositions, but the backdrops of waving wheat and tar-paper shacks tell the true conditions. As Robertson says, "Simply the effort to keep up appearances — the formal black taffeta dress and stiff-collared sun worn by a couple sitting on chairs in the dirt in front of their tiny clapboard shanty — speaks more than any words about the culture shock of homesteading."

There must have been a hell of a lot of sifting through dingy basement archives to produce this book.

The product has a strong sense of place about it. The prairie that is described has little to do with the patchwork of fields seen from a plane window or the asphalt vanishing point somewhere straight ahead of a steering wheel.

For the people in *Salt of the Earth* their quarter section of land is the locus of 360 degrees of desolate flatness.

The characters who take part in this book bear little relationship to the characters in the famous film of the same name. The new prairie farmers perceive their fight not as against the bosses, but as against the forces of nature.

Faces of the Old North consists of an assortment of taped reminiscences from old people in north-eastern Ontario. It dove-tails with the period in Heather Robertson's work and one of the speakers even homesteaded in the West in 1906.

It appears from the book that Cathy Wismer set out on a little collecting trip to find the true north. There are some good yarns spun in this book but it is padded out with descriptions of all the people who refused to talk turkey with

the tape recorder from Toronto. The book is further padded with some photographs washed in sepia-tone that cannot rank as timeless when compared with those in the Robertson book.

The impression is that if more time had been spent this work could have developed into a really representative archive.

The Foxfire Book is a two volume effort at oral history taped and photographed by school kids in the mountains of western North Carolina. Wismer's work could have been as good as those two volumes. The amateurish quality of the American books is explained by the grass roots origin of the compilers — Wismer is not entitled to the same excuse.

Sandy Gage is an organizer for the United Steelworkers.

THE LAST PAGE

THRENODY FOR THE INSPIRED AMATEUR — UH — PROFESSIONAL

by STUART ADAM

I still remember the intellectuals who used to convene regularly in the steam-room of our tennis club — to swap lies about their sporting accomplishments and pass judgment on the affairs of the sporting world — debunking the statement made in the fall of 1972 that Team Canada's victory over the Soviet Union's hockey team was "a victory for our way of life."

A consensus was not hard to create on that day. Teams, not cultures, were competing; to read such significance into a mere sporting event was to claim significance where none was due.

As pervasive as that argument seemed at the time, it may now be said that the steam-room intellectuals who advocated it were wrong. It was a victory for our way of life; it was the last; and the fact that it was the last is the occasion for adding yet another verse to George Grant's celebrated threnody, *Lament for a Nation*. I've been threnodying ever since the loss by Team Canada '74 suggested to me that something precious — our own hockey tradition — is under attack.

Our hockey tradition contains many elements, but two best summarize its character. First, we have always relied on the dialectics of the weather, the Canadian Shield and the prairies, on the one hand, and the natural distribution of athletic talent, on the other, to yield a steady crop of accomplished hockey players. We are told that our poets Gordie Howe and Bobby Hull acquired strength and stamina and cultivated their natural talent on the frozen outdoor ponds which graced our country in the good old days of truly fierce winters. This model of development is still powerful enough to command a certain reverence. Too bad the winters are

getting warmer and the rural population is decreasing.

Secondly, when the naturally-cultivated son of the land is pressed into collective service in one of the great teams of the NHL, his individuality continues to be stressed. The team is not a machine. Such imagery is un-Canadian. If anything, a Canadian team is a Benthamite aggregation: Team quality is the sum of individual qualities. Thus Canadian hockey is characterized by *ad hoc*ery, the uncalculated brilliance of individuals operating in spontaneous concert to create, if not a goal, at least a thrill.

Regrettably, the thrills and the goals will be rarer and rarer as Canadians face teams from societies in which the imagery of the machine and the love of science are well-established. Watching the Soviets play hockey is to view the product of scientific training and expert synchronization. There is so little of a random character in the game that one gets the feeling that if they were to adopt the Maple Leaf strategy of dumping the puck into the end of the rink from outside the blue line, it would be done only after the speed of the puck could be controlled, the aim was deadly and the resilience of the end boards and the puck (the puck they were playing with on that day) had been carefully measured.

In this respect, the Russians play hockey like the Americans play football. I don't know what happens to American football players when they come to Canada. They seem to boob as often as we do. But watching them playing at home on Sundays — a patriot has no choice but to watch the CBC — I am sometimes overwhelmed by the precision with which they play. There is no doubt in my mind that if the Miami Dolphins chose to play hockey seriously they would be students of the Russian style. Americans are more like Russians than they would care to admit. But that is not the point.

Hockey, like farming, is a human enterprise. It is not possible for the Americans and the Russians to deprive it of all individuality and spontaneity. But it remains true, I think, that when it comes to team competition, the extent to which the model of the machine — maybe cybernetics is a more appropriate concept — is adopted will continue to matter.

It's not the Canadian way. Like Grant, we have before us a portrait of the world to come. It is digestible, but only just. The threnody has many verses.

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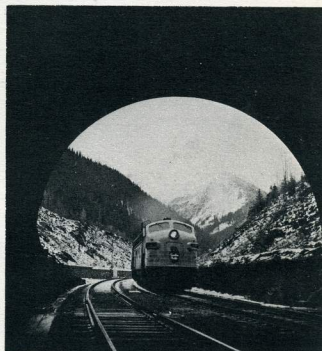
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